

Barbara Schuler

# Of Death and Birth

Icakkiamman, a Tamil Goddess,  
in Ritual and Story



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With a Film on DVD  
by the Author

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Cover photo: Terra-cotta figures of Icakki at Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukāṭṭu Icakkiammaṅ shrine, Paḷavūr, © Barbara Schuler.

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*For Xavier and Amelie*





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Photographs are the author's own.





## Conventions

The orthographic conventions followed in this work, with few exceptions, use for Tamil terms the transcriptions of the *Tamil Lexicon*, and for Sanskrit terms the transcriptions found in the Monier Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. The terms are italicised, and plurals are indicated by the addition of the English *s*. I dispense with such italics when words are frequently used (such as Skt. pūjārī and devadāsī). Certain familiar Indian terms and names of pan-Indian gods (such as Śiva and Kālī) are generally given in their more familiar Sanskrit forms rather than in Tamil. Words that have become part of the English language (such as Brahmin) have been written without diacritical marks. This is also the case for names of languages (Tamil, Malayalam, Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit) and well-known geographical names like Tamilnadu, Kerala, and Chennai, or district names such as Chinglepet not known to me other than as usually found in secondary sources. For Tamil personal names, diacritic marks have usually been used. When secondary sources are cited, the author's usage has been retained; hence discrepancies may crop up. No names of places or individuals have been disguised. The English translations of all passages taken from non-English works cited in the bibliography are, unless specified otherwise, my own. Interviews held during the field research were in Tamil. Any brackets [ ] used within citations are mine, if not stated to the contrary.



## Preface

This book is a revised version of my PhD dissertation submitted to the University of Hamburg in 2004. The idea of doing a doctoral project on the *Icakkiammaṅ Katai (IK)* came from Professor Dr Ulrike Niklas of Cologne University. I am greatly indebted to Ulrike Niklas, who generously let me use the texts of N1-N9 (see below) that she had collected. The work on the edition and translation is a tale of losing and refinding different versions of these texts, and much to my pleasure also of discovering new texts of great value. Versions N2-N9, containing a large amount of the material that I had intended to work on, disappeared when still in the possession of Ulrike Niklas, during the first working phase, a fact that seriously complicated matters. By the time they were found again, the first draft of the translation had already been completed. Despite this, after these versions were refound I drew upon them and completely revised the first draft of the translated text. That my principal advisor, Professor David Shulman of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, stumbled upon the lost texts during a visit to Cologne can only be called a miracle. Following this second phase of translating and editing, another piece of great good fortune occurred. During my fieldwork in Kaṇṇiyākumari district I discovered another version of the text, N10, in the possession of the bow-song bard Kalaimāmaṅi (“the bright jewel of art”) T. Muthucami Pulavar, who graciously supplied me a copy of it. The edited and translated text then underwent a complete revision once again.

It was not until I had finished the work on the text that I seriously began investigating the role of the text in its cultural environment in general and in the *koṭai* festival in particular. For this purpose I undertook two field trips to the research area in the years 2002 and 2003.

On the first trip, in 2002, I visited the southern districts of Tamilnadu (Tirunelvēli, Tūttukuṭi, and Kaṇṇiyākumari districts) during the festival season that runs from March to May. A personal invitation to participate in the annual festival held in Paḷavūr in May 2002 gave me reason to extend my visit. This was a unique opportunity, one that provided me with a vast quantity of new material to be studied: nine hours each of video documentation of the rituals and an audio recording of the bow-song. During my stay in the Tirunelvēli and Kaṇṇiyākumari districts, I was able to establish personal contacts and hold interviews with a large number of people: temple priests (Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai; M. Paṅṭu Piḷḷai; E. Aruṅācalam); temple owners (P. Taṅkarāj Naṭār; Naṭār Tiru Kānti) and *koṭai* festival committee members (Ca. Paḷaṅiyā Piḷḷai et al.); people who undergo possession by the deity (Kuṭṭi Ammāḷ et al.); bow-song singers (T. Muthucami Pulavar; G. Muttuleṭcumi and her husband G. Gopikriṣṇaṅ of Eṭṭaiyāpuram; and S. Svayamburajan of Rājakkamaṅkalam); and other informants and consultants (Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai; Rama Subha; members of the Folklore Resource and Research Centre (FRRC) of St. Xavier’s College in Pālayamkōṭṭai, especially Peter A. Raj, Britto Vincent SJ, and Dr Ramachandran Nair; Dr T. Lourdu, former Director of the FRRC; Ms Pakialeṭcumi of Teṭṭukkuṅṭal in Akastīcuvaram; Dr S. Alagesan in Tūttukuṭi; Dr Jeyakumar; Mr Muthucami, Director of Śaiva Siddhanta Publications; Dr M.D. Muthukumaraswamy, Director of the National Folklore Support Centre in Chennai); Professor Dr Mā. Navanītakriṣṇaṅ; Dr Vijayalakṣmī (a well-known performing artist); Professor Dr R. Venkatarāman (art historian); Dr G. Sethurāmaṅ; Dr V. Ayyanar (all of the Department of Folk Arts and History of Arts at Maturai Kamrāj University); and Professor Dr T. Naṭarājaṅ (Head of the Department of Manuscriptology at Maturai Kamrāj University), from whose expertise in working with manuscripts I benefited greatly.

A second field trip to Tamilnadu was carried out from mid-November 2002 to February 2003, the period when recitations are held for the goddess every Tuesday. In both years fieldwork assistance was provided by I. Muthukumar. The field research on *Icakkiamman* proved to be much more fruitful than expected: in addition to the festival documentation made in the spring of 2002, twenty-six 90-minute audio-cassettes of interviews in Tamil were recorded. On my second field trip I arranged for the bow-song bard T. Muthucami Pulavar and his group to perform his full-length version of the *IK* (N10) in the traditional bow-song style. This performance was held in a neutral setting on two days in November 2002. This version is, in terms of length and comprehensiveness, very close to my base text. In collaboration with the FRRC of St. Xavier's College in Pālaiyamkōṭṭai, Tirunelvēli, I made audio and video recordings of the entire performance. A copy was made available to the FRRC's archives.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to all the persons in India mentioned above. Their support made my field research both an enriching and fruitful experience. I am deeply grateful to everyone, and also especially to Dr C. Subramanian for his constant friendship and counsel, as well as for his patience in helping me transcribe the taped interviews made during the research. I would also like to thank Professor Dr Arokianathan of Pondicherry University, who was the first person I approached with the corrupt text material. T. Muthucami Pulavar, I. Muthukumar, and Peter A. Raj deserve special thanks, not only for supporting me in my months of fieldwork, but also for making the production of a video of the bow-song performance of the entire text possible. In addition to providing me with the new version N10, T. Muthucami Pulavar (who later showed himself to be the outstanding bow-song bard that he is) also greatly helped me in comprehending linguistic peculiarities of the N1 text. I cannot thank him enough for all this.

I am particularly glad to have the opportunity to express my deep-felt gratitude to Professor Don Handelman and Professor David Shulman of the Hebrew University for providing me in Jerusalem with the stimulating intellectual atmosphere that enabled me to develop my ideas. I would like to thank in particular my supervisor David Shulman, whose scholarship fills me with admiration, for patiently guiding me through my work from nearly beginning to end. Moreover, my sincere gratitude is no less due to Professor Dr Ulrike Niklas for her encouragement to study the Tamil goddess *Icakki*, to Professor Dr Eli Franco, Professor Dr Dieter Kapp, and Professor Dr Karin Preisendanz, who graciously provided me with their support, and to Professor Dr Lambert Schmithausen, who accepted my doctoral thesis in the field of Indology at the University of Hamburg.

During the period of revising the work for publication I was aided by several scholars; to mention but a few: Dr Martin Delhey, Dr Kengo Harimoto, Professor Dr Harunaga Isaacson, Dr M. Maithrimurthi, Professor Dr Lambert Schmithausen, and Dr Eva Wilden. All helped me in various ways including a number of most valuable suggestions and bibliographical references.

I would like to acknowledge my appreciation to the Minerva Foundation (Max-Planck-Society) for the doctoral research grant I received from April 2001 to September 2003 that allowed me the privilege of working on this project at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Moreover, I am indebted to Professor Dr Axel Michaels and the Harassowitz Publishers for kindly including this study in the series *Ethno-Indology*, and last but not least, to VG WORT for its invaluable help in financing the publication of this work.

Finally, a very special "thank you" goes to Cynthia Peck and Philip Pierce, each of whom corrected the English text. Their reading went beyond the bounds of common duty, and I was indeed fortunate that they were so painstaking. It goes without saying that any mistakes in this study are entirely my responsibility.



# 1 Prolegomena

## 1.1 An Introduction to the Field of Research

ஆவதும் பெண்ணாலே அழிவதும் பெண்ணாலே

*āvatum peṇṇālē alivatum peṇṇālē*

Becoming is through the female, destruction is through the female.

(A Tamil proverb)

My research deals with a text<sup>1</sup> that is closely related to an oral tradition. It is a text that is distinct for having no known author, no certain date, and no single fixed composition to work with. My work focuses on the Indian diversity of cultural identities and on the regional sections of society (with their local sacral and political centres) rather than on the Brahmanic cultural spheres and pan-Hindu deities. I have chosen a Tamil context to approach these fields. In the study of oral and local traditions there are many important themes that can be considered. I have chosen only one: story (*katai*)<sup>2</sup> and ritual (*koṭai*)<sup>3</sup>. My work considers the worship of the goddess Icakki in the southernmost districts of Tamilnadu (Tirunelvēli, Tūttukuṭi, Kaṇṇiyākumari) from the perspectives of her story and the ritual it is incorporated into. The first perspective treats the text and its variants and attempts to constitute, as far as possible, on the basis of my present state of knowledge, the ‘complete’ story of Nīli/Icakki, as preserved today in a number of variants in the *villuppāṭṭu* (bow-song) tradition.<sup>4</sup> It also looks at earlier epochs in order to trace, in chronological sequence, the appearance of this popular figure throughout Tamil literature. In doing so it shows how the local (popular) and classical traditions have a common basis,<sup>5</sup> inasmuch as there exists a psychological and thematic continuity between them. The present undertaking will thus also shed light on the interaction between the local and classical Tamil tradition as mirrored in this particular case study.

By investigating the local tradition, several scholars have demonstrated the diversity and dynamics of this tradition and contributed to our understanding of the contemporary construction of “regional

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<sup>1</sup> The term *text* in the sense I use it requires some clarification. In a strict sense, the word *text* refers to a written tradition. However, it seems justified to extend the use of the term to ritual narratives in an oral tradition, keeping in mind their “quality of coherence” (Hanks 1989:96), their relative stability in the cultural memory, and their eventually being written down for preservation (out of fear of loss) and transmission. For a more detailed discussion, see Gaenszle 2002:12ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a clarification of the term *katai* as it is applied in this work, see Sect. 4.1 below. I frequently use the term *katai*. In doing so, I have in mind the narrative relating to Nīli-Icakki that is closely tied to an oral tradition.

<sup>3</sup> In a strict sense, the term *koṭai* means “gift,” and is generally used to refer to the annual festival held in honour of a local deity.

<sup>4</sup> *Villuppāṭṭu* (*vil*, “bow” and *pāṭṭu*, “song”) is a genre that only exists in the three southernmost districts of Tamilnadu. For a thorough discussion of this tradition, see Blackburn 1980. The bow (*vil*) is the main instrument used in the performance (see Photo 1, p. 354). It is usually made of a piece of wood taken from the base of a palmyra tree and is about ten feet long. Eleven (and sometimes 13 or 9) small bronze bells are attached to it by rings. The bow-string is made of twisted hide. The sound of the played bow combines the tinkle of the bells and the resonance of the string, and is achieved by striking the string with a pair of thin sticks, one in each hand. See also Blackburn 1986:175.

<sup>5</sup> See Shulman 1986:105–30, and Blackburn and Ramanujan 1986:14f.; cf. Zvelebil 1989:290–303.

identity.”<sup>6</sup> Such identities are seen to be mirror images of social and historical processes, and so inevitably are constantly reconstituted. It will become clear from the material gathered during my field research that Icakki, an independent and ambivalent figure who was once human and then deified, provides an identity for sections of the region’s population in her function as an “Erinnerungsfigur.”<sup>7</sup> A cultural identity is formed by the recitation of her story and hearing about those who were once involved in her social world. One might speak here, in Assmann’s (1992:299) sense, of a nexus of culturally remembered history and identity. The text answers the question “Who are we?”<sup>8</sup> and harbours certain social implications. It is interesting to see why the Nīli/Icakki story, which has as its main theme death and vengeance—and may be understood as a narrative of the type violation–death–deification–revenge (see Blackburn 1986:169)<sup>9</sup>—has become such a central one for the Tamils.

My work does not limit itself to an edition and annotated translation, but attempts an interpretation of the text in the context of its performance within the annual *koṭai* festival held in honour of Icakki (also known by the names Iyakki or Ēkki), the “most violent of all Tamil goddesses” (Shulman 1980:194f.). I thus endeavour to approach the goddess from a second perspective: her *koṭai* ritual. Assuming that ritual is a practice, I shall look at the markers in the ritual that highlight the relationship and interaction between the *villuppāṭṭu* text and the ritual practice, as well as the role the text plays within the ritual. Does the ritual apply what the narrative teaches? Or is the ritual a ‘text’<sup>10</sup> of its own, which has its own values and programme?<sup>11</sup> A careful analysis of the ritual will necessarily address important questions of both social and ritual reality, and the ritual’s efficacy as well. Here we touch on another significant question: What factors guarantee ritual efficacy?

I consider this local cult to have originally developed out of a tradition that honours powerful childless female spirits of the dead. In the course of time this function receded into the background, and the rites acquired a fertility-enhancing function of tapping these powerful female spirits of the dead (which by then had been subsumed under a composite spirit named Icakki) for purposes of procreation. The ritual thus stands in striking opposition to the story of the goddess, which ends in human death, leaving no chance of reproduction. It is a central concern of my study to show how the goddess’s *koṭai* ritual—in a creative, transformative act—turns the wheel from death and revenge back around to where the stories of the goddess originally began: to solicitous care and giving birth.<sup>12</sup>

The narrative theme of a twin sister–brother bond and the inner logic of the ritual’s system are likewise important objects of my analysis.

The study of the Tamil epic narrative *Icakkiamman Katai (IK)* and the analysis of the worship of the goddess Icakkiamman within its religious, social, and regional context necessitates a combination of various methods and an exploitation of other areas of research. My study of the *koṭai* rituals has been greatly influenced by, in particular, the scholarship and teaching of David Shulman and Don Handelman. Their approaches to Tamil culture have entered my work at key points.

<sup>6</sup> See Chap. 3 “Culture panindienne et identité régionale, l’apport des sources orales” in Champion 1996.

<sup>7</sup> I borrow this concept from Assmann 1992:52: “Das *kulturelle* Gedächtnis richtet sich auf Fixpunkte in der Vergangenheit [... auf] Erinnerungsfiguren, wie sie in Festen liturgisch begangen werden und wie sie jeweilige Gegenwartssituationen beleuchten. Auch Mythen sind Erinnerungsfiguren: Der Unterschied zwischen Mythen und Geschichte wird hier hinfällig.” Assmann (1992:139) states further: “Das Bewußtsein sozialer Zugehörigkeit, das wir ‘kollektive Identität’ nennen, beruht auf der Teilhabe an einem gemeinsamen Wissen und einem gemeinsamen Gedächtnis [...].”

<sup>8</sup> I draw here on ideas put forward in Assmann 1992:142.

<sup>9</sup> Blackburn (1986:172) emphasises that this type of story is the “heart of the bow-song tradition.”

<sup>10</sup> Note that linguistic models applied to ritual studies are nothing new. Several anthropologists have addressed the question. Kreinath (2004:275), for instance, speaks of ritual performance “as a commentary on social reality.” I do agree that the ritual can be read and interpreted almost as one would read a written text. To follow the analogy of language and reading, the signs and modules of a ritual could be considered to be like the words in a language. The individual attributes and utensils of the ritual (the colours, gestures, ornamentation, sounds, smells, and objects featured) are, then, like the letters of the words in a text.

<sup>11</sup> One might think here of a normative ‘text’. Cf. Assmann (1992:142), who defines normative texts as follows: “Hier geht es um Werte [...], um die Gelingensregeln des alltäglichen Zusammenlebens [...]. *Normative Texte* antworten auf die Frage: “Was sollen wir tun?”

<sup>12</sup> The findings confirm and exemplify the remarks of Blackburn et al. 1989:11: “Epic performances ritually protect and cure, while epic narratives express local ideologies [...].”

## 1.2 The State of Research

Hitherto existing works available on the topic at hand include five editions (to which I shall refer later) along with a number of general studies and summaries on the *IK/Nīli Katai* (by Blackburn, Hameed, Reiniche, Shulman, and Zvelebil; further Ti.Ci. Kōmatināyakam, A.Ka. Perumāḷ, and Ve. Vētācalam), but so far no detailed study. To my knowledge, Indologists have paid little attention to this Tamil *katai* of epic length. Zvelebil's article (1989) addresses the question of dating and evaluating the text. In a short, but relatively complete listing of literature, Zvelebil shows that there are literary analogues to the name Nīli stretching back both to the *kāppiyam* (Skt. *kāvya*) work *Cilappatikāram* (450–500 C.E.?) and to Śaiva literature from the seventh to nineteenth century, though he emphasises that it cannot be conclusively stated that the Nīli in the *katai* is identical with the Nīli mentioned either in the *kāppiyam* literature, or by the Śaiva authors Tiruñāṇacampantar and Cēkkiḷār, or in the Jain work *Nīlakēci*. Shulman (1980:194f.) deals with Nīli, “the most violent of all Tamil goddesses,” in connection with his religious study of the “motif of the sealed shrine” (prominent in some of the Tamil temple myths) and its association with “miscarriage of justice.” Blackburn (1980) in his pioneering studies on performance within the *villuppāṭṭu* bow-song tradition is of particular relevance to my topic in his section on “the split-goddess” (205–23), where he focuses primarily on the dual sexuality of goddesses in *villuppāṭṭu* stories. On the basis of a synopsis of the Nīli story (206f.) he demonstrates the “murderous aspect of the goddess's sexuality” (205) prevalent in stories that he classifies as type B ones. Another study, an article by Hameed (1971), is an attempt to identify “structural patterns” by comparing the *Nīli Katai* with the *Kaṇṇaki Katai* on the basis of Vladimir Propp's model of analysis. Some years later Reiniche (1975:173–203) examined Nīli/Icakkiamman within her article on “Les ‘Demons’ et leur Culte dans la structure du pantheon d'un village du Tirunelveli.” A historical study of the worship of *iyakkis* (Skt. *yakṣīs*) was undertaken by Ve. Vētācalam (1989). A.Ka. Perumāḷ (1990:35ff.) presents the different versions of the *Nīli Katai* in the form of summaries. Finally, Ti.Ci. Kōmatināyakam (1979:263–311) offers a version of the *Nīli Katai* told in a very simple style.

Four of the five *IK/Nīli Katai* literary editions accessible to me claim to be academic in nature: One is Cu. Caṇmukacuntaram's, published by Maṇimēkalai Piracuram, Madras. Another is the edition published by the Institute of Asian Studies as part of the Folklore of Tamilnadu Series. It contains a translation and comprehensive introduction. This edition of the *Nīli Yaṭcakānam* (ed. Pū. Cuppiramaṇiyam) can be taken as a version rooted in the northern region of Tamilnadu, and so of secondary relevance to my study. The third and fourth editions are very recent publications and came to my knowledge too late to be considered during my editorial work. One is the edition produced by A.Ka. Perumāḷ and S. Śrīkumār (2002), and published by Śrī Ceṇṇpakā Patikkam. The two authors inserted the edition into a revision of a work published earlier by A.Ka. Perumāḷ (1990; see above). The other recent edition, the work of S.M. Mahāleṭcumi (2003), was published under the title *Muppantal Icakkiamman Kaṇṇiyāṇ Pāṭṭu*. Neither edition comes with a translation. I do not regard these new publications as having rendered superfluous my own editorial work which, apart from the text, offers variants and an encyclopaedic apparatus as well. The edition prepared by Ku. Ārumukapperumāḷ Nāṭār of Akastīcuvaram, Kaṇṇiyākumari district, aims at a broader public, not academicians.

## 1.3 Personal Research Work

In the initial part of my study I shall deal with the text. It is as a performative popular-religious oral poem that the text should be approached by the critic.<sup>13</sup> I shall first provide a complete description of the material available in hand-written manuscripts.

<sup>13</sup> I use “popular religion” (though the term itself is contested), since other older schemata of “folk” or “little” traditions have been critiqued and largely abandoned.

Secondly, I shall offer an edition of a relatively complete unpublished palm-leaf manuscript, the N1 version, together with an annotated translation. The text and the translation have been twice completely revised, first after the rediscovery of the lost variants N2-N9, and again after the discovery of the N10 version.

Thirdly, in an attempt to give significant new contour to the textual history, I have produced on the basis of the newly discovered N10 version—the longest and most comprehensive manuscript now available to me—an encyclopaedic apparatus (Appendix C) of lines and phrases belonging to a shared repertoire and an underlying basic text, possibly oral. The way it was compiled and is presented differs considerably from conventional ones, and may perhaps be useful for the future editing of texts of this nature.

Fourthly, I shall examine the allusions in the classical tradition to Nīli in the story of the *IK* sung today within the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition. I have newly compiled and enlarged the list of references to Nīli in Tamil literature that has been accumulated by various scholars in the past. (Though I have added to the lists of others some further references to Nīli in later Tamil works, I cannot claim to have made an exhaustive search.) In addition, I have undertaken a thorough examination of all sources and come to a number of conclusions—a task that to my knowledge has not previously been done.

Fifthly, in the second part of the study I shall first provide an introduction to the *IK*, referring in short to its genre and the problem of dating, and then proceed to address themes of the story that may be considered central. I shall also provide an alternative reading to the usual interpretation of this story, which has generally been viewed differently from what I propose here.

Sixthly, in the third part of my work I shall introduce the reader to the living context of the *IK* and examine the two names the figure we are concerned with goes by: Nīli and Icakki. I shall discuss this apparent contradiction and reveal its causes.

Seventhly, I shall then present a detailed investigation into the *koṭai* ritual sequence and an analysis of the multifaceted rituals I attended. Furthermore, I shall examine the organisation of the ritual and the relationship between ritual and text.

Eighthly, on the basis of video documentation, audio recordings, and notes, a detailed tabular summary of the ritual sequences of the *koṭai* festival in Paḷavūr has been drawn up (Appendix A).

Ninthly, a firsthand experience of the performance in all its concrete sensuousness can only be feebly conveyed by a written description. Therefore I shall present video documentary material of the ritual practice in which I participated.

The work may be read and understood on several levels. The reader who wants to focus on the text, literarily rendered (Section 5.4), and on the ritual, sequentially described (Section 9.2 and Appendix A), may dispense with the interpretative sections. For those who wish to gain a deeper understanding of the text and ritual, and particularly how certain notions that can be seen as central to Tamil culture are played out in each, Section 4.7, Chapter 6, and Sections 7.3.1, 7.3.2, 8.2, and 9.3 are offered. For more wide-ranging questions pertaining respectively to the dynamics of a local (non-Brahmanical) ritual, its organisation and inner logic, the relationship between ritual and narrative text, and the significance of the local versus translocal nature of text in the ritual context, Sections 9.4, 9.5, Chapter 10, and Section 9.3.4 will be profitable. The reader who is interested in bardic creativity, the variability versus the fixity of texts, or distinct models for editing texts may be referred to Section 2.3 and Appendix C.

## **Part One: Texts**





## 2 The Text Material

### 2.1 A Text Branching Off into a Northern and Southern Line

The ancient story of the vengeful Nīli of Paḷaiyaṅūr-Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, which in my opinion goes back to a basic text—some underlying, and possibly oral one that created its authors<sup>1</sup>—evidently branched into two lines, a northern and a southern line, the latter a product of the text’s migration southwards to the region of the bow-song tradition, which it became tied to.<sup>2</sup> These two branches seem to have become largely autonomous. However, despite the ramification, the standard theme remained the same: Nīli-Icakki’s avenging of her own and her brother’s untimely and violent deaths on both guilty parties, the Ceṭṭi<sup>3</sup> and the seventy Vēḷāḷas<sup>4</sup>. The earliest version of this narrative must presumably be sought within circles of the Vēḷāḷas. A listing of allusions in Tamil literature (see my discussion in Chapter 3) shows that the story relates to the Vēḷāḷas and must have been orally widely known in Tamiḷakam (Tamil country) by the seventh century C.E.<sup>5</sup>

The *IK* text I am focusing on belongs to the southern line, which has its own integrality. Its features are those of oral epic texts in general, and the *villuppāṭṭu* (bow-song) tradition in particular.<sup>6</sup> As Blackburn (1980:206) has pointed out, “the vil pāṭṭu variant is identical to [the] standard variant except that it intensifies the sexual conflict by altering the relationship between the man and woman; she is not the wife of the Brahmin, but his lover.”<sup>7</sup> There is yet another divergence to be mentioned: the heroine’s name is now mainly (if not exclusively) Icakki rather than Nīli, the latter being the sole one she goes by in the northern branch.

My base text (N1) was obviously produced in a series of versions which are relatively close to one another, very much in the way oral epics are naturally diffused. The text was in the hands of bards rather than in the hands of musicians and performers of texts who used to sing before chieftains and at court.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, this epic narrative of the southern branch is a highly ritualised text, exclusively connected with the *koṭai* festival, where it is performed as a bow-song (*villuppāṭṭu*). The text is found throughout the southernmost districts of Tamilnadu (Tirunelvēli, Kaṅṅiyākumari) and is still very much alive.

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<sup>1</sup> I argue that there is no single author who composed the *katai*.

<sup>2</sup> I follow here the Finnish theory of diffusion, the thesis that stories do migrate; see Krohn 1926:123.

<sup>3</sup> Ceṭṭi, Ta. “merchant.”

<sup>4</sup> Note that the various names (Vēḷāḷa, Veḷḷāḷa, Piḷḷai, and Karaiyāḷar) used to designate the social group of landowning peasants are used interchangeably throughout the work. For further details on this social group, see Sect. 7.2.

<sup>5</sup> For a seventh-century textual allusion to our story, see Chap. 3, No. 4 *Tēvāram*.

<sup>6</sup> The bow-song tradition is distinguished by its themes, the ritual context of the *koṭai*, the phenomenon of possession, and the character of the deities (i.e. Muttār Ammaṅ, Cutalaimāṭaṅ etc.).

<sup>7</sup> See Sects. 2.2.1 and 4.7.

<sup>8</sup> I base myself on Blackburn (1980:107f.), according to whom there is no evidence that royal courts ever patronised the bow-song tradition; the author assumes that they did not do so, given the very low social status of the Nāṭār bow-song bards.

The *IK* of the *villuppāṭṭu* genre, is, however, only one piece of a tradition which accumulated around the narrative core. The *yaṭcakāṇam* genre, for instance, also took up the Nīli story. The common knowledge and historical memory relating to the main events, then, not only produced an epic narrative, but made the leap to the semi-courtly environment of the *yaṭcakāṇam* genre favoured in Andhra and Karnataka, where it united with genres such as *nāṭakam* and *kaṇiyān pāṭṭu*,<sup>9</sup> and, perhaps, other ones found in Tamilnadu as well, such as *terukkūttu* (street theatre) and *kaṇiyānkūttu*.

### *The Two Lines and Their Distinguishing Marks*

Based on the most significant differences in motifs, I have classified the stories of Icakki into two main types: the sword–fire type and the margosa<sup>10</sup> leaf–plough type, the former associated with the northern line and the latter with the southern line, as is echoed by the motif of the plough (*nāñcil*) itself being featured in the very name of the southernmost region of the Tamil land: Nāñcilnāṭu<sup>11</sup> (the land of the plough). This categorisation, which provides an easy way to distinguish between the two lines of the *katai* (story), emerged from an examination of the various versions (with regard to deviations, gaps, and thematic elaboration), and has time and again suggested itself. As for the function of the motifs, in all the versions focused on, the margosa leaf and sword are virtually without exception treated as instruments in the human defence arsenal against hungry spirits, while the plough and fire are two means of ending one’s own life. It seems logical to assume that the binary oppositions of margosa leaf–plough on the one hand and sword–fire on the other likely belong to two different cultural spheres. This is supported by a further point—a third category, which may be added as a distinct motif of the two lines: the pair devadāsī–wife,<sup>12</sup> representing not only two strands of the Tamil female world, but also two distinct traditions as far as our story is concerned, namely the matrilineal (and devadāsī) tradition on the one hand,<sup>13</sup> and the patrilineal tradition on the other.<sup>14</sup> A good case can be made that the southern line bears the hallmarks of a superimposed matrilineal tradition, the devadāsī motif being only the most visible one.

Where the one category appears, the other is missing. Still, there are interesting cases where a motif from one branch interacts with a motif from the other, in versions where the two lines mix. Such cases are found in N5, N6, and N9 (see the chart below).

For readers who want an overview of where the text of one branch appears to contain episodes or elaborations of episodes not found in the other, the distinguishing motifs defined above can prove to be a helpful tool.<sup>15</sup>

In Appendix B I exemplify the significant differences and variations between the two branches on the basis of some select topics.

I had access to ten<sup>16</sup> manuscripts of the *Nīli Katai/IK* (The Story of Nīli/Icakki), of which eight were taken into consideration when preparing the text edition and translation of N1. N3 was irrelevant for my purposes, in that it is a very simple prose text, and N4, too, whose story-line is entirely different, has been ignored except when analysing and interpreting textual content. Three versions (N10, N8, N2) proved to be helpful when correcting the highly defective N1 text, and therefore their manuscripts

<sup>9</sup> See Mahāleṭcumi (2003), who shows that the *kaṇiyān pāṭṭu* genre adopted the story as well.

<sup>10</sup> Ta. *vēmpu/vēppamaram*; also known as Hi. *nīm*, Engl. neem or Indian Lilac (*Azadirachta indica*, Juss., *Melia azadirachta*, Linn., family Meliaceae). The margosa is the royal emblem of Pāṇṭiyaṅ kings (see *Pura* 77). In *Cil.*, Chap. 16, the Pāṇṭiyaṅ kings are described as wearing margosa leaves as a sign of victory won in battles.

<sup>11</sup> Nāñcilnāṭu, divided since 1956, comprises today’s Kaṇṇiyākumari district and parts of Kerala state.

<sup>12</sup> See the passage in Blackburn’s work (1980:206) cited above.

<sup>13</sup> In the matrilineal (and devadāsī) tradition, the sister–brother bond is strong and consequently important.

<sup>14</sup> In the patrilineal tradition, the husband–wife bond is given preference.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, the motif pair devadāsī–wife.

<sup>16</sup> N11 of Perumāḷ and Śrīkumār 2002 came to my attention too late to be included in the editorial process.

deserve careful attention. The various versions are distinguished by number and referred to so throughout:

N1 (Ms. Tollaviḷai/K.K.Dt., T. Naṭarājan):	(devadāsī-) margosa leaf-plough
N2 (Ms. Pākkiyaletcumī of Teṟkukkūṅṭal, K.K.Dt.):	(devadāsī-) margosa leaf-plough
N3 ----	
N4 (Publ./Ms. <i>Peṅṅaraciyar Katai</i> , Cukkuppārai):	entirely different textual content
N5 (Ms. Trivandrum Library):	(devadāsī-) margosa leaf-fire (hybrid version)
N6 (Ms. IAS, Chennai):	(devadāsī-) margosa leaf-fire (hybrid version)
N7 (Publ. Maraimalai Library, Chennai):	(self-impregnated wife-) sword-fire
N8 (Ms. Ku. Āṟumukapperumāl/K.K.Dt.):	(devadāsī-) margosa leaf-plough
N9 (Ed. Cu. Caṅṅmukacuntaram./Nellai Dt. <sup>17</sup> ):	(devadāsī-) sword-fire (hybrid version)
N10 (Ms. T.M.P., Paṅṅaṅkoṭṭāviḷai/K.K.Dt.):	(devadāsī-) margosa leaf-plough

## 2.2 The Edited and Translated Text: The Choice of the N1 Version

It is the version N1 of Tollaviḷai that I have edited and translated here.<sup>18</sup> This decision was a natural one in view of the length of the palm-leaf manuscript copied by Professor T. Naṭarājan. For a long time it was the longest text available in the corpus. Despite its defective nature I have chosen it for this reason. Though the lately discovered N10 version is now beyond doubt the longest and most valuable text in the corpus, my work was too advanced to present to the reader an edition and translation based on it. However, my reconstruction and translation of N1 make it relatively easy for readers to follow the story and thus engage in content analysis. The shortcoming of the choice has been compensated for by making the N10 text the basic point of reference in the encyclopaedic apparatus (see Section 2.3).

### 2.2.1 A Synopsis

The synopsis given here of the *IK* of the southern branch is mainly intended to help the reader to find his way through the confusing landscape of the various versions.<sup>19</sup>

The story begins with the birth stories of the main characters and moves on to the Brahmin priest who has squandered the entire temple treasury on his lover, a devadāsī. When he runs out of money, he is thrown out by the woman's mother. He then leaves the village, but his lover runs after and catches up with him. Further along the way, when she grows tired and falls asleep, he kills her and steals her ornaments. Only a *kallī* plant<sup>20</sup> is witness to this. The brother of the murdered woman finds her and commits suicide. The murderer dies too, bitten by a snake. This first part of the narrative, in which the violation occurs, is only a small fraction of the whole. The major part of the story takes place in the second portion, in which the murdered devadāsī becomes an avenging goddess. In this portion, the three persons are reborn: the Brahmin as a Ceṭṭi merchant's son, with a margosa leaf to protect him from evil, and the murdered lover and her brother as twins of the Cōḷa king. However, the twins turn out to be *pēys* (hungry spirits) and are abandoned in the forest under a margosa tree. There the twin brother is murdered by landowning Vēḷāḷas/Karaiyāḷars, who cut

<sup>17</sup> Perumāḷ (1990:54) explicitly states that this version, featuring Nampi and Cantāṅa Naṅkai, is unique to Nellai district.

<sup>18</sup> See Sects. 5.3 and 5.4.

<sup>19</sup> For an account of the events in the *IK* that are standard in Kaṅṅiyākumari district, one may also refer to Blackburn 1980:206–8. His summary, incidentally, in treating the sister-brother bond as insignificant is representative of previous scholarly neglect of this—in my opinion—important theme.

<sup>20</sup> Latin *Euphorbia tirucalli*. I have been told in several interviews that the type of *kallī* plant mentioned in the story is not identical with the type now found growing in southern India.

down the tree in which he has been living as a hungry spirit. The woman swears an oath to take revenge on both the merchant and the Vēḷāḷa landowners. After a long search, she finds the merchant and chases him through the forest to a nearby village, where the seventy Vēḷāḷas live. There the merchant pleads with the Vēḷāḷas to protect him. Then the avenging woman appears before the assembly of the Vēḷāḷas, disguised and with a *kallī* plant in the guise of a baby in her arms. She pretends to be the legitimate wife of the merchant and lays claim to him as her husband. Since no decision has been made by the time the sun is setting, the two are locked in a room overnight, in the belief that they are a couple. The merchant, knowing her to be a demoness, is afraid, but the seventy Vēḷāḷas promise their own lives as security for his. In the intimate setting of the room, the woman sings the merchant to sleep with a lullaby, thereby convincing the people that all is well. However, when the protective margosa leaf falls from his hand she kills the merchant and escapes by way of the roof. The avenging goddess, in a second move, takes revenge on the Vēḷāḷas by assuming the shape of an old woman who claims to be the merchant's mother. When the Vēḷāḷas come in the morning, they find the man covered in blood and the *kallī* plant on his chest. The Vēḷāḷas are forced to be true to their word and commit suicide. Then the goddess kills their wives and children with poisoned milk, thus extinguishing all trace of the community. Afterwards she is reunited with her brother.

### 2.3 The Encyclopaedic Apparatus: The 'Complete' *Icakki katai* (see Appendix C)

I have attempted to present a fairly 'complete' story of *Icakki* in a transparent, yet concise form in an encyclopaedic apparatus divided into various registers (see Appendix C).<sup>21</sup> The manner in which this has been done differs considerably from conventional ways. The apparatus reflects a method evolved in the process of trying to understand and reconstruct the highly defective N1 base text, which was, until a late phase of my work, the longest version available to me. The apparatus was initially produced on the basis of N1. However, after the discovery of N10 I took a new approach—one that relied upon the latter as the basic unit, while still including the complete N1 text and some other versions. It is this series of relations that the apparatus makes transparent. I do not provide a critical edition in the classical sense; what I do offer in lieu of it is a conspectus that presents the N10 text with the corresponding parallels and variants.

The evolved method, which followed leads supplied by the manuscripts, is also used to consider an unresolved issue, namely whether these kind of oral epics represent a fixed or an improvised text (I may refer to the debate in the Homeric tradition). In short, the model I present here concludes with a profile of a text that is to a large extent a relatively fixed one, enclosed within a 'complete' text which admits of improvised variations based on formulaic oral material, very much in the style of any living oral epic. It is an oral text that is more or less stable,<sup>22</sup> whole lines of which are often identical with those of other versions. This result is not surprising, for in the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition the oral text (written down on palm leaves and in notebooks<sup>23</sup>) has been passed down and memorised verbatim. Moreover, it is important to remember that the ritual context—the only environment in which the *IK* is performed—requires utmost

<sup>21</sup> My attempt takes as an underlying assumption that none of the versions by itself forms the whole of *Icakki*'s story.

<sup>22</sup> Note the textual fixity claimed in Smith 1991:25ff. for the epic of Pābūjī, a story of a god in Rajasthan.

<sup>23</sup> That these oral epic narratives are available as products of scripturalisation very probably has to do with the fear within the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition of losing these oral 'texts' in the process of cultural change, especially against the background of the relatively recent, yet increasingly radical, changes occurring in the artistic and social self-understanding of the singing groups and in the wider cultural landscape (for similar argumentation in another context, see Hinüber 1990:71). Representatives of the old *villuppāṭṭu* style provide particularly strong support for this, since they expressed great interest in my project of editing the *IK*. There is one more reason why the story is written down. Today the transmission of the oral epic narrative from one generation to the next takes place in a blended form of learning; that is, the student learns the text both on his own and to a lesser extent in the presence of his teacher, as I learnt in a personal communication from the bow-song bard T.M.P., who runs a *villuppāṭṭu* school in Nagercoil, Kāṇṇiyākumari district.

accuracy in the rendering of the story. It is no accident, therefore, that the palm-leaf manuscript or the notebook is present at any given performance. Nevertheless, textual variations in the form of extensions or diminutions invariably occur, owing to the interaction between the ritual, the bow-song, the patron, and the audience within the ritual process.<sup>24</sup>

The reader may want to consult the apparatus for other scholarly purposes as well. He may at first have some difficulty in finding and interpreting the relevant information. The added explanation of my basic arrangement supplemented by a brief list of symbols and abbreviations used in the encyclopaedic apparatus (see Appendix C) will hopefully make this task easier.

My apparatus is divided into different registers. Some of the versions available to me have not been included. They failed to meet the criterion of being oral texts of the bow-song tradition, and therefore were not relevant to the editorial decision making. Their inclusion would only have made it more difficult to keep the apparatus transparent. This does not mean that these variants are of no interest in their own right. In the encyclopaedic apparatus I assume that the N10 narrative order is the ‘correct’ one both in terms of logic and continuity. By comparing line by line all the versions that were considered when working on the text, I was able to develop a measure of their relative importance within the collection.

The apparatus provides us with a set of background information:

- Apart from restoring the logical order of the N1 text and making the reading of N1 transparent on the basis of other versions
- it constitutes a complete text of the “Story of Icakki” (*IK*).
- In doing so, it identifies what the N1 text and other shorter versions did not consider important and therefore skipped.
- However, it also provides us with details of what the N1 text added to the text of N10.
- It enables us to classify the texts within the collection as “identical,” “very similar,” or “differing,”
- and proves the fixed nature of a great portion of the *IK* text (see, for more details, the explanatory section in Appendix C).
- By following the line numbering of the two versions N10 and N1, the scheme provides us with an idea of the scope of freedom within which the bow-song bard can arrange and rearrange the narrative order. Concerning N1, it makes it unmistakably clear that changes in the order of narration occur in the middle of the *IK*, and to a lesser extent at the beginning and end.
- Furthermore, the apparatus shows where the text of the N1 version is missing in the other versions, and again, where passages are found in N10, etc., but missing in N1 (see, for example, N10.1450 / N8.535 *piṛappilullāpalāpalaṅō* / N10.1451 / N8.538 *ottumaṅṅarmantiriyum*).
- However, what one should not expect to be recorded is those text passages from versions N2, N8, etc. that do not appear in N10 and N1. This failure of the apparatus is compensated for by having consulted the individual Mss. N2 and N8, which provide these details. The additional text in them that appears neither in N10 nor in N1 comprises 272 lines (see, for more details, under Section 2.4, Nīli8).

## 2.4 The Text Corpus

It is necessary to say a few words about the manuscripts. All of them were made available to me as hand-written paper manuscripts copied from the originals. Insofar as they are not copies of palm-leaf manuscripts,<sup>25</sup> this will be noted.

<sup>24</sup> See the insightful discussions in Honko 2000 and Honko 1998.

<sup>25</sup> There were two varieties in use: the leaves of the palmyra palm (*Borassus flabellifer*), and those of the talipot or South Indian fan-palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*). The usual width of the former is between 1 and 1.75 inches; that of the second, between 1.75 and 3 inches. Tamil manuscripts, *ēṭu/ēṭṭuccuvaṭi*, were generally written on palmyra palm leaves. In southernmost Nāñcilnāṭu, palm leaves were until about 1930 the most common writing material (Blackburn 1980:103). According to

**Nīli1 – The edited base text:**

The unpublished copy of a manuscript on palm leaves from the village of Tollaviḷai (on the way to West Maṛavaṅkuṭiyiruppu) was made available by Professor T. Naṭarājan of Maturai Kamrāj University. Here called N1, it is 2,485 lines in length, and was until the recent discovery of version N10 the longest text at my disposal. It has necessarily served as the base text. The text, written in Tamil cursive script using the local conversational idiom (a regional Tamil dialect influenced by Malayalam and the caste dialect of the Nāṭārs), is in parts barely legible, and contains various scribal mistakes and illegible corrections. It has been corrected (in parentheses) a good deal, and omissions have been supplied at times. For a more detailed account of the peculiarities of this text I refer to Section 5.1.1.

**Nīli2:**

This unpublished version, which I call N2, bearing the title “Paḷakai Nallūr Nīli eṇṇum Icakki Ammaṅ Katai,” consists of 98 pages of A5 notebook format, in small, at times unclear handwriting, with 19 lines on each side, and a total of 1,857 lines. N2 is evidently identical with N8, a published version prepared by Ku. Ārumukapperumāl Nāṭār. The copyist of the palm-leaf manuscript, Ms. V. Pakkiyaletcumī of Teṛkukkūṇṭal (adjacent to Kaṇṇiyākumari town), informed me on my visit during the fieldwork (March–April 2002) that she had supplied Ku. Ārumukapperumāl Nāṭār with the palm leaves, borrowed by her from a temple (whose location she could not remember) for her own purposes. Though both are congruent texts, Pakkiyaletcumī’s version successfully corrected some mistakes, and I have benefited greatly from this. The text, written in Tamil cursive script, uses the local conversational idiom (a regional Tamil dialect influenced by Malayalam and the caste dialect of the Nāṭārs). This text is an integral part of the bow-song (*villuppāṭṭu*) tradition.

**Nīli3:**

Another unpublished text (N3) in an A5 notebook format (made available by Professor Dr Marie-Luise Reiniche and handed over to me by Professor Dr Ulrike Niklas) contains 134 pages in a large, clear hand-written form, and 10 lines on each side, each line consisting of a maximum of four words. The author and title are unknown. The text, composed in simple prose style, belongs to the southern line. This text, a popular lay retelling of the story, is evidently not used by bow-song (*villuppāṭṭu*) singers.

**Nīli4:**

This hand-written version, copied by Tirumāl Nāṭār of Teṛkukkūṇṭal, bears the title “Icakkiammaṅ Katai.” The text, written in Tamil cursive script, uses the local conversational idiom (a regional Tamil dialect influenced by Malayalam and the caste dialect of the Nāṭārs). The palm-leaf manuscript belongs to P. Taṅkarāj Nāṭār, pūjārī and owner of the Icakkiammaṅ temple in Cukkuppārai Tēriṅṅai near Akastīcuvaram, Kaṇṇiyākumari district. This palm-leaf manuscript, which I saw on my visit on 27 March 2002, was edited by Dr Ki. Jeyakumār and T. Pūminākanāṭaṅ, and published in the folklore series of IAS, Chennai, in 1995 under the title *Peṇṇaraciyar Katai*. It includes a word index.

I have an excellent audio recording (3 x 90 minutes) of this version performed in the old bow-song style at a *koṭai* festival of the goddess Icakkiammaṅ at Cukkuppārai temple, a shrine quite probably dating back to the seventeenth century (*kollam* year 845=1670 C.E.; see Jeyakumār and Pūminākanāṭaṅ 1995:xxviii). I would like to thank P. Taṅkarāj Nāṭār, the owner of the temple, for this generous gift.

Despite its being different from all the other versions available to me, certain passages suggest an acquaintance with them. It looks as if this version did not migrate from the north of Tamilnadu, but is rooted strictly within the southern region, an area that stretches from Maturai to the very south of Cukkuppārai Tēriṅṅai near Kaṇṇiyākumari (see Jeyakumār and Pūminākanāṭaṅ 1995:xv). N4 (Princess Puruṣā Tēvi’s story) does not fit into either category defined above, and has to be regarded as a different epic narrative, namely the story of Periya Icakki (Puruṣā Tēvi) and Ciṅṅa Icakki (her nine-month-old foetus)—in other words, a mother–daughter story that, in the person of Ciṅṅa Icakki (who is made motherless), nevertheless displays certain features linking it with the *IK* (e.g. her becoming a vengeful

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Blackburn (ibid.:104), “the dated vil pāṭṭu manuscripts fall between 1600-1965.”

spirit). Though the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai* is irrelevant for the edition of the N1 text, it still needs to be taken into consideration when interpreting the text and worship, since it features two sister-like Icakkis: a benevolent elder and an enraged younger one. The matriarchal system underlying this version raises a series of important questions for the comprehension of the versions on which I am focusing. In terms of the two categories of epics, namely “martial epics” and “sacrificial epics,”<sup>26</sup> expressions coined by V.N. Rao (1986:140), we may identify the story as a “sacrificial epic” in which the protagonist is a “female leader,” the antagonist a “member of an alien [group],” the central theme the “protection of [self-]integrity,” the “sources of power” are “mental strength [and ...] inner-directed power,” the “mode of action” is to “kill [one]self” / “self-immolation,” and the “end result” is “victory over the enemy.”

The text details the exploits of the warrior-queen Puruṣā Tēvi (“masculine goddess”), Peṅṅaraci’s daughter, who presided over a country in which all the citizens were women with a pronounced preference to live without men.<sup>27</sup> Its setting is within a royal milieu. The conflict involves both direct female–male opposition<sup>28</sup> and an indirect clash between patri- and matrilineal structures. The supernatural rebirth of Puruṣā Tēvi on Mt. Kailāsa and her being renamed Icakki is the starting point of her transformation<sup>29</sup> into an exclusively benevolent goddess, who along with her vengeful daughter (a nine-month-old foetus ejected onto the battlefield, and thereafter called Ciṅṅa [Little] Icakki) and her former enemies returns to earth—she herself with the aim of leaving all further revenge up to her daughter (Ciṅṅa Icakki). The latter’s atrocities start in Maturai (the town where the goddess Miṅṅakṣī rules) and, turning southwards, spread to Ēḷukāṇi, Tāḷakkuṭi,<sup>30</sup> Mēḷāṅkōṭu,<sup>31</sup> Kokkōṭṭūr, Kaṅṅiyākumari,<sup>32</sup> Parakkai Nīrmataku, and Kāṭṭuṭiḷai (which has a Puruṣā Tēvi temple). The atrocities finally stop in Cukkuppārai, the locality of the Nāṭārs of Tikkukuṭi, where she is deified. The Cukkuppārai temple of Akastīcuvaram (seventeenth century) is the southernmost temple dedicated to Icakki (Puruṣā Tēvi/elder Icakki) and Ciṅṅa Icakki (daughter/younger Icakki).

The synopsis follows the story-line of the edition prepared by Jeyakumār and Pūminākanātaṅ (1995 [=1996]),<sup>33</sup> with comments of my own in brackets:

Beginning with an invocation to Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī, and Murukaṅ, the performative text of epic length proceeds with a narration of the events in the life of Peṅṅaraci, the queen of Tiruvaṅaiyār [who has a reputation for justice], her seven loyal female friends, and her child Puruṣā Tēvi. With the god’s will Peṅṅaraci is impregnated by the south wind [*ciṅkalakkāṭṭu*]—famed for its potency—that blows across the Palk Strait from Cinkaḷam [Śri Lanka] every twelve years. She gives birth to a baby girl, Puruṣā Tēvi [later renamed Icakki].

At the age of seven Puruṣā Tēvi is taught various arts: the classics, the fine arts, and the martial arts

<sup>26</sup> The terms have been criticised by Hildebeitel.

<sup>27</sup> This female fantasy to live a life without men appears in *villuppāṭṭu* stories elsewhere, as Blackburn (1980:395, n. 32) remarks with reference to “the comments by the seven celestial virgins in the Muttār Ammaṅ story [... and a speech by Kāḷi] in one performance of the Kāḷi Ammaṅ story, [where] [s]he says, ‘Oh, Śiva, we also want to live for 100 years in the forest, and without any male relationships; we want to rule by ourselves!’” – The story of the warrior-queen Puruṣā Tēvi and similar narratives—Zvelebil (1992:103) refers to Arrian’s *Indika*, viii–ix, quoting Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta Maurya (ca. 324–300 B.C.) in Magadha, as telling what he had heard, namely “that the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was in fact a ‘queen-dom’ never ruled by males”—are part of a web of stories that relate the southernmost part of India to the reign of women.

<sup>28</sup> See Blackburn 1980:203. For an account of the female–male conflict as a primary theme of *villuppāṭṭu* narratives, see *ibid.*:182ff.

<sup>29</sup> In Blackburn’s terminology (1980:395, n. 33), this corresponds to a transformation from a type B to type A story.

<sup>30</sup> This is where the grave of the poetress Auvaiyār is found. The Tāḷakkuṭi Muppiṭāri Ammaṅ / Mokampari / Mukāmpari (Puruṣā Tēvi) temple dates back to the fourteenth century. According to temple inscriptions, a renovation of the *gopuram* took place in 1336 C.E. = *kollam* year 511, in the month of Māci (mid-February); see Jeyakumār and Pūminākanātaṅ 1995:xxviiif. (= 1996:xxv).

<sup>31</sup> This is the site of two temples, one each for the elder and younger Icakki (Icakki and Ciṅṅa Icakki).

<sup>32</sup> This is the seat of the virgin goddess Kaṅṅiyākumari/Bhagavatī.

<sup>33</sup> I have drawn on these authors’ own summary (1995:xf./1996:xif.); see also Blackburn’s rough summary (1980:203–4).



of fencing, Cilampāṭṭam [a well-known martial art of Tamils still practised widely in Tirunelvēli and Kaṇṇiyākumari districts], horse riding, and elephant riding.

When Puruṣā Tēvi sexually matures at the age of twelve, she is touched and impregnated in the same way as her mother, by the south wind. [Interestingly enough, the sexual maturation of the female body coincides with the twelve-year rotational arrival of the wind.] Puruṣā Tēvi's mother orders a fortress to be built for the expected child.

The fortress awakens in Cempaṇmuṭi, the king of the neighbouring state, a feeling of envy, which prompts him to send a messenger to ask for safe passage through Peṇṇaraci's land on a pilgrimage to Kāci. The queen denies the request, with the argument that her country is populated exclusively by women. [This is apparently an allusion to a conflict between matrilineal and patrilineal structures.] Cempaṇ cannot stomach this insult and goes to war with the queen.

At first the queen is victorious. Cempaṇ, deeply humiliated, asks for support from the king of Kāṭatti. When Peṇṇaraci realises that she has been defeated, she commits suicide with her seven female friends. Her daughter Puruṣā Tēvi confronts Cempaṇ. She slits her womb, hurls her nine-month-old foetus onto the battlefield at the feet of Cempaṇ, and stabs herself to death with the sword.

Cempaṇ and the king of Kāṭatti, bewildered by the way the women have ended their lives, follow suit, unable to face the idea of surviving virtuous virgin women such as the queen, the princess, and their friends.

All except the foetus go to Mt. Kailāsa to bathe in a fire that transforms them into deities with new names: Icakki (Puruṣā Tēvi), Ceṅkiṭāykkāraṇ (Cempaṇ), and Kaḷukkāraṇ (Kāṭatti). Śiva sends Icakki (Puruṣā Tēvi) on a final mission to Teṅkāci. He promises to grant her any boon if she goes there as the goddess Icakki to find a woman called Poṇṇirattāḷ, to sacrifice her to Śiva by consuming her, and finally to approach his feet: “*unta ṅakkuvaram vēṅṭumē yāṅāl / utta teṅkāci vūrati lēpōy / citti ramākiya poṇṇirāt tālai / ceṅṅē palinī yuṅṅē varuvāy / varuvāy palikoṅṅa ṭorunā laiyilē / vantāl varamatu taruvē ṅeṅavē / taruvē ṅeṅavē araṅṅār colla*” (1996:90). Since Puruṣā Tēvi has already indirectly killed her male enemy, she herself seeks no revenge after being reborn, but leaves all malevolence up to the foetus, which becomes the main figure in the remaining part of the story. Having survived the battlefield, the nine-month-old foetus goes forth into the wilderness, where it grows up alone. It is said to have a red face. Śiva orders the girl to go to Mt. Kailāsa to be thrown into the purifying furnace. However, the child does not see any need to do so, considering herself sinless in view of her abnormal birth of being born motherless: “*eṅpēriṅ kurramillai...piṅrantākkāl tīṭṭumuṅṅu periyavarē eṅṅāyār / iṅanta aṅṅē uruvāki īsvararē vantēṅṅāḷ!*” (1996:92).

Unmoved, Śiva hurls the girl into the sacrificial fire (*vēḷvitti*), where she remains for twelve years. [Note again the coincidence of a twelve-year stay in the sacrificial fire with the period during which a female body usually matures sexually.] Once grown into a beautiful young woman [her *alaṅkāram* appearance is described], she comes out of the womb of fire, and Śiva names her Ciṅṅa Icakki (Little Icakki). Śiva sends her to earth accompanied by three guardian demons (Mantiramūrṭti, Cāmuṅṅi, and Kālimūrṭti) and equipped with divine power [to protect the truth and to fight the wicked by causing them to remain barren or to lose their children<sup>34</sup>]. The first place she visits is Teṅkāci [the abode of Śiva as Kuṅṅālanāṭar], where she joins her mother Puruṣā Tēvi, who plays a part in the story of Poṇṇirattāḷ, one of the stories within the story: Kriṅṅaṅ and Lakṣmī are childless and wish to have a baby girl. Śiva grants their wish, and the girl is named Poṇṇirattāḷ. She marries Vaṭukar, but remains childless for twelve years. Finally, Poṇṇirattāḷ conceives a baby girl. Icakki (Puruṣā Tēvi) awaits Poṇṇirattāḷ as a worthy sacrifice promised to Śiva. Icakki's plan succeeds with the support of treasure hunters who are in search of the gold of King Veṅkalavaṅ [yet another story within the story], gold that he had buried before committing suicide with his wife and daughter. As the treasure hunters' plan is illegitimate, they decide to propitiate the gods by sacrificing a pregnant woman. Poṇṇirattāḷ foresees her fate in a dream. In the ninth month of pregnancy, after sunset, she is accosted by treasure hunters under a banyan tree. They take her to the Aiyaṅṅār temple, raise an

<sup>34</sup> See the parallel powers of Icakki in the local story sung during the *koṭai* festival at Paḷavūr (Sect. 9.2.2, midnight session).

altar, and sacrifice her. Icakki (Puruṣā Tēvi) has fulfilled the task Śiva had set her. She is freed. Poṇṇirattā, now a hungry spirit, pleads with Śiva-Kuṛṛālanāṭar to grant her the wished-for vengeance. The curse reaches Maturai with a band of vengeful spirits (Ciṇṇa Icakki [the child of Puruṣā Tēvi], Ceṅkiṭāykkāraṇ, Mantiramūrṭti, etc.), who proceed to destroy the town. They spare no one, neither woman nor child. Mantiravēlaṇ, a hunter and *mantiravāti*, is called in by royalty (the Pāṇṭiyaṇ king) to help against the evil spirits. However, he is killed while trying to control them. It is only upon a request of Mantiravēlaṇ's wife that Ciṇṇa Icakki agrees to restore her husband, on condition that they sacrifice their pregnant daughter. Vēlatti agrees and Ciṇṇa Icakki accompanies them to the nearby hills of Ēlukāṇi ("seven estates") close to Teṅkāci. Ciṇṇa Icakki kills Vēlaṇ's daughter and consumes the sacrifice.

Afterward the *pēys* (hungry spirits), Ciṇṇa Icakki, Mantiramūrṭti, and Ceṅkiṭāykkāraṇ proceed to Tālakkuṭi near Nagercoil to commit atrocities on behalf of a man named Maruppaṇ, who is seeking revenge for being humiliated. To appease them, the Karaiyāḷars of Tālakkuṭi build a temple for Icakki near a field owned by Nīlaṇ Kuṛuppu of Mēlāṅkōṭu.

Nīlaṇ Kuṛuppu, disturbed by the *pūjā* waste thrown on his fields, burns the temple down. Ciṇṇa Icakki and her escort come to Mēlāṅkōṭu to take revenge on both Nīlaṇ and the town. The king of Travancore builds a temple to pacify the demon goddess.<sup>35</sup> Finally, the demons go to Kaṇṇiyākumari to worship Bhagavatī,<sup>36</sup> and from there to Tenkamputūr to the god Ayyaṇ/Ayyappaṇ [why they go to Ayyappaṇ, a celibate who does not allow women to worship him in Sabarimalai, is not clear to me] to ask him for help in building a temple to serve the people. For some time Icakki stays peacefully in Kāṭṭuviḷai. Finally, the demons go to Cukkuppārai,<sup>37</sup> where Nāṭārs live. Ciṇṇa Icakki's basic instincts are aroused once again. This time she turns to Māyavaṇ Nāṭātti. First, she plays a game each night with her, just to kill the virgin girl. Icakki strikes again and kills the girl's mother, Piramacatti. The people call for a *mantiravāti*, who persuades Icakki to come and reveal herself. Icakki advises them to build a temple, adding, "*mantiravāti ceyta tantiramāna tellām / māyavē ceytavarkku ētu colvāḷ / eṇṇaip piṭittataikka ēlātu untaṇukku...*" Whatever you do, you'll never win. I'll never be bound by you (1996:208).

A point to be stressed most emphatically is that the *Peṇṇaraciyar Katai* is about Princess Puruṣā Tēvi rather than about Queen Peṇṇaraci, and it is her own and her baby girl's psychic disposition that is most clearly delineated.<sup>38</sup> According to my main informant, the bow-song bard T.M.P., the *Peṇṇaraciyar Katai* is the story of the "elder sister" (Puruṣā Tēvi), whereas the *IK* is the story of the "younger sister."<sup>39</sup> The *Peṇṇaraciyar Katai* is, as far as I know, performed in Kāṭṭuviḷai and Cukkuppārai, but not in Muppantal.<sup>40</sup> It is striking that the bow-song sung at the *koṭai* festival in Muppantal, a place famous for Icakki worship, contains no echo of the *Peṇṇaraciyar Katai*, even though the elder sister Puruṣā Tēvi is said to reside there;<sup>41</sup> what is performed in lieu of it is the story of the younger sister—namely the *IK*. In this highly confusing landscape of stories it is important to remember that Puruṣā Tēvi, the

<sup>35</sup> The royal family of Mēlāṅkōṭu, who had their own local installation of the goddess, considered Icakki (Puruṣā Tēvi) to be a tutelary matrilineal ancestor and protectress of their family's personal political interests.

<sup>36</sup> Note their path from Maturai, where the dominant Mīṇākṣī (and her handsome consort, Cokkaṇāṭaṇ) reside, to Kaṇṇiyākumari, the domain of the same *śakti* (female power) in a different form, Bhagavatī Kaṇṇiyākumari (without a consort), clearly marks out the area of matrilineal structures, while the area from Chidambaram northwards (ruled by the dominant Naṭarājā, the dancing Śiva, and his consort Abhiramī) is considered to be bound to patrilineal structures; Tamils distinguish households according to whether Chidambaram (man) is dominant or Maturai (woman). I am grateful to Dr Jeyakumār of Madras University, the editor of the *Peṇṇaraciyar Katai*, for this insightful information, given in a personal communication of April 2002.

<sup>37</sup> Cukkuppārai is situated close to Akastīcuvaram, a village that is said to have been the seat of influential Nāṭār families, and that patronises the bow-song tradition as well; see Blackburn 1980:106.

<sup>38</sup> Princess Puruṣā Tēvi is just and heroic, her daughter wrathful.

<sup>39</sup> Interview of 30 November 2002.

<sup>40</sup> This was confirmed by T.M.P.

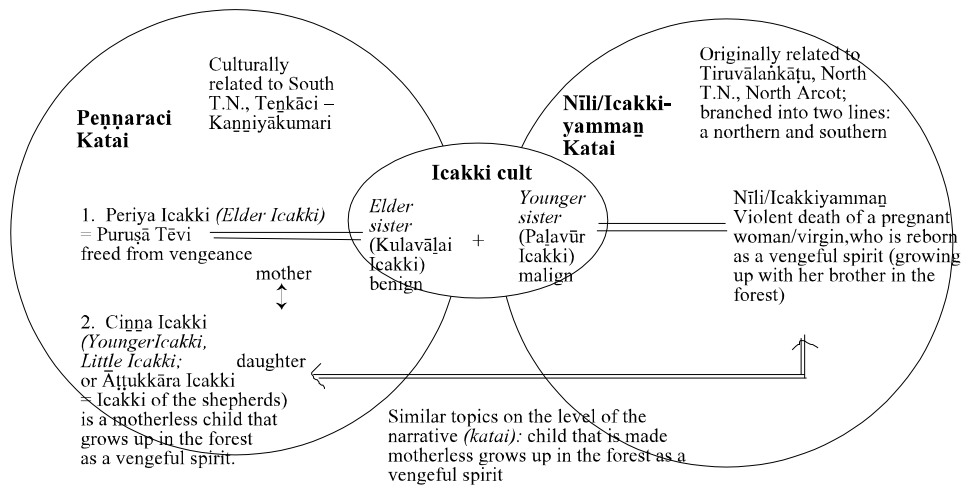
<sup>41</sup> See the interview with T.M.P. below.

elder sister, is considered to be the benevolent one, “in whose temple one can sleep at night” (T.M.P.),<sup>42</sup> whereas the younger sister, who has taken up her abode in the wilderness of Paḷavūr, is considered to be enraged<sup>43</sup>—implying that she is powerful. This could possibly explain why the *IK* is sung at Muppantal.

I would like to cite T.M.P., who told me his version of the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai*, that is, the one according to his knowledge of it. His narration is almost identical as far as the first birth is concerned. I therefore skip over this and draw the reader’s attention to the events on Mt. Kailāsa, with the aim of demonstrating how the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition splits the goddess in two, representing her two psychic dispositions as two sisters. Furthermore, this example shows how this particular bow-song bard, by fabricating rebirths, links the *IK* to the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai*.

The Peṅṅaraci story is the story of the elder sister [...] Puruṣā Tēvi, the deity residing in Muppantal. [...] Puruṣā Tēvi went to Mt. Kailāsa, where the god said to her, “You must bathe in a fire (*agni*), and afterwards I will give you a boon” (426). A flame was lit, and Cempaṅmuṭi, Kāṭatti, and Puruṣā Tēvi went into the fire. After twelve years they came out of the fire. Śiva gave boons and said to Puruṣā Tēvi, “Go by the name of *kulavālai-Icakki!*” (432). The two kings were garlanded by Śiva. [...] Lord Śiva said to Puruṣā Tēvi, “Go to the *kāttārammaṅ kōvil* (temple) and accept the pūjās and offerings of the people who come to you (438). Receive the animal sacrifices from the Kaḷḷars (thieves).” [...] Lord Śiva said all this, and sent them off. Among those sent by Śiva was the elder sister of Paḷavūr Icakki (439). The child that was born to Puruṣā Tēvi grew up and gave trouble to the *dēvas* on Kailāsa. The *devas* went to Śiva and complained. Śiva asked them to bring the child to him (446). “You are the daughter of Puruṣā Tēvi. I will give you the name of Ciṅṅa Icakki.<sup>44</sup> And you are powerful. You are more powerful than your mother. In the next birth, you two will be elder sister and younger sister (454). The elder sister will not become angry but the younger sister will always be angry” (458). She took a third birth in order to destroy Paḷakai. (460) That younger sister came to Muppantal and then proceeded to the forest and resided there. (Interview of 30 November 2002 with T.M.P. at the St. Xavier’s College Guest House)

Figure 1: The relationship between the *IK* and the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai* can be schematised as follows:



<sup>42</sup> Interview of 30 November 2002.

<sup>43</sup> This “personality configuration” between sisters, as Blackburn (1980:396, n. 39) remarks, is “found in the vil pāṭṭu narratives (younger is rash/older is controlled).”

<sup>44</sup> One point T.M.P. (21 January 2003; AK-I.02, B, 566) wished to stress is that Ciṅṅa Icakki, as far as the narrative is concerned, should not be identified with Paḷakai/Paḷavūr Icakki (whom we know as the younger sister in our specific context of worship; Sect. 9.2.2).

**Nīli5:**

This unpublished version, which I call N5, was copied in accurate handwriting by S. Sankararama Sastri from the manuscript Bibl. No. 8016, 8019 of Trivandrum Manuscript Library, Kerala University, Trivandrum. The text goes by the title “Nīli Katai.” The hand-written script consists of 133 pages on A4 paper, the whole divided into sections, with 16 lines on each side, and in total 2,065 lines. N5 is without question a very good manuscript and contains an excellent text, but one that appears to me not meant to be performed.

**Nīli6:**

This unpublished hand-written copy on A4 paper, which I call N6, bears the title “Nīli Katai.” The palm-leaf manuscript, kept at the Institute of Asian Studies (Chennai), contains 29 pages and 1,200 lines (Acc. No. 54), and is badly damaged. The copy of it consists of 29 pages with 38 lines per side and 1,092 lines in total. This version, written in compact handwriting, is incomplete. Text is missing on various pages: p. 1 (lines 1-8 and 14-20), p. 3 (83-9 and 97-103), p. 4 (112-5, 119-126, 130-141), p. 8 (291, 297-9), p. 9 (315, 323-4), p. 10 (340-2, 366-7, 375), p. 22 (799-806, 831-2) p. 23 (863-4), p. 24 (886-7, 905), p.25 (934-5, 945-6), p. 26 (967), p. 28 (1046-8, 1057-8), p. 29 (1065-6, 1070, 1074, 1079, 1082, 1086-90, 1090ff.). The story ends at the point where Icakki supplies buttermilk to the wives of the seventy Karaiyāḷars.

I do not consider this to be a text performed within the bow-song (*villuppāṭṭu*) tradition.

**Nīli7:**

This published version, referred to as N7, consists of 45 pages and 1,395 lines divided into 13 sections. The xerox copy cuts out the text along the binding, thus making the beginning of each line illegible. The title page is missing; the publisher and date are unknown. The old booklet, copied at Madras Maraimalai Aṭikaḷ Library under the call number 5049a (now missing there), is probably from the beginning of the twentieth century.

The text clearly tells the story of Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭṭu Nīli (northern line), with rare portions of text in common with N1. It is the northernmost and most deviant version available to me. Apart from the story-line, it has no direct relation to the other versions, and must be seen as an autonomous northern text that is geographically rooted in Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭṭu and Kāñcipuram. Obviously, this text is not within the bow-song (*villuppāṭṭu*) tradition. Its title is “Nīli Katai.” Here a synopsis of the story:<sup>45</sup>

Āticēṣaṅ, a Brahmin doing his service at the Ēkāmparanātar Śiva temple of Kāñcipuram, married Anṇatāṭci, a young Brahmin woman of Tirumayilāppūr [Mylapore]. He did not consummate the marriage, but took instead a devadāsī as concubine. Anṇatāṭci, living sixteen years unrecognised and uncared for by her husband, decided to complain of her ‘imprisonment’ to her parents and the thousand Brahmins of Kāñcipuram.

She went and lived with her parents in Tirumayilāppūr. One day her friends commented on her face being that of Mūtēvi (the goddess of misfortune) because her husband ignored her. To witness Mūtēvi in her face, Anṇatāṭci took a mirror. Her husband appeared in it like a full moon. When she drew nearer to catch his figure, it disappeared. In great astonishment, she swallowed the saliva secreted in her mouth and was impregnated by it.

Meanwhile, the thousand Brahmins pressed Āticēṣaṅ to take his wife back and end the illegitimate relationship with the devadāsī. Āticēṣaṅ, under pressure from being refused rights at the temple, came to take his wife back, whereupon Anṇatāṭci, suspicious of his intentions, arranged for a third person to accompany them.

On the way to Kāñcipuram, accompanied by Anṇatāṭci’s elder brother Nīlakaṇṭaṅ, Āticēṣaṅ came to know about his wife’s pregnancy. Bewildered, he regretted not having left her in her parents’ house. He feared being humiliated by other Brahmins who knew that he had not consummated his marriage. He decided to kill her on the spot (in a forest), and so pretended to faint. While the brother

<sup>45</sup> Shulman (1980:194–5) has produced an abstract of the same version, leaving out some points that I consider significant.

went to draw water and his wife lamented, suddenly he got up in anger, and inquired the reason for the pregnancy. Unconvinced by the explanation of his wife, who insisted on her chastity, he threatened and killed her, uttering the words, “Would a woman be pregnant without a husband?” He went to Kāñcīpuram and visited the devadāsī with the intention of giving her Anṇatāṭci’s jewels and dresses. When she refused them, he buried them, whereupon he was bitten by a snake and died [see N1].

Meanwhile the brother, Nīlakaṇṭaṇ, had returned to the site of the murder, and seeing his sister, followed her into death [see N1]. He pierced the belly of his sister with his fingernails, then took the foetus and placed it on a nearby *kaḷḷi* plant. Calling the gods to stand testimony, he thrice made a vow that at the time of revenge [his sister] would break the branch of the *kaḷḷi* plant, and it would turn into a child. Moreover, if anybody beat the seed of the *karuvēlam* tree, it would turn into a jingling anklet. He requested Pārvatī and Śiva to take vengeance and died.

When Pārvatī was told the entire story by Śiva, she felt compassion for Anṇatāṭci. Remarking that no one had taken care of Anṇatāṭci, she decided to take revenge. When Śiva warned her of the Brahmin whom nobody could defeat, since he carried a magical sword, Pārvatī became angry and made a vow not to return to Mt. Kailāsa if she failed to wreak vengeance on the man. She asked her brother Viṣṇu for assistance. [Note the parallelism in kinship relation of husband (Śiva)–wife/sister (Pārvatī)–brother (Viṣṇu)]. He advised her to place the souls of both Anṇatāṭci and Nīlakaṇṭaṇ into the womb of Nīlāmpāḷ, the wife of a Veḷḷāḷaṇ [cf. Cōḷa king in N1], Cantiracēkaraṇ of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu by name. When they had been delivered as twins, Nīli and Nīlaṇ (first the boy, then the girl [see N1]), Pārvatī caught hold of their spirits, handed over Nīli’s spirit to Viṣṇu, and entered into Nīli’s body. She roamed about Tiruvālaṅkāṭu in the bodies of Nīli and Nīlaṇ, killing cattle and swallowing them [see N1]. Cantiracēkaraṇ heard the complaints of the people and took action, ordering the headmen to catch the thieves. When they told him all they had come to know, he threw them in prison until he realised the truth of what they had said. The headmen were ordered to bring the children to the northern side of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, into the forest [see N1]. Abandoned under a banyan tree [cf. margosa tree in N1] and surrounded by a group of devils, they built a *maṇṭapam* with a seven-layered *gopuram* and there produced food grains, dresses, and jewels for sale.

Āticēṣaṇ the murderer, reborn to Āṇantaṇ Ceṭṭiyār and Ampujam, and equipped with a magical sword [cf. margosa leaf in N1], was now named Tiṇakaraṇ. At the age of five he began his education, and at 16 he was married [see N1]. Soon after, his parents died and left him their business, which flourished. His wife Peṇṇaṇaṅkai gave birth to a boy. When Tiṇakaraṇ, living in Kāñcīpuram, showed signs of wanting to do business in Tiruvālaṅkāṭu (he had come to know of a woman selling one *kalam* of paddy for one *kācu*, and one sari for one *tutti* coin), his wife reminded him of her mother-in-law’s warning not to go in the northern direction. Tiṇakaraṇ, annoyed at this interference on the part of his wife, remarked that a man should not follow the advice of a woman and that what is destined will happen [see N1]. In the end he was unable to hold her back from accompanying him. Soon afterwards, while they were resting under a banyan tree on the bank of a river at Takkōlampēraṃpākkam, his wife fell asleep and he slipped away, after heaping some sand and placing his wife’s head on it [see N1].

Nīli, who resided in Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, appeared before the Ceṭṭi’s wife as she sat dissolved in tears. She appeared in the form of a Vēḷāḷa woman, and inquired what had happened. Forced by Nīli, the wife reported all her troubles, including details of the marriage, and the names of her husband, child, and in-laws. Later this information would be skillfully used against the Ceṭṭi. After Nīli guided Peṇṇaṇaṅkai back to Kāñcīpuram, she assumed Peṇṇaṇaṅkai’s form, and with the help of Viṣṇu (who knew of Nīlakaṇṭaṇ’s vow) took the child that had once been turned into a *kaḷḷi* plant and approached the Ceṭṭi as he sat at the edge of a pool of water. Not doubting that she was his wife, and listening to her complaints of being left alone under the banyan tree, he invited her to eat some food. She left the child in Tiṇakaraṇ’s arm and took the opportunity to bathe in the pool. As she repeated a mantra, the child leapt high and pressed the Ceṭṭi’s chest in order to kill him. Only his sword saved him, showing him his previous birth and the bogus woman. Angrily he resisted, threatening Nīli with the sword, and ran towards Tiruvālaṅkāṭu.

Again Nīli appeared as the wife, using the information given to her in order to convince the Ceṭṭi. At first suspicious, he finally believed her and again took the child in his arms, only to see it turning into a *rākṣasa* threatening his life again. He escaped with the help of his sword, and ran into seventy assembled Vēḷāḷas. They asked his name, native place, and other details, and were consoling him when Nīli appeared in search of her husband [see N1]. The Ceṭṭi, in great fear, told them not to believe her, but to ask her specific questions only his wife could answer. Nīli answered them with perfect cunning and confused the Vēḷāḷas, who let the matter rest until the next morning, proposing to lock them up in the Kālī temple [cf. *ilaṅkam* in N1]. Nīli did not agree unless the sword was taken away from the Ceṭṭi. Noticing the Ceṭṭi's increasing fear, they promised to take responsibility for both, and gave him a written document [cf. the *paral* token in N1] with all their names and the signature of one of them. Once locked up in the temple, Nīli took on various horrible forms, plucked out the Ceṭṭi's intestines, garlanded her neck with them, and disappeared through the roof [cf. the lullaby in N1].

The Vēḷāḷas, at first unable to unlock the door of the Kālī temple, prayed, and eventually succeeded, but with one look into the temple immediately regretted having pitied the Ceṭṭi's wife and not having believed the Ceṭṭi, whom they found dead.

Nīli reappeared in the form of the Ceṭṭi's mother to inquire about her son. Having ascertained her identity, they stood by their word, and in front of the old woman they dug a pit, lit a fire, and jumped into it [cf. the destruction of all wives and children in N1].

Śiva, being of the opinion that only the revenge taken on the Ceṭṭi had been justified, not that on the Vēḷāḷas, restored the seventy Vēḷāḷas to life and brought the atrocities of Nīli under control. (My synopsis of the Tamil text)

### Nīli8:

Apart from N10, the only existing edition close to the base text is the one prepared by Ku. Ārumukapperumāl Nāṭār (of Akastīcuvaram).<sup>46</sup> Though N8 has many virtues, it does not reproduce the manuscript of N1 with the fullness and accuracy necessary for resolving its problems. It is only half the length of N10, and has been altered a good deal, apparently by the editor. This can be seen from the arrangement of lines according to the poetic style of *etukai* rhyming, something not found in N2 (its twin version) or in the other texts. I did discover, however, this version to be of considerable use where the base text was defective. Its title is *Icakkīyamman Virkavitai*, published by Nāgarcoil Krishna Accakam on 4 December 1978 (18 Kārttikai 1154). The text consists of 59 pages and 2,025 lines, including the invocation of the gods (*kāppu*), and belongs undoubtedly to the bow-song (*villuppāṭṭu*) tradition.

The text is largely identical with—and in cases where not, at least close to—N10 and N1 (see the encyclopaedic apparatus, Appendix C), the exception being 272 lines containing additional text that appears neither in N10 nor in N1,<sup>47</sup> and nor, therefore, in the encyclopaedic apparatus based on the longest (N10) version. In concrete terms these are, apart from lines of irrelevant text, the following passages: N8.6c–7b.135-55, which describes the relationship between the Brahmin and the devadāsī Lakṣmī in greater detail than other versions. Of particular interest from an anthropological point of view is line N8.22d.720, which mentions that Āṇantaṅ Ceṭṭi had been given in (cross-cousin) marriage to his uncle's daughter. N8.23b–24a.731-59 (except for 737) adds to the list of instructions given by Āṇantaṅ's father before his death. Lines N8.24c.780-6 enlarge our picture of a Ceṭṭi's life in former days: a bull has to be sent to Paḷakai with a load of goods (782, 4). Lines N8.24d–25ab.791-803 slightly deviate from corresponding ones in listing various other bad omens. Lines N8.28c–29b.921-54 are valuable because of the light they shed on the views of Nīli, who complains at not being cared for as a woman, either by her companion (sexually/socially: N8.28c,d, 29a,b.921-4, 932, 941, 950, 953) or,

<sup>46</sup> Ku. Ārumukapperumāl Nāṭār, born in 1909, was part of the bardic tradition. Although he himself did not belong to any of the old bardic families in Akastīcuvaram, he did compose texts. Much credit goes to him for having maintained the tradition by collecting manuscripts and preserving them; see Blackburn 1980:109.

<sup>47</sup> It is not attested elsewhere either.

interestingly enough, by the king (*araṇmaṇaiyār*), who failed to inquire into her murder (N8.29a.943). Lines N8.42a.1399-1405 draw out these complaints of a woman whose companion is enjoying the pleasures of love with someone else. All this holds true for N2, the twin version.

### Nīli9:

The edition by Cu. Caṇmukacuntaram is a version of 25 pages in length with the title *Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli eṇṇa Paḷakanallūr Nīli*; it was published by Koṭumuṭi Caṇmukap Pirakatam on 1 January 1978 (1st ed. 1934;<sup>48</sup> repr. 1984, Madras: Pumpukar, title: *Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli Katai*). The text, here called N9, consists of 586 lines and is divided into 63 chapters. It is, in comparison with the versions performed at the *koṭai* festival, a simple text, and one probably not in use within the bow-song (*villuppāṭṭu*) tradition. I do not consider the text titled *Paḷakanallūr Nīli Katai* (of the sword–fire type) to be among the versions native to either Tiruvāṅkāṭu–Kāñcipuram in the north or to Kaṇṇiyākumari district in the far south, but rather very probably to have come from Tirunelvēli district.<sup>49</sup> The story starts off with a description of the beautiful Cantaṇa Naṅkai, the *vēcai* (harlot) at the Ammaiappar temple of Paḷakainallūr who is entitled to light the lamps and to dance to the beat of the drum (*mattaḷam*)—a devadāsī desired by Nampi, the pūjārī of the rich temple.<sup>50</sup>

Perumāḷ (1990:54ff./2002:24f.) deserves credit for comparing this Nellai version, which he suggests is a nineteenth-century text, with the version circulating in Kaṇṇiyākumari district:

— The Iyakki Ammaṇ story as told in Kumari district states that the town of Paḷakai is situated on the island of Campu surrounded by the salt sea. There a Brahmin, Cīvapārpaṇ by name, is the pūjārī of the Ammaiappar temple. His son, Vēlavaṇ, is bewitched by the beauty of Lakṣmī, the dāsī of Paḷakainallūr.<sup>51</sup> The story as told in Nellai district states that Nampi, the pūjārī of the Ammaiappar temple at Paḷakainallūr, is spellbound by the beauty of the dāsī Cantaṇamaṅkai.

— The story as told in Kumari district mentions that the dāsī Lakṣmī has an elder brother whose name is Tirukaṇṭa Naṭṭuvaṇ. The Nellai story mentions neither the name of the brother of the dāsī nor the name of her mother.

— The Paḷakainallūr dāsī followed the Brahmin. Becoming tired, she lay down to sleep in the middle of the forest. The Brahmin heaped sand as a pillow for her head. Seeing her jewels, he forgot himself. He removed all the jewels, bundled them together in his upper garment, and departed. While walking along, he had the idea of killing her, so he returned. He took a heavy stone and smashed her head. This is the Nīli story as found in Nellai district.

According to the story circulating in Kumari district, the Brahmin laid the young woman’s head on his lap. After she fell asleep, he removed her jewels and immediately smashed her head with the stone.

— In the Nellai district story, the old mother requested the elder brother to go in search of her daughter, after the latter had set off after the Brahmin. However, in the Kumari district story the elder brother, Tirukaṇṭa Naṭṭuvaṇ, went on his own initiative in search of his younger sister.

— The Kumari district story mentions that the dāsī Lakṣmī and her elder brother Tirukaṇṭa Naṭṭuvaṇ were reborn after their death as children of the Cōḷa king Cēmpiyaṇ. This fact is also mentioned in the Nellai story, but without the name of that Cōḷa king.

— The Kumari district story records that the dead Brahmin was reborn as the son of Mānāykkaṇ Ceṭṭi in Kāviriṇṇipāṭṭiṇam, and was called Āṇantaṇ Ceṭṭi. The Nellai district story mentions the name of Āṇantaṇ’s father as being Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇaṇ.

— The Nellai district story tells of the astrologer who predicts that Āṇantaṇ Ceṭṭi will face danger because of Nīli, and advises him, therefore, to carry a magical sword. The magical sword is not mentioned in the story from Kumari district. (Revised edition by Perumāḷ and Śrīkumār 2002:24f.)<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> The first publication by Koṭumuṭi Caṇmukam in 1934 is, according to the edition available in the British Library (shelf mark Tam.B.11570), entitled *Icakkiammaṇ Katai* (as noted by David Shulman on the copy received from the British Library), but Caṇmukacuntaram (1978:32) writes that the title of the 1934 manuscript and published text is *Palaka Nallūr Nīli Katai*.

<sup>49</sup> See the discussion of Caṇmukacuntaram’s publication in Perumāḷ 1990:54. Perumāḷ states there that Caṇmukacuntaram’s palm-leaf manuscript comes from Nellai (=Tirunelvēli) district.

<sup>50</sup> See also below Chap. 3, No. 29.

<sup>51</sup> Note that Caṇmukacuntaram’s text edition contains slightly different spellings of both personal names and localities.

<sup>52</sup> The two publications 1990 and 2002 differ slightly, above all in numbering, which changed after point 3 of the 1990 edition was deleted (for indeed it contains a statement that is inaccurate).

**Nīlī10:**

The unpublished palm-leaf manuscript of the Icakki temple at Paṇaṅkoṭṭāviḷai<sup>53</sup>—discovered during the fieldwork I conducted from March to May 2002, and made available to me in the form of a hand-written copy by the bow-song bard T. Muthucami Pulavar (in the following, referred to by his initials T.M.P.) of Svayambulingapuram (adjacent to Nagercoil)—consists of 177 pages of an A4-size handbook, in large, clear handwriting, with a total of 4,382 lines of text. N10 is a very fine manuscript. No other version distantly compares in length with this one. It is on the whole a homogeneous text, and obvious mistakes are reasonably rare. The text uses the local conversational idiom (a regional Tamil dialect influenced by Malayalam and the caste dialect of the Nāṭārs). The version, titled “Paḷakainallūr Icakki Ammankataiyiṅ Varalāru,” is rooted in the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition, and is the one performed by T.M.P. and his students. The text is reproduced in my encyclopaedic apparatus (Appendix C), which uses this manuscript as its basis.

I arranged a performance of the entire text of this version for 29 and 30 November 2002. The performance by T.M.P. and his group of four members was recorded by me in full-length audio and video, in collaboration with the FRRC in Pālaiyamkōṭṭai. A copy of the audio-video recording has been made available to the archive of the FRRC.

My quest for a recording of the full text of this version of the *IK*, so far the longest one known to me, was shared by the bow-song bard T.M.P. This led to a contract with him to perform it in its entirety in a neutral setting without the limitations normally posed by a *koṭai* festival, namely special requests by patrons, ritual-related requirements, and so forth. It was the first time in his active career of forty years as a bow-song bard that T.M.P. sang the whole *IK*—his own “mental text”<sup>54</sup> (Honko 1998:92), so to speak, free from compromise and limitations.<sup>55</sup> It became clear that T.M.P. is capable of performing both the entire story (a session of two days)—the “long format,” as Honko (2000:223) labels it—and the abridged text (“compromised text”) in the ritual context of a *koṭai* festival, in spite of all the differences involved, including the dramatic mode of performance.

I list three other publications that, for various reasons, could not be exploited within the editorial decision-making process:

**Nīlī11:**

This book, edited by A.Ka. Perumāḷ and S. Śrīkumār, and titled *Iyakkiyamman Katakaiyum Valipāṭum*, was published in 2002, too late to be included in my encyclopaedic apparatus and the editorial work on the base text. It contains 136 pages, the edition of the *IK* being on pages 34–106. This edition appears to be based on N8.

**Nīlī12:**

This *yaṭcakāṇam* (*yakṣagaṇam*)<sup>56</sup> text, edited by Pū. Cuppiramaṇiyam in 1994 in the IAS series (Chennai) under the title *Nīlī Yaṭcakāṇam*, bears no direct relation to N1 or the other versions. Apart from the basic story-line, there are no individual parts of the text that are shared with N1. The text, which does not derive from the versions I focus on, belongs to the northern branch, a fact that is made

<sup>53</sup> T.M.P. in an interview held on 21 January 2003 told me that Paṇaṅkoṭṭāviḷai Icakki originally comes from Tevakuḷam not far from Kottāram. The family who looked after the goddess shifted to Paṇaṅkoṭṭāviḷai, taking her along from a place in the middle of the countryside to the village.

<sup>54</sup> It was interesting to see how fully present the text was in the bard’s mind the day after completing the recording. After delivering the most detailed performance ever of his mental text, T.M.P. helped me with defective passages of my base text (N1) with great success. He pieced together the most problematic lines and words in this version by recollecting and singing his mental text without looking into his notebook—a feat I never witnessed again in later sittings, when the full mental text had vanished, and was replaced by a fragmented one.

<sup>55</sup> I followed closely the advice of Lauri Honko, who has described a recording in an induced context (see Honko 2000:231f.) as allowing the singer (among other things) the freedom to segment the text and make pauses at will.

<sup>56</sup> As Subramaniam ([English/Tamil version] 1996:iv) remarks, “[s]tarting as a mode of singing, *Yaṭcakāṇam* has today become verily ‘a medley of song, dance and drama[.]’”



clear by the text itself, which (like N7) mentions Tiruvālaṅkāṭu as one of the settings. However, the episode of the foetus being flung on the *kaḷḷi* plant appears, remarkably, in another variation in the *Nīli Yaṭcakāṇam*. Unlike in version N7 (another northern version, so far the only one to supply us with this episode), here it is the murderous husband rather than the elder brother who tears open the pregnant wife's womb and discards the foetus on the *kaḷḷi* plant.<sup>57</sup>

The *yaṭcakāṇam* text, of the sword–fire type, derives from the *Toṅṭaimaṅṭala Catakam* of Paṭikkācu Pulavar (late seventeenth to early eighteenth century), as is evident from the identical names it assigns to characters and localities. It is interesting to see that the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition was not alone in seizing upon the Nīli story; the *yaṭcakāṇam* tradition did so as well. The historical memory of the core events thus also filtered up to the semi-courtly environment of the *yaṭcakāṇam* tradition favoured in Andhra and Karnataka.<sup>58</sup>

I list in brief the core events that interlink the places Kāñcipuram, Avināci, Kāci, Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, Perampākkam (near Tiruvālaṅkāṭu), Paḷayaṅūr, Teruvampai (between Tiruvālaṅkāṭu and Paḷayaṅūr), and Tirucceṅkāṭu:

The story gets under way with the married Brahmin Puvanaṅpati, son of Nānātipaṅ of Kāñcipuram, on his way to Kāci. When he stops in Avināci he meets Meykkiyāṅi, the latter's son Civakkiyāṅi and daughter Navakkiyāṅi. Meykkiyāṅi, being fond of Puvanaṅpati, gives his daughter in marriage to him. On the way back to Kāñcipuram, when Puvanaṅpati, his pregnant second wife Navakkiyāṅi, and her brother are passing Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, the Brahmin decides to kill his second wife. Having done so, he tears open her womb and flings the male foetus on a *kaḷḷi* plant [cf. N7]. Seeing the slaughter, Civakkiyāṅi follows his sister into death, while the Brahmin returns to his first wife. The siblings are reborn as twins to Puricaikkiḷāṅ and his wife Nācciyār. They are abandoned in the forest under a margosa tree after being accused of committing atrocities in town.

The forest episode well known from the southern versions (N1, N10) follows: Sexually matured, Nīli leaves her brother and proceeds to Tirucceṅkāṭu. The Vēḷāḷa Mutaliyārs cut down the margosa tree for the purpose of erecting a flagpole at the Paḷayaṅūr Śiva temple. Nīlaṅ, enraged at being made homeless, attempts to take revenge on an innocent Brahmin. However, the Brahmin is saved by Śiva's emissary Kuṅṭōtaraṅ, who beheads Nīlaṅ with his disc and removes his intestines. Nīli is informed of her brother's death. The description of the furious Nīli reminds us of Kaṅṅaki's setting Maturai on fire (in the *Cilappatikāram*).

Puvanaṅpati, too, is reborn, as Taricaṅaṅ, son of Nākantai Ceṭṭi of the Tēcika clan in Kāñcipuram, and is equipped with a sword produced in a sacrificial fire for protection against the vengeful Nīli. After he has been married to Pūṅkōtai, daughter of Kottantai, at the age of sixteen, and gifted with a male child, he once visits relatives in Perampākkam. There he slips away, leaving his wife Pūṅkōtai behind, in order to visit the Nīlakaṅṭaṅ temple in Paḷayaṅūr–Tiruvālaṅkāṭu. On his way Nīli, the spirit of his murdered second wife, approaches him in an enticing shape in the suburbs of Perampākkam near Tiruvālaṅkāṭu. Taricaṅaṅ flees, seeking help from a Vēḷāḷa whom he meets at a Śiva temple in Teruvampai, between Tiruvālaṅkāṭu and Paḷayaṅūr.

The story, making use of flashback and non-chronological narration, tells of the foul play on the part of Nīli, now disguised as the Ceṭṭi's wife Pūṅkōtai; of her collecting the child that had once been flung on the *kaḷḷi* plant by her murderer; of the trial before the assembly, in which she with an authentic touch forces the child to seek its father's lap; of the Ceṭṭi's parting with the magical sword; of the locking up of the Ceṭṭi with Nīli in the Śiva temple [in N7: Kālī temple]; of Nīli's brutal killing of the Ceṭṭi; and of the death of sixty-nine Vēḷāḷas who entered the fire in order to remain true to their word. The story ends with the death of the seventieth Vēḷāḷa in a lunge against the sharp end of a ploughshare.

<sup>57</sup> Cuppiramaṅiyam 1994:148 / Subramaniam 1996.155: *maṅaiyāḷaic cūriyāl vayirrinaip pūrit / taṅaiyaṅaik kaḷḷimēl tāṅeṭuttu eṅintāṅ*.

<sup>58</sup> Misra (1981:163) states that “[t]he history of *yakshagāna* goes back to the 15th century [...]. It is said that *yaksha-gānas* should be performed at the places of those persons who wanted children.”

**Nīlī13:**

The *kaṇiyāṇ pāṭṭu* text of Icakkīyamman's story, edited by S.M. Mahāleṭcumi in 2003 under the title *Muppantal Icakkīyamman Kaṇiyāṇ Pāṭṭu*, is not part of the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition. It belongs rather to the genre of *kaṇiyāṇ pāṭṭu* (Kaṇiyāṇ song) performed by members of the Kaṇiyār community, who also worship Icakki in the southernmost parts of India, as I have noted in Section 7.2. The edition, which runs to 1,093 lines, has no direct relation to N1 and the other versions. Apart from the basic story-line there are no parts of text that are shared with N1. Yet the text is seemingly one belonging to the very south of Tamilnadu, a fact made clear in the text itself, which centres the story on “Paḷacanallūr,” a place that the editor has identified as present-day Paḷavūr, Tirunelvēli district, Rātāpuram taluk. In Paḷavūr, I hasten to note, this version of the *katai* is not sung at the *koṭai* festival patronised by the locally dominant social group of Vēḷāḷas.<sup>59</sup>

## 2.5 The Background of the Text

It can be stated with some certainty, on the basis of historical topography, that the origins of the *Nīlī/Icakki Katai* lie in Paḷaiyaṇūr-Tiruvālaṅkāṭu,<sup>60</sup> a famous Śaiva site near today's Arkkōṇam<sup>61</sup> in the north of Tamilnadu. It is the only place offering any architectural evidence.<sup>62</sup> That the *IK* (or *Nīlī Katai*)<sup>63</sup> is an account with a basis in fact is clear from the material evidence still available for us to explore: a small Śiva temple<sup>64</sup> facing a memorial<sup>65</sup> where seventy Vēḷāḷas committed suicide (see Photo 2);<sup>66</sup> further, a stone in memory of Nīlī;<sup>67</sup> and finally, the ancient shrine of Kālī<sup>68</sup> (-Nīlī-Nīlakēci),<sup>69</sup> the scene, it is said, of our heroine's retaliation against the Ceṭṭi.<sup>70</sup> Shulman's remarks on Tiruvālaṅkāṭu are as follows:

<sup>59</sup> See Chap. 9 below.

<sup>60</sup> The names Paḷaiyaṇūr and Tiruvālaṅkāṭu are confirmed in inscriptions of the Cōḷa king Rajendra I. As Stein (1985:120, n. 83), referring to the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of India, Madras/Delhi, 1890–, vol. 3, p. 427, notes, Paḷaiyaṇūr was a *brahmadeya* (Brahmin village). The text of the plates “[...] is addressed to the *nattar* and other locality groups in *mēlmalai palaiyaṇūr-nāḍu* and directs that the village of Palaiyanur [...] was now to become a village subject to regular dues from cultivators (*veḷḷān-vagai*) and these were to be granted to the [Śiva] temple of Tiruvalangadu as *dēvadāna*” (ibid.; the brackets are mine). See also *Kāraikkālammaiṅār Tiruvālaṅkāṭu Mūṭṭaṭṭiruppatikam* (ed. Karavelane 1982:98).

<sup>61</sup> As the districts in Tamilnadu have repeatedly been redivided, I leave the question of which district Arkkōṇam belongs to up in the air. Some say that it belongs to North Arcot, others to Chinglepet (*Vāḷviyaṅ Kaḷaṅciyam*, Vol. 12:212), and again others to Tiruvalluvar district. The town is approximately 50 KM from Chennai.

<sup>62</sup> See Cuppiramaṇiyam 1994:168, 170, 178 / Subramaniam 1996:178-180, 188 and introduction.

<sup>63</sup> *Vāḷviyaṅ Kaḷaṅciyam*, Vol. 12:212, s.v. “Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīlī,” states: *nīlikatai tenpāṅṭi nāṭṭiṅ icakki valipāṭṭōṭu inaituḷḷatu*.

<sup>64</sup> The temple is dedicated to Cāṭcipūtēcurar, the god as witness. See Cuppiramaṇiyam 1994:170.

<sup>65</sup> See Cuppiramaṇiyam 1994:168. – The memorial for the Vēḷāḷas was opened on 25 July 1966 (see Caṅmukacuntaram 1978:27=1984:62). The inscription at the memorial reads 1 May 1966.

<sup>66</sup> For photos, see Appendix A, pp. 354ff.

<sup>67</sup> I am referring here to Nīlī of the *Nīlī Katai*, who died a cruel death. The memorial is made of two erect stone plates forming an angle of approximately 120 degrees, with a single stone plate laid on top. See the illustration in Cuppiramaṇiyam 1994:178 / Subramaniam 1996:188. According to Subramaniam 1996:xviii “[n]o pūja is ever done.”

<sup>68</sup> Ta. Kāḷi.

<sup>69</sup> This goddess (Kālī-Nīlī-Nīlakēci) and her sacred place are linked at different times with different myths, legends, and stories: in the first place with Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅār, Nīlakēci, and a dance contest. Presumably, this is the fierce goddess Nīlī mentioned in *Cil.* 12.21.3. As Chakravarti (1936:13) states: “The author of this Sthalamāhātmya [of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu] in his introduction calls this Kālī as Neeli. From this it is clear that the Kālī of Pazhayānūr was also known by the name Neeli.” See also *Kāraikkālammaiṅār Tiruvālaṅkāṭu Mūṭṭaṭṭiruppatikam* (ed. Karavelane [Avant-Propos] 1982:18, n. 7): “L'antique déesse locale de PaLaNam était une Kāḷi dénommée Nīlī, la terrible.” – Furthermore, the anonymous author of the Jain poem *Nīlakēci* also identifies his heroine Nīlakēci with Kālī-Nīlī, “the ancient goddess of Paḷaiyaṇūr near Tiruvālaṅkāṭu” (Shulman 1980:196 with n. 18).

<sup>70</sup> See text version N7.

There is yet another shrine to Kālī at Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, outside the main shrine, at the edge of the Muktitīrtha (which, we may recall, is the venue of the dance contest according to the purāṇa). Here Kālī is worshiped alone. The priests of the Śiva temple still refer to this shrine as the *mūlasthāna* of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, the oldest cult center on this site.<sup>71</sup> This, presumably, is the scene of the Nīli story with its theme of the slain husband and locked doors.<sup>72</sup> (Shulman 1980:218).

The association this place has with the vengeful Nīli-Icakki of our *katai* goes at least back to the seventh century. The Śaiva *bhakti* text *Tēvāram* is, to my knowledge, the earliest extant record that directly alludes to the Nīli figure of the *katai*, and the earliest work that links her with a particular place.<sup>73</sup> The Paḷaiyaṅṅūr-Tiruvālaṅkāṭu of the seventh-century text is a place where Vēḷāḷas lived. Thus the background shaping of the *Nīli Katai* must presumably be sought in circles of the socioreligiously dominant landed community of the Vēḷāḷas of that place and time.<sup>74</sup> Assuming that traditional elements will be preserved longest in places most distant from their origin, the very fact that worship for Nīli is not established at Paḷaiyaṅṅūr-Tiruvālaṅkāṭu<sup>75</sup> but rather in the southernmost region of Tamilnadu would additionally favour this location being the original seat.

The *katai*'s place of origin became effaced in the text of the southern branch, where the scene of events is either Paḷakai (N1, N2, N5, N10), Paḷakainakar (N1, N2, N5, N8, N10), or Paḷakainallūr (N1, N2 in the story title, N6, N9).<sup>76</sup> The modification of the name in the southern line is presumably due to the fact that the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition of the southernmost districts of present-day Tamilnadu adopted the story of Nīli and placed it within a ritualised context. The southern text N1, unlike the N7 version of the northern branch, is a performative text. It is therefore very likely that the *villuppāṭṭu* bards who sing the text at the *koṭai* festivals construct identities; that is, they change the name so as to situate it in their own region and locality.<sup>77</sup> The reader immediately notices that we have moved into a domain of worship. This is natural for the southern text, which comes alive through the cult of the goddess. This may be the reason why some people are convinced that Paḷakai of the *IK* is identical with Paḷavūr<sup>78</sup> (a prominent site of Icakki worship) in the area bordering Tirunelvēli and Kaṅṅiyākumari districts, and indeed, people take earth from Paḷavūr in order to establish new Icakki shrines in their own localities. Other people equate it with Paḷaiyaṅṅūr adjacent to Tiruppuvaṅam, south of the river Vaikai, and still others with Nīlitanallūr in Tirunelvēli district,<sup>79</sup> or with a site near Vaṅṅiyūrppaṭṭaṅam on the way to Ceṅkuṅṅam.<sup>80</sup> I think it a mistake, in the absence of reliable information from inscriptions, to trust to popular speculation about where Paḷakai is situated, and see no reason to assume any but Paḷaiyaṅṅūr-

<sup>71</sup> As Shulman (1980:218) remarks, “beside her shrine [...], not in her place: the goddess [Kālī] has been excluded through the creation of a new shrine, which in the course of time has become the main temple at Tiruvālaṅkāṭu.”

<sup>72</sup> Shulman is referring to the *Nīli Katai* (pregnant wife–sword–fire type).

<sup>73</sup> See my detailed discussion in Chap. 3, No. 4.

<sup>74</sup> The translocal *IK* is still held in high esteem by the social group of Vēḷāḷas who patronised the *koṭai* festival of Paḷavūr that I document in Chap. 9. However, the fieldwork shows that the story of this heroine was gradually absorbed by other communities than the Vēḷāḷas.

<sup>75</sup> See Subramaniam (English/Tamil version) 1996:xviii.

<sup>76</sup> All three names occur in the base text N1: Paḷavai [ST] = Paḷakai [LT] (in the first lines of the invocation N1.4 and in N1.1032), Paḷakainallūr (N1.40) and Paḷaka Nakar [ST] = Paḷakainakar [LT] (N1.1556).

<sup>77</sup> That the name is interchangeable in performative texts became clear to me at the *koṭai* festival of Paḷavūr. When the lead singer of the *villuppāṭṭu* group sang of Paḷaiyanallūr, she was instantly pressed by a notable festival committee member to use “Paḷavūr” instead, presumably with the idea of establishing a setting the village of the *koṭai* festival could more easily identify with.

<sup>78</sup> According to Caṅmukacuntaram 1978:32, the people of Tirunelvēli and Kaṅṅiyākumari districts used to call the story *Paḷavūr Nīli Katai*. However, Zvelebil (1995:495, s.v. Nīlakēci) sees Paḷavūr as undoubtedly equated with the village of Paḷaiyaṅṅūr in the north: “[...] folk balladic narrative known as Paḷaiyaṅṅūr Nīli alias Paḷavūr Nīli alias Ālaṅkāṭṭu Nīli.”

<sup>79</sup> See my discussion in Chap. 3, No. 5. See also Subramaniam (English/Tamil version) 1996:xvii.

<sup>80</sup> The bow-song bard T.M.P. is of this opinion.

Tiruvālaṅkāṭu as the place where the core events occurred. The fact that a local Icakki story is generally added to the well-known *IK* as a direct sequel and at a most significant point in the *koṭai* rituals is one argument in support of this view.<sup>81</sup>

Nevertheless, I admit that the oral tradition of the southernmost region assumes that the events took place in that region. This is clear from another source. The “Nīlacāmi Katai,” a later narrative<sup>82</sup> (*kollam* year 950=1775 C.E.),<sup>83</sup> yet still connected with the *IK*, seemingly knew where Paḷakai is situated. When Nīlacāmi (Nīli-Icakki’s brother) in his next birth returned to the south of India, after receiving a boon from Śiva at Mt. Kailāsa, he is said to have travelled from the Cōḷa country southwards to the river Kāviri, then to Paḷakainakar, where he remembers the past events shared with his sister Icakki in the forest of Paḷakainakar, before proceeding via Tiruccentūr<sup>84</sup> to Nāñcilnāṭu and further via Patmanāpapuram to Tiruvaṇantapuram (Trivandrum, in present-day Kerala).<sup>85</sup> It must suffice here to have drawn attention to the elusiveness of this area of research.

## 2.6 The Dating of the Text

The *IK* text edited and translated in this thesis was written down on a Monday morning, the 27th of Vaikāci (May–June) in the *kollam* year 1134 (=1959 C.E.).<sup>86</sup> The fact that the manuscript bears a date in the fairly recent past says little about the date of the story’s origin. In fact, there is strong evidence that the *IK* is not a modern narrative but simply remained unnoticed for many centuries within the oral tradition of the Tamils,<sup>87</sup> and only sporadically came to the surface. What we can say with some certainty is that the earliest extant allusion to the narrative of Nīli (later known as Icakkiammaṅ in the far south) is found in the first half of the seventh century,<sup>88</sup> in the Śaiva text titled *Tēvāram*. This seventh-century text can thus be treated as a *terminus post quem*. However, the main narrative sequence in a relatively complete shape, and with the heroine’s name mentioned, is attested only from the early fourteenth century on (at the latest).<sup>89</sup> I hasten to add that all this refers to the text versions of the northern line.

When it comes to the text of the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition of the southernmost region (the one edited and translated here), things become more complicated. There is no clear evidence for dating this southern variant, since we know fairly little about the period of the text’s migration towards the south. It is quite certain, however, that the southern text, distinguished by its devadāsī motif, must have existed before 1775. This date, Perumāḷ notes, is attested in a palm-leaf manuscript containing the narrative “Nīlacāmi Katai,” a text found in Eṇṇupukkāṭu that recalls the past events of the *IK*.<sup>90</sup> The year 1775 can thus be treated as a *terminus ante quem* for dating the southern text. Although a detailed investigation of the late-fourteenth-century work *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* (a Kerala *sandēśa-kāvya* in Maṇipravāla) is not possible here, one cannot but wonder whether this text of the elite social strata, which obviously depicts

<sup>81</sup> For the local Icakki story, see Sects. 7.5 and 9.2.2 (midnight session, p. 303f.).

<sup>82</sup> The “Nīlacāmi Katai” and the *IK* are two stories interwoven with each other, the story of Nīli-Icakki’s brother (Nīlaṅ) being continued in the “Nīlacāmi Katai” (a similar narrative relationship exists between the *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*). For details, see the footnote to my translation of N1.71-72, Sect. 5.4.

<sup>83</sup> Perumāḷ (1990:49) dates a palm-leaf manuscript of the “Nīlacāmi Katai” found in Eṇṇupukkāṭu back to 1775 C.E.

<sup>84</sup> This is the site of probably the most famous Murukaṅ temple in the Tamil country.

<sup>85</sup> See the synopsis of the “Nīlacāmi Katai” in Perumāḷ and Śrīkumār 2002:126f.

<sup>86</sup> Note that generally, in cases where he does not have the story at hand, a bow-song bard, when ordered to perform a particular *katai* at a *koṭai* festival, goes in search of palm leaves and copies the story, or else writes his own version according to the data collected by him. This is the way T.M.P. works.

<sup>87</sup> It should be borne in mind that in an oral tradition a narrative is constantly reshaped in its retelling.

<sup>88</sup> See Chap. 3, No. 4.

<sup>89</sup> See Chap. 3, No. 9.

<sup>90</sup> See also the footnote to N1.71-72, Sect. 5.4.

the erotic culture of devadāsīs in great detail,<sup>91</sup> is not an early index of a theme (i.e. explicit eroticism) that also inspired composers of texts in contexts well outside the elite milieu.<sup>92</sup> If this could be verified, we perhaps could infer that the story of Nīli had transformed itself (under the influence of a new cultural environment in the southernmost region) much earlier than supposed.<sup>93</sup> We may add that Aruṅakiri Nātar in his fifteenth-century *Tiruppukal* has referred to Nīli associating her with the seductive world of harlots.<sup>94</sup> To conclude, the picture necessarily remains incomplete. For the time being it is impossible to settle on a date for the southern line.

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<sup>91</sup> I rely here on secondary sources; see for more details Chap. 3, No. 10.

<sup>92</sup> Note that the localities mentioned in the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* belonged to kingdoms in what is today known as one of the regions of the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition, namely southern Kerala or western Nāñcilnāṭu.

<sup>93</sup> Such an early dating of the southern text would be perfectly in keeping with the record of recently rediscovered thirteenth- or fourteenth-century(?) performative texts in neighbouring Kerala. I refer to new findings relating to the work *Payyannūr Pāṭṭu*, which, as remarked by Freeman (2004:452), is “a devotional ballad to a local goddess.” The same scholar (ibid.) characterises the text as a “composition in highly nonstandard conventions of inscription [...] many features look like the transcription of an oral recitation [...], suggesting that this was a performance text, probably used for a festival celebrating as a goddess the narrative’s apparently apotheosized heroine.”

<sup>94</sup> See for more details Chap. 3, No. 11.

### 3 Tracing the Name Nīli throughout Tamil Literature

My research necessarily included tracing the story of Nīli throughout the literary corpus. I have already noted<sup>1</sup> that the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition is only one among the various traditions which had accumulated around a nucleus narrating remarkable events of the past. Other genres, such as the *yaṭcakāṇam* tradition, *kāppiyam*, medieval religious literature, *viṭutūtu* (messenger poem), proverbs, phrases, and riddles, formed a web around the narrative, and in some cases made use of it for their own purposes, be it in the form of allusions or analogies. In short, there existed a shared knowledge and historical remembrance of the core events. Traditions often overlap, and in the listing below I present evidence of such cross-fertilisation between the literary and the oral traditions.

There are, as Zvelebil (1989:298f.) has pointed out, literary references to the name Nīli stretching back both to the *kāppiyam* work *Cilappatikāram* (450–475 C.E.?) and to Śaiva literature from the seventh to nineteenth centuries. Though Nīli in the *katai* is not always identical with the Nīli mentioned variously throughout Tamil literature, it can be stated, if not with finality, that in the Śaiva literature she very probably is so.

The following compilation of literary references to the name Nīli is based on Caṇmukacuntaram 1978 (and Caṇmukacuntaram 1984);<sup>2</sup> *Vālviyaṅ Kaḷañciyam*, Vol. 12, p. 211, “Paḷayaṅūr Nīli”; Jepakumār 1992; Perumāḷ 1990 (see also Perumāḷ and Śrīkumār 2002); Shulman 1980:195–7; Subramaniam 1996; and finally Zvelebil 1989:297–301. The survey of references in Caṇmukacuntaram 1978, from which I have greatly profited, may be considered the most complete. A very few newly discovered references have been added by myself. Still, I am convinced that more remain to be discovered. I consider the references highly significant and worth a thorough examination. This task, not undertaken in other studies, will be equally addressed in the survey below, with the aim of arriving at some conclusions.

1. The *Cilappatikāram*<sup>3</sup> of Iḷāṅkō, 12.68; 12.21.3; 23.158-9 (450–475 C.E.?)<sup>4</sup> –  
A post-Caṅkam *kāppiyam*

The first occurrence of the name Nīli to be attested in classical Tamil literary texts is very likely the *Cilappatikāram*.

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<sup>1</sup> See Sect. 2.1.

<sup>2</sup> The 1978 work (particularly the list) contains fewer errors than the later one (1984), in which some notes have been added, and others removed.

<sup>3</sup> This *kāppiyam* deals with an important indigenous cultural topos: the Pattinī, that is, the chaste wife. Oddly enough, it is a violently heroic type of modesty that the heroine Kaṇṇaki embodies.

<sup>4</sup> For this dating, see Zvelebil 1995:146, 409; see also Zvelebil 1989:297. On the problems involved in dating the text, see Vēluppiḷai 1997:53ff.

1.1. In *Cil.* 12.68 the name Nīli along with other epithets (e.g. Cūli [=Durgā with the trident] and Aiyai, the goddess of hunters) is mentioned as that of a violent goddess, a multiform of Korṟavai<sup>5</sup> (the goddess of war and victory, the proto-Durgā). The scene is a temple of the goddess Aiyai, where a group of hunters and their women comes to worship her with ritual dance and song. A virgin girl is chosen to represent the goddess, and is dressed and adorned correspondingly. She undergoes possession and begins to dance and make inspired utterances.

63 சிலம்புங் கழலும் புலம்புஞ் சீறடி  
64 வலம்படு கொற்றத்து வாய்வாட் கொற்றவை  
65 இரண்டுவே றுரவிற் றிரண்டதோ ளவுணன்  
66 தலைமிசை நின்ற தையல் பலர்தொழும்  
67 அமரி குமரி கவுரி சமரி  
68 சூலி நீலி மாலவற் கிளங்கிளை  
69 ஐயை ...  
(*Cil.* [ed. U.V.C. 1978:314], Chapter 12, “Vēṭṭuvavāri” [Hunter’s song], 63-9)

63 A circlet (*kaḷal*) and *cilampu* were chiming on her small (beautiful) ankle (*cīraṭi*). [They seem to augur]  
64 a triumphant (*valampaṭu*) victory (*korṟam*) for the goddess of war (*Korṟavai*) in sword(-play)—  
66 she who stood on the head  
65 of the broad-shouldered Asura (*avuṇan*), whose body was parted in two.  
66 Worshipped by many,  
67 she was called Amari (Durgā the war goddess), Kumari (Durgā the virgin goddess), Kavuri (Gauri the white-coloured one), Camari (Durgā adorned with a serpent),  
68 Cūli (Durgā holding a trident), Nīli (the blue-coloured one). She was the younger sister of Viṣṇu.  
69 She was Aiyai (Durgā the goddess of hunters). [She was truly Durgā] [...].

Unfortunately U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar (referred to by his initials U.V.C.) has no comment to offer about these lines and the word Nīli.

1.2. In *Cil.* 12.21.3.,<sup>6</sup> in a “song of sacrifice,” the fierce virgin goddess of the Eyiṇārs/Maṟavas (thieves) who accepts blood sacrifice is called, among other names, Nīli, a generic cognomen for the fierce goddess.<sup>7</sup>

20.3 ... குமரிநி னடிதொடு  
படுகட னிதுவுரு பலிமுக மடையே.  
[...]  
(பலிக்கொடை) வேறு  
21.1 வம்பலர் பல்கி வழியும் வளம்பட  
அம்புடை வல்வி லெயின்கட னுண்குவாய்  
சங்கரி யந்தரி நீலி சடாமுடிச்  
செங்க னரவு பிறையுடன் சேர்த்துவாய்  
(*Cil.* [ed. U.V.C. 1978:319], Chapter 12, “Vēṭṭuvavāri,” 20.3-4, 21.1-4)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Tiwari (1985:232f.), referring to *Cil.* 12, remarks: “While the conception of Korṟavai in the ‘song of the hunters’ in the *Cilappatikāram* is a very syncretic one, in which she appears identified with Aiyai, Aṇaṅku [*sic*], Durgā, Kāli, etc., elsewhere in the epic a distinction seems to be implied between her and some of these goddesses.” – Tiwari’s (1985:233) further remarks on the goddess Korṟavai are useful: “As presented in the Tamil heroic poems, there is no marked element of fertility in the character of Korṟavai, who remains primarily a goddess of war and victory. This, incident[al]ly, is also suggested by her name which is generally assumed to be derived from *korṟam*, meaning victory. [...] But, considering that sacrifices of blood, including human blood, were made to Korṟavai, and virgin priestesses probably officiated in her worship, an original fertility character of this goddess is not unlikely. In any case, Murukan, with whom she stood in closest relationship as mother, seems to have been originally a dreaded fertility god, propitiated with orgiastic rituals involving frenzied dance by young girls and offerings of blood and flesh.”

<sup>6</sup> Zvelebil (1989:297), referring to *Cil.* 12.21.3, writes: “We cannot say whether *this* Nīli is identical with the gruesome heroine of the Tamil folk-tale. She probably is, since the Nīli of the quoted stanza is a rather ferocious female deity.”

<sup>7</sup> See Shulman 1980:196, n. 18.

<sup>8</sup> There is no line-by-line counting at this point in the edition. The strophe is marked by the editor as an interpolation that in spite of its lower numbering follows the verses 12.63-69 (mentioned above), rather than preceding them.

- 20.3 O virgin goddess (*kumari*), as we touch your feet  
accept our tribute (*kaṭaṇ*), this due blood sacrifice at your altar in fulfilment of the [Eyiṇārs's] vow (*kaṭaṇ*).  
[...]  
(Another song of sacrifice)
- 21.3 O Cankari, Antari, blue goddess Nīli, you who wears in your hair  
21.4 the red-eyed serpent and the crescent moon,  
21.2 accept the tribute of the Eyiṇārs, [who are equipped] with arrows and strong bows,  
21.1 and [send us in return for it, in order to rob them,] many travellers along our path, [so] that our wealth may grow  
immense!

1.3. The *Cilappatikāram*, the story of Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalaṇ, offers us still further material. The verses 23.138-70, spoken by the tutelary female deity of Maturai, contain a brief account of one Nīli, the wife of Caṅkamaṇ (lines 158-59). She committed suicide by jumping off a cliff after losing her husband tragically to the cruelty of Kōvalaṇ, who in his previous life was Parataṇ (Bharata). Nīli's curse has its inescapable effect on Kōvalaṇ and Kaṇṇaki. Since Caṅkamaṇ's unjust death has to be atoned for, Kōvalaṇ's fate takes its course, and like Caṅkamaṇ, he is executed on a false charge. According to Zvelebil (1989:297f.) "this story may have provided the original underlying motif of 'the laws of preordained fate' in the Tamil oral tradition." I cite lines 151-60:

151 சங்கம னென் னும் வாணிகன் றன்னை  
152 முந்தைப் பிறப்பிற் பைந்தொடி கணவன்  
153 வெந்திறல் வேந்தற்குக் கோத்தொழில் செய்வோன்  
154 பரத னென்னும் பெயரனக் கோவலன்  
155 விரத நீங்கிய வெறுப்பின னாதலின்  
156 ஒற்ற னிவனெனப் பற்றினன் கொண்டு  
157 வெற்றிவேன் மன்னற்குக் காட்டிக் கொல்வுழிக்  
158 கொலைக்களப் பட்ட சங்கமன மனைவி  
159 நிலைக்களங் காணா ணீலி யென்போள்  
160 அரசர் முறையோ பரதர் முறையோ  
(*Cil.* [ed. U.V.C. 1978:505], Chapter 23, "Kaṭṭurai Kātai," 151-60)

152 Woman with gold bangles,  
154 your husband Kōvalaṇ  
152 in his previous birth  
154 was known as Parataṇ.  
153 He, who was in the army of the valorous king [Vacu of Kalinga],  
155 had given up his vow of non-violence and was hated by all.  
156 He believed  
151 Caṅkamaṇ, the merchant,  
156 to be a spy. He captured him, brought him  
157 before the king of the victorious spear, and caused him to be beheaded.  
158 The wife of the murdered,  
159 Nīli by name, [now on her own and] not finding a place to stay,  
160 cried, "O king, is this your justice? O merchants, is this justice?"

1.4. Based on the comparative study of Hameed (1971), who rightly emphasised parallels between the two heroines, Kaṇṇaki of the *Cilapatikkāram* and Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli, Shulman (1980:196), in brief, sums them up:

[...] both share the motif of a husband's impoverishment by a prostitute; in both the husband dies as he is disposing of his wife's jewelry, and false accusations are believed with fatal consequences.

It appears to me that there are, moreover, striking similarities in the lives of Nīli-Icakki and another figure of the *Cilapatikkāram* that other studies have passed over because they focus on Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli (the northern version) rather than on the *Nīli Katai/IK* (the southern version of the bow-song tradition). It is interesting to note the parallel roles the devadāsī Lakṣmī of the *IK* (southern version) and the courtesan Mātavi of the *Cilapatikkāram* play in their relations with their lovers, the Brahmin and the merchant Kōvalaṇ respectively: both women share (apart from a natural interest in female heirs) the status of an independent lover; both impoverish their lovers; both share the fate of being abandoned after their lover's impoverishment; and both are lovesick and run after their lovers (Lakṣmī in person,



Mātavi by sending a letter-bearing messenger). But here their paths part, as is common for two different traditions, one vernacular, the other classic. The first tradition favours a raw articulation of emotion, while the latter resorts to more refined solutions.<sup>9</sup> Lakṣmī is killed by the Brahmin in order to get rid of her, whereas Mātavi is left with her letter written to Kōvalaṅ unanswered. Moreover, Lakṣmī's response to her violent death is vengeance, whereas Mātavi renounces her passionate desires, finding solace from the pangs of despised love in the life of a Buddhist nun.

## 2. The *Maṇimēkalai*, 26.5-34 (500 C.E./600 C.E.)<sup>10</sup> – A narrative related<sup>11</sup> to the *Cilappatikāram*

Nīli's story as the wife of the merchant Caṅkamaṅ of Simhapuram (whose names in their next births are respectively Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalaṅ) is retold in the *Maṇimēkalai* of Cāttaṅār, Chapter 26, "Vañcimānakarpukka-kātai" 5-34 (a narrative continuation of the *Cilappatikāram*). When *Maṇimēkalai*, the seed of the love between Mātavi and Kōvalaṅ, visits Vañci<sup>12</sup> and worships the images of Kōvalaṅ and Kaṇṇaki, the latter appears before her to tell her about Kōvalaṅ's past life. I borrow the translation of Chapter 26, "Entering the City of Vañci," from Nandakumar 1989:142:

The maid traversed the skies to the city,  
Eager to see her mother, Kannaki  
Of immense love, and father Kovalan  
The caritable, who were now sculpted  
As statues invested with divinity.  
"Not seeking the duty of love, nor of  
Renunciation, you took to the path  
Of stern chastity for life's fulfilment.  
Tell me why," she cried, praying in front  
Of their images. The great chaste Goddess said:  
"When Maturai was burnt by my anger  
Due to the evil that had struck my lord,  
Goddess Maturapathi appeared.  
'This has been due to your evil past.  
Vasu and Kumaran were agnate kings  
Of Kalinga country with great gardens.  
Simhapura and Kapila were their  
Capitals: they battled amongst themselves.  
Between the cities a stretch of sixty  
Miles lay deserted, unapproached by man.  
Eager to make money Sangaman brought  
Jewels secretly, and with his wife went  
To Simhapura. He was detected  
And reported upon. Your husband

<sup>9</sup> On the divergent treatment of topics within the two traditions, see Hildebeitel 1999:9, and Shulman 1986:127. See also Hameed 1971:196–204.

<sup>10</sup> On the dating of 500 C.E., see Zvelebil 1995:409. Vēluppiḷḷai (1997) "finds it difficult to decide on the date of the narrative *Maṇimēkalai*, as it stands today"; all things considered, "[to him] the date of the sixth century A.D. [...] appears most probable, but interpolations could have been made almost up until the thirteenth century" (93).

<sup>11</sup> Commonly Tamil scholars have been of the opinion that the *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* are twin *kāppiyams*. However, more recent research (Vēluppiḷḷai 1997) shows a tendency to consider the two authors Iḷaṅkō and Cāttaṅār as independent of each other in time, and also to a certain extent with respect to narrative concerns. The epilogue (*nūr kaṭṭurai*) of the *Cilappatikāram* mentions that together with the *Maṇimēkalai* the story forms a complete whole, and indeed the two *kāppiyams*, as remarked by Vēluppiḷḷai (ibid.:54), "treat the story of one family." Yet, as Vēluppiḷḷai (ibid.:69f.) attempts to show, "Iḷaṅkō and Cāttaṅār seem to be so different in outlook that it is difficult to visualise a close personal friendship between the two." (69) Whereas he considers it "very difficult to pinpoint [Iḷaṅkō] to any one religion, any dynasty or any region" (69), he looks upon Cāttaṅār as "very sectarian (confessional) in his approach" (69f.). He further argues that the Buddhist poet of the *Maṇimēkalai* makes use of an earlier work (69), the *Cilappatikāram* (popular at the time), that mainly glorifies the Pattiṅi (78), but also attempted to popularise Jainism (70). The *Maṇimēkalai* itself is regarded as having a sectarian affiliation to late Theravāda schools (Schalk 1997:23).

<sup>12</sup> Nagaswamy (1995) shows that Vañci was the site of today's Karūr in Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district. See also Hudson 1997:152.

Bharathan, a cruel official of the King,  
Caught him, and accusing him as a spy  
To the King, had the innocent man  
Condemned to death. There his wife lamented  
Pitifully and went to a hill-top  
Getting ready to die. Her curses then  
Have now borne result. The evil of past  
Will inexorably chase the doer.<sup>7</sup>  
(*Maṇimēkalai* 26.5.34, transl. by S. Prema Nandakumar:142)

### 3. The *Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu Mūttatiruppatikam* of Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅṅār, strophes 2 and 5 (550–600 C.E.)<sup>13</sup> – Devotional Śaiva literature

A further source is the devotional poems of the *Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu Mūttatiruppatikam* of Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅṅār (probably the earliest Śaiva poet-saint), who became the *kāraikkārpēy*, Śiva’s demon devotee in Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu<sup>14</sup> (Zvelebil 1995:334). According to Shulman (1980), she is “[...] a form of Nīli, the ancient goddess [...]” (161) who “[...] is tamed by the dance [contest]” (203).<sup>15</sup> Her legend, Shulman notes, has to be seen as “a hagiographic variant<sup>16</sup> of the myth of Nīli,<sup>17</sup> the ancient goddess of Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu” (13). Of course, what Shulman is referring to is not the deceitful heroine Paḷaiyaṅṅūr Nīli, as known to us in the *katai* (N7)—although the two do share a sacred space—but Kālī, who in the Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu-Sthalamāhātmya is identified with the ancient goddess Nīli, an active and fearsome goddess referred to in *Cil.* 12.68 as a multiform of Koṅṅavai.

The text contains a fascinating description of a demoness at a cremation ground. I have chosen strophe 2, mainly in order to draw the reader’s attention to the milky *kaḷḷi* plant and its proximity to the

<sup>13</sup> The exact date is unknown. On the dating, see Zvelebil 1995:334. See also the *Kāraikkālammaiṅṅār Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu Mūttatiruppatikam* (ed. Karavelane 1982:17, 19); the editor fixes the date to the middle of the sixth century C.E., referring to the fact that the poetess lived earlier than Campantar. This is based on Cēkkiḷār’s account that Tiruṅṅācampantar, while on a pilgrimage in Toṅṅaiṅṅāṭṭu, refused to tread the ground of Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu, arguing that Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅṅār had there walked on her hands in true respect to Śiva (ibid.:18, introduction).

<sup>14</sup> On the importance of Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu in the clash between Śaivism and the Ammaṅṅ cult, and the Śaiva tradition’s aim of taming the cult, see Kulke 1970:124: “Beide Legenden aus Tiruvālaṅṅāṭṭu, diejenige der Göttin Kālī und jene der Ammaiṅṅār, kreisen damit um ein und dasselbe Thema, nämlich um die Auseinandersetzung des Śivaismus mit dem Kult einer Göttin. Dabei dürfte die Legende vom Tanzwettbewerb Śivas mit der Göttin Kālī insofern noch ältere Züge in sich bergen, als hier von einem Kampf die Rede ist, während in der Legende der Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅṅār die Unterwerfung bereits vollzogen ist” (124). [...] Daß sie [Kālī] in diesem Kampfe unterlag, ist nicht der Schwäche der Göttin in diesem Wesenszug zuzuschreiben. Es ist vielmehr das Ergebnis der historischen Entwicklung des Śivaismus, der mehr als irgendeine andere der großen ‘Religionen’ Indiens in die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Kult der Göttin verstrickt und erfolgreich war. Dabei war das Ziel dieser Auseinandersetzung die ‘Bändigung’ ihres Kultes. Das Ergebnis war die ‘Heirat’ des mütterlichen Aspektes der Göttin als Pārvatī und die völlige Abdrängung ihres vernichtenden Aspektes (als ‘Cāmuṅṅā’)” (ibid.:124f.). Kulke (ibid.:123) draws a parallel between Cāmuṅṅā and Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅṅār: “In ihrer von Sēkkiḷār beschriebenen und von den Künstlern Südindiens dargestellten Gestalt ähnelt sie ferner sehr stark der siebten Muttergöttin, der Cāmuṅṅā, die, wie Bhairava unter den Göttern, den furchterregenden Aspekt der Muttergöttin verkörpert” (123). [...] Ein ikonographisch sicherer Beweis für die Beziehungen zwischen der Kāraikkāl-Ammaiṅṅār und der Cāmuṅṅā sind die deutlich erkennbaren Eckzähne der Ammaiṅṅār. [...] Sie sind aus ihrer Legende heraus nicht zu erklären. Hier liegt sozusagen eine ikonographische Kontamination vor” (123, n. 302).

<sup>15</sup> No. 12 below treats this dance contest in more detail. Interestingly enough, the pose of a devadāsī raising her leg above her head—the same dance figure with which Śiva defeated Kālī—was not uncommon, as the pose of a dancing girl in the Nṛṅṅta Sabhā in Cidambaram shows; on the Cidambaram dance pose, see Smith 1996:219.

<sup>16</sup> According to her legend, she was born as Puṅṅitavati, the daughter of a wealthy merchant, and later married Paramatattāṅṅ, who, overawed by her miracle with a mango, left her and took a second wife. Cēkkiḷār deals with the legend in the *Periyapurāṅṅam*. See also Schomerus 1925:123–6. – An analogous hagiographic account centres on the *yakṣī* Ampikā, portrayed in the stories of the Jains as a woman with two children who was discarded by a husband who feared her. She eventually threw herself over a cliff; see also Sect. 7.3.1, point 6, p. 244, n. 100.

<sup>17</sup> Shulman’s statement can lead to some confusion, since it does not distinguish between the “tamed” and “untamed” Kālī sufficiently clearly. The use of the name Nīli is here perhaps less satisfactory, for Nīli, in my opinion, is the “untamed” Kālī prior to the dance contest, whereas—and here I follow Kulke 1970:124—in Kāraikkāl’s hagiography the taming has already been accomplished (“während in der Legende der Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅṅār die Unterwerfung bereits vollzogen ist”).

demonic (*pēy*), a matter of great inner logic that is confirmed in the close relation between the *kaḷḷi*-(turned-child) and the *pēy*-demoness Nīli-Icakki in the *IK*.

கள்ளிக் கவட்டிடைக் காலைநீட்டிக்  
கடைக்கொள்ளி வாங்கி மசித்துமையை  
விள்ள எழுதி வெடுவெடென்ன  
நக்கு வெருண்டு விலங்குபார்த்துத்  
துள்ளிச் சுடலைச் சுடுபிணத்தீச்  
சுட்டிட முற்றுஞ் சுளிந்துழித்தி  
அள்ளி யவிக்காநின் றாடுமெங்கள்  
அப்ப னிடந்திரு ஆலங்காடே.

(*Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu Mūttatirupatikam*, strophe 2, [ed. Karavelane 1982:61])

- 1 Her legs stretched—with a *kaḷḷi* plant in between the fork of her legs—
- 2 she takes the tip of a piece of coal from the fire and mashes it into collyrium
- 3 to mark her body. She laughs boisterously,
- 4 and at the same time causes fright with the sidelong look [natural to demons].
- 5 She jumps up, and [against] the hot corpse in the fire of the cremation ground
- 6 burns herself. Angrily
- 7 she kicks dust (6) to put [the fire] out where he is dancing, our
- 8 god of Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu.

#### 4. The *Tēvāram* 1.45.1; 1.45.7 (of Tiruñāṇacampan̄tar; before 650 C.E.?)<sup>18</sup> – Devotional (*bhakti*) Śaiva literature

4.1. The motif of a woman who suffers great injury and avenges herself appears repeatedly in Tamil literature from *Cil.* 23.138-70 on. The very first record of a link of the vengeful Nīli (of the *katai*) with the site Paḷaiyaṇūr-Ālaṅkāṭṭu and the Vēḷāḷa community is, however, found in the *Tēvāram*, a Middle Tamil text of the Śaiva canon comprising hymns by the most famous Nāyaṇmār poet-saints, and one of the most important sources for an understanding of Tamil *bhakti* (Zvelebil 1995, s.v.), a movement that inspired the landed caste of the Vēḷāḷas, and conversely threatened the mercantile Jains. The great Śaiva poet-saint Tiruñāṇacampan̄tar, a younger contemporary of Appar, mentions Ālaṅkāṭṭu (another name for Paḷaiyaṇūr) in “Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu,” *patikam* 1.45. There he makes an allusion to the story of the deceitful Nīli of Paḷaiyaṇūr, as it is known to us today in the *Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli Katai*,<sup>19</sup> without, however, naming her. The Vēḷāḷas who entered the fire in order to keep their word are praised in these verses of the *Tēvāram*.<sup>20</sup> Within a landscape of changing socioreligious dominance, it is no accident that they are the heroic figures here.<sup>21</sup> The fact that the allusion to Nīli appears in the first verse of the *patikam* is striking, and there is good reason to suppose that the poet considered the story of the deceitful Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli and the Vēḷāḷas as a most relevant and famous incident relating to Ālaṅkāṭṭu.

<sup>18</sup> This date is taken from Zvelebil 1989:298. The question of the date of the *Tēvāram* poet is discussed in Zvelebil 1975:139f., and remains a matter of controversy. The same author (1995:682) fixes the poet’s lifetime between 625 and 660 C.E., basing himself on Campantar’s mention of the Pallava general Ciṟuttoṅṅar, who destroyed the Chalukya capital of Vātāpi in 642 C.E. For a further discussion, see Peterson 1991:19.

<sup>19</sup> The story of the deceitful Nīli (of the *Nīli Katai*) referred to by Campantar is—I refer to the synopsis of Chakravarti (1936:13–14; see also in this section below)—a minor variant of N7 (see the synopsis in Sect. 2.4 above), the most striking divergence being that it lacks the episode of the self-impregnated child, leaving the reader with the impression that the murdered wife had sexual intercourse with her husband, which according to N7 was not the case. Moreover, Chakravarti’s synopsis depicts the murder as being motivated by the greediness of the husband for his wife’s jewels, whereas in N7 the murder is committed out of fear of having to face the humiliation of his wife’s infidelity, an accusation that was, of course, unjustified. – I agree with Chakravarti (1936:15) that the deceitful Nīli (of the *Nīli Katai*) should not be identified with the Kālī-(Nīli) of Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu, who has a famous temple there, but is a distinct figure.

<sup>20</sup> The poet’s reason for mentioning the well-known incident involving Nīli evidently is to give prominence to the Vēḷāḷas’ uprightness. Here the fame lies with the Vēḷāḷas, whereas in the bow-song I see it as attaching to Nīli, as is clearly stated in one of the verses. The bow-song bard T.M.P. confirmed the latter to me.

<sup>21</sup> The setting presented to us is no longer influenced by Jains and merchants, as it was in the earlier *Cilapatikkāram*. – For a historical account of the *bhakti* movement, spearheaded by the Vēḷāḷa community, see Stein 1985:81, 88.

- திரு ஆலங்காடு 1-45  
 1.1 துஞ்ச வருவாரும், தொழுவிப்பாரும், வழுவிப் போய்  
 நெஞ்சம் புதுந்து என்னை நினைவிப்பாரும்-முனை நட்புஆய்  
 வஞ்சப்படுத்து ஒருத்தி வாழ்நாள் கொள்ளும் வகை கேட்டு,  
 அஞ்சும் பழையனார் ஆலங்காட்டு எம் அடிகளே.  
 (*Tēvāram* [ed. Gopal Iyer and Gros 1984:47], “Tiru Ālaṅkāṭu,” 1.45.1)
- 1.4 O our Lord of Paḷaiyaṅūr-Ālaṅkāṭu, the site of those who feared [for their honour] when  
 1.3 they heard of the method of the lady who takes life [*vāṅṅā!*] by a wilful deceit—  
 1.1 He is the god who is in my dreams [when I sleep] and makes the people worship.  
 [However,] he slips away<sup>22</sup> after  
 1.2 he has entered my heart and made me remember the former lover.

According to Chakravarti (1936:13f.) and others,<sup>23</sup> it is the following version that is alluded to by Tiruṅānacampantar and Cēkkiḷār:

A married Brahmin entrapped by a *dāsī* lost all his property. Pretending to return to his abandoned wife, who had been living with her parents, he killed her, throwing her and her baby into a well, and snatched her jewels. The Brahmin was reborn as a *Ceṭṭi*. Though he was warned not to go north, one day he crossed the forest of Paḷaiyaṅūr equipped with a magical sword. There Nīli, his wife in the previous birth, clung to him. He tried to escape, but in vain. She stubbornly claimed to be his legal wife who had been discarded in favour of prostitutes. In the village, before an assembly of seventy *Vēḷāḷas*, she insisted on getting him back, narrating in detail the whole family history of the merchant. Although the *Ceṭṭi* contended that she was a *pēy* who was trying to kill him, they consoled him and assured him that they would take responsibility for his life. However, this was to no avail. When they were alone at night, and he was unprotected (upon Nīli’s request, the magical sword had been taken away from him), she tore open his body. When the *Vēḷāḷas* discovered this, they entered the fire. (Synopsis on the basis of the summaries of the scholars mentioned above)

4.2. Another interesting verse in the *Tēvāram* is 1.45.7 and its mention of *aṅaṅku*.<sup>24</sup> That the word *aṅaṅku* also applies to the deceitful Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli (of the *katai*) may be unintentional, but is probably not, since the poet begins this *patikam* (1.45.1) with an allusion to Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli. It is useful to remember at this point that the two autonomous figures, the deceitful Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli and the “untamed” goddess Kālī(-Nīli) of Paḷaiyaṅūr-Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, share a moment in history, inasmuch as the murder of the *Ceṭṭi* by the vengeful Nīli occurs in the shrine, the *mūlasthāna*, of the “untamed” goddess.<sup>25</sup> The poet obviously considers this cause enough to use the word *aṅaṅku* with its connotation of a “potentially dangerous female force.” We might read this force as attaching to both female figures,<sup>26</sup> keeping all the

<sup>22</sup> The god’s slipping away, according to Shulman (personal communication), is a *Tēvāram* model of a devotee’s meeting with a god who comes into his physical presence (*arul*).

<sup>23</sup> See also Cōmacuntaraṅār (1964:24f.) and Zvelebil’s synopsis (1989:300).

<sup>24</sup> The concept of *aṅaṅku* (Smith 2006, Dubianski 2000, Rajam 1986, Zvelebil 1984, Burrow 1979, Hart 1976), central to Tamil culture (though argued over by scholars; e.g. Rajam 1986), signifies according to Dubianski (2000) “a certain force related to various objects and phenomena of the world” (7) and may be “benevolent and, also, intimidating and dangerous” (13). It can mean “to kill,” “to desire,” “to suffer,” or “to fear.” David Shulman tentatively defines it as “a heightened, maybe divine existence, intentionally dangerous, but not necessarily dangerous” (personal communication). See also the Telugu cognate *aṅa(ṅ)gu* (to submit, be humbled). Durgā is called *aṅaṅkāḷ* and *aṅaṅkinavāḷ*, hers, too, being a slightly dangerous presence. The *Tēvāram* contains frequent reference to Durgā, primarily as a goddess who heals, as in Tiruvannāmalai.

<sup>25</sup> See illustrations in P. Subramaniam’s edition of the *Nīli Yaṭcakāṇam*.

<sup>26</sup> There is perhaps reason to suppose that the poet is linking the vengeful Nīli (of our *katai*) and the ancient goddess by allusion to their *aṅaṅku*, given the link between the “untamed” goddess Kālī(-Nīli) and the fierce goddess Aṅaṅku (another form of Korṟavai) of *Cil.* 12.42, and given the atmosphere in *Cil.* 12 “Vēṭṭuvavari” (Hunter’s song) in general, and verse 12.21.3 in particular. See *Cil.* (ed. U.V.C. 1978:312f.) 12.42-44: ... அணங்கு முன்னிற்றி/விலைப்பலி யுண்ணு மலர்பலி பிடிக்கக்/கலைப்பரி யூர்தியைக் கைதொழு தேத்தி, “[Cālīni, the virgin girl of the Eyiṅārs,] stood before (42) the flower *pītam* pedestal (43) of [the goddess] Aṅaṅku (42), who feasts on (*uṅṅum*) [bloody] sacrifice, [giving victory in return] (*vilaippali*) (43) They, [the Eyiṅārs,] folding their hands in worship, praised [their virgin girl, who is] the goddess mounted (*ūrṭi*) on a stag (*kalaippari*)” (44).

while in mind that “*pēy* demonesses [are] known for their rare *aṇaṅku*” (Dubianski 2000:15). An additional fact adds to the argument that the verse is very probably alluding simultaneously to Paḷaiyaṅṅūr Nīli (of the *katai*): Cēkkiḷār in *Periyapurāṇam* 19.1080, another verse alluding to the deceitful Nīli, obviously quotes from *Tēvāram* 1.45.7, since he uses the word *ciruttoṅṅar* (little devotees) when referring to the honourable Vēḷāḷas.

- 7 திரு ஆலங்காடு 1–45  
நுணங்குமறை பாடி ஆடி வேடம் பயின்றாரும்,  
இணங்கும் மலைமகளோடு இரு கூறு ஒன்றுஆய் இசைந்தாரும்—  
வணங்கும் சிறுத்தொண்டர் வைகல் ஏத்தும் வாழ்த்தும் கேட்டு,  
அணங்கும் பழையனூர் ஆலங்காட்டு எம் அடிகளே.  
(*Tēvāram* [ed. Gopal Iyer and Gros 1984:47], “Tiru Ālaṅkāṭu,” 1.45.7)
- 5 O our Lord of Paḷaiyaṅṅūr-Ālaṅkāṭu,  
4 where these humble devotees who bow down daily praise [him], wishing long life [and]—in the presence of the  
goddess [of Ālaṅkāṭu], who has *aṇaṅku*, the potentially dangerous female force, in her<sup>27</sup>—  
1 listening [4] to him as he chants the subtle<sup>28</sup> Veda, dances, and tries to disguise himself.  
3 He is the one who was two and harmoniously became one<sup>29</sup>  
2 by including Pārvatī, the daughter of the Himālaya, who obeys him.

### 5. Nīlitanallūr in a tenth-century inscription of Cōḷaṅ Talaikoṅṅa Vīrpaṅṅiyaṅ

Vetācalam, to whose study (1989:108) I owe the source, suggests that the name Nīlitanallūr found on a tenth-century inscription is linked with Nīli. He identifies Nīlitanallūr with a village in the area of Tirunelvēli, where an inscription of Cōḷaṅ Talaikoṅṅa Vīrpaṅṅiyaṅ written in *vattēḷuttu* characters was discovered in the local temple. The village name and its dating back to the tenth century, according to Vetācalam, imply that Nīli and her name had become popular in Tirunelvēli district by that period. In reality, it is difficult to know how to assess this supposed example of Nīli’s popularity in the southernmost part of Tamilnadu. I do not find the above conclusion fully convincing, any more than the entire undertaking of identifying various places with the Nīli/Icakki story. It would be desirable to know what other information the inscription supplies—for instance, why precisely the village is named such and what circumstance the inscription is referring to.

### 6. The Jain narrative poem<sup>30</sup> *Nīlakēci*, “Avaiyaṅṅakam” 4 (latter half of the tenth century)<sup>31</sup> – Minor *kāvya* literature

The Jain work refers to the name Nīli as follows:

ஆய்நீல வுண்க ணவளா யடங்காமை செய்யும்  
பேய்நீல கேசி ...<sup>32</sup>  
(*Nīlakēci*, [ed. Cakkaravartti 1984<sup>9</sup>:15], Avaiyaṅṅakam 4=௨)

She whose collyrium-smeared eyes (*uṅkaṅ*) are beautifully (*-āy*) dark (*nīla*)  
is the *pēy* demoness named Nīlakēci, who commits atrocities.

<sup>27</sup> This is a slightly free translation.

<sup>28</sup> *nuṅaṅku*, Skt. *sūkṣma* (everything that is fine, subtle). On *nuṅaṅku*, see also *Tirukkuraḷ* 42.419: people who have the ability to listen to the nuances, the very subtle parts.

<sup>29</sup> He made one out of two (*kūru* = śiva and śakti).

<sup>30</sup> The work is one of the *cīrupaṅṅakāvīyam* (five minor *kāvya*s).

<sup>31</sup> The dating is according to Zvelebil 1995:495. Zvelebil (1989:301) assigns Camayativākaravāmaṅa Muṅi’s commentary on the *Nīlakēci* to the sixteenth century.

<sup>32</sup> *āynīl uṅkaṅ avalāy aṅaṅkāmai ceyyum pēy nīlakēci*.

*Avalāy*, according to the commentator Camayativākaravāmaṇa Muṇivar, refers to Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīlakēci (ibid.).

The *Nīlakēci*, as remarked by Chakravarti (1974:103, 94), is “an answer to” or “modelled after” the Buddhist work *Kuṇṭalakēci*,<sup>33</sup> and “intended to be a refutation of Kuṇḍalakēsi’s philosophy.” The title of the work discussed here, according to the anonymous author,<sup>34</sup> is based on the myth of the *pēy* demoness “Kālī-Nīlakēci of Paḷaiyaṇūr.” The setting is referred to in the work as Tenpaḷayaṇūr,<sup>35</sup> accepted by Tamil scholars as identical with Paḷaiyaṇūr on the outskirts of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu near Arkkōṇam, and renowned from the *Tēvāram*. Again, we are dealing with Kālī-Nīli,<sup>36</sup> the ancient demonic goddess<sup>37</sup> who was, according to myth, defeated by Śiva in a dance contest. The author renames her Nīlakēci, the Sanskrit equivalent of Tamil Vaṇṭārkuḷali (lit. “she whose hair is full of bees” and hence dark),<sup>38</sup> yet another of the goddess’s cognomens.

As Shulman (1980:196) notes, “her name was apparently so closely linked with violence that the Jain author of [...] Nīlakēci chose her to represent an extreme example of successful conversion [...].” However, as Chakravarti (1936:18) emphasises:

After all, we have to remember that the author of Neelakesi, though he takes her—the Kālī of Pazhayanur—as the heroine of the story, frankly confesses that the story [titled *Nīlakēci*] is [...] an entirely imaginative creation. He wanted somebody who was revelling in cruelty and himsa to be converted to the doctrine of Ahimsa [...]. He could not think of anybody else than the Kālī of Pazhayanur.

In attempting some clarification with respect to the different characters bearing the name Nīli, one must consider the following remarks by the same author (ibid.):

The Sthalamāhatmya of Tiruvālangādu identifies Neeli with Kālī of Pazhayanur. In this respect it is identical with Neelakesi. But the story [of Kālī-Nīli] is afterwards [...] leading to Siva’s conquest over Kālī in the dance contest.

It is true that the *Nīlakēci* starts off with the same character, namely Kālī-Nīli<sup>39</sup> (=Nīlakēci), the presiding deity of the Paḷaiyaṇūr cremation ground, but, unlike in the Śaiva myth of Kālī, the heroine of this Jain work becomes a disciple of the Jain ascetic Muṇicantiraṇ. Despite this divergence, it is striking that both stories share the theme of the goddess’s defeat in a contest: in the one case with Śaivism,<sup>40</sup> in the other with Jainism.

<sup>33</sup> For a synopsis of the life of Kuṇṭalakēci, see Chakravarti 1974:94f.

<sup>34</sup> The text and the commentator are wholly silent about the name of the author, and the date and place of origin of the work; see Chakravarti 1936.

<sup>35</sup> Chakravarti 1936:12.

<sup>36</sup> I refer to the introduction to the *Alaṅkāṭuttalapurāṇam* (Sthalamāhātmya of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu); see No. 12, below.

<sup>37</sup> On the nature of Nīlakēci-Nīli, cf. Cōmacuntaraṇār 1964:22–24: *nīlakēci eṇpavaḷ namatu tamīlnāṭṭilulla oru valiya peṇ pēyē āvaḷ. Innīlakēciyai ivvācīriyar “teṇṛicai nīlakēci māteyvam” eṇṛē kurippitukīṇṇaṇar. Īṇṭu “māteyvam” eṇṛatu perumpēy eṇṛavāṛām. “teṇṛicai nīlakēci” eṇṇpatarkup paḷaiya vuraiyācīriyar “paḷaiyaṇūr nīlakēci” eṇṇru kurippurai varaintuḷḷaṇar.* – See ibid.:24 for a summary of the Nīli story as it is known to Cēkkīlār.

<sup>38</sup> On Vaṇṭārkuḷali as a cognomen of the goddess Kālī-Nīli of Paḷaiyaṇūr, and appearing in the *Nīlakēci* as synonymous with the name Nīlakēci (Skt. *keśi*, Ta. *kūntal/kūlal*, “woman’s hair”), see Chakravarti 1936:18, 19. – Karavelane in his *avant-propos* (written 1956), p. 18, n. 7 of his edition and translation of the *Kāraikkālammaiṇṇar Tiruvālaṅkāṭu Mūṭṭaṭṭiruppatikam* (published 1982), also mentions the two interchangeable names of Kālī, stating with reference to the dance contest between Kālī and Śiva: “Elle s’avoua vaincue et devint l’épouse de Civa. Depuis on l’appelle Nīlakēci (sanskrit) ou Vandārkuḷali (tamoul), les deux mots signifiant ‘celle à la chevelure noire’” (She accepted defeat and became Śiva’s wife. Since then she has been known as Nīlakēci [Sanskrit] or Vaṇṭārkuḷali [Tamil], the two words signifying “a woman with dark hair”).

<sup>39</sup> I combine the names, considering them as multiforms of Koṇṇavai.

<sup>40</sup> On the clash between Śaivism and the goddess cult, see p. 31, n. 14 (to No. 3) above.

The following is a synopsis of the opening chapter, “Tarumav-uraic carukkam” (The Preaching of Dharma),<sup>41</sup> which “serve[s] as a frame-work for introducing philosophical discussions”<sup>42</sup>:

The story of the fierce goddess Nīlakēci begins with a description of Pāñcālam, also known as Pārttināṭu (v. 10=௫), a land ruled by the king Camuttiracāraṅ (v. 21=௫௨) from its capital, Puṅṅaravarttaṅam (v. 23=௫௩). It so happens that one day animals are offered by the people of the capital as a thanksgiving sacrifice for the goddess Kālī, who resides in a temple outside the city, on the cremation grounds called Pālālaiyam. The Jain ascetic Muṅicantiraṅ, who lives near the Kālī temple, decides on the basis of his Jain belief of *ahiṃsā* to teach his doctrine of nonviolence to the people who have come to venerate the goddess Kālī for having bestowed a child upon the queen.<sup>43</sup> Convinced by his teaching, they change their mode of sacrifice. The fact that the Jain *muni* denies that the queen’s offspring was due to the goddess’s potency in bestowing children, and that the people have changed the way they worship her, upsets Kālī, and she decides to challenge the *muni* for having interfered in such worship. Feeling herself powerless to defeat the Jain saint, she seeks help from her leader, the greatest goddess among the minor deities (*devatās*): Nīlakēci of the south.<sup>44</sup> Following Kālī’s request, Nīlakēci comes north and delivers a terrifying threat to the *muni*. However, she fails to accomplish her task, the *muni* remaining undisturbed in his ascetic contemplation. With the idea of disturbing his *tapas* (asceticism; lit. “heat”) she appears disguised as an enticingly beautiful woman and attempts to seduce him. Again, however, the goddess does not succeed, either in frightening the *muni* away or in seducing him, for he sees through her disguise to her true identity and intention. Amazed by the *muni*’s insight, she apologises, acknowledges defeat, and asks for an initiation into Jain doctrine. She is willing to sit at the feet of the *muni*, and to assume a human shape in order to propagate the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*. (My synopsis)<sup>45</sup>

In brief, I conclude that the Jain author of the *Nīlakēci* knew of the ancient goddess Kālī-Nīli of Paḷaiyaṅūr-Ālaṅkāṭu and alludes to her in his work, taking her name and its association with *hiṃsā* (violence) as his starting point, with the aim of teaching *ahiṃsā*.<sup>46</sup> But he does not, in my opinion, portray the once human, later vengeful Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli who figures in the core events of our *Nīli Katai* (N7), although this Nīli coincidentally shares demonic (*pēy*) features with Kālī-Nīli-Nīlakēci.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Nīlakēci*, ed. Cakkaravartti 1984<sup>9</sup>:17–56.

<sup>42</sup> I cite Chakravarti 1974:103.

<sup>43</sup> It is noteworthy that the fierce Kālī is portrayed as a goddess who bestows children.

<sup>44</sup> One wonders whether the “goddess of the south” is perhaps an allusion to Maṅimēkalā *teyvam*, the goddess who, in the *Maṅimēkalai* (a Tamil Buddhist *kāppiyam*), destroys the southern city of Pukār in a fit of rage and becomes a deity in the northern city of Kāñci.

<sup>45</sup> My synopsis is based on the *Nīlakēci*, [ed. Cakkaravartti 1984<sup>9</sup>], pp. 17ff., and Chakravarti 1936:13f.; cf. Chakravarti 1974:103ff.

<sup>46</sup> Chakravarti (1936:15f.) suggests that perhaps it is another Nīli who is alluded to in the title of the work, namely, a Nīli who appears in the “Ratnakarandaka Srāvakāchhāra” of “Swami Samanthabhadra” who lived in Kāñcipuram, an important centre of Jainism. In this Jain story, told by Chakravarti in his introduction to the *Nīlakēci* (1936:15–17), Nīli, a young Jain woman who ardently believes in *ahiṃsā*, is to her great horror deceived into marrying the Buddhist non-vegetarian Sagaradatta, who had seen her and coveted her. Being forced to cook a non-vegetarian meal for a Buddhist monk, she resorts to a ruse. As a result, the chaste wife is falsely accused of adultery by her husband, but proves her *karpu* (modesty) with the help of a friendly deity who locks the city gates, which Nīli alone is able to open. The story is also mentioned by Shulman 1980:196.

<sup>47</sup> Thus I concur with Chakravarti (1936:15), who writes with respect to the Nīli of the narrative, in the form in which it was known to Campantar and Cēkkiḷār: “It is quite evident that this Neeli, though an evil spirit, has nothing to do with the Kālī-Neelakesi.”

7. The *Nīli Katai* in the *Tiruttoṅṭar Purāṇam* (also known as the *Periyapurāṇam*) of Cēkkiḷār, 19.1080 (~1135 C.E.)<sup>48</sup> – Medieval Śaiva literature

In the mid-twelfth-century *Periyapurāṇam* of Cēkkiḷār, a hagiography of the sixty-three Śaiva saints based on the *Tēvāram* and making use of additional material collected from oral tradition (Zvelebil 1995:546), we find a clear allusion to the *Nīli Katai*. In Chapter 19, “Tirukkuṟipputtoṅṭa nāyaṅār purāṇam,” strophe 1080(=3), Cēkkiḷār (a Vēḷāḷa born in Kuṇṟattūr, Toṅṭaināṭu), inspired by Campantar’s *Tēvāram* (Paḷaiyaṅūr-Ālaṅkāṭu 1.45.1 and 1.45.7), praises Toṅṭaināṭu for having inhabitants like the “humble devotees of Paḷaiyaṅūr” (*paḷaiyaṅūr ciṟuttoṅṭar*). Here the motif of the honourable Vēḷāḷas of *Tēvāram* 1.45.1 is reechoed, and the “*ciṟuttoṅṭar*” of *Tēvāram* 1.45.7 adverted to as well.

1080(=3) நற்றி றம்புறி பழையனூர்ச் சிறுத்தொண்டர் நவைவந்  
துற்ற போதுதம் முயிரையும் வணிகனுக் கொடுகாற்  
சொற்ற மெய்மையுந் தூக்கியச் சொல்லையே காக்கப்  
பெற்ற மேன்மையி னிகழ்ந்தது பெருந்தொண்டை நாடு.  
(*Periyapurāṇam*, [ed. Cuppiramaṇiya Mutaliyār 1975],  
Chapter 19, “Tirukkuṟipputtoṅṭa nāyaṅār purāṇam,” 1080[=3])

1080(=3).1-2 When the righteous, humble devotees (*ciṟuttoṅṭar*) of Paḷaiyaṅūr faced blame,  
2-3 they gave up their life in order to keep truth [firmly] in balance (*tūkkiya*)—based on their word given to the  
merchant (*vaṇikaṅ*).  
4 Great Toṅṭaināṭu owes its fame to their greatness.

The allusion to Nīli of the *katai* is primarily intended as a means of praising the virtuous Vēḷāḷas and the region of Toṅṭaināṭu.

8. Nīli in *Takkayākkappaṇaṇi*<sup>49</sup> 359 (The *paṇaṇi* of Takkaṅ’s sacrifice) of Oṭṭakkūttar<sup>50</sup> (twelfth century)<sup>51</sup> – A medieval genre

Nīli as a name for the fierce goddess appears in *Takkayākkappaṇaṇi* 359. This is a poem based on the myth of Dakṣa’s sacrifice, which was laid waste to by Kālī, whereupon evil spirits and ghosts enjoyed the feast. The poem is a description of Kālī worship, a genre of “poetic expression of gruesomeness and horror.”<sup>52</sup> It tells, for instance, of the temple of Kālī in the wilderness (part 3: *kāṭu pāṭiyatu*), and offers a description of devils and evil spirits (part 5: *pēykalaiappāṭiyatu*). In it Oṭṭakkūttar, an ardent Śaiva, opposes the Jains and praises his patrons, the three Cōḷa rulers.<sup>53</sup>

9. The *Cēkkiḷār nāyaṅār Purāṇam* (Biography of Cēkkiḷār) of Umāpati Civāchāriya’s *Tiruttoṅṭar Purāṇam Varalāru* (History of the *Tiruttoṅṭar Purāṇam*), 5 (early fourteenth century)<sup>54</sup> – Late medieval literature

Umāpati Civāchāriya, the poet-philosopher who carried on the Śaiva hagiographic tradition after Cēkkiḷār, praises the greatness of the Vēḷāḷas who entered the fire in order to remain true to their word.

<sup>48</sup> The dating is by Zvelebil (1989:298); see also Zvelebil 1974:173.

<sup>49</sup> The reference is given in Shulman 1980:196, n. 18.

<sup>50</sup> For further details, see Zvelebil 1995:502, s.v. “Oṭṭakkūttar.”

<sup>51</sup> His dates are not exactly known. According to Zvelebil 1995:502, he lived “during the reign of Vikrama Chola (1118–36), Kulottunga Chola (1136–46), and Rajaraja II (1146–62).”

<sup>52</sup> I borrow this expression from Zvelebil 1974:207.

<sup>53</sup> See Zvelebil 1995:635f.

<sup>54</sup> He offers a date by himself: 1313 C.E.; see Zvelebil 1974:170, 173.



மாறுகொடு பழையனார் நீலி செய்த  
 வஞ்சனையால் வணிகனுயி நிழப்பத் தாங்கள்  
 கூறியசொற் பிழையாது துணிந்து செந்தீக்  
 குழியிலெழு பதுபேரு முழுகிக் கங்கை  
 யாறணிசெஞ் சடைத்திருவா லங்காட் டப்ப  
 ரண்டமுற நிமிர்ந்தாடு மடியின் கீழ்மெய்ப்  
 பேறுபெறும் வேளாளர் பெருமை யெம்மாற்  
 பிறித்தளவிட் டிவளவெனப் பேச லாமோ  
 (Tiruttonṭar Purāṇam Varalāru 5 [ed. Cuppiramaṇiya Mutaliyār 1975])

- 1 The death of the merchant at the hands of the deceitful Nīli of Paḷaiyaṇūr, a place of conflict and strife,
- 2 caused the seventy Vēḷālas to enter boldly the pit of fire in order to remain true to their word.
- 3 They have reached the feet of the Appar of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, who wears the Gangā in his matted tuft of red hair.
- 4 Am I competent to talk of the greatness of the illustrious Vēḷālas?

Umāpati Civāchāriya’s work provides us with the earliest known explicit reference to Nīli of the *katai* by name. To all appearances, the main narrative sequence of the *IK* (more precisely, one of its two strands<sup>55</sup>) is attested here in a relatively complete shape.

#### 10. The *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* (a *sandēśa-kāvya* in the Maṇipravāla style; late fourteenth century)<sup>56</sup>

To what extent the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* (The Message to Uṇṇunīli),<sup>57</sup> a Kerala *sandēśa-kāvya*,<sup>58</sup> concerns itself with Nīli—as stated by P. Subramaniam<sup>59</sup>—I cannot say, having not seen the text. According to Freeman, it is written in the high Maṇipravāla style<sup>60</sup> (a mixture of Sanskrit and the local Kerala *bhāṣā*) and has been dated to the fourteenth century by its collator Śūranāṭṭu Kuṇṇanpiḷḷa.<sup>61</sup> Freeman in his essay on the “Literary Culture of Premodern Kerala” (2004) remarks that “much of Manipravalam literature was devoted to the culture of courtesans” (454). As an example, he cites the first Maṇipravāla work, the *Vaiśikatantram* (perhaps thirteenth century),<sup>62</sup> “being instructions from a courtesan to her daughter” (454), in which the mother expresses “her pride in their fine lineage and tradition” (455). The *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, too, focuses on a devadāsī. Uṇṇunīli (thus her name) is the recipient of a “love message” from a “prince of Vēṇāṭu” (472f.). As remarked by Freeman (ibid.:474), the work “is given over to erotic praise not just of the heroine but of numerous other courtesans and dancing girls along the route.” The territory featured in the poem seems to be western Nāñcilnāṭu, since the circuit of travel described is “across four discrete kingdoms in southern Kerala.”<sup>63</sup> It will be crucial to learn more about the contents of the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* and its supposed incorporation of our well-known oral narrative

<sup>55</sup> See Sect. 4.7 below.

<sup>56</sup> On the dating, see Freeman 2004:465.

<sup>57</sup> About the accuracy of this translation Freeman (2004:472f.) is in no doubt: “*Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* is titled after the recipient of the love message [...] against the Sanskrit convention of titling such poems by the messenger-vehicle.”

<sup>58</sup> According to Freeman 2004, this is a genre “unquestionably modeled on the Sanskrit messenger genre” (471), which in Kerala is “ostensibly in praise of courtesan-dancers” (470). Freeman (ibid.:472; see also the footnote) remarks that some of the passages of the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* have close parallels in the *Śukasandēśa*, to which it seems indebted.

<sup>59</sup> See Subramaniam 1996:xv-xvi (Tamil with an English translation of the *Nīli Yaṭcakāṇam*), who writes: “*Karirācaṅ Katai* (The Story of the Dark King) in Kannada bears a close resemblance to the story of Nīli and may be an adaptation of the same. The original of the story is traced to the Malayalam work *Uṇṇu Nīli Cantēkam* [sic; read *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*].” For the *Karirācaṅ Katai*, see No. 26 below. Unfortunately, I do not have access to the edition by Iḷaṅkuḷam Kuṇṇanpiḷḷa, *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, Kottayam: Sahitya Pravarthaka Co-operative, [1954] 1985 (the reference according to Freeman 2004:497).

<sup>60</sup> On this characterisation of the work, see Freeman (2004:465), who at the same time provides a short citation illustrative of this mixed language.

<sup>61</sup> See Clothey 1982:40. As mentioned above, Freeman (2004:465) characterises the work more precisely as being a “late-fourteenth-century” one. Note that the collator Śūranāṭṭu Kuṇṇanpiḷḷa, whose name is given by Clothey as Śūranād Kunjan Pillai, is not identical with the editor Iḷaṅkuḷam Kuṇṇanpiḷḷa referred to in Freeman 2004:465.

<sup>62</sup> On the dating, see Freeman 2004:454. The author follows scholarly opinion in placing it within the period spanning the eleventh to thirteenth century (with a preference rather more towards the thirteenth century).

<sup>63</sup> Freeman 2004:473.

if the earliest appearance of a southern version of Nīli's story is to be properly evaluated.<sup>64</sup>

### 11. The *Tiruppukal* of Aruṇakirinātar (fifteenth century)<sup>65</sup> – Late medieval literature

On one occasion, while talking about harlots (*maṇṭaikal*), Aruṇakirinātar, “the greatest poet of the 15th century” (Zvelebil 1995:71), compares them to Nīli, obviously with her seductive manner in mind.<sup>66</sup>

நீலி நாடகம் பயில் மண்டைகள்  
(Cited from Caṇmukacuntaram 1978:29=1984:65)

The seductive play of harlots (*maṇṭaikal*) is like that of Nīli, [for both turn men's heads].

The comparison in the *Tiruppukal* is very interesting, inasmuch as it is the earliest literary source that moulds our view of Nīli by associating her not with the virtuous Vēḷāḷas but rather with clever and irresistible temptresses. Aruṇakirinātar's recasting of Nīli's image to accord with the life of harlots is a point of some significance, and gives force to the suggestion that by this period of time the focus had shifted to the world of the senses.<sup>67</sup> This probably came naturally to an ardent worshipper of Murukaṇ, a god who combines both eroticism and devotionalism.

Unfortunately, Caṇmukacuntaram does not provide a detailed reference to the part of the *Tiruppukal* from which the quoted line comes. In a voluminous work without an index, it is a matter of speculation whether the line refers to Nīli-Icakki's seductive manner displayed in her second birth as a demoness, or that of her first birth as a devadāsī. The latter would supply an argument for the suggestion that a southern (perhaps *villuppāṭṭu*) version may have existed at the time of Aruṇakirinātar. The life of a devadāsī and the milieu in which it is spent are well depicted, explored, and elaborated on in the southern *villuppāṭṭu* versions (and particularly how a devadāsī attracts clients), whereas all this has no place in the northern version. In the northern version,<sup>68</sup> as far as I can see, Nīli never appears as a *vēcai/maṇṭai* (harlot) or temple dancer; in all the versions known to me, she is a married woman.<sup>69</sup> That Aruṇakirinātar may have had in mind the Nīli in her first birth as a devadāsī is perhaps not unlikely, since extracts from elsewhere in the *Tiruppukal* illustrate the poet's knowledge of the world of a harlot.<sup>70</sup>

I was ensnared and smitten with love  
of maids whose tresses are fragrant night,  
I was attached to mountain-like breasts  
of women arousing lust,  
fed by desirous lips  
of females skilled in Madana's tricks!  
(*Tiruppukal* 200; translation cited from Zvelebil 1973:241)

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Sect. 2.6 above.

<sup>65</sup> On the dating (probably 1370–1450 C.E.), see Zvelebil 1995:71.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Caṇmukacuntaram 1978:29.

<sup>67</sup> An example cited from Zvelebil's (1974:110) translation of the *Tiruppukal* provides a taste of the poet's sensuous language: “You came—beautiful, mighty, magnificent chest— / you came to feed—and climbing my venus-mound / you drink with your lips one of my breasts, / you caress another with gentle strokes, /and they both languish, in their turn; / as you don't eat them, they long and yearn.”

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, N7, along with the synopsis of the *Nīli Katai* given in Chakravarti:1936 and by other scholars.

<sup>69</sup> Blackburn (1980:206) confirms this.

<sup>70</sup> One of the legends says that he was the “son of a temple-courtesan,” while another claims that he was born in a *Vēḷāḷa* family in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (Zvelebil 1995:71). Again, according to legend, he “spent his early life as [...a] seducer of women in debauchery [...].” (Zvelebil 1995:71). The *Tiruppukal* is “based, to a great extent, on personal, autobiographic experience.” (Zvelebil 1974:110).

Further, *Tiruppukal* ii, 26, again verses in which the temptation exerted by those expert in erotic play is communicated:

Those women  
with swaying breasts  
[...]  
By them I was lured  
in their magical ways  
[...]  
(*Tiruppukal* ii, 26; translated by S. Kokilam; cited from Zvelebil 1973:242)

And in another stanza:

[...]  
They come these women  
who trade for wealth  
with sweet words  
with soft caresses  
These lewd women lured me  
into their homes  
[...]  
(*Tiruppukal*, translated by S. Kokilam; cited from Zvelebil 1973:243)

If it is indeed Nīli the devadāsī that Aruṅakirinātar’s *Tiruppukal* alludes to, this could be seen as evidence that a southern version existed in the fifteenth century, at a time when music had become an integral part of literary texts and was treated as such.<sup>71</sup> As for the question whether a southern version of the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition could have existed at all at that early time, “definite evidence [of the existence of a *villuppāṭṭu* tradition] is available only from the mid-16th century,”<sup>72</sup> according to Blackburn (1980:81), though he admits that “[i]t is possible [...] that the vil pāṭṭu tradition existed for many centuries prior to [that time]” (82).<sup>73</sup>

Whether or not at the time of the *Tiruppukal* Nīli’s story had advanced to the first stage of a southern version that existed beyond the Toṅṭaināṭu region, Aruṅakirinātar is intent on associating Nīli with prostitutes rather than with the honourable Veḷāḷas (the latter a theme that had been treated in literature repeatedly ever since Campantar).

## 12. Nīli in the *Alaṅkāṭṭuttalapurāṇam* (Sthalamāhātmya of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu)<sup>74</sup> – Late medieval literature

As mentioned earlier, Paḷaiyaṅūr-Tiruvālaṅkāṭu has a famous Kālī temple of great antiquity. “The

<sup>71</sup> See Zvelebil 1973:239 and Zvelebil 1974:110. In the latter the author remarks: “*Tiruppukal* [...] is the first step towards *kīrtanaī*.” According to Shulman (personal communication) “it was treated as equally important, a fact which was not given in the period of Kampaṇ’s *Irāmāvatāram*, for instance. At the time of *Tiruppukal* the music has become completely integral. We cannot imagine a *Tiruppukal* verse as text without the music.” Kersenboom-Story (1987:32) states: “[T]he syllable-based and *mātrā*-oriented prosody of Sanskrit poetry was superimposed upon the *acai*-based system of Tamil metres. When this process had reached its completion by the 15th century the Tamil poem had usually acquired a double prosodic organisation [...]. Due to this process the relation between the literary text and its vocal rendering became even closer than the original association of text and melody (*paṇ*) since the rhythmical quality of the text provided a sense of *tāḷam* (rhythmical pattern).”

<sup>72</sup> By then it had become an integral part of temple festivals. Blackburn (1980:81, n. 13) gives as a reference Vāṇamāmalai 1959:27; the latter author in turn refers to the *Teyvavaccilaiyār Viṅaliviṭututu* by Kumāracuvāmi Avatāṇi.

<sup>73</sup> Blackburn (1980:81) gives some “suggestive” examples, along with his reference (n. 11) to Kōmatināyakam 1979:73.

<sup>74</sup> I have come across no date for this work, though it probably falls in the period between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, when *purāṇas* were being written. (I follow herein Zvelebil’s categorisation in 1992:271). There is a publication on the work by U.V. Camināyār in the Adyar Library, I am informed.

author [of the Tiruvālaṅkāṭu] Sthalamāhātmya in his introduction calls this Kālī as Neeli.”<sup>75</sup> Chakravarti (1936:12f.) writes:

[...] according to [the Tiruvālaṅkāṭu Sthalamāhātmya...] Kālī of Pazhayanur [...] was a terror all round since she created a havoc among men and animals in the surrounding [*sic*] area. Even the gods found it intolerable. [...] Kālī of Pazhayanur had the [...] patronage of Pārvati [...]. Śiva instead of waging an open war against Kālī [...] challenged her to a contest of dancing [...]. Kālī being a female Goddess could not follow Śiva in this chanda dance [Ūrdhva-Tāṇḍava] by lifting up her leg in the presence of Devas. Hence she had to admit her defeat and recognise Śiva as the victor of the dance—Natarāja.

Again, as I have argued in the preceding pages, the identification of Nīli with Kālī of Paḷaiyaṅūr-Tiruvālaṅkāṭu cannot refer to the deceitful Nīli of Paḷaiyaṅūr (of the *katai*), who has suffered an untimely death. Rather, it is safe to assume that the identification of the still “untamed” Kālī of the *mūlasthāna* (outside the main shrine) is with the ancient fierce goddess Nīli mentioned, for instance, in *Cil.* 12.68. As noted earlier, a possible link of the deceitful *pēy* demoness Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli (of the *katai*) with the incident is, however, given, in that she murders the Ceṭṭi in Kālī’s *mūlasthāna* shrine.

13. Nīli in *Tiruvīlaiyāṭarpurānam* of Maturai, 3.43 (seventeenth century?)<sup>76</sup> – Late medieval literature

14. The *Kampan Tirukkai Valakkam* of Kampan (of Tiruveḷuttūr?)<sup>77</sup> (seventeenth century?)<sup>78</sup>

Kampan (of Tiruveḷuttūr?) mentions Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli in this minor poetic work that is “in praise of farming”<sup>79</sup> and “in praise of [the] liberality of [the] *veḷḷāḷa* chief.”<sup>80</sup>

நீலி தனக்கஞ்சி நின்ற வணிகேசர்க்காக  
கோலியபயங் கொடுக்குங்கை

(*Kampan Tirukkai Valakkam*, cited from *Cēkkilār Piḷḷaitamiḷ of (Trichi) Miṇṇāṭci Cuntaram Piḷḷai*, [ed. Catāciva Ceṭṭiyāravarka] 1987:77)<sup>81</sup>

They gave their protecting hand to the merchant who was afraid of Nīli.

15. Nīli in the *Tamiḷ Nāvalar Caritai* (History of Tamil Poets) of unknown authorship, 139–41<sup>82</sup> (probably seventeenth or eighteenth century)<sup>83</sup>

According to To. Paramasivan,<sup>84</sup> the *Tamiḷ Nāvalar Caritai*, a compilation of literary legends, refers to the *Mūvēntar Pāṭalkaḷ* as a supporting secondary account of the three kings (Cōḷa, Pāṇṭiya, Cēra) who

<sup>75</sup> I cite Chakravarti 1936:13; see also *ibid.*:18.

<sup>76</sup> For a discussion of the controversial dating among scholars, see Zvelebil 1995:695. The origin of the work is probably to be sought in the twelfth-century Sthalapurāṇa of the Miṇṇākṣi temple.

<sup>77</sup> The suggestion is Zvelebil’s (1995:317). This minor work is attributed to a person named Kampan, but very probably he is not the great poet Kampan of the *Irāmāvatāram*, for according to Zvelebil (1995:317), it is “almost certainly [a] much later work.”

<sup>78</sup> On the problematic of dating, see Zvelebil 1995:316f. where reference is made to Mu. Aruṇācalam’s proposal placing it in the seventeenth century.

<sup>79</sup> Cited from Zvelebil 1995:319.

<sup>80</sup> Cited from Zvelebil 1995:317.

<sup>81</sup> On this citation, cf. Perumāḷ 1990:42. Since *Tirukkai Valakkam*, Vai. Mu. Kō. Patippu, 1969, verse 15/T. Vēḷāyuta Mutaliyār’s ed. 1886 (an edition proposed by Zvelebil 1992:36) is not available to me, I cite the verse from the *Cēkkilār Piḷḷaitamiḷ*, ed. Catāciva Ceṭṭiyāravarka] 1987:77.

<sup>82</sup> Referred to by Shulman 1980:195, n. 13.

<sup>83</sup> On the dating, see Zvelebil 1995:643.

<sup>84</sup> To. Paramasivan in “Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli Katai,” a short essay in *Puṇaikāḷam*, February-March 2002.

applauded the virtue of the Vēḷāḷas upon learning of their self-immolation.<sup>85</sup> Here the story of Nīli serves again to accentuate the greatness of the Vēḷāḷas. Mū. Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ, a great traditional Tamil scholar of the twentieth century, drew upon the *Tamil Nāvalar Caritai* and included songs from it in his *Peruntokai* (The Great Anthology).<sup>86</sup> As neither work is available to me, I cite from Caṅmukacuntaram:

பிழைத்தாரோ காராளர் பேய்மகள் சொற்கேட்டுப்  
பிழைத்தார்கள் அல்லர் பிழைத்தீர்த்தார் - பிழைத்தார்கள்  
எல்லாருங் காண எரியகத்தே முழுகினார்  
எல்லாரும் இன்று முள்  
(Cited from Caṅmukacuntaram 1978:31=1984:68)<sup>87</sup>

- 1 Have the Kārāḷar [=Karaiyāḷars/Vēḷāḷas] escaped? When they heard the words of the *pēy* demoness (*pēy maka!*)
- 2 they could not escape; rather, they fulfilled their vow, [and] this is how they escaped.
- 3 They entered the fire in the presence of all the people.
- 4 All those [Karaiyāḷars] are living even today [in literature and art].

#### 16. The Nīli story in the *Toṅṭaimaṅṭala Catakam* of Paṭikkācu Pulavar (late seventeenth to early eighteenth century)<sup>88</sup>

The *Toṅṭaimaṅṭala Catakam*, an “important work in praise of northern Tamilnadu” (Toṅṭaināṭu) containing “allusions import[ant] for Tam[il] liter[ature] historiography” (Zvelebil 1995:709)—and “anecdotes” (ibid.:535) as well—was composed by Paṭikkācu Pulavar, a “court poet (Ramnad)” and “wandering bard” (ibid.) of the Ceṅkuntar (weavers) community. What in the devotional hymns of Campantar and Cēkkiḷār is a one-dimensional record alluding to Nīli here becomes an entire story. Remarkably, the names of the characters and places in the *Nīli Yaṭcakānam* (N12)<sup>89</sup> are identical with those of this work. In practical terms, this means that the *yaṭcakānam* genre has fully adopted Paṭikkācu Pulavar’s text.

As the text is not available to me, I shall present a synopsis of it on the basis of Perumāl 1990:114ff., appendix n. 3:<sup>90</sup>

The married son of the Brahmin Nāṅātipaṅ of Kāñcipuram, Puvaṅamati by name, once went to Kāci. He met Sattiyāñāni [in N12: Meykkiyāni of Avināci], who gave his daughter Navañāni in marriage to him. On his return from Kāci to Kāñcipuram, the Brahmin Puvaṅamati was accompanied by his newly married second wife Navañāni and her elder brother [in N12: his name is Civakkiyāni]. When they were passing Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, the Brahmin decided to kill Navañāni, now pregnant, in the brother’s absence. The death of his younger sister caused the brother to commit suicide. Both brother and sister after their untimely deaths were reborn as twins to Puricaikiḷār and his wife Tirupati Nācciyār [rather than to the Cōḷa king] in Toṅṭaimaṅṭalam. They were known as Nīlaṅ and Nīli. In the daytime they were innocent children, but during the night the twins took the form of

<sup>85</sup> For a reference to Nīli in the context of the *Mūvēntar Pāṭalkaḷ*, see Mu. Arunachalam (in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures*, Madras, January 1975, p. 21), who in turn is referred to by Zvelebil (1989:299, n. 18).

<sup>86</sup> To. Paramasivan in “Paḷaiyaṅṅūr Nīli Katai,” in *Puṅaikaḷam* (February-March 2002), writes: “The fire in which the seventy Vēḷāḷas entered had been burning for a very long time. When the three kings (Cēra, Cōḷa, Pāṅṭiya) came to know about this, they appeared in person, and in their surprise they sang in praise of the Vēḷāḷas. These three songs were taken from the *Tamil Nāvalar Caritai* by Mū. Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ, who included the three poems in his book *Peruntokai*.” – The *Peruntokai* (The Great Anthology) of Mū. Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ, Maturai: Maturait Tamilc Caṅkam, 1935–36, is a “relatively modern compilation of various stray poems and verses selected from different literary works and inscriptions [...] provided with copious notes and [an] excellent index” (Zvelebil 1992:101).

<sup>87</sup> The citation is from Caṅmukacuntaram since the *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures*, Madras, January 1975 containing the article of Mu. Arunachalam is not available to me.

<sup>88</sup> For the dating, see Zvelebil 1995:535. Paṭikkācu Pulavar was born in 1650.

<sup>89</sup> Ed. Subramaniam 1996.

<sup>90</sup> See also Caṅmukacuntaram 1978:30=1984:66.

ghosts and committed atrocities in the town. When the culprits came to be known, Puricaikilār took the twins to the forest, where they resided under a margosa tree. The people of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu cut down this very same margosa tree in order to construct a public building (*ūrkaṭṭaṭam*). Nīli went to Tiruccēṅkōṭu. [Nothing further is known about Nīlaṅ according to Perumāḷ's synopsis].<sup>91</sup>

The Brahmin Puvāṇamati of Kāñcipuram was reborn as the son of Nākananti Ceṭṭi [in N12: Nākantai Ceṭṭi]. He was named Taricaṇa Ceṭṭi [rather than Ānantaṅ]. When he once was passing through the forest of Tiruccēṅkōṭu for business purposes, Nīli obstructed his way. When the Ceṭṭi complained to the Vēḷāḷas of Paḷakainallūr, Nīli revealed to them the murder he had committed in his previous birth. The Vēḷāḷas could not do anything. Nīli took revenge on the Ceṭṭi. The Vēḷāḷas entered the fire and died in consequence of the fact that they were unable to protect the Ceṭṭi, who had had to surrender to Nīli.

The first four lines of the synopsis suggest that we have a case here of polygyny (as in N12) rather than adultery. The second wife is murdered as the result of the first wife being favoured, as the text corpus illustrates, very much in contrast to the other northern variant, N7, where the wife is killed as the result of a devadāsī being favoured.

### 17. Ziegenbalg's account (1711)<sup>92</sup> of the story of Nīli according to the *Nīli Nāṭakam*

In W. Caland's *Ziegenbalg's Malabarisches Heidenthum*, Chapter 23, pp. 153–9 under the title “Von den Teuffeln und ihren Verführungen,” Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) describes the religious atmosphere of the region around Puḷḷirukkuvēlūr, a place he seemingly lived not very far from.<sup>93</sup> He notes the worship of *pēys* in trees, and the gifts of terra-cotta figures offered to them. Referring to the *pēys*' ability to change their shape and seductive character, Ziegenbalg exemplifies the people's beliefs in a synopsis (pp. 154–8) of the story of Nīli, as he had found it in the edition *Nīlinādagum* (*Nīli Nāṭakam*; 154). The story-line and the names of figures and places are identical with those in the sword [here: gun!<sup>94</sup>]-fire type of story, as found in the *Toṇṭaimaṇṭala Catakam*<sup>95</sup> of Paṭikkācu Pulavar.<sup>96</sup> However, the first lines of the synopsis fail to contain the first birth of Nīli as a wife who is murdered. The synopsis begins with the two hungry spirits Nīli and Nīlaṅ, and only describes the death of the twin brother, who as a consequence of the felling of the tree by the Vēḷāḷas is killed by Kuṇṭōtaraṅ.

Im Flecken *Alankadu* [Ālaṅkāṭu] genant, stehet ein Götzenbild in der Pagode *Ammeiappen* genant. Dasselbst wohnt ein Kauffmann *Pūruschākīrān* [Puricaikilār] genant, welcher mit seiner frau keine Kinder hatte. Deszwegen ging er hin in die Pagode zum ietzt gedachten Abgott, und bittet umb ein Kind. Dieser aber saget: Du hast nicht nöthig ein Kind zu verlangen. Er hält dennoch inständig an, dasz er möchte ein Kind zeugen, und casteyet sich deszwegen sehr hart. Alsdann verordnet dieser Ammeiappen, dasz **zwey Teufel als Zwillinge** von seiner Frau möchten gebohren werden: einer als ein Knäbchen und der ander als ein Mädchen. Als diese gebohren, kan ihnen die **Mutter nicht genug Milch** zu trincken geben. Des Nachts, da die Eltern solche zwey Zwillinge zwischen sich geleget, gehen diese von den Eltern hinweg in den Flecken, nehmen ungeheure Gestalten an sich, **stehlen die Kühe, Ochsen, Schafe, Ziegen etc. hinweg und freszen sie**. Des Morgens aber, wenn es hat wollen Tag werden, haben sie sich wieder als kleine Kinder zwischen ihre Eltern geleget.

<sup>91</sup> Caṅmukacuntaram in his synopsis of the story as it appears in the *Toṇṭaimaṇṭala Catakam* writes that Nīlaṅ died.

<sup>92</sup> I refer to Zvelebil 1992:2, where Ziegenbalg's *Malabarisches Heidenthum* is dated to 1711.

<sup>93</sup> See p. 159 where he states: “Eine solche Pagode soll nicht allzu weit von hier seyn, in einem Orte *Pullirukkumwehlūr* [...]” Velūr is situated north-west of Kāñcipuram and south-west of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu in the northern part of Tamilnadu. The temple site of Vaitticuvaraṅkōyil, a renowned “site where Vaidyanātha-Śiva, ‘the lord who is a physician,’ cures his devotees of all diseases” (Shulman 1980:18), is closely associated with Puḷḷirukkuvēlūr. This point was brought to my attention by Professor David Shulman, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

<sup>94</sup> Engl. “gun,” Ger. “Gewehr.” *Gewehr* carried in the now antiquated German of the seventeenth century the meaning *Degen* or *Säbel* (Engl. “sword”), see *Duden Herkunftswörterbuch* 1989:240. I would like to thank Professor Dr Lambert Schmithausen, University of Hamburg, for bringing this point to my attention.

<sup>95</sup> Accordingly, the text of the *Nīli Nāṭakam* also highly resembles that of the *Nīli Yaṭcakāṇam* text (N12).

<sup>96</sup> The citation is given in full, since it offers an interesting insight into early missionaries' perception of folk narratives.

Die Hirten und alle Einwohner werden eindlich gewahr, dasz solche Diebe in dieses Kauffmanns Hausze seyn müszten. Auch selbst mercken es die Eltern, dasz ihre Kinder des Nachtes von ihnen weggehen. Dahero nimmt sie der Vater, **bringt sie in die Pagode, legt sie unter einen Baum**, und spricht zu dem Abgott *Ammeiappen*: Siehe! dies sind deine und nicht meine Kinder, gehet darauff wieder zu Hausze und ist sehr bekümmert. Das Knäbchen hatte den Nahmen *Nilen* [*Nilan*] und das Mädchen den Nahmen *Nili*. Alsdann hielten diese zwey Geschwister Rath, was anzufangen sey. Sie werden endlich **schlüssig, dasz sie wollen von einander ziehen**, und ein jeder sein Regiment à part führen. Das **Mädchen** nimmt noch einige andere Teuffel zu sich, und hält sich **in einem Walde** auff. Der **Bruder** aber versammelt auch viele andere Teufel, und hält sich **bey der Pagode auff demjenigen Baume** auf, darunter ihn der Vater geleet hatte. Es sind aber in einem anderen **Dorffe *Bāreianur* [*Paḷaiyaṅūr*] genant, 70 *Wellarer* [*Vēlāḷas*]** oder Ackersleute. Diese **hacken selbigen Baum ümb, und verarbeiten ihn in der Pagode**. Dazumahl war eben der Teufel *Nilen* mit seinen anderen Teufeln auff einen anderen Ort zu spielen ausgegangen. Als er nun wiederkommt und solches sehet, wird **er sehr erzürnet** darüber und spricht: Demjenigen, der solches gethan, wil ich den Halsz umdrehen und sein Blut sauffen, giebet alsobald befehl, dasz seine Unterteufel den weg zu selbigem Dorffe einnehmen, wo die *Wellarer* sind, und allerley böses verursachen solten, damit er sich an ihnen rächen könnte. Dazumahl kommt ein *Bramanen* aus selbigem Dorffe, gehet zur Pagode und wil den Gott *Ameiappen* ein Opfer thun. Der Teufel *Nilen* **aber nimmt alles, was er herzu gebracht, und frists auff**. Der *Bramanen* beklaget sich darüber bey dem Gott *Ammeiappen*. Dieser schicket alsobald seinen Sonnenschirm-Träger hinaus, ***Kondōdiren* [*Kuṇṭōṭaraṅ*] genant, und läszet den Teufel tödten**. Dieses Teufels Schwester, die *Nili*, siehet alles im Schlafe, wie die *Wellarer* haben den Baum ümbgehauen und wie ihr Bruder wäre ermordet worden; auch hat ihr solches der Unterhauptmann unter denjenigen Teufeln, deren Oberhauptmann der Bruder gewesen, durch einen Brief kund gethan. Darauff gehet sie an denjenigen Ort, wo ihr Bruder ermordet worden, fängt ein grosz Wehklagen an und stellet sich sehr ungeberdig über den Todt ihres Bruders. Alle andere Teufel kommen zu ihr und helfen ihren Bruder mit beklagen. Und als diese alle ihr verkündigen, wie die **70 *Wellarer* die erste Ursache zu diesem Tode gegeben**, so verschweret sie sich, dasz sie nicht eher ruhen wolte, bisz sie den Tod ihres Bruders an den 70 persohnen gerächt habe. In einer nicht all zu weit abgelegenen Stadt ***Kanschipuram* [*Kāñcipuram*] genant, ist ein Kauffman namens *Neganden* [*Nākantai*]**. Dieser hat keine Kinder, und thut deszwegen harte Busze, dasz er möchte einen Sohn zeugen. Darauff wird ihm ein Sohn gebohren; es wird ihm aber geweihszaget, dasz er in jungen Jahren sterben werde. Darauff thut ein *Bramanen* ein Feuer- oder Brandopffer, worinnen ein Gewehre erschaffen wird. Dieses giebet er selbigem Sohne, damit er nicht so bald sterben möchte. Der Nahme solches **Sohnes war *Dirischinen* [*Taricaṇa*]**, welcher nachmahls heyrathete und ein Kind zeugete. Als sein Vater sterben wil, so vermahnet er ihn, er solte nicht weit ausgehen, und auch **das Gewehre**, so ihm der *Bramanen* gegeben, niemahls aus seinen Händen laszen. Einsmahls aber gehet er ohnbewust seiner frau auff einen anderen Ort seiner Handelschafft wegen. Seine frau gehet aus umd ihn zu suchen, da ihr denn die Teufelin *Nili* genant, begegnet, und sie fraget, warum sie doch so betrübt wäre. Und als sie saget, dasz sie ihren Mann suchete, tröstet sie die Teufelin, und spricht, sie solte nur nach Hausze gehen, ihr Mann würde zu rechter Zeit wiederkommen. Mittlerweile nimmt sie selbst die Gestalt solcher frauen an, stellet sich vor selbigen Kauffmann und lächelt. Dieser aber erkennt sie alsobald, vermittelst seines Gewehres, und spricht, sie solte von ihm gehen. Nachmahls nimmt sie die Gestalt einer ernsthaftigen Frauen an, und stellet sich vor ihm, als er etwas weiter gegangen war. Er aber spricht zu ihr: Du magst eine Gestalt annehmen, welche du wilst, so werde ich dir nicht glauben. Nachmahls praesentirete sie sich als eine Dewatāschi [*Devadāsi*] oder Götterdienerin, ist schön geschmückt, und bietet ihm Geld an, suchet aber hierdurch mit ihren worten und Gebärden ihn zur Unzucht zu reitzen. Er aber trauet ihr nicht, verläszet selbigen weg und gehet einen anderen weg. Alsdann nimmt sie eine ander Gestalt an sich, sitzt am wege, da der Kauffman her kommt, hat allerley waaren feil, und hält ihn an, dasz er ihr abkauffen möchte. Er aber mercket auch solches, schläget die Augen nieder und gehet fort. Nachmahls verwandelt sie sich **in eine schöne Huhre, praesentiret in dem walde ein schönes Hausz und Bette**, und nöthiget den Kauffmann, dasz er mit ihr Unzucht treiben soll. Er will aber nicht nach ihrem willen thun. **Darauff wird sie erbittert, praesentiret sich in ihrer teuflichen Gestalt, und saget, dasz sie wolle den Tod ihres Bruders durch ihn an den 70 *Wellaren* rächen**. Er läufft von ihr, und will seine Zuflucht nehmen zu den **70 *Wellaren* in *Bareianūr* [*Paḷaiyaṅūr*]**, das vor ihm lag. Sie aber verwandelt sich wieder in seiner frauen Gestalt und trägt ein Kind auff den Armen, das seiner frauen Kind ähnlich. Der Kauffmann siehet, dasz die *Wellarer* eben auff dem Felde versammelt sind, kommt unter sie geschryen und ruffet ümb Hülffe. Die *Wellarer* reden ihn freundlich an, und fragen ihn, warümb er so kläglich thue. Er erzehlet ihnen, wie er von einem Teufel verfolgt würde. Darauff tritt die Teufelin auch einher, hat alle diejenige Geschmeide und Kleidung an sich, als die Kauffmanns Weiber zu tragen pflegen, stellet sich sehr jämmerlich, kneipet das Kind, dasz es weinen musz, saget, dasz sie dieses Kauffmanns Weib sey, und wie er sie nunmehr verlaszen und unbilliger weise von sich stoszen wolte, da sie doch von sehr vornehmen Geschlecht und aus einer groszen Freundschafft, auch von reichen Eltern wäre. Die *Wellarer* sehen, dasz sie sehr wohlgestaltet, und in allen Stücken als ein *Settters* [*Ceṭṭiyārs*] oder Kauffmanns Weib einhergehe, auch sehr vernünfftig rede, und sehr demütig sich geberde, glauben also ihren worten und versprechen ihr Hülffe. Der Kauffmann aber spricht: Es ist nicht mein Weib, sondern eine Teufel, der mich ümbs Leben bringen will. Sie erzehlet darauff, wes Geschlechts sie sey, wie sie nach der *Settier* [*Ceṭṭiyār*] Manier im fünfften Jahre mit ihm wäre getrauet worden und wie er sie erst so lieb gehabt habe, nachmahls aber, als sie das Kind gebohren, ihm so gram worden wäre, also, dasz sie nicht wüste, ob ihm etwan von einer anderen ein Liebes-Tranck beygebracht worden; denn sie möchte ihm im Hausze thun, was sie wolte, so schry ens [so die Hs.] aus als Schuld und Verbrechen. Sie solten demnach als solche *Wellärer*, die den Ruhm hätten, dasz sie niemahls falsch urtheilen, die Sache erwegen, obs recht wäre, dasz ihr Mann sie nunmehr so verstoszen wolle. Die *Wellarer* sind gantz auff ihrer Seite, und reden dem Mann zu, dasz er solches nicht thun solte. Der Mann aber spricht: Glaubet doch ihren worten nicht, denn es ist alles bey ihr eine Verstellung, und suchet mich zu tödten. Sie spricht: Er ist deszwegen so böß auff mich, weil ich wider der *Settier*-weiber Gewohnheit aus dem Hausze ihm so gar weit nachgegangen bin; fehlte es ihm sonst an Gelde oder anderen

Gütern, so will ich ihm aus meiner Eltern Hausze zur Gnüge bringen. Nur dasz mir der Schimpff nicht möchte angethan werden, dasz er mich verlasze. Ich weisz nicht, was ich hierbey gedencken soll. Es müszens ja aber wohl meine Sünden verursacht haben, dasz ich, der ich aus so vornehmen Geschlechte, anietzo gleichsam als ein Bettel-Mädchen, ihm weinend hintennach lauffen musz. Sehet demnach zu, dasz wir zu einem Vertrag kommen, und als Eheleute in gutem Verständnisse nach unserem Wohnplatz reisen können. Hierauff nennet sie viele Götter mit Nahmen, und beschweret die *Wellaren* mit vielen Eyden über den Göttern, dasz sie ihr glauben und helffen sollen. Überdisz läszt sie ihr Kind nieder auff die Erde, und spricht zu ihren allen: Sehet, ob nicht das Kind seinen Vater erkennen, und zu ihm gehen wird. Da denn nun unter so vielen Leuten das Kind gleich zu dem *Settier* oder Kauffmann läufft, so glauben sie alle, dasz sie wahrhaftig sein Weib seyn müste. Daher urtheilen sie, dasz die Schuld auff dem Kauffmann liege, und verlangen, dasz er ihnen das Gewehre aus seinen Händen geben solle, und stellen ihm darbey seine Ungerechtigkeit vor. Er aber spricht: Ich gebe euch solches nicht, ihr seyd mir feind, und wolt mir nicht Hülffe verschaffen. Denn dieses Kind ist nicht mein Kind, und diese frau ist nicht meine frau, sondern der Teufel selbst. Darauf stöszet er das Kind von sich. Solches fänget an zu weinen. Die Mutter nimmt es auff und stillt es durch singen, unter welchem Singen sie alle ihre Geschlechter und ihre Vorfahren-Herrlichkeit vorstellet, und sich über das grosze Unglück beklaget, das ihr nunmehr wiederfähret. Als die *Wellärer* solches hören, werden sie destomehr über sie bewogen und nahmen dem Mann das Gewehre. Dieser aber sagt: Ich bin reicher Leute Sohn, meine Eltern haben mich wol erzogen, und anietzo musz ich von euch diesem Teuffel übergeben werden. Gott sey Richter hierüber! Als die *Wellärer* hören, wie sowohl des Manns als des Weibs Rede wahrscheinlich sey, gehen sie endlich hinein ins Dorff, thun alle **beyde in ein Gemach, das in der Pagode war**, und horchen auszen zu, was sie mit einander reden. Dieses vermercket sie, und spricht zu ihm: Siehe, was thust du doch? Ich bin aus so groszem Geschlecht und von so reichen Eltern. Soltestu denn ümb einer geringen Rede willen einen so groszen Zanck machen? Wenn wir nun werden nach unserem Wohnplatz kommen, so werden mich ja alle Weiber meines gleichens auslachen, deszgleichen werden dich auch alle Mannspersohnen auslachen, etc. Als die *Wellärer* solche Rede hören, so urtheilen sie, dasz über dem Weibe keine Schuld sey, und dasz sie keinesweges der Teufel seyn könne, laszen sie beysammen bleiben, und sagen zum Manne, dasz sie ihm vor sein Leben gut seyn wolten; stöszet ihm etwas zu, so wären sie resolviret, alle ihr Leben zu laszen. Darauf geht ein jedweder nach Hausze. Alsdann **nimmt sie ihre vorige Teufelsgestalt an, und spricht: Ich habe nicht in willens gehabt, dich zu tödten, du bist ein schöner und schicklicher Mensch, aber ümb meines Bruders Todt an den 70 Wellaren zu rächen, tödte ich dich anietzo**. Darauf tödtet sie ihn und verschwindet. Des Morgens gantz frühe verwandelt sie sich in die Gestalt des getödteten Manns Mutter, kommt in selbiges Dorff geheulet und geschryen, und spricht zu den *Wellaren*: Ihr habt meinen Sohn einem Teufel übergeben, dasz er getödtet worden. Diese gehen hin in die Pagode zu dem Gemache und finden den Kauffmann tod. Als sie das sehen und das grosze Lamentiren der alten Mutter hören, gedencken sie an ihr Versprechen, dasz sie ihm vor sein Leben gutgesaget, erkennen, dasz sie Mitschuld an seinem Tode sind, und resolviren sich umb seinetwillen alle zu sterben, graben eine grosze Grube, legen Holtz und **feuer darin, springen** in solche Grube und sterben. Es ist aber unter diesen 70 *Wellaren* einer gantz frühe, ehe solches gehöret worden, auf seinem Acker pflügen gegangen. Daher die Teufelin die Gestalt seiner Tochter an sich genommen und bringet ihm Eszen, darbey erzehlende, was vorgegangen wäre. Als er solches höret, spricht er: Warum solt ich allein übrig bleiben? nimmt das **Pflugschaar und schneit sich damit die Gurgel ab**, etc. Solchergestalt hatte diese Teufelin ihres Bruders Todt gerächet. (*Ziegenbalg's Malabarisches Heidenthum*, pp. 154–158; the bold text is mine).

One particularly remarkable feature in Ziegenbalg's retelling is an explanation of Nīli's main motivation, which is revealed by Nīli herself at the moment she is about to kill the Ceṭṭi. It supports my argument that the Ceṭṭi's death mainly serves the larger purpose of avenging the death that Nīli's brother suffered at the hands of the seventy Vēḷāḷas. As I argue elsewhere, there was no other way for the demoness to approach and exact retribution on the Vēḷāḷas than by the strategy she ultimately followed. The crucial factor I point to is Nīli's words to the Ceṭṭi. According to Ziegenbalg's synopsis, Nīli explains to the Ceṭṭi that originally she had no intention of killing him, whom she regards as a handsome man, but finally she is forced to do so in order to avenge her brother's death. This could be viewed as black humour or mockery, but in the end is probably not, as I attempt to show in my discussion of the sister–brother bond, in Tamil culture one that is strong.

#### 18. Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli in the *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṇ Viṇaliviṭutūtu* of Cuppiratīpa Kavirāyar (eighteenth century)<sup>97</sup> – Pre-modern literature

Traces of a historically later literary analogue to Nīli (Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli) are found in an eighteenth-century text of Nayaka literature, the *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṇ Viṇaliviṭutūtu* of Cuppiratīpa Kavirāyar,<sup>98</sup> a

<sup>97</sup> On the dating, see Shulman 2001:92.

<sup>98</sup> According to Zvelebil 1974:218, “The greatest name among the poets of this [*tūtu*] genre is Cuppiratīpa Kavirāyar, a Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇ from Srīraṅgam [...]. He lived under the patronage of Kūḷappa Nāyaka, the ruler of a fortress near Dindigul



comic heretic poem full of “explicit eroticism”<sup>99</sup> belonging to the *tūtu/viṭutūtu* (messenger) genre<sup>100</sup> of the *pirapantam* literature (minor poetry). The episode mentioned in the *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṅ Viṭaliviṭutūtu* as a story within a story is more or less identical with the events in the northern sword–fire type version of our *katai*, along with a very similar type of character portrayal illustrative of the “predatory sensuality of the courtesan.”<sup>101</sup>

Cuppiratīpa Kavirāyar, born in 1758 near Maturai and brought up in the Kammāḷar tradition, tells the story of Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli—a fairly complete version of it<sup>102</sup>—embedded in the story of Aṣṭāvātāṇi,<sup>103</sup> a poet who, impoverished by a devadāsī, becomes involved in a quarrel with her old mother, who then takes the case to temple officials (*koyir talattār*). They listen to the Brahmin’s plea, in which he narrates the story of Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli, the bloodthirsty *pēy* demoness who deceitfully deceived the Vēḷāḷas’ assembly of justice in order to kill the merchant. Here, analogously to the decision of the Vēḷāḷas in the *Nīli Katai*, the judge decides in favour of the old devadāsī mother. Like the Ceṭṭi, Aṣṭāvātāṇi the poet, fails to convince the judge of a miscarriage of justice. Citing the Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli story as a precedent proves futile in his case.

The story of Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli recounted in the *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṅ Viṭaliviṭutūtu* (161ff.) begins with the Ceṭṭi’s encounter with the demoness Nīli in the middle of the forest; her foul play in disguising herself as his wife and appearing with a child on her hip in front of the assembly of Vēḷāḷas in Paḷaiyaṅūr, whom the Ceṭṭi has approached for help; the Ceṭṭi’s pleading with the assembly to drive away the demoness; Nīli’s response of lamenting her lot and insisting, behind a clever mask of tears, that her husband had deserted her halfway through the journey and threatened her with a sword. The story continues by narrating the trial before the assembly: how Nīli places the baby on the lap of the Ceṭṭi; how the elders condemn his earlier action as a violation of custom; further, how they lock the couple up for a whole night, sealing the door; and how it all ends with Nīli’s brutal killing of the Ceṭṭi, and the Vēḷāḷas’ realisation of their guilt in mishandling the affair.

There is yet another *viṭutūtu*, by the poet Caravaṇa Perumāḷ Kavirāyar from Mutukuḷattū, with the title *Cēṭupati Viṭaliviṭutūtu*<sup>104</sup>—a work modelled on the earlier *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṅ Viṭaliviṭutūtu* of Cuppiratīpa Kavirāyar.<sup>105</sup> Although this poem does not refer to Nīli, it deserves mention for its forceful and colourful depictions of the milieu of courtesans.<sup>106</sup> Considering the fact that such depictions of courtesans tally with the portrait of the devadāsī in the southern version of the *Nīli Katai/IK*, it is important to remember what Shulman (2001:97), in his discussion of the *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṅ Viṭaliviṭutūtu* and *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṅ Kātal*, states as being of significance, namely:

[...] a general process of combining hitherto distinct actors, a process which is one of the hallmarks of the Nāyaka period: the critical distinctions between king and deity, palace and temple, courtesan and *devadāsī*, have by now nearly collapsed, and we can observe an amazing pattern of assimilation toward single, complex but unitary types.

One is emphatically reminded of the episode of the devadāsī Lakṣmī and her Brahmin lover, and of the devadāsī’s courtesan-like skills—in some other variants of the southern version even more elaborately described (e.g. N5) than in N1—and is tempted to see in Lakṣmī what Shulman (2001:97) calls the

[...]” See Shulman 2001:97ff., where the poem is summarised and examined at length along with a second poem composed by the same author, the *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṅ Kātal*.

<sup>99</sup> See Shulman 2001:100.

<sup>100</sup> On the *viṭaliviṭutūtu* genre, see also Zvelebil 1974:218.

<sup>101</sup> This phrase is Shulman’s (2001:100).

<sup>102</sup> The account takes up several pages.

<sup>103</sup> For a summary, see Shulman 2001:97ff. – Aṣṭāvātāṇi means: “one who can devote attention to eight different subjects at the same time.”

<sup>104</sup> According to the edition, the work dates from the nineteenth century, in deviation from Zvelebil (1974:218), who assigns Caravaṇa Perumāḷ Kavirāyar to the eighteenth century.

<sup>105</sup> On the adaptation, see Zvelebil 1974:218.

<sup>106</sup> For a synopsis of the story of the *Cēṭupati Viṭaliviṭutūtu*, see Zvelebil 1974:218f.

“single, complex” type,<sup>107</sup> that is to say, a combination of a devadāsī’s characteristic features and the traits of a courtesan, as found in the *pirapantam* literature, examples being Māṇikkamālai’s daughter, the courtesan Mataṅgāpiṣekam, of the *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṅ Viraliviṭutūtu*, or Ceṅkamalavalli and Mōkaṅamuttu of the *Cētuṣpati Viraliviṭutūtu*. It is not unlikely that the portion of the *IK* concerned with the devadāsī Lakṣmī, perhaps originally rudimentary, was inspired in its detailed description of skills (love spells, magic, juggling, and so forth) by such works. The courtesan, as depicted in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *viraliviṭutūtu* literature, as “a clever and almost irresistible temptress,”<sup>108</sup> is strikingly similar to the character portrayal of the devadāsī Lakṣmī and her mother Śivakamī of the southern *IK* (and of the Keralese version as well).<sup>109</sup> Such similarity in the depiction of the courtesan milieu extends equally to the set of instructions for courtesans found in the Keralese *Vaiśikatantram* and, anchored to it, the *Uṅṅunīlisandēśam* (fourteenth century).

#### 19. The *Cēkkiḷār Piḷḷaitamiḷ* of Mīnāṅci Cuntaram Piḷḷai, 6.57 (1815–76)<sup>110</sup>

The *Cēkkiḷār Piḷḷaitamiḷ*, another work of the *pirapantam* literature (minor poetry), promotes the values of the *Vēḷāḷas* by applauding their honourable deeds.

நூலத்தின் உயரும் பழையனூர்  
 நாளும் பொலியும் அவையகத்து  
 நலிவு புரிநீ லியைக்கண்டு  
 நடுங்குந் நின்ற வணிகனுக்கு  
 நிலத்தில் இயல்நின் உயிர்க்கிறுதி  
 நேரு மாயி னியாமெல்லாம்  
 நெருப்பில் முழுகி உயிர் துறப்போம்  
 நீஔ ருதிஎன் றுரைத்தபடி  
 வலத்தின் உயரச் சொல்தவறா  
 வண்ணம் எழுநாக் குழிமுழுகி  
 வடஆ ரணியத் தாடொருவர்  
 மலர்த்தாள் அடைந்த எழுபதின்மர்  
 (*Cēkkiḷār Piḷḷaitamiḷ* [ed. Pālūr Kaṅṅappa Mutaliyār 1964:518], “Vārāṅai paruvam,” 6.57)

- 1-2 At famed Paḷaiyaṅūr, a beautiful and tranquil site,  
 3-4 the merchant stood frightened by Nīli, who was giving him trouble.  
 5-6 “If anything happens to your life in this country, and if you happen to die,  
 7-8 you can be sure that we all together will enter the fire and die [too].”  
 9-12 To keep their word, the seventy [Vēḷāḷas], who had great will power, entered the fire, and rising high, attained the lotus feet of the dancing god of the northern forest (*vaṭa āraṅiyam*) [of Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭu].

The commentator of the edition (*ibid.*:520) summarises the story on the basis of the Nīli story known to *Cēkkiḷār*: A man who falls in love with another woman kills his wife. The murdered woman becomes an evil spirit seeking revenge. The story is of the wife–sword–fire type.

#### 20. A multiform of the Nīli story in *The Mackenzie Collection* (1828)

Colin Mackenzie was a “soldier, engineer, and surveyor-general of the Madras Presidency from 1786 to 1815.”<sup>111</sup> For a synopsis of the Nīli story as found in *The Mackenzie Collection*, see Shulman 1980:195, n. 13, where reference is made to H.H. Wilson 1828, vol. 2:54–56. The story belongs to the wife–sword–fire type of the northern branch.

<sup>107</sup> On the merging of both the devadāsī and the courtesan type as attested in the *Kaṅṅaki Purāṅam*, a nineteenth-century biography of a Ceylonese devadāsī, see Zvelebil 1994:265.

<sup>108</sup> Shulman 2001:98.

<sup>109</sup> For the Kerala story of Icaṅki, see Jepakumār 1992:31.

<sup>110</sup> On the dating, see Zvelebil 1995:436.

<sup>111</sup> Stein 1985:472.

21. The Nīli story in the *Apitāṇa Cintāmaṇi* of Ā. Cinkāravēlu Mutaliyār – An encyclopaedia of Tamil literature (1st ed. 1899)<sup>112</sup>

The Nīli story is mentioned in the first encyclopaedia of Tamil literature (repr. 1996:992):

Navaññāṇi was a Brahmin woman. When her husband killed her and her baby boy, she sought vengeance. Born as the daughter of Puricaik Kiḷār, she roamed about in Tiruvālaṅkāṭu. When she came to know that her husband in her previous birth was reborn as Taricaṇa Ceṭṭi, she attempted to lure him into the forest. Finally, she complained to the Vēḷāḷas of Paḷaiyaṇūr and avenged herself on the Ceṭṭi.

Again, we are dealing here with the co-wife–sword–fire type of story familiar to us from the *Toṇṭaimaṇṭala Catakam*: Nīli is said to be the hungry spirit of the second wife, Navaññāṇi, murdered by the Ceṭṭi in his previous birth. The story involves polygyny rather than adultery.

22. Nīli in the *Apitāṇa Kōcam* of Ā. Muttutampi Piḷḷai, Jaffna – A Tamil encyclopaedia started in 1886 (1st ed. 1902, Jaffna)<sup>113</sup>

The *Apitāṇa Kōcam*, based on Cinkāravēlu Mutaliyār’s *Apitāṇa Cintāmaṇi*,<sup>114</sup> mentions according to Caṇmukacuntaram 1978:31,<sup>115</sup>

[...] that Nīli went to Kāñcipuram and made a complaint to the Vēḷāḷas there. Moreover, it is said that Nīli, the second wife of the Ceṭṭi, appeared to him in disguise and obstructed his way [31].<sup>116</sup>

Why the entire episode featuring the Vēḷāḷas’ judicial assembly should have shifted in the *Apitāṇa Kōcam* (a work based on the *Apitāṇa Cintāmaṇi*) to Kāñcipuram is not clear to me.<sup>117</sup> Despite this obscure variation, the story referred to is the co-wife–sword–fire variant that is known to us from the *Toṇṭaimaṇṭala Catakam*.

23. The Nīli story in the *Kalaikkaḷaṅciyam* – An encyclopaedia of Tamil literature

According to Caṇmukacuntaram 1978:31 (=1984:68), the *Kalaikkaḷaṅciyam* briefly mentions “that the Ceṭṭi killed his wife” and “that Nīli argued her case in Paḷaiyaṇūr.”<sup>118</sup>

24. The Nīli story in the *Cirappup Peyr Akarāti* (Dictionary of Famous Names)

The Nīli story is also mentioned in the *Cirappup Peyr Akarāti*. According to Caṇmukacuntaram 1978:31 (=1984:68)—whom I cite in lieu of this unavailable work—the dictionary informs the reader that “the wife of the merchant died shortly after marriage. She became a ghost, roamed about,

<sup>112</sup> See Zvelebil 1995:50, 150. In Zvelebil 1992:102 we read: “1st ed. 1910,” which is unlikely, if the *Apitāṇa Kōcam*, first published in 1902, was indeed based on the *Apitāṇa Cintāmaṇi*.

<sup>113</sup> According to Zvelebil 1995:51, it is “not available in libraries or anywhere obtainable.”

<sup>114</sup> See Zvelebil 1995:50.

<sup>115</sup> I refer to Caṇmukacuntaram since the original is not available to me. And containing as it does fewer errors, I quote from Caṇmukacuntaram 1978 rather than from 1984:67f.

<sup>116</sup> நீலி காஞ்சிபுரத்தில் போய் வேளாளரிடம் முறையிட்டதாகக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். அத்துடன் நீலி செட்டியின் இரண்டாம் மனைவி போன்று வடிவெடுத்துச் சென்று வழி மறித்ததாகவும் கூறுகின்றார்.

<sup>117</sup> Caṇmukacuntaram (1978:31) confirms that it is Kāñci where the case (*valakku*) is pleaded: எனவே இவர் கூற்றுப்படி செட்டிக்கு இரு மனைவியர் என்றும் வழக்கு நடந்த ஊர் காஞ்சிபுரம் என்றும் அறிய முடிகிறது.

<sup>118</sup> [...] செட்டி தன் மனைவியைக் கொலை செய்ததாகக் கூறுகிறது. பழையனூரில் நீலி வழக்காடியதாகவும் ... அறிகிறோம்.

obstructed her husband along the way, and finally took revenge.”<sup>119</sup> As remarked by Caṇmukacuntaram, no other information is supplied apart from this.

## 25. The Nīli story in modern retellings<sup>120</sup>

25.1. Ekāmpara Mutaliyār of Ceñci, *Nīlikatai*, Madras, 1922.

25.2. Aru. Rāmanātaṅ, *Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli*, Madras, 1954:5–50.

25.3. Mū. Irākavaiyaṅkār, *Ilakkiyakkaṭṭuraikaḷ*, Madras, 1955:38–45.

For a synopsis of the Nīli story as found in these works, see Shulman 1980:194f. The story is of the wife–sword–fire type familiar from the northern version N7 of my text corpus (see Section 2.4). It is the abandonment of the wife in favour of a dancing girl that sets the story going.

## 26. The *Karirācaṅ Katai* – Resemblances to the Nīli story in a Kannada work

As P. Subramaniam has pointed out, the *Karirācaṅ Katai* (Story of the Dark King), a work in the Kannada language, resembles the story of Nīli.<sup>121</sup> The *Karirācaṅ Katai* is the story of Karirājaṅ (the son of King Mārapūpati of Tārāpuram), who is about to marry Taraṇmōhiṇi, daughter of King Vallālarājaṅ of Hauṇṇaḷ Nāṭu, but on his way to her falls in love and elopes with Tāmarai Kaṇṇi, the daughter of a rakṣasī (*rāṭcaci*). This was done against the wishes of the mother, who decides to take revenge on Karirājaṅ. The story shares the following story-line with *Nīli/Icakkiammaṅ Katai*: The rakṣasī (the mother of Tāmarai Kaṇṇi) follows Karirājaṅ to Mallikaiūr with a magic child on her hip. There she pleads her case to the headmen, twelve Kautars. She convinces them that Karirājaṅ is her husband and that he had abandoned her for a prostitute. Both are put inside a temple, where the rakṣasī kills her victim and drinks his blood. The twelve Kautars realise the miscarriage of justice and enter a fire.<sup>122</sup>

## 27. The *Nīli Kathā* – A Malayalam work

Caṇmukacuntaram (1978:32) mentions a Malayalam work called the *Nīli Kathā*, a text that according to him is known as *Pañcavaṅkāṭṭu Nīlippāṭṭu*, belonging to the *tekkāṇpāṭṭu* type of literature.<sup>123</sup> As Perumāḷ (1990:41) writes, the text is today sung in the western taluks of Kalkuḷam and Viḷavaṅkoṭu of Kaṇṇiyākumari district.<sup>124</sup> From Caṇmukacuntaram 1984:70 it is not clear whether this text can be identified with the *villuppāṭṭu* version he refers to<sup>125</sup>—the latter a text, according to the scholar, that

<sup>119</sup> வணிகனது மனைவி மணஞ்செய்த சிறிது காலத்திலேயே இறந்து பேயாய் திரிந்ததாகவும் கணவனை வழி மறித்து பழி வாங்கியதாகவும் அறிகிறோம்.

<sup>120</sup> Referred to in Shulman 1980:195, n. 13.

<sup>121</sup> See Subramaniam 1996:xv–xvi (Tamil with English translation of the *Nīli Yaṭcakāṇam*). For the reference cited, see p. 38, n. 59 (to No. 10 *Uṇṇunilisaṅdēṣam*) above.

<sup>122</sup> My synopsis is drawn from Perumāḷ (1990:117f., appendix, n. 5), who refers to Pi.Es. Cami, *Tamiḷ Ilakkiyattil Nāṭṭār Paṇpāṭṭu* (Nāṭṭār Culture as Found in Tamil Literature), a work that is not available to me. See also Subramaniam 1996:xvi, where slightly different names are given for the characters: for instance, instead of “a rakṣasī,” the “queen mother Rāṭcaci”; instead of “King Vallālarājaṅ of Hauṇṇaḷ Nāṭu,” the “king of Vallāḷa.” – Perumāḷ additionally remarks that all the characters are revived by Siva, owing to the chastity of Taraṇmōhiṇi who entered the fire in an act of *satī*.

<sup>123</sup> கேரளத்தில் தெக்கன்பாட்டு வகையைச் சேர்ந்த பஞ்சவன்காட்டு நீலிப்பாட்டு நீலிகதையைக் கூறும். இதனை நீலிகதா என்றும் அழைப்பர்.

<sup>124</sup> Perumāḷ 1990:41: தமிழ் நீலிகதையே மலையாளத்தில் மொழிபெயர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளது என்றும் கூறலாம். குமரி மாவட்டத்தில் கல்குளம், விளவங்கோடு தாலுகாக்களில் வழக்கில் உள்ள பஞ்சவன் காட்டு நீலிகதை என்ற மலையாளக் கதைப்பாடல் இன்றும் அதே வடிவில் பாடப்படுகிறது, “We can state that the Tamil *Nīli Katai* was translated into Malayalam. Even today the Malayalam ballad *Pañcavaṅkāṭṭu Nīli Katai*, which is in circulation in the taluks Kalkuḷam and Viḷavaṅkōṭu of Kaṇṇiyākumari district, is sung in the same form.”

<sup>125</sup> Note that the passage with this reference to the *villuppāṭṭu* version is missing in Caṇmukacuntaram’s earlier edition of 1978.

while written in Malayalam script, is in the Tamil language. This version, which starts off with praise for “beautiful Paḷaiyaṇallūr and the Ammaiyappaṇ temple,” treats in detail the character of Nīli, and particularly her seductive art, with which she succeeded in enticing the Brahmin.

28. The name Nīli and its link to the ballad *Alliyaracāṇimālai*<sup>126</sup> (nineteenth century)

Shulman (1980:210f.) argues that “the ballads of Alli,” which “dwell on the theme of the goddess’s war with her consort,” are related to Nīli. According to him,

[t]he link with Nīli, which is stated explicitly and frequently throughout these works, is significant: [...] Alli [...] is a multiform of Kaṇṇaki/Kālī and of Mīnākṣī [...]. From birth Alli is an Amazon, physically female but masculine in instinct and action [...]. In the case of Alli, even marriage fails to suppress the masculine component of the androgyne [...].

Shulman seems to be referring to Kālī(-Nīli) of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu. This goddess and Alli, the princess of Maturai, share the fate of being subdued and possessed by deceitful means: the one by the dance figure with a leg rising straight upwards, the other by being raped, impregnated, and married<sup>127</sup> while asleep. Both clash with lustful males: Kālī-Nīli with Śiva, Alli with Arjuna. However, there are also features that Alli shares with the Nīli of the *Nīli Katai*, and even more so with the heroine of the *Peṇṇaraciyar Katai*: all are portrayed as non-compliant, indomitable women—of a character that is neither timid nor naive. While there are only some few links with the *Nīli Katai*, there are striking similarities with the *Peṇṇaraciyar Katai*: both are stories centred on women; both queens live in a female space that is depicted as homosocial and, in point of eroticism, self-fulfilling; both resist the urge for vengeance after being violently invaded and penetrated, and instead leave it up to their offspring to exact retribution.<sup>128</sup>

29. Cu. Caṇmukacuntaram’s publication of the *Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli Katai*, also known as the *Paḷakanallūr Nīli Katai* (1st ed. 1934)—in my text corpus version N9—the first published version of the southern branch

According to Zvelebil 1989:299, the version of the Nīli story published by Caṇmukacuntaram in 1978 (first edited by Koṭumuṭi Caṇmukaṇ in 1934)—in my text corpus N9 (see Section 2.4)—is the one best known in Tamilnadu. In our tracing of Nīli throughout Tamil literature, it is the first southern version<sup>129</sup> we come across—a text that is performed in Nellai (Tirunelvēli) district.<sup>130</sup> Perumāḷ (1990:54/2002:24) dates this version (=N9) to the nineteenth century.

Tamil literature has either explicitly or implicitly accepted as the main figure of the Nīli story a wife who is murdered by her Brahmin husband during her pregnancy. However, in the version entitled *Paḷakainallūr Katai* a reconceptualisation takes place. It is easy to understand why several Tamil critics all too superficially consider this a “vulgar” story: the heroine is now a devadāsī with sexual appeal.<sup>131</sup> That this change is reflected in an overall more intimate tone and erotic content hardly bears saying. The version exposes in detail the character of Nīli, who in her former birth captivates the Brahmin by her words and way of acting, and seduces him by administering a love potion. We may well ask what motivated this change of image in the story’s main figure, to the point that the heroine is now situated

<sup>126</sup> The story of Alli is, like all *katais*, authorless, though it is ascribed to Pukaḷēnti Pulavar, who was dubbed the author of a large number of Tamil *katais*.

<sup>127</sup> Arjuna tied a *tāli* string around Alli’s neck that she was unable to remove.

<sup>128</sup> For the tale of Alli, see Natarajan 2002.

<sup>129</sup> The southern versions are marked by one or more of the signifiers: devadāsī, margosa leaf, and plough.

<sup>130</sup> My statement is based on Perumāḷ 1990:54.

<sup>131</sup> As mentioned earlier (see Sect. 2.1) Blackburn (1980:206) suggests that the change from a husband–wife relationship to a man–devadāsī one is a marker of the *villuppāṭṭu* version.

at the opposite pole from a conventional wife.<sup>132</sup>

Although we do not have here a pregnant wife, the story-line otherwise to a great extent retains its old features: A Brahmin priest at the Paḷakainallūr Ammaiappar temple, Nampi by name, having been impoverished<sup>133</sup> by Cantāṇa Naṅkai, a devadāsī of the same temple, is loath to accept his misfortune. Laying the blame for his misery on the devadāsī who had followed him in love, he kills her and seizes her jewels. The story is familiar enough, resembling in most respects the N1 version of Kaṇṇiyākumari district that I have translated.<sup>134</sup> What sets this N9 version apart, however, is the identification of Nīli with the fierce goddess Cāmuṇḍā at the beginning of the story. This is the first and only time I have come across this explicit association.

#### REFERENCES TO NĪLI IN THE POPULAR TRADITION

##### 30. Nīli in an oral popular story

Perumāḷ (1990:116) has collected one version of the Nīli story in the oral popular tradition. It focuses on adultery, and how this sets in motion a fateful sequence of jealousy, intrigue, and revenge that culminate inevitably in murder, and in murder avenged.

A young man from the merchant community was happily married to his wife Nīli. One day he saw another woman, one of great beauty, and fell in love with her [...].

Once it happened that the man's lover came to his house in search of him. Nīli, immediately recognising her, became angry and told her to leave the house. The lover swore an oath to take revenge on Nīli.

Next day the young man visited his beloved. But she, who had decided to seek vengeance, referring to the humiliation she had experienced at the hands of Nīli, told him that she would only meet him again if he brought Nīli's *tāli* with him. The young man, ready to fulfil this wish, set off with his wife to another place with the idea of playing foul with her. Along the way they tarried in a forest, and Nīli, exhausted, laid her head on her husband's lap. Her eyes were heavy. Her husband gently removed Nīli's *tāli* and then threw her into a well. He gave the *tāli* to his beloved and lived happily together with her. In his next birth, the murderer met Nīli's evil spirit (*pēy*) in a forest. Nīli, who had waited for him in order to seek revenge, followed him. Deeply frightened, he ran away. He ran to a nearby village and complained to the elders about Nīli's evil spirit. He asked them to protect him. However, the elders could not imagine that she was an evil spirit. They insisted that the young man spend the night with her. By the next day Nīli had disappeared and the young man was dead. (Perumāḷ 1990:116f., appendix n. 4)

##### 31. Nīli in a popular song of the Nāṭārs

The following song emphasises both the beauty and cruelty of Nīli, and her divine nature (as revealed by her thousand eyes).

ஆயிரம் கண்ணுடையாள்  
அழகில் சிறந்த கண்ணு  
பதினாயிரம் கண்ணுடையாள்  
பாதகத்தி நீலியவள்  
(தமிழர் நாட்டுப் பாடல்கள், ப. 44)<sup>135</sup>

She who has a thousand eyes,  
eyes full of beauty—  
She who has ten thousand eyes  
is the wicked (*pātakatti*) Nīli.

<sup>132</sup> The opposite ends of the spectrum of womanhood occupied by wives and courtesans/harlots are nicely exemplified in the *kāppiyam Cilappatikāram* in the exodus from the burning town of Maturai, a scene which makes the social division of women into these two groups highly visible.

<sup>133</sup> He wasted not only his own property, but also temple property.

<sup>134</sup> For a comparison of the story of Nīli/Icakki as related in Nellai and Kaṇṇiyākumari districts, see Sect. 2.4, N9.

<sup>135</sup> The citation is from Perumāḷ 1990:44; see also Caṇmukacuntaram 1978:40=1984:77.

## 32. Nīli in Tamil riddles

32.1. Here Nīli's association with danger (forest, thieves) and her demonic features (the child she carries is born by sleight) are alluded to. – A riddle with Nīli as an answer:

காட்டுக்குள்ளே நிற்பாள்  
கள்ளர் உடன் பிறந்தாள்  
பிள்ளை எடுக்கத் தெரியும் – ஆனால்  
பிள்ளையை ஆட்டத் தெரியாது  
அவள் யார்.<sup>136</sup>

She lives in the forest.  
She was born among the Kaḷḷars (thieves).<sup>137</sup>  
She knows how to carry a child, but  
she doesn't know how to rock a cradle.  
Who is she?  
(Answer: Nīli)

32.2. There are riddles that play on still other associations produced by the name Nīli—for example, bodily pleasures and being abandoned. – A riddle with a plant as an answer:

பச்சைப் பட்டதனைப் பிடித்திழித்து  
இச்சை தீர்க்கும் நீலியைக் கொண்டு வந்து  
அறுகவை உண்டி அன்புடன் அளித்துத்  
தெருவில் விட்டு விட்டேன் தேவியவளை  
(விடை: வாழையிலை)<sup>138</sup>

I caught and dragged the green silk sari  
and brought Nīli, who satisfies our pleasures (*iccai*).  
After serving the delicious food,  
I left her in the street.  
(Answer: a plantain leaf [in South India used as a plate])

32.3. The following riddle, too, plays with the traits associated with Nīli. While the first line alludes to her ability to change her appearance, the fourth line tells of her destructive force, a characteristic that was evidently thought worth mentioning. – A riddle with an animal as an answer:

வையகத்தில் பலவுருவம் பூண்ட நங்கை  
வயிறுண்டு காலில்லை சடையோ குட்டை  
கையில்லை வாயுண்டு பேசமாட்டாள்  
காசினியில் வெகுபேரை கெடுத்த நீலி  
ஐயமின்றி வாரிதனில் விசயஞ் செய்து  
அகில மெலாந் தெரிசனஞ் செய்தானந்திப்பாள்  
மெய் வேந்தர் வீணருக்கும் விருந்துக் கேற்பாள்  
மேதினியி லிவளாரென் றியம்புன்றே<sup>139</sup>  
(தமிழில் விடுகதைகள், ப. 245)  
(விடை: மீன்)

A lady who took several forms in this world,  
she has a stomach but no legs, plaited hair (*caṭai*)—yet it is short;  
no hands but a mouth, yet she won't speak.  
She is the Nīli who spoilt so many in this world.  
Having travelled in the sea beyond suspicion,  
she is worshipped in the entire world.  
She accepts the feast of the king and the wicked.

<sup>136</sup> The citation is from Perumāḷ 1990:44; also Perumāḷ 2002:18.

<sup>137</sup> One wonders whether this line is meant to recall *Cil.* 12.21.3, telling of the fierce virgin goddess of the Maṇavas (a social group traditionally categorised as thieves).

<sup>138</sup> This is cited from Perumāḷ 2002:19.

<sup>139</sup> This is cited from Caṇṇukacuntaram 1978:39=1984:77.

O people of this world, tell who is she?  
(Answer: a fish)

### 33. Nīli in proverbs and sayings

Jensen (1993:26) provides us with a proverb (No. 249; together with a translation) that is associated with Nīli: *āmpuṭaiyānaik* (com. *akamuṭaiyān*) *koṅra ara* (or *paṭu*) *nīli*, “After killing her husband she feigns sorrow” (249), a proverb that echoes in the words *nīlikkaṇṇīr* (Nīli’s tears) and *vañcakakaṇṇīr* (false tears), which even today remain in colloquial usage in Nāñcilnāṭu.<sup>140</sup> In the speech of Tamil people, one can hear as an equivalent to the word *koṭumai* (cruelty) the expression *nīlittaṇam* (of a Nīli-like character).<sup>141</sup> It is common to refer to a cruel woman as *ivaḷ palavūr nīliyammā*, “She is a Paḷavūr Nīli.”<sup>142</sup>

### CONCLUSION

The preceding excursus through the history of Tamil literature reconfirms what is generally accepted by scholars, namely that no text is free from the influence of other texts. The discussion above clearly suggests that the texts being focused on have continually been in a dialogue, borrowing from one another and developing through a process of elaboration. My observations in the excursus are original unless otherwise stated, and so is the conclusion that is attempted in the following.

– The first historically documented mention of the name Nīli in a literary source comes from the *kāppiyam* work *Cilappatikāram*, which interestingly enough contains the first mention of an Icakki as well. The *kāppiyam* thus presents us with two autonomous and unrelated female deities who have their abode either in the wilderness or in other uninhabited places, the former worshipped by the Maṛavas, and the latter having probably been popular among the Jains and cowherds of Tamiḷakam.

As to the name Nīli, in the *kāppiyam* the name is apparently associated with Koṅravai, the goddess of war (*Cil.* 12.68); moreover, with a tribe, namely the Maṛavas/Eyiṇārs, who worship her as a fierce virgin goddess (*Cil.* 12.21.3) by offering blood sacrifice to her. On the other hand, the name is applied elsewhere in the text to a human being—a merchant (Ceṭṭi) woman (23.159), the wife of Caṅkamaṇ—who suffers a miscarriage of justice and curses the guilty party.<sup>143</sup>

Turning to the name Icakki, in the *Cilappatikāram* the name is generic, and refers to a seductive, at times disturbing pan-Indian form of a *yakṣī* figure that waits in the forest for passers-by (*Cil.* 11.111 and 171). Further, the name is associated with a particular protective deity named Pūñkāṇ Iyakki (*Cil.* 15.116), probably revered by Jain sages<sup>144</sup> in Maturai—a goddess who is also worshipped by members of the herder community. I shall return to the name Icakki in detail in Section 7.3.

It seems as if these connotations in the early layers of popular socioreligiosity are re-echoed in the story and worship of Icakki as we know them today.

– While the *kāppiyam* literature presents a view of two unrelated traditions of its time that spun themselves out around the names Icakki and Nīli, the *bhakti* literature, by contrast, occupies itself with Nīli alone—more precisely, with Nīli at Tiruvālaṅkāṭu. However, it is interesting that Tiruñāṅacampantar, the *bhakti* poet of the seventh century, adopts both strands of the tradition

<sup>140</sup> See Caṅmukacuntaram 1978:39=1984:77.

<sup>141</sup> See Zvelebil 1989:300.

<sup>142</sup> See Caṅmukacuntaram 1978:39=1984:77; also Zvelebil 1989:300.

<sup>143</sup> Nīli is likewise found as a Ceṭṭi woman in the *kāppiyam* *Maṇimēkalai*, a Buddhist work.

<sup>144</sup> For a late record of the Jain connection with a goddess named Icakkiyammaṇ, I draw the reader’s attention to the late-sixteenth-century Jain text *Appāṇṭainātar Ulā*; see Sect. 7.3.1, point 6 below.



surrounding the name Nīli that was passed down through the *kāppiyam Cilappatikāram* (23.159 and 12.68/12.21.3). In doing so, he not only transfers to the *Tēvāram* (1.45.1<sup>145</sup> and 1.45.7 respectively) these two parallel strands (of a woman who curses and the untamed ancient goddess), but also connects them by alluding to the two female figures' *aṇaṅku*.<sup>146</sup> That *aṇaṅku* also applies to the vengeful Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli (and not only to the goddess) is a reasonable assumption, for which I have given arguments elsewhere.

The survey of references has made it clear that it is in the verses of Campantar that Nīli's story is first indirectly alluded to and set within a local geographical context (Paḷaiyaṇūr-Tiruvālaṅkāṭu). That Campantar's reference to Nīli links her at the same time with the Vēḷāḷas is of significance, too. Her connection with this socioreligiously dominant landed community and the exalting of the latter is carried forward—first by Cēkkiḷār (twelfth century), and then by Umāpati Civācāriyar (fourteenth century)—and remains part of the discourse throughout the Śaiva *bhakti* literature, to the point, we may say, of being institutionalised. From its roots in the devotional poetry of Campantar, the story of Nīli in the Śaiva literature tends to a reformulation in both devotional and social terms, its primary attention coming to be focused on the Vēḷāḷas and on themes of honour and faithfulness to oaths—seemingly superior male virtues (as important as one's life) associated with this social group. While *Tēvāram* 1.45.1 of Campantar is the first documented literary allusion to the Nīli of the *katai*, it is Umāpati Civācāriyar's fourteenth-century work that provides us with the earliest mention of this Nīli by name (along with a relatively complete account of the core events of her story).

– Coming to the *ciṟupaṇcakāviyam*, we may state that, although the Jain author of the *Nīlakēci* (second half of the tenth century?) carries forward the strand woven around the name Nīli and establishes a link with the untamed goddess Kālī-Nīli-Nīlakēci of Paḷaiyaṇūr-Ālaṅkāṭu, adopting as he does the name and its association with a demonic force as his starting point, the name of the work cannot be said to relate to the once human Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli and the core events of the *Nīli Katai* (N7)—unless one has in mind the demonic features the vengeful Nīli shares with Kālī-Nīli-Nīlakēci.

– As far as I can see from my efforts to piece together the various references to the name Nīli and her story, Aruṇakirinātar, in the late medieval period (fifteenth century), is the first author in the history of Tamil literature to be seriously inspired by another aspect of Nīli than her link with the Vēḷāḷas and Paḷaiyaṇūr-Ālaṅkāṭu. His *Tiruppukal* places her in the world of harlots—a world of eroticism and temptation. The question arises how this new slant taken by Aruṇakirinātar can be made to tally with the northern branch, which depicts Nīli as a pregnant wife, the sole profile of her that has been visible so far. Presumably it cannot be. It remains an open question whether we should interpret the simile of likening harlots to Nīli as providing us with historical evidence of a possible southern version of the Nīli story<sup>147</sup> existing in the fifteenth century.

– With the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the story of Nīli emerges into the full light of day. What comes across in Campantar's verse (seventh century) as a blurred and timeless reference, and what emerges with the medieval Śaiva poets—mainly Umāpati (early fourteenth century)—as a relatively complete sketch of the core events, now becomes a coherent story that presents itself from various angles. The crystallisation process culminates in the *Toṇṭaimaṇṭala Catakam*, a work in praise of Toṇṭaināṭu.<sup>148</sup> That Nīli here once again figures within a tradition similar to the one exemplified in Cēkkiḷār's work, namely one in praise of a region, is perhaps a coincidence, but probably it is not.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>145</sup> While this *Tēvāram* verse very probably refers to the legend of Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli, *Cil.* 23.159 refers to Nīli the wife of Caṅkaṇaṇ (see No. 1.3 within this chapter). The theme of an untimely death and the figure of a vengeful woman who utters curses are reechoed in both.

<sup>146</sup> For *aṇaṅku*, see No. 4.2 above.

<sup>147</sup> I.e. a version with a devadāsī as its heroine.

<sup>148</sup> A full-fledged story of Nīli can be witnessed around the same period in Ziegenbalg's account (1711).

<sup>149</sup> These works aim at the formation of regional identity. It is noteworthy that in present-day Kāṇṇiyākumari district Nīli-

What can be stated with some certainty is that the *Nīli Katai* must have been in the hands of a dominant social group. It is further quite certain that the story of Nīli gained entry into a semi-courtly environment. This is suggested by the fact not only that the *yaṭcakānam* genre likewise drew upon the narrative (see N12),<sup>150</sup> but also that the author of the *Toṅṭaimaṅṭala Catakam*, Paṭikkācu Pulavar, was a court poet in addition to being a wandering bard.

– That courtly genres have explicitly incorporated the well-known oral narrative of the Nīli story, which circulated in contexts well outside the royal courts, is certain in view of the *Kūlappa Nāyakkāṅ Vīraliviṭutūtu* of Cuppiratīpa Kavirāyar (eighteenth century)<sup>151</sup>—an explicitly erotic Nayaka poem on which Paḷaiyaṅṭūr Nīli has likewise left her mark. The *pirapantam* literature (minor poetry), which includes along with *viṭutūtu*, just mentioned, genres such as *piḷḷaitamiḷ* and *paraṅi*, accounts for various aspects of the Nīli narrative. It takes interest in other features of the story—for instance, the gruesome (*paraṅi*, twelfth century) and the erotic (*tūtu*). However, it still retains the theme of the “honourable Vēḷāḷas” (*piḷḷaitamiḷ*, nineteenth century). In conclusion, we may state that the *pirapantam* literature fits the story out with new themes, while still praising the virtuous Vēḷāḷas. There is no doubt, then, that Nīli occupied an important place in minor poetry as well.

– To sum up, apart from the themes of *violent death* and *vengeance*, and the link to the Vēḷāḷas, it is the introduction of Paḷaiyaṅṭūr-Ālaṅkāṭu as the scene of events that is the most significant fact associated with the name Nīli since the time of Campantar. Despite all the minor transformations that the story has undergone, Ālaṅkāṭu remains the main setting throughout the history of Tamil literature. In fact, this feature together with the components *pregnant wife*, *sword*, and *fire* is what defines the northern version. It is noteworthy, by contrast, that despite “a period of considerable literary production [...] during the 17th and 18th centuries” in the manuscript tradition of Nāñcilnāṭu,<sup>152</sup> the southern version, marked by the figure of the *devadāsī*, and the *margosa leaf* and *plough* motifs, was consigned to virtual anonymity, even in the accounts of missionaries, compilations, encyclopaedias and dictionaries. It was only in the year 1934 that Cu. Caṅmukacuntaram published a version of the southern line with a *devadāsī* as its heroine. Despite this fact, a few works listed in this chapter display a well-documented continuity linking Nīli to the *devadāsīs*—courtesan milieu, commencing perhaps in the fifteenth century (the *Tiruppukal* of Aruṅakirinātar) and still in evidence in the eighteenth-century *tūtu* works, in which the incorporation of the Nīli story into an explicitly sensual Nāyaka period<sup>153</sup> style of literature is attested.

In the oral popular tradition the picture is one of greater diversification. Among its various genres we find a wide spectrum of attributes ascribed to Nīli: above all, beauty combined with an inner quality of cruelty conveying a sense of danger, destructive force, and deceit. Moreover, there is a sense of illusion (the magic child) and bodily pleasure. The oral tradition leaves us in little doubt as to social themes that are associated with Nīli, namely murder and retaliation against it, all more or less reactions to an underlying repression of energy resulting from husbands’ adulterous conduct.

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Icakkiammaṅ serves as a representative of just such regional identity.

<sup>150</sup> As stated earlier, the names of the characters and places featured in the *Nīli Yaṭcakānam* text are identical with those in the *Toṅṭaimaṅṭala Catakam* of Paṭikkācu Pulavar.

<sup>151</sup> See Shulman 2001:97ff., where the poem is summarised and examined at length.

<sup>152</sup> I cite Blackburn 1980:106.

<sup>153</sup> For a detailed “Nāyaka [a]nthropology” (113) and the link between “the new military elite, “social upheaval” (124), “new sensibility [...] in relation to the human body and its sensory resources” (113), “tales of anti-normative violation, always of a sexual character” (124), and the courtesan–body–status–power nexus, see Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam 1998:113ff.



## 4 An Introduction to the Story of *Icakkiamman*

### 4.1 The Genre: Epic or Ballad?

The publications on oral tradition by Honko (1998:20ff. and 2000:217ff.), Hildebeitel (1999:11 ff.), and Blackburn (1989) have spawned a complex discussion about questions of genre. Their discourse leads us to ask whether the *Icakkiamman Katai* (*IK*) is an epic or a ballad.<sup>1</sup> The text we are focusing on could be considered as a ritualised performative<sup>2</sup> narrative poem of epic length.<sup>3</sup> However, I prefer to stick to the emic Tamil term for this type of narrative, namely *katai*, which connotes both the sung style (ballad nature) of the text and its length (epic nature).

### 4.2 The Story Type

The *IK* is the story of a goddess (*Amman*) who is considered to be independent, in that she is not paired with some male god (e.g. Śiva).<sup>4</sup> The story type is what Blackburn (1986:169) labels as “violation-death-deification-revenge.”<sup>5</sup> It incorporates, in its first stage, birth, youth, murder / untimely death, and in its second stage, deification and the sojourn on Mt. Kailāsa, with a return to earth as an avenger. As Blackburn states, “[t]he Tamil bow-song is one of the folk traditions in which the story-type (violation-death-deification-revenge) is prominent” (ibid.:171), and even seen as the “heart” of the tradition (172). As the story is about a human being, the nature of this type of story is “historical and tragic” (ibid.:172).

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<sup>1</sup> It is not the purpose of this study to contribute to an analytic discussion of genres or to suggest new avenues of approach.

<sup>2</sup> An invocation and the like are marks of a performative text.

<sup>3</sup> I follow Honko 2000:223: “[...] an extended format of, say, over a thousand lines, [...] will entitle us to use the term ‘epic’ in the proper sense of the word.”

<sup>4</sup> Blackburn names this category of goddess a “type B *Amman*”: “The type B *Amman* in the vil pāṭṭu tradition [...] is] outside all three categories, based on the connection of the goddess to the god, since she is independent of men altogether” (1980:395, n. 34).

<sup>5</sup> This story type belongs to the *Cilappatikāram* type; see Blackburn (1986:169, n. 2) who, referring to Ramanujan (1970), states: “The classical Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram* also contains the pattern in an altered form: violation-revenge-death-deification.” See also Zvelebil 1989:302. – For similar story types in Western ballads, see Atkinson (1999:23), who draws attention to “[t]he two important narrative formulas described by [Anne B.] Cohen (1973:102–3)” in her work *Poor Pearl, Poor Girl! The Murdered-Girl Stereotype in Ballad and Newspaper*, Publication of the American Folklore Society, Memoir Series, vol. 58, Austin: University of Texas Press for the American Folklore Society. However, these do not fully fit the *katai* pattern. The two formulas are: the “murdered-girl” formula (“wooing of trustful girl by artful man; luring of girl to lonely spot; murder of girl who offers little resistance; abandonment of girl’s body”), and the “criminal-brought-to-justice” formula (“youth, upbringing, or past deeds of criminal; crucial crime and events leading to it; pursuit, capture, and trial; execution”) (Atkinson 1999:23).

The *IK* is in Blackburn's categorisation a "death story" (*iranta katai*),<sup>6</sup> with the violent death event as the generative point from which the *katai* evolved.

### 4.3 The Title of the Text

The story is referred to and circulates under various names, which makes for great confusion. Generally, the two titles that are in use (interchangeably) today are *Nīli Katai* (*Paḷaiyaṅṅūr Nīli Katai*, *Paḷakanallūr Nīli Katai*)<sup>7</sup> and *Icakkiammaṅ Katai*, both named after the heroine, who goes by two different names. The latter occurs exclusively in the texts of the southern line,<sup>8</sup> that is to say, in texts of the (devadāsī-)margosa leaf-plough type.<sup>9</sup> Yet, as pointed out by Blackburn (1980:206), "[a]lthough Icakkiammaṅ, by name, is unique to the vil pāṭṭu region, her story is a variant of the Nīli story known throughout the Tamil country." The question of the change of names, in my opinion, can only be answered when the *katai* is seen against the backdrop of the worship of the goddess in her *koṭai* rituals, a context that the text of the northern branch never called for. This much can be stated with certainty: the name Nīli alludes to the angry and vengeful aspect of the figure and is restricted to the story, while the name Icakkiammaṅ mirrors both aspects, her taking *and* giving of life, the latter being highlighted and re-enforced in the context of the *koṭai* festival. The name Icakkiammaṅ is, as far as the *katai* is concerned, an unambiguous statement of her essential role within the cult: *icakki/iyakki* (Ta.) – *yakṣī* (Skt.).<sup>10</sup> (For a detailed consideration of the terms I refer to the discussion in Section 7.3; for a synopsis of the story, to Section 2.2.1.)

### 4.4 The Opening of the Story

There are generally three steps to beginning a *katai*: an invocation, a song in praise of the gods, and a statement of the subject, within a passage praising the land and its people in idealised terms. The N1 version of the *IK* commences with a short introduction identifying the scribe (Poṅṅilīṅkam Nāṭār) and the time and place of his writing the text down, verses in praise of the land and rain, followed by an invocation containing verses in praise of Gaṇeśa and the goddesses, an introduction to the subject of the composition and the name of the person (Kōvintaṅ Mārttāṅṅaṅ Kuṭṭi) who gave it its shape, and an apologia (*avaiyaṭakkam*) that asks the reader to overlook the flaws in the work. Then the actual story gets under way with yet another brief passage in praise of the land, the setting, and Brahmins. It is the Brahmin and not Lakṣmī, the dēvadāsī, who is introduced first. This suggests that the Brahmin will have a greater role to play in the story than Lakṣmī, but this is not so.

<sup>6</sup> Blackburn (1981:211–5; 1988:31–32) classifies *cāmi katais* ("god stories") under two categories: gods and goddesses of "divine descent" (*teyva vamcam*) or "divine birth" (*teyva piṇavi*), who are told of in "birth stories" (*piṇanta katai*), and "spirits who were killed" (*irantuppaṭṭa vātai*) or "cut-up spirits" (*veṭṭuppaṭṭa vātai*), who are treated in "death stories." Nīli-Icakkī falls under the latter, while Cutalaimāṅṅ and Muttār Ammaṅ fall under the birth stories.

<sup>7</sup> As remarked by Caṅmukacuntaram (1978:32), "in literature the name is only mentioned as *Paḷaiyaṅṅūr Nīli*." However, he adds, "in the Nīli story published in 1934 [see N9] the title Paḷakainallūr Nīli Katai was given," பழையனூர் நீலி என்று இலக்கிய வழக்கில் குறிப்புள்ளது. ஆனால் 1934 இல் அச்சான நீலிகதை பழகை நல்லூர் [பழக நல்லூர்] நீலிகதை என்று பெயர் பெற்றுள்ளது.

<sup>8</sup> She is also called Icakkiammaṅ in the *kaṇiyāṅ pāṭṭu* genre, found within the same region.

<sup>9</sup> It should be clear by now, as the preceding discussion of references to Nīli has shown, that Tamil literature only refers to the northern variant, that is, to the one that tells of a murdered pregnant wife and is distinguished by the two motifs sword and fire.

<sup>10</sup> Interestingly enough, in her first birth the heroine's name was Lakṣmī, meaning wealth and beauty, which are, according to Coomaraswamy (1993:97), characteristics of *yakṣīs* as well; see Sect. 7.3.1 point 2.

### 4.5 The Narrative Style

A few words about the narrative style of the *katai* are in order.<sup>11</sup> For a reader who is not looking at the performative text with the eye of a literary critic, the *katai* for the most part is composed in a powerful and very vivid style, more so than some other versions of the corpus. In the dialogues there are often touches of dramatic life situations. In lines N1.1378-80, 1411-23, 1421-52, 1477-1503, 1516-25, 1550-6, 1598-1641, 1741-1835, 2021-44, for instance, I venture to say that not a few readers will share my appreciation of such stirring scenes as the dialogue between Icakki and the Ceṭṭi. The descriptive passages of the three *alaṅkāram* (beautification) scenes evoke a similar response (N1.1039-96, 1460-76, 1683-95). The lullaby (lines N1.2047-78), descriptive in its double entendre of both the baby boy and the *kaḷḷi* plant, contains pleasing lines, too, of imaginative creativity. One compositional technique is the use of Tamil proverbs (lines N1.154-5, 1204, 1209f., 1417f., 1488, 1913-4). Finally, a few terms of rare occurrence are found in lines N1.415-6, 1589.

### 4.6 The Performance Style

The performance style of *villuppāṭṭu katais* has been extensively studied by Blackburn.<sup>12</sup> Therefore a few words on this topic will suffice here. Blackburn observed that the *villuppāṭṭu* (bow-song) is marked by five performance signifiers.<sup>13</sup> The first of the five is the performance style that distinguishes between *pāṭṭu* (song) and *vacaṇam* (“narration in rhythmic prose”<sup>14</sup>),<sup>15</sup> with the *pāṭṭu* style marking “any event which raises dramatic tension” (1986:188). The second signifier operates on the linguistic level. All “major events” are signalled by the “emphatic particle ‘ē’” (ibid.:188). The third and fourth performance markers are the *kuravai* sound (an ululation) and the *mēḷam* (drum), only occurring at points in the narrative concerned with such life-cycle events as birth, marriage, and death (ibid.:188). The *kuravai* sound is mainly produced by the female members of the audience. The fifth and final signifier, which Blackburn labels as *tūṭukku*, marks “death and conflicts leading to death,” that is to say, the climax of dramatic tension in the story, on the one hand, and the ritually deepest phase of possession, on the other (ibid.:188). Digressions and jokes are interwoven into the text performance, but only in its earlier stages. Once the *koṭai* has reached a state of greater “ritual depth” (ibid.:176), both in the rituals and in the performance of the story, the lead singer is restricted to the text, which s/he delivers line by line as long as there is no interruption by temple officials or the audience. It is important to note that the performance of the *katai* must guarantee an accurate rendering of the text. Therefore the text being performed bears a close resemblance to that of the palm-leaf manuscript or notebook used by the singer, even when the latter is forced to adjust to the needs of the ritual process.

<sup>11</sup> The *IK* has not been universally appreciated. Often it has been criticised for its supposed vulgar and licentious imagery.

<sup>12</sup> See Blackburn’s (1980) dissertation, and Blackburn 1986:177ff.

<sup>13</sup> Blackburn 1986:177.

<sup>14</sup> Blackburn 1986:177, n. 8.

<sup>15</sup> The technique of interweaving *pāṭṭu* and *vacaṇam* is precisely described by Blackburn (1986:176): “As soon as a line is read, the lead singer translates it into song; and then he is read another line as the chorus repeats the first. When the chorus has finished, the lead singer sings the second line, and the process is repeated until the performance is complete.”

## 4.7 The Structure of the Story

Figure 2: The structure of the *Icakkiammaṅ Katai*

1st BIRTH	2nd BIRTH (royal)	DEIFIED		
Birth of the Brahmin, Lakṣmī, and her brother	The sister–brother pair reborn as the hungry spirits ( <i>pēy</i> twins) Nīli and Nīlaṅ	PLACE: forest	PLACE: forest	RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT: revenge, physical violence on the part of the female
CONFLICT: physical violence by male	CONFLICT: the twins devour cattle	PLANT: margosa tree = the home of the abandoned <i>pēy</i> twins	1st ALAṆKĀRAM (1040ff.): Icakki (with a <i>tāli</i> , yet without a baby) waits for the Brahmin (her murderer of the 1st birth), now reborn as a Ceṭṭi. She expects him to recognise her as his lover/wife (but he puts her off).	PLACE: village
PLANT: a <i>kaḷḷi</i> is eyewitness	PLACE: pasture land of Kōṅārs	Nīli matures sexually: spatial separation of sister–brother pair; socialisation		3rd ALAṆKĀRAM (1683ff.): In order to deceive the Vēḷāḷas (by convincing them of the Ceṭṭi’s adultery and demanding justice) Icakki appears in front of them with a baby.
PLACE: forest	Abandonment of the twins under a margosa tree	DEATH: of Nīlaṅ due to the felling of the margosa tree (he lived in) by Vēḷāḷas	2nd ALAṆKĀRAM (1461ff.): Icakki with a <i>kaḷḷi</i> -turned-baby (1435f.) in her arm expects her murderer to recognise her as a wife and mother.	DEATH: Icakki kills the Ceṭṭi
UNTIMELY DEATH: - Lakṣmī: killed by the Brahmin - brother: suicide - the Brahmin: death by snake-bite		Final separation of sister and brother: the twinship is broken		PLANT: the <i>kaḷḷi</i> provides evidence of the woman’s revenge
				DEATH: of the seventy Vēḷāḷas = the revenge for the brother’s death. Their death brings to an end the Vēḷāḷa community’s biological continuity.
				Icakki unites with her brother

The story starts off with a sequence of events that reaffirms a gender stereotype: males kill, females bear babies. But with the act of violence (the tragic murder of a virgin by her lover), the story pattern is inverted, without being subverted, and follows a different course. The female who is killed becomes the ‘seductive’<sup>16</sup> avenger who will kill. The female turns men’s weapons against the male. This suggests that female memory has become a killer.

The story takes up a second issue, the sister–brother bond, insisting now on a happy ending: The sister who is killed and the brother who follows suit by suicide are reunited as twins in a second birth. But with an act of violence (the murder of the brother), they are separated once again. The story follows here a different pattern: the sister (turning her weapons against both male and female) becomes the avenger of her brother’s murder and reunites with him, leaving behind a scene of blood. This suggests that the twins’ memory functions as a caretaker. This second line of the story results, on the one hand, in the extinction of an entire community—wiping out all hope of biological continuity—and on the other, in the reunion of sister and brother, who free their spirits in this drama of deliverance.

<sup>16</sup> My usage of the term *seduction* draws upon its Latin meaning: *se-ducere*, “to draw (a person) aside, to lead astray, entice” (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v., p. 1726) and upon Baudrillard’s gloss of the term: “Seduction [is ...] on the side of the appearances and the Devil [...]” (1990:116). He defines it as playful (7) and a “strategy of finery” (90). In his understanding, “[t]o seduce is to appear weak. [...] Seduction] never [operates] with strong signs of powers” (83).

The story, which is governed by the principle of vengeance,<sup>17</sup> can be read as a socioreligious statement.<sup>18</sup> It deals with key aspects of popular religion, such as rebirth and fate,<sup>19</sup> along with illustrating a belief in the hungry spirits of those who have suffered an untimely death and must seek revenge in order to be freed.

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. the thorough study of Blackburn (2001) on Tamil folk tales and his remarks on “retribution” (278).

<sup>18</sup> Blackburn (2001:277), who studies “the line between fiction and social reality” in folk tales, considers folk tales as “statements which register the moral concerns of the narrative community.” In his words, “the cruelty and disfigurement within them are imaginary but not inventions.”

<sup>19</sup> For some reflections on the concept of fate, see Sect. 6.5.





## 5 A Critical Edition and an Annotated Translation of the *Icakkiamman Katai* (N1)

### 5.1 Some Notes on the Editorial Work

In the course of translating the N1 text, I came to see with increasing clarity that what I had chosen as the base text was beyond doubt a defective *katai*, one that contained numerous instances of corrupt language and textual incoherence, yet for much of my work it was the longest text available to me. In my view, it is not fruitful to assume that texts that are products of a living tradition such as the *villuppāṭṭu* (bow-song) can be edited by a normal set of procedures, especially when, as in the case of N1, the reader finds himself struggling to reconstruct a more intelligible and natural sequence of events. Rather, the demands posed by such material make it advisable to rely on all additional means and sources possible. Consultation with experts who were familiar with the idioms of the Kaṇṇiyākumari regional dialect and the Nāṭār social dialect, and were able to read the palm-leaf manuscripts, was indispensable, particularly regarding certain crucial stages and concerns (linguistic or otherwise) of my edition and translation. I have discussed every problem (often several times) and virtually each line of the edition with either Professor T. Naṭarājan or T.M.P, the bow-song bard, from whose mental<sup>1</sup> text of the *IK* I have profited greatly. Faced with defective text material, then, I was forced to immerse myself in the various versions of the text in order to present the manuscript more accurately. This brought me into contact with additional and better manuscripts—for instance, N10, which contains what could be considered to be a fairly complete and homogeneous text of the *IK*. It was the version that finally allowed me to solve most of the problems with the base text and make good its shortcomings.<sup>2</sup>

Several factors have contributed to prolonging the editorial work. As I mentioned in the preface, it was in the course of my translation of the base text N1 that I came to know that the other versions (N2-N9) had gone missing. Their rediscovery naturally necessitated a revision of the entire edition and translation. The discovery that another palm-leaf manuscript of this *katai* was in the hands of the bow-song bard T.M.P. caused further delay. It is a very fortunate circumstance that I was able to use this manuscript, but the resulting revision of the text required for my edition was again time-consuming, given that the translation had already been completed. It goes without saying that my work was far too advanced to present to the reader an edition and translation based on the N10 version.

#### 5.1.1 The Problems of Editing Text N1

As mentioned above, the text of N1 is highly defective, containing many anomalies. I shall give just a few examples: Line N1.1546 reads as follows: *aḷakaṭaikkūḷirutti yuṅṅai kaṭuñcākkum*. Without the

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<sup>1</sup> See Sect. 2.4, Nīli10.

<sup>2</sup> Any text borrowed from N10 or other versions so as to render the N1 version more comprehensible has been incorporated into the translation within brackets [ ].

assistance of N10 one would read *aḷakaṭaikkūḷa* as *toṭṭilil*, “in the cradle.” But if we go to N10 for a parallel reading, the text reveals its real meaning, namely: N10.109.2703 (*aḷavēṇṭām*), N10.109.2704 = N1.1546 *kaṭaikkūḷ iruttiyappar kaṭum carakkum*. Another example of the difficulties in reading the texts when confronted with dialect features, variants in orthography, and scribal error may be given in N1.4 and parallel versions: N1.4 reads *pōṭṭuvatu*, but should read *pōrruvatu*. The parallel lines of versions N10 and N8 read *yoṭṭuvatāy* (N10.2c) and *poṭṭuvatum* (N8.2c). The cases quoted here, however, are only a small variety of the variant types the texts come up with; there are also others, such as morphological, semantic, and textual variants, or simply negligence (scribal slips) while copying the text.

The last leaves of the N1 manuscript are in a confused state. The restoration of lines 2129-2484 was a trying affair. The text is here highly defective, and the passages entirely out of their actual or any logical order. The only possible explanation is that the palm leaves got mixed up either at the time of copying or even earlier. The situation was such that without the newly found version N10 of Paṇāṅkoṭṭāvilai temple (T.M.P.), a reconstruction of the actual order of this final part of the *IK* would have been impossible. The versions N8 and N2, given their shortened forms, can mislead one, as I myself experienced. What still awaits an explanation, and cannot be explained away by noting that the palm leaves were thrown into disorder (this holds for most parts of the segment 2129-2484 but not for all of them), is the fact that within the passages N1.2129-50, 2151-68, and 2178-2209 are found lines of almost the exact same wording (or at least content) as other parts of the same N1 text. There seems to me only one possible explanation: that these parts shed light on the performative style of N1. As pointed out in the ethnographic description of the *koṭai* elsewhere, these lines very probably testify to a “non-linear, non-narrative overlapping singing”<sup>3</sup> that usually only occurs in a performed text. While the longer passages, the ones entirely out of their actual or any logical order, were reassigned a proper place very easily by comparing them with corresponding ones in N10, N8, and N2, the textually overlapping lines are (and this comes quite as a surprise) entirely absent in the texts of these three versions.<sup>4</sup> In short, what we are probably faced with is the interchange of leaves: one folio containing lines 2129-77, then another containing lines 2178-2209. These clearly come before the final dénouement of lines 2440ff. The first folio may have recorded a confused recitation, close to but not identical with the original.<sup>5</sup> The second one looks relatively coherent.

For the reader’s convenience I recapitulate:

1. In manuscript N1, on which my edition and translation is based, some portions are out of their actual or any logical order. These same passages occur in the other versions as well (in their correct order).
2. There are passages out of their actual order (lines N1.2129-50, 2151-68, and 2178-2209) that either overlap or are identical with other passages of the same text (N1).
3. Whereas the passages described under (1) have equivalents in N10, N8, and N2, those in (2) are not found in other versions, and so are difficult to situate. My reconstructed placement can only be regarded as guesswork.
4. There are lines (2274-91) that neither overlap textually nor are in their actual or any logical order. No corresponding text could be traced in N10, N8, or N2.

### 5.1.2 The Presentation of the Edited Text N1

I must first draw attention to some of the inherent irregularities naturally found in a text written in dialect form. The copyist of the palm-leaf manuscript seemingly left the text in its defective state; this has the virtue that he was content to pen what did not make sense rather than substitute his own conjectures. However, at times he made an attempt to improve the text, placing the result within

<sup>3</sup> Compare Lauri Honko’s account of the Siri epic text performed during the Siri festival (Honko 2000:229–30), from which source I borrow the phrase.

<sup>4</sup> Since there was no other solution at hand, I used my own discretion to assign placement to such textually overlapping lines.

<sup>5</sup> It apparently is the sequence that the singer has re-imagined and woven into performance.

parentheses ( ). For my edition of N1, I decided not to ‘normalise’ the copyist’s paper manuscript, but to accept any ‘incorrect’ form.<sup>6</sup> What corrections there are, in parentheses, are the copyist’s, and appear as such in my edition. I have reproduced the reading of the manuscript exactly, including the *scriptio continua* and non-standardised spelling; that the reader’s reading will in some cases differ from mine is to be expected. With respect to the peculiarities of the manuscript, the originally long vowel “*ra*” was written in a form indistinguishable from the consonant “*ra*.” The copyist of the manuscript apparently occasionally confuses one for the other (for example, *paḷ* and *kaṟyaṅṟ*, written respectively as *paḷ* and *kaṟyaṅṟ*; further, line 997 *tuṟam* as *tuṟam*, line 2274 *paṟkaḷpaṟkaḷ* as *paṟkaḷ paṟkaḷ*, and vice versa, line 2367 *paṟṟaṅṟam* as *paṟṟaṅṟam*). The two words *paḷ* and *kaṟyaṅṟ* are the only ones that have been emended by me in the Tamil text itself, owing to their frequency (particularly in the latter case), and to the fact that these emended readings are undoubtedly right and in accord with all parallel passages. I have not noted such emendations in the footnotes. Except for them, then, no emendation of the Tamil text itself has been undertaken. All other emendations have been clearly signalled within angled marks < > in the translated text and explained in footnotes to the Tamil text; problematic readings have also been noted, and questions concerning the dialect dealt with.

In a few cases where text is omitted or damaged, I have attempted to restore it in a plausible way, and have mentioned this fact in the notes. When relevant, I have pointed out in notes, too, the readings of versions that differ both from my N1 version and from each other. In framing emendations, I have been guided by considerations both of language and context. In general, I have made my reading clear in the notes. The footnotes are not intended as commentary, but rather deal with textual difficulties and cite variants. Comments and interpretative notes are left to the footnotes of the translated text.

As for the restoration of lines 2129-2484 (those passages entirely out of their actual order), I present both the Tamil text and the translated text in their “emended order.” The original disorder does remain transparent, however, inasmuch as I have left the numbering of the lines according to the manuscript. This procedure should not cause any difficulties for the reader.

In general all brackets are mine. So too are the line numbering and textual divisions. There are certainly some places where another division would have been possible, particularly in the dialogues, where divisions explicitly mark a change in speaker.<sup>7</sup>

### 5.1.3 The Language of the Edited Text N1

The language of the presented text is a subject whose treatment is confined to brief remarks in the footnotes to the edition. Among the irregular usage attributable to the dialect form of the text (a regional Tamil dialect influenced by Malayalam and the caste dialect of the Nāṭārs) the reader will frequently encounter linguistic peculiarities. These include a few lexical ones, among them occasional archaic wording. All such instances are noted in the footnotes.

## 5.2 Some Notes on the Translation

No translation of the *IK* has previously been made into any European language. The present work is designed, as far as my abilities allow, to make good this omission. The translation, though already completed, was entirely reworked after the discovery of version N10. N10 provided clarifications that led to a substantial improvement of the translated base text. None of the other versions available to me has been of such concrete assistance.

The translation is meant to be read with the text. While in general keeping close to the Tamil and attempting to be as faithful as possible to the original, to the extent that the idioms and syntax of the

<sup>6</sup> Note that the palm-leaf manuscript was not accessible.

<sup>7</sup> I myself occasionally found it difficult to decide who was speaking.

English language permit, I have not hesitated upon rare occasion to translate with some freedom, when such a course seemed better adapted to the end I had in view. However, I have aimed, in reproducing the text, at making the meaning clear rather than presenting a polished translation or imitating the poetic style of the original. A poet could easily turn the translation into verse on the basis of my text. Certain words are mere fillers, much in the style of a performative narrative. As for formulas, I have tried to keep them whenever they appear, by repeating them in the same wording. For a full comprehension of the text I have incorporated, within brackets [ ], lines or passages of the newly discovered N10 version into the translated text. If some lines of the translation seem ambiguous, they are so in the original version, too.

One of the chief difficulties in translating Tamil performative *katais* is the economy of text natural to its poetic form. The other is the logic of word order within Tamil regional and social dialects, in a poetic text that runs for pages without any mark for the end of a sentence. Moreover, the order in which the lines appear in a verse and the extensive use of non-finite verb forms, whether the *vinaiyeccam* or the infinitive form (the latter is also used as a participle form), only makes ascertaining the reading that much more difficult. Here we face the additional problem that the verbs cannot always be syntactically assigned to a clear subject. In these cases, I have tried as far as possible to establish the correct assignment on the basis of parallel readings. Furthermore, available dictionaries are often of little help in identifying the manifold traditional jewels mentioned in the text; therefore the help of local experts was called upon.

To a large extent the notes are supplementary to those in the Tamil text. In addition to such references as are required to justify the constitution and translation of the text, I have added a few more with the whole corpus of variants in mind.

For proper names I preferred to write the Sanskrit pronunciation, except for specifically Tamil names that are not common in Sanskrit.

## 5.3 Text Edition of N1

இசக்கிகதை

காப்பு

1 கொட்டுவது செளுங்<sup>1</sup> கஞ்சம்<sup>2</sup> குளிப்பதுவும் நீர்க்குமினி<sup>3</sup>  
 2 வெட்டுவதும் போர் களத்தை விதைப்பதுவும் ஓர் நிலத்தை  
 3 கட்டுவதும் பரி<sup>4</sup>மாவை<sup>5</sup> காற்ப்பதுவும்<sup>6</sup> கற்ப்பு<sup>7</sup> நிலை  
 4 போட்டுவதும்<sup>8</sup> தமிழ் பிரிவு<sup>9</sup> புகள் பளவை<sup>10</sup> அன்னகரே<sup>11</sup>  
 5 அன்னகரி<sup>12</sup> வளமயது<sup>13</sup> அம்மயப்பர் திரு கோவில்  
 6 நன்னகரி<sup>14</sup> வளமை யெல்லாம் னான் கூற யிப்புவியில்<sup>15</sup>  
 7 கன்னலுடனே கணிகள் பலகாரம்  
 8 வன்னமலர்<sup>16</sup> பாதம் வைப்பேன் வந்துதவாய்<sup>17</sup> கணபதியே.

நூல் எழுதிய காலம், இடம் முதலியன

9 சீரிளங்கும்<sup>18</sup> தென்னாடு  
 10 தேன் சொரியும் மலைனாடு  
 11 மளை<sup>19</sup> தினமும் பொளியும் னாடு  
 12 மந்தி குதி பாயும் னாடு  
 13 குளிர் சோலை பூச் சொரியும்  
 14 கொற்றவனார் குரு னாடு  
 15 தானமது தவறாமல்  
 16 தப்பாமல் மாறி<sup>20</sup> பொளியு னாடு  
 17 கெறேயுதா<sup>21</sup> யுகமதிலும்<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> செளு – செழும் – செழுமை. (Dash means: Read.)

<sup>2</sup> கஞ்சம் – ஒரு வாத்தியம். According to *TL*:643, a musical instrument made of bell-metal, as cymbals. Cf. N10.2b கம்சம்; N8.2c கமலம்.

<sup>3</sup> குளிப்பதுவும் நீர்க்குமினி – குழிப்பதுவும் நீர்க்குமிழி. The letters ன் and ழ் are interchangeable. The orthographical contravention ன் for ழ் can be regarded as a regular feature throughout the text; however, cf. line 96 வழர்.

<sup>4</sup> பரி – விரைவு.

<sup>5</sup> மா – குதிரை.

<sup>6</sup> காற்ப்பதுவும் – காப்பது. The epenthetic letter ற் (or sometimes ர்) is here a common feature of the dialect.

<sup>7</sup> கற்ப்பு – கற்பு.

<sup>8</sup> போட்டுவது. I read போற்றுவது. Cf. N10.2c யொட்டுவதாய்; N8.2c பொட்டுவதும். This is a fine example of the difficulties one faces when reading the texts: dialectal features, orthographical contraventions, scribal error.

<sup>9</sup> பிரிவு. Cf. N10.2c, N8.2c விரிவு.

<sup>10</sup> பளவை – பழகை (the locality of Palakai). See N10.2c.

<sup>11</sup> அன்னகரே – அந்த நகர்.

<sup>12</sup> அன்னகரி. Read அந்த நகரின்.

<sup>13</sup> வளமயது. Read வளமை.

<sup>14</sup> நன்னகரி – நல்ல நகர்.

<sup>15</sup> யிப்புவியில் – இந்தப் புவி யில்/பூமி யில்.

<sup>16</sup> வன்னமலர் – வண்ணமலர்.

<sup>17</sup> வந்துதவாய் – வந்து உதவுவாய்/உதவும்.

<sup>18</sup> சீரிளங்கும் – சீரிலங்கும்.

<sup>19</sup> மளை – மழை.

<sup>20</sup> மாறி – மழை, நீர்.

<sup>21</sup> கெறேயுதா – கிரு(த)யுதா: முதல் யுகம். Regional dialect.

<sup>22</sup> யுகம் < Skt. *yuga*.

- 18 திறேயுதா<sup>23</sup> யுக மதிலும்  
 19 துவா பரகரா<sup>24</sup> யுகமதிலும்  
 20 சிறந்த<sup>25</sup> கலியுக மதிலும்  
 21 கலியுகம் ஆனதிலே  
 22 கதை யெளுதி சேற்த்து வைத்த  
 23 மருவிய மான் விளையாடும்  
 24 வடகூர னகரதிலே<sup>26</sup>  
 25 மின்ன கொல்லம்<sup>27</sup> தனை நீக்கி  
 26 நின்ற கொல்லம் கலியுகத்தில்  
 27 ஆயிரத்தி நூற்றி முப்பத்தி னாலில்  
 28 யிடப<sup>28</sup> மாசம் தெயதி<sup>29</sup> இருப(த்)தேளில்  
 29 வைகாசி மாஸ்த்தயிலே<sup>30</sup>  
 30 மாரியது பொளி நீதிலங்கும்  
 31 யிருபத் தேளாம் தெயதியதில்  
 32 திங்களுதய காலையிலே  
 33 சிறந்த நல்ல அஸ்ட்டமியியும்<sup>31</sup>  
 34 அன்பத்தஞ்சி<sup>32</sup> னாளியலும்<sup>33</sup>  
 35 அது விரவாய்<sup>34</sup> களித்து<sup>35</sup> விட்டு  
 36 பூரட்டாதி<sup>36</sup> நச்சேத்திரத்தில்  
 37 புகள் பெறவே யெளுதி<sup>37</sup> வைத்த  
 38 பூமாரி பொளி நீதிலங்கும்  
 39 பொன்னிலிங்கம் னாடார்<sup>38</sup> யெளுதி வைத்த  
 40 பளகை நல்லூர் காவியத்தை  
 41 படிப்பதற்க்கு யெளுதி வைத்தார்.  
 42 பகவதியாள் பெற்ற மகன்  
 43 பரமசிவன் அருளாலே  
 44 அரண்<sup>39</sup> பாதத்திலே பிறந்த  
 45 அன்ன வடிவு னாடாச்சியும்<sup>40</sup>  
 46 மாலையிட்டு மணம் புணர்ந்து  
 47 வான்ந்திருக்கும் வேளையிலே  
 48 வம்முச மெல்லாம்<sup>41</sup> தளைக்க<sup>42</sup>  
 49 வய்யகத் தோரும்<sup>43</sup> தளைக்க

<sup>23</sup> திறேயுதா – திறேதா: இரண்டாம் யுகம். Regional dialect.

<sup>24</sup> துவா பரகரா – துவாபரம்: மூன்றாம் யுகம். Regional dialect.

<sup>25</sup> சிறந்த. I read this as கனத்த(ல்) (unbearably heavy).

<sup>26</sup> வடகூரனகர் – வடக்குச்சூரங்குடி என்னும் ஊர். A location in Kāṇṇiyākumari district.

<sup>27</sup> கொல்லம் – கொல்ல ஆண்டு.

<sup>28</sup> இடபம் < Skt. *ṛṣabha*. The second month, corresponding to the Tamil month of வைகாசி (TL).

<sup>29</sup> தெயதி – தெய்தி/தேதி.

<sup>30</sup> மாஸ்த்தயிலே – மாதத்தில்/மாசத்தில்.

<sup>31</sup> அஸ்ட்டமி – அஷ்டமி < Skt. *aṣṭami*.

<sup>32</sup> அன்பத்தஞ்சி – ஐம்பத்தைந்து.

<sup>33</sup> னாளியல் – நாழிகை. An Indian unit of time equivalent to 24 minutes. The term is still used in astrology.

<sup>34</sup> விரவாய் – விரைவாய்.

<sup>35</sup> களித்து – கழித்து.

<sup>36</sup> பூரட்டாதி. The 25th lunar asterism (Fabricius).

<sup>37</sup> யெளுதி – எழுதி.

<sup>38</sup> பொன்னிலிங்கம் னாடார். இந்நூலை எழுதச் செய்தவர். A proper name.

<sup>39</sup> அரண் – அரன் – சிவன்.

<sup>40</sup> அன்னவடிவு னாடாச்சியும். பொன்னிலிங்க நாடார் மனைவி.

<sup>41</sup> வம்முசம் – வமிசம் – குலம் < Skt. *vamśa*.

<sup>42</sup> தளைக்க – தழைக்க.

<sup>43</sup> வய்யகம் – வையகம் – பூமி.

- 50 பாரியும்<sup>44</sup> பற்த்தாவு மாய்<sup>45</sup>  
 51 படிப்பதற்கு யெளுதி வைத்தார்.  
 52 ஆடு மாடு சொத்து சுகம்  
 53 அத்தரயும்<sup>46</sup> தான் பெருக  
 54 யெளுதி வைத்தோரும் தளைக்க  
 55 மக்கள் மனையாட்டியுந்<sup>47</sup> தளைக்க  
 56 மகதேவர் வர மளித் தார்.  
 57 வரி<sup>48</sup> புகுந்தோரும் தளைக்க  
 58 வம்முசத்தே(ா)ருந் தளைக்க  
 59 கோ மரமும்<sup>49</sup> தான் தளைக்க  
 60 கூடி நின்றபேர் தளைக்க  
 61 ஆடின பேர் பாடினபேர்  
 62 அத்தர பேரும் தளைக்க  
 63 யிக்கதயை கேட்டிருந்தோர்  
 64 யெல்லோரு மிக தளைக்க  
 65 குற்றம் குறை யிருந்தாலும்  
 66 குவலயத் தோர்<sup>50</sup> தான் பொறுப்பீர்.  
 67 பாடுகி நேன் யிக் தயை<sup>51</sup>  
 68 பலம் பெறலாம் கேட்டு கொள்வீர்.  
 69 இசக்கி கதை முடித்த பின்பு  
 70 யெல்லோரு கேட்டு கொள்வீர்  
 71 மறு யேடு<sup>52</sup> மலை வளப்பம்<sup>53</sup>  
 72 மனுக்க ளெல்லோரும் கேட்டு  
 73 னாட்டினுட வளப்பம்<sup>54</sup> கேட்டு  
 74 நாம் திரும்ப வேணு மெனி<sup>55</sup>  
 75 வன்னியடி மறவனுட கத<sup>56</sup>யத<sup>57</sup>யும்<sup>58</sup>  
 76 வளம் பிறவே<sup>59</sup> தான் கேட்டு  
 77 மண<sup>60</sup> வளர மறை<sup>61</sup> வளர  
 78 னாவுலகம் தான் வளர பொன்லிங்கம் னாடார் அன்னவடிவு னாடாக்ஷி.

<sup>44</sup> பாறி – மனைவி.

<sup>45</sup> பற்த்தா – கணவன்.

<sup>46</sup> அத்தரயும் (M.) – அத்தனையும்.

<sup>47</sup> மனையாட்டி – மனைவி.

<sup>48</sup> வரி – குடியிறை (tax, contribution) < Skt. *bali*.

<sup>49</sup> கோமரம் – தெய்வ ஆவேசம்.

<sup>50</sup> குவலயம் – பூமி.

<sup>51</sup> யிக் தயை. I read யிக் கதயை – இந்தக் கதையை.

<sup>52</sup> மறு யேடு – அடுத்த ஏடு.

<sup>53</sup> மலைவளப்பம் கதை/நீலன்சாமி கதை. This is another palm-leaf manuscript well known in the Kāṇṇiyākumari district (K.K.Dt.), but to my knowledge it has not been published yet.

<sup>54</sup> வளப்பம் – வளம்.

<sup>55</sup> எனி – இனி.

<sup>56</sup> கத – கதை.

<sup>57</sup> அத – அதை.

<sup>58</sup> வன்னியடி மறவன் கதை ஏடு. Published by T. Natarajan.

<sup>59</sup> பிறவே – பெறவே.

<sup>60</sup> மண. It is uncertain whether this should be read as மணம் (prosperity, affluence; see *TL*) or as மனை (dwelling place). The sister-language Malayalam offers no help here. Both words in question occur in Malayalam, as respectively *maṇa* and *mana*.

<sup>61</sup> மறை – மாடு. See *TL*. Colloq.



தென்பளவை முதுார் யிசக்கி கதை

காப்பு<sup>62</sup>

1.

79 முத்தமின்<sup>63</sup> சேர் தென் பளவை<sup>64</sup> முதுார் யிசக்கி கதை  
80 அத்தரயும்<sup>65</sup> யென்னாவால் அறிந்தபடி யான்<sup>66</sup> பாட  
81 நற்றமின்<sup>67</sup> சேர் வெண் கோட்டு னாதாவுமிது<sup>68</sup> படைத்த  
82 வித்தகம்<sup>69</sup> சேர் குட வயறா<sup>70</sup> வேளை<sup>71</sup> முகவன் காற்ப்பதாமே<sup>72</sup>.

2.

83 அடல்<sup>73</sup> பரவும்<sup>74</sup> கல் யானை<sup>75</sup> ஐங் கரரே<sup>76</sup> சங்கரா<sup>77</sup>  
84 வட மொளியாள<sup>78</sup> தடவரை<sup>79</sup> மேல் மகிள்ந்து பெற்ற வாரணமே<sup>80</sup>  
85 குட வயறா கணபதியே குஞ்சரமே யிஞ்சொல்<sup>81</sup> மொளி<sup>82</sup>  
86 இடறொரு<sup>83</sup> னாள்<sup>84</sup> வாராமல் யிதின்<sup>85</sup> கதைக்கு முன்னடவாய்<sup>86</sup>.

3.

87 முன்னடவாய் சரசுபதி<sup>87</sup> முப்பொழுதும்<sup>88</sup> செப்பமுடன்  
88 பொன்னடி வாள்<sup>89</sup> திசை<sup>90</sup> கமல பொகுட்ட<sup>91</sup> சிம்மாசனத்தில்

<sup>62</sup> The following lines 79-102 are largely identical with the *kāppu* in N8.2a-c and N10.1-2b.

<sup>63</sup> தமிழ் – தமிழ்.

<sup>64</sup> பளவை – பழகை.

<sup>65</sup> அத்தரயும் (M.) – அத்தனையும்.

<sup>66</sup> யான் – நான். Old Tamil.

<sup>67</sup> நற்றமின் – நல் தமிழ்.

<sup>68</sup> னாதா – நாதன்.

<sup>69</sup> வித்தகம் – அறிவு, ஞானம்.

<sup>70</sup> குட வயறா – குடவயிற்று. Cf. N10.1a குடவயறான்.

<sup>71</sup> வேளை. I read வேழ – யானை.

<sup>72</sup> காற்ப்பதாமே – காப்பதாமே.

<sup>73</sup> அடல் – வலிமை, வெற்றி.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. N10.1a-b வரையும்; N8. 2a அடலரவும்.

<sup>75</sup> கல் யானை. I read கலியாணன் (one of noble character) on the basis of N8.2a.

<sup>76</sup> ஐங் கரரே – ஐங்கரன்.

<sup>77</sup> சங்கரா. I read சங்கரர்க்கு.

<sup>78</sup> வட மொளியாள. I read வடமொழியை ஆள்/வடமொழியாளன். Cf. N8.2a வட மொழியான்; N10.1ab வடமொழியான்.

<sup>79</sup> தடவரை – தடம் வரை, தடம் – மலை < Skt. *taṭa*.

<sup>80</sup> வாரணம் – குஞ்சரம் – யானை < Skt. *vāraṇa*.

<sup>81</sup> யிஞ்சொல் – இன்சொல்.

<sup>82</sup> மொளி – மொழி.

<sup>83</sup> இடற் – இடர் – துன்பம். Regional dialect. The letters ற் and ற் are interchangeable.

<sup>84</sup> ஒரு னாள் – ஒரு நாள் – ஒன்றும். Note the contravention of orthography: the letter ன் for ற் in an initial position.

<sup>85</sup> யிதின். I read இன்/இனிமை. Note the epenthetic empty morph -தி-. Cf. N8.2b/N10.1b இன்சொற்கதைக்கு [...] இனிமையுடன் முன்னடவாய்.

<sup>86</sup> முன்னடவாய் – முன்னடவாய்.

<sup>87</sup> Goddess Sarasvatī.

<sup>88</sup> முப்பொழுதும். I read எப்பொழுதும்.

<sup>89</sup> பொன்னடி வாள் – பொன்னடிவாள். Cf. N10.1b பொன்னடவாய்.

<sup>90</sup> A filler (அசைச்சொல்).

<sup>91</sup> பொகுட்ட – பொகுட்டு.

- 89 மின்னொளி போல் ஒளி பரப்பி வீற்றிருப்பாய் லெச்சமியே<sup>92</sup>  
90 உன்னடிமை தான் பணிவேன் உன்மயக்கம் தீர்த்தருள்வாய்.

## விருத்தம்

- 91 மசக்கி<sup>93</sup> மொளி பலா<sup>94</sup> பறைந்து<sup>95</sup> வளிவரும்<sup>96</sup> செட்டிதனை<sup>97</sup> வதைத்த<sup>98</sup>  
92 இசக்கி தன் கதையை<sup>99</sup> யிப்புவிடிலே<sup>100</sup> பாட  
93 திசக் குற<sup>101</sup> வெங்கும்<sup>102</sup> பறைந்த<sup>103</sup> செழுங் கடல்க்கப்பால்<sup>104</sup> ஒருவன்  
94 குச<sup>105</sup> குதிரை தனை தாண்டி குதித்திடுவேன்<sup>106</sup> யென்பதற்க்கும்<sup>107</sup>  
95 கோவிந்தன் மார்த்த(ர)ண்டன் குட்டி<sup>108</sup>யென்னும் கோற்த்த<sup>109</sup> தமிழ்  
96 மாவிந்தன்<sup>110</sup> சேர்<sup>111</sup> (?)கை<sup>112</sup> வழர்<sup>113</sup> புவியருளால்<sup>114</sup>  
97 யேவிந்தம்<sup>115</sup> தீர்க்க<sup>116</sup> இசக்கி கதை தன்னை நன்றாய்  
98 பாவிந்தமி<sup>117</sup> யான்<sup>118</sup> பாடுவேன் பாரிடத்தே<sup>119</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> லெச்சமி – லக்ஷ்மி.

<sup>93</sup> மசக்கி – மயக்கி. Note the interchange of the letters ச and ய்.

<sup>94</sup> பலா. I read பல. Cf. N8.2b, N10.1c.

<sup>95</sup> பறைந்து (M.) – கூறி.

<sup>96</sup> வளிவரும் – வழிவரும்.

<sup>97</sup> செட்டிதனை – செட்டியை. Notice the empty morph -தன்-, a colloquial feature.

<sup>98</sup> வதைத்த – கொன்ற.

<sup>99</sup> கதையை – கதைகையை. Note the change of vowel ஐ to அ, a colloquial feature.

<sup>100</sup> யிப்புவிடிலே – இந்தப் பூமியில்.

<sup>101</sup> திச – திசை. Cf. N8.2b தியக்குற எங்கும்; N10.1d திசைகுறவன்.

<sup>102</sup> வெங்கும் – எங்கும்.

<sup>103</sup> பறைந்த. Here, unlike in line 91, to be read as பரந்த; see N8.2b, N10.1d.

<sup>104</sup> கடல்க்கப்பால். I read கடல்க்கு அப்பால். Cf. N8.2b, N10.1d கடற்க்கப்பால்.

<sup>105</sup> குச – குசை – கடிவாளம் (bridle).

<sup>106</sup> குதித்திடுவேன் – குதித்துவிடுவேன்.

<sup>107</sup> யென்பதற்க்கும். Cf. N8.2b என்பது ஒக்கும்.

<sup>108</sup> Kōvintan Mārttaṅṅaṅ Kuṭṭi. This is seemingly not a Tamil but rather a Keralese name. The identically same name is found in N2.3a-b, N8.2b, and N10.1d.

<sup>109</sup> கோற்த்த. I read கோத்த. Note the epenthetic letter ற்/ர், a dialectal feature.

<sup>110</sup> விந்தன். I read விந்தம் – மலை < Skt. *vinḍhya*. See N8.2b மாவிந்தம். Cf. N10.1d வரவிந்த [read: வர – வரை – மலை].

<sup>111</sup> சேர் – சேரும்.

<sup>112</sup> I restore <கங்கை> on the basis of N10.1d, N8.2b.

<sup>113</sup> வழர். I read வளர் on the basis of N10.1d, N8.2b. The retroflex ழ occurs in the text only rarely.

<sup>114</sup> புவி. The reading of the other versions seems to me preferable: பூபதி. Cf. N10.1d வரவிந்தசேர் கெங்கைவளர் பூபதியின் அருளினாலே; N8.2b மாவிந்தம் சேருங்கங்கை வளரும் பூபதியருளால்.

<sup>115</sup> யேவிந்தம். The meaning is unclear; maybe ஏ – ஏகம் (whole, total; *TL* s.v.) + விந்தம் – சிறந்த (great; *TL* s.v.); perhaps chosen merely for the rhyme. N8.2b is of no help: ஏவிந்தன் தீர்க்கனான இயக்கிகதை தன்னை நன்றாய். N10.2a deviates: ஏகமெங்கும் புகளபட்ட இசக்கிஅம்மன் கதையைநன்றாய் (the story of *Icakkiamman*, which was praised in superlative terms by the whole country). The lexical question remains unresolved.

<sup>116</sup> தீர்க்க – தீர்க்கம் – தெளிவு.

<sup>117</sup> பாவிந்தமி. I adopt the reading in N8.2b: பா இந்த <வண்ணமாக> – பாட்டை இந்தமாதிரி; பா – பாட்டு (see *TL* s.v.). See N8.2b பாவிந்த வண்ணமாகப் பாடுவேன் பாரிடத்தே (I sing the song in this way in this world/country/place). Again, N10.2a deviates: திண்ணமுடன் நான்அடியேன் பாடுவேன் பாடுவேனே (I, your humble devotee, sing it with force).

<sup>118</sup> யான் – நான். Old Tamil.

<sup>119</sup> பாரிடத்தே – பாரில், பார் – உலகம். Here: ஊர்.

## அவையடக்கம்

- 99 பாராரும்<sup>120</sup> சேந்த மிள்நூல்<sup>121</sup> பாடுவதும் உன் புதுமை  
 100 போராது<sup>122</sup> நாட்டில்<sup>123</sup> முறை<sup>124</sup> பெரியோரே பொறுத்தருள்வீர்.  
 101 ஆராரும்<sup>125</sup> மெய்க்க<sup>126</sup> அடியே<sup>127</sup> னாவில் யே<sup>128</sup> பெருகும்  
 102 பூ மடந்தை<sup>129</sup> இளயவள் வந்து முன்னிற்பாயே<sup>130, 131</sup>

## [இசக்கிகதை]

- 103 நாடான நாடதிலே<sup>132</sup>  
 104 நல்ல வடசீர்மயிலே<sup>133</sup>  
 105 தேசமான தேசத்திலே  
 106 சிறந்த அன்னகரியிலே<sup>134</sup>  
 107 அன்னகரி யானதிலே<sup>135</sup>  
 108 அன்னகரி யானதிலே  
 109 அம்மயப்பர் திருக்கோவில்  
 110 அம்மயப்பர் திருக்கோவில்  
 111 ஆதிமற<sup>136</sup> வேதியர்கள்  
 112 வேதியர்கள் குலமதிலே  
 113 மிக்க மறயோர்களவர்.  
 114 மறயவர்கள் பூசைசெய்ய<sup>137</sup>  
 115 மகதேவர் மனமகிள<sup>138</sup>  
 116 திசைபுகள் பூசைசெய்ய  
 117 சிறந்த மறவேதியர்கள்  
 118 அறுபத்தொரு மறயவர்கள்  
 119 அவரவர்க்கு தக்கமுறை  
 120 ஒருனாரும் குறயாமல்<sup>139</sup>  
 121 உள்ளமுறை தப்பாமல்

<sup>120</sup> பாராரும் (all the people of this place/this earth). It is unclear to me how this nominative form can be integrated into the sentence.

<sup>121</sup> சேந்த மிள்நூல். I read செந்தமிழ் நூல்.

<sup>122</sup> போராது (insufficiency). Cf. N8.2c பேராரும்; N10.2a ஏராரும்.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. N8.2c நாட்டின்முறை பெரியோர்கள். But N10.2a நாட்டில் உள்ளபெரியோரே.

<sup>124</sup> முறை. It is unclear in what sense the word is used; perhaps in the sense of “convention”? Or முறை in the sense of கூடியிருக்கும் (assembled)?, a meaning given by the *Pinkala Nikaṇṭu* dictionary.

<sup>125</sup> ஆராரும் – எல்லோரும்.

<sup>126</sup> மெய்க்க. I read மெச்ச (praise, admire). Cf. N10.2b அல்லோரும் நானும் மெய்க்க; N8.2c ஆராரும் மெய்த்திடவே.

<sup>127</sup> அடியே. I read அடியேனுடைய/அடியேனின்.

<sup>128</sup> யே. Obscure. I emend to <வல்லார்> (strength) on the basis of N10.2b.

<sup>129</sup> பூமடந்தை. I read Būdēvi, that is Pārvaṭi.

<sup>130</sup> நிற்பாயே – நிற்பாயே. Note here the doubling of the letter ப after ற், a feature found throughout the text.

<sup>131</sup> Other versions have slightly variant readings for lines N1.101-2. Cf. N8.2c ஆராரும் மெய்த்திடவே அடியேனின் நாவதிலே / ஏராரும் பூமடந்தை இளையவளும் நிற்பாளே; N10.2b அல்லோரும் நானும் மெய்க்க / அடியேனுட நாவில்வல்லாரும் பூமடந்தை / வண்மையுடன் காத்தருள்வாய்.

<sup>132</sup> நாடு+அது+இல்+ஏ – நாட்டில். Note the contravention of orthography (ன்) and the empty morph (அது), the latter being a colloquial feature.

<sup>133</sup> சீர்மய – சீர்மை < Skt. *śīman*.

<sup>134</sup> அன்னகரியிலே – அந்த நகரத்திலே.

<sup>135</sup> அன்+னகரி+ய்+ஆன்+அது+இல்+ஏ – அந்த நகரத்திலே.

<sup>136</sup> ஆதிமற – ஆதிமறை.

<sup>137</sup> A repeated linguistic feature of the infinite is here its function as a *viñaiyeccam*.

<sup>138</sup> மன மகிள – மனம் மகிழ. Note the loss of the final m-sound.

<sup>139</sup> Instead of குறயாமல் I read, as emended in the Ms.: குறயாமல் – குறையாமல்.

122 தப்பாமல் பூசைசெய்ய  
123 தான்வாற<sup>140</sup> வேளையிலே

பார்ப்பனனுக்கு குழந்தை பிறத்தல்

124 அப்போது சிவபாப்பான்<sup>141</sup>  
125 அவன் தனக்கு பிள்ளயில்லை  
126 யிப்போது<sup>142</sup> சிவபாப்பான்  
127 யிருந்தானே<sup>143</sup> மலடாக  
128 மலடாக சிவஆதி  
129 மனமறுகி யிருக்கயிலே<sup>144</sup>  
130 மனமறுகி அம்மயப்பர்  
131 மலர்பாதம் தான் தொளவே  
132 மதலை<sup>145</sup>யில்லா கவலையாலே  
133 வைத்தகெற்ப்பம்<sup>146</sup> உதித்ததுவே.  
134 உதித்தகெற்ப்பம் உருவளர்ந்து  
135 உகந்து பத்தும் சென்றதுவே.  
136 பத்து மாசம்<sup>147</sup> சென்றபோது  
137 பாலகரை பெற்றெடுத்தாள்.  
138 பயின்றெடுத்த பாலருக்கு  
139 பாப்பானும் ஆதியுமாய்  
140 சிறந்த நல்ல பாலருக்கு  
141 திருனாம பேர் கூறுவாரே.  
142 வேதியநென்று<sup>148</sup> திருனாம பேரது கூற  
143 மிக்க சிவபாப்பான் சந்தோசமாக மகிள  
144 அப்படியே மறையோனவன் செப்பமுடனே  
145 ஆதிமற வேதியன் வளருகின்ற னாளில்

சிவகாமி தாசிக்கு ஆண்குழந்தை பிறத்தல்

146 செப்பமுடனே சிவகாமி தாசியவள்தாம்  
147 சித்திரமாய் கோவில் நித்தம் பணிவேலை செய்தாள்.  
148 சேய்யிளை னால்பத்தொரு<sup>149</sup> தாசிக்கு முத்த தாசி.  
149 சிவகாமி தாசி அதிய<sup>150</sup> தொளில் கற்ற தேவி  
150 அதிய தொளில்களும் னாடகம் ஆடவும் கற்று  
151 அல்லோற்க்கு<sup>151</sup> முன்பாய் அவள்முதல் தண்டியிருந்தாள்<sup>152</sup>.  
152 தண்டின பொன்னும் உடம்பும் வேண்டும் துயிலும்<sup>153</sup>  
153 சந்ததியில்லயே யித்தனை செல்வமும் ஆள

<sup>140</sup> வாற – வருகிற.

<sup>141</sup> பாப்பான் – பார்ப்பான். Note the loss of the consonant ṛ.

<sup>142</sup> யிப்போது – இப்போது. Note the prefix ய், a colloquial feature.

<sup>143</sup> யிருந்தானே. A scribal error; read யிருந்தானே.

<sup>144</sup> யிருக்கயிலே – இருக்கும் போது, இருக்கை.

<sup>145</sup> மதலை – குழந்தை.

<sup>146</sup> கெற்ப்பம் – கர்ப்பம். Note the change of vowel: க to கெ, a colloquial feature.

<sup>147</sup> மாசம் – மாதம். A Sanskrit loan word.

<sup>148</sup> வேதியநென்று – வேதியன் என்று. Note here the orthographical contravention: dental ற் for ன் in a final position. – In the versions N8 und N2 Lakṣmī's brother is called Vēlavan.

<sup>149</sup> னால்பத்தொரு – நாற்பத்தொரு.

<sup>150</sup> அதிய – அதிகம் – நிரம்ப. The consonant க் undergoes palatalisation and is changed into ய். Cf. N10.4a அதிக.

<sup>151</sup> அல்லோற்க்கும் – எல்லோர்க்கும்.

<sup>152</sup> தண்டியிருந்தாள். A scribal error. I emend it on the basis of N8.4bc தண்டியிருந்தாள்.

<sup>153</sup> துயிலும் – துகிலும். Cf. N8.4bc தண்டின பொன்னும் உடைமையும் வேண்டுந் துகிலும்; also N10.4b.

- 154 தோண்டிய<sup>154</sup> போட்டு துலாவை<sup>155</sup>  
 155 நிறுத்தி வைத்தேனோ.<sup>156</sup>  
 156 சொல்ல துலயாதே<sup>157</sup>  
 157 யித்தனை செல்வமும் ஆள  
 158 யில்லயென்றே பலகாலம்  
 159 யிவளும் வருந்தி  
 160 யீழ்பரன்<sup>158</sup> மேலே  
 161 கருத்த<sup>159</sup> யிருக்கிற னாளில்  
 162 வல்ல மயாய் சிவன்  
 163 பாற்வதிக் கே யுரைசெப்ப  
 164 மங்கை சிவகாமிக்கு  
 165 பதவி கொடுத்தார்.  
 166 கொடுத்தது பிள்ளை குறியாகவே யுருவாகி  
 167 கோல வயிற்றிலே யீரஞ்சி திங்களும்<sup>160</sup> சென்று  
 168 சென்றிரு மாசம் திகைந்தது<sup>161</sup> கண்டினத்தவர்கள்  
 169 சேர யினத்தார்கள் கூடியிரங்கிடவேதான்<sup>162</sup>  
 170 அன்று சிவனார மைத்தபடியாலே அவளும்  
 171 ஆண்பிள்ளை பெற்று அருவ<sup>163</sup> குரவையுமிட்டார்.  
 172 யிட்டகுரவை யெல்லோரும் கேட்டு மகிள்ந்து  
 173 யாந்திளயாள்<sup>164</sup> சிவகாமி யீன்ற பாலரென்னா<sup>165</sup>  
 174 பாலரை பெற்று மடியிலிருத்தி பாலூட்டி  
 175 பலபேரும் கூடி திருனாம பேரது கூற  
 176 கூறிய பேரும் திருகண்ட நட்டுவரென்னா  
 177 குஞ்சரம் போலே திருக்கண்டனோடி வளர  
 178 ஓடிவளரவே நட்டுவர் கூடியிவனை  
 179 உத்த<sup>166</sup> தமிழ் கல்வி  
 180 மத்தள(ம்)கொட்டும் வருத்தி  
 181 வருத்தியே கொட்டும்  
 182 வாய்த்த திறம் கைகளில் கண்டு  
 183 வல்லபனாகவே<sup>167</sup> மத்தளம்  
 184 கொட்டும் சேவித்தான்  
 185 சேவித்து யிப்படி கூலியுடமயும் வேண்டி  
 186 சேயினையாள் பொற் சிவகாமி யோடிருந்தானே.

சிவகாமி தாசிக்கு பெண் குழந்தை பிறத்தல்

- 187 யிருந்தாள் சிவகாமி யெப்போதுதான்<sup>168</sup>  
 188 யிரங்கினாள் பெண்மதலை தனக்காக

<sup>154</sup> தோண்டிய – தோண்டியை. Colloquially in usage: தோண்டிப் பட்டை.

<sup>155</sup> துலா – ஏற்றமரம். Colloq.

<sup>156</sup> The same phrase occurs in N2.5a, N8.4c, and N10.4c.

<sup>157</sup> துலயாதே – தொலையாது-ஏ.

<sup>158</sup> யீழ்பரன் – ஈஸ்வரன்.

<sup>159</sup> கருத்த – கருத்து.

<sup>160</sup> யீரஞ்சி திங்கள் – இரண்டு ஐந்து மாதம்.

<sup>161</sup> திகைந்தது – முடிவுறுதல். Tirunelvēli dialect.

<sup>162</sup> யிரங்கிடவேதான் – இரங்கிவிடுவே+தான்.

<sup>163</sup> அருவ (M.) of Ta. அரிவை – பெண். Note the assimilation of *i* to *u* in Malayalam. Cf. N8.4d அரிவை குரவையுமிட்டார். See also N10.4d.

<sup>164</sup> யாந்திளயாள் – ஏந்திழையாள்.

<sup>165</sup> என்னா – என்ன – என்றால்.

<sup>166</sup> உத்த – உற்ற.

<sup>167</sup> வல்லபன் – வல்லவன்.

<sup>168</sup> யெப்போது – அப்போது.

- 189 மருந்து<sup>169</sup> போல மகள் வேணுமின<sup>170</sup> சொல்லி  
 190 மனது நொந்து சிவகாமி வாடினாள்.  
 191 யிருந்ததினால் பலனொன்று மில்லயே.  
 192 யிறந்து போனாலதினாலே மோகூமே.  
 193 மறந்து பால்க்குடி தீரா தெளியுமுன்<sup>171</sup>  
 194 மக்களைப்<sup>172</sup> பெற்றெடுப்பார்.  
 195 மடவார்கள் பெண் பிள்ளைக்கு பலனில்லையோவென்னா<sup>173</sup>  
 196 பிள்ளைக்கு தவம் செய்தாள் சிவகாமி.  
 197 பெண்பிள்ளைதாம் யினக்குண்டுமானாக்கால்<sup>174</sup>  
 198 போத பொன் தேடி ஆதாயமாக்கலாம்<sup>175</sup>  
 199 யென்று சொல்லி சிவகாமி தாசியும்  
 200 யீச்பரர் தரவேணுமின சொல்லி  
 201 கோவிலில் சென்று னாடகம் ஆடாமல்  
 202 குறையய்த் தவம் செய்திருக்கும் னாளில்  
 203 ஆதியும் உமை மனதாகியே  
 204 ஆயினயாள் சிவகாமிக்காகவே  
 205 கோளதாக<sup>176</sup> வயது குறயாமல்  
 206 குளந்தையொன்று அருளினாரப் போது  
 207 யீனமில்லாமலே<sup>177</sup> சிவகாமிக்கு  
 208 யேற்ற கெற்ப்பம் உருவாய் வளந்திட<sup>178</sup>  
 209 வளந்து கெற்ப்பம் திகைத்தது மாசமும்  
 210 மங்கையர்க்கு திருவயற்<sup>179</sup> னோகவே  
 211 னொந்து(ை)ளந்து<sup>180</sup> உடலு தள்ளாடியே  
 212 நுண்ணிடைமார்<sup>181</sup> யிருபுறம் கைதாங்க  
 213 தாங்கியே உபகாரமாகவே  
 214 சங்கரனா ரமைத்த படியினால்  
 215 யேற்றதோர் மடவார்கள் மகிளவே  
 216 யின்பமாகவே ஒரு  
 217 பெண்பிள்ளை பெற்றனரே  
 218 பெற்றனரே பெண்பிள்ளைதாம்  
 219 பேதை சிவகாமி தாசி  
 220 உற்றார்களுறமுறயார்<sup>182</sup>.  
 221 ஒன்றொடிமார்<sup>183</sup> வரிசை செய்ய  
 222 சித்திரம் போலே பிறந்த  
 223 சிவகாமி மகள் தனக்கு  
 224 உற்ற தன்பாலுட்டி  
 225 ஒன்றொடிமார் தாராட்டி<sup>184</sup>

<sup>169</sup> In the sense of அருமருந்து அன்ன/அருமந்த.

<sup>170</sup> வேணுமின – வேண்டும் என/என்று.

<sup>171</sup> தெளியுமுன் – மாறுமுன், ஒழியும்.

<sup>172</sup> Here: female child.

<sup>173</sup> என்னா. Read என்ன.

<sup>174</sup> யினக்குண்டுமானாக்கால் – எனக்கு உண்டுமானால் – பிறந்தனால்.

<sup>175</sup> ஆதாயம் – இலாபம் < Skt. *ādāya*.

<sup>176</sup> கோளதாக – குற்றமில்லாமல். The former is dialectal.

<sup>177</sup> யீனம் – குற்றம் < Skt. *hīnam*.

<sup>178</sup> வளந்திட – வளர்த்துவிட.

<sup>179</sup> வயற் – வயிறது. See N8.5d.

<sup>180</sup> This is partially illegible in the Ms., but is very probably: னொந்துளைந்து – நொந்துழைந்து, as found in N8.5d and N10.7b.

<sup>181</sup> நுண்ணிடை – நுண்ணிடை.

<sup>182</sup> உறமுறயார் – உறன்முறயார் – உறவின் முறையார்கள்.

<sup>183</sup> ஒன்றொடி – ஒண்தொடி.

<sup>184</sup> தாராட்டி – தாலாட்டி.

- 226 தாராட்டி ஓராட்டி<sup>185</sup>  
 227 சந்ததியென்றே வளத்தார்.  
 228 வளந்திடவே மடவார்கள்  
 229 மகள் தனக்கு பேர்கூற  
 230 ஆருடைய<sup>186</sup> பேரிடுவோம்.  
 231 அருமையுள்ள மகளர்க்கு  
 232 முன்னுள்ளோர் பேரிடவோ  
 233 மூதாக்கள் பேரிடவோ  
 234 யென்றவேதான்<sup>187</sup> மகிள<sup>188</sup>  
 235 லெச்சமியாரம்மை யென்று  
 236 யேந்தினைக்கு பேருமிட்டா(ர்)<sup>189</sup>.  
 237 பேருமிட்டு தாராட்டி  
 238 பிள்ளைக்கு பொன் பணியுமிட்டாள்<sup>190</sup>.  
 239 காலுக்கு வீர தண்டை  
 240 கையிக்கு நல்ல கடயமிட்டாள்<sup>191</sup>.  
 241 தோளுக்கு முறுக்கு வளை  
 242 துடியிடைக்கு வளயல் கெகூம்<sup>192</sup>  
 243 பட்டரஞாண் நெத்திப் பிறை  
 244 பாவை உகூ<sup>193</sup> பிறையும் வைத்தாள்.  
 245 உகூ பிறை கண் மலரும்<sup>194</sup>  
 246 உகந்த சரபணிகள்<sup>195</sup> மின்னி  
 247 பகூ வடம்<sup>196</sup> ஆபரணம்  
 248 பதைக்கன்<sup>197</sup> விஸ்த்தாரமிட்டாள்.  
 249 ஆகூ<sup>198</sup> மாலை ஆபரணம்  
 250 அதிய<sup>199</sup> முத்து தாவடமும்<sup>200</sup>  
 251 நெத்தி பிறை உச்சி பிறை  
 252 நேரினைக்கு<sup>201</sup> திருவம் பிறை  
 253 பயத்தங்காய் சாயலிலே  
 254 பத்துவிரல் மோதிரமும்  
 255 கோரி தொளித்தது போல்  
 256 கொம்பனயாள் மேனியது  
 257 வாரிதொளித்தது போல்  
 258 வயற் நிறைந்த தேமல்களாம்

<sup>185</sup> An echo word (onomatopoetical expression).

<sup>186</sup> ஆருடைய – யாருடைய.

<sup>187</sup> யென்றவே – என்னவே – என்று.

<sup>188</sup> This may be considered a filler.

<sup>189</sup> The scribe adds a plural suffix (in parentheses), as in version N8.6b.

<sup>190</sup> பணி – ஆபரணம்.

<sup>191</sup> கடயம் – கடையம்.

<sup>192</sup> வளயல் கெகூம். For கெகூம் I read கச்சு/கச்சை (girdle) < Skt. *kakṣyā* (see *TL*). This is an ornament similar to ஓட்டியாணாம், worn by women around the waist. (I would like to thank Professor T. Naṭarājan for the proper meaning.) Cf. N10.8c துடியிடைக்கு வன்னகச்சை (for the *tuṭi*-like waist a beautiful girdle).

<sup>193</sup> உகூ – உச்சி.

<sup>194</sup> கண்மலர் – விக்கிரகங்கட்கு அணியும் விழிமலர் (*TL*). Cf. N10.8d கண் மலடு.

<sup>195</sup> சரபணிகள் – மணிவடம்.

<sup>196</sup> பகூ வடம் – பச்சவடம் – பச்சைவடம். An ornament studded with green stones. (I thank the bow-song bard T. Muthucami Pulavar [T.M.P.] for the meaning.) பச்சவடம் here has a meaning different from the one given in the *TL* (in *TL*: “a long piece of cloth”).

<sup>197</sup> பதைக்கன் – பதக்கம்.

<sup>198</sup> ஆகூ. Unclear; perhaps the intended form is அச்சு (mould), or perhaps it has no concrete meaning and is merely a repetition of the sound கூ/கூ (see lines 245, 247, 249). The word is left untranslated.

<sup>199</sup> அதிய – அதிகம் – நிரம்ப. As in line N1.149.

<sup>200</sup> தாவடம் – தாழ்வடம்.

<sup>201</sup> நேரினை – நேரிழை.

- 259 ஒருபாக ம்தலை முடியும்  
 260 உடலளகும் ஒப்பினயும்<sup>202</sup>  
 261 கெண்டயக் கண் விளியாள்க்கு  
 262 கீள்மாறிப் பாற்த்த கண்ணும்  
 263 வளந்தாளே லெச்சுமியார்.  
 264 வானமதில் கதிரவன் போல்  
 265 வளந்து வரும் னாளயிலே  
 266 வண்மயுள்ள ஆடவர்கள்  
 267 ஆடவர்கள் கண்டதுண்டால்  
 268 அவர்பிறகே துடந்திடுவார்<sup>203</sup>.  
 269 பெருவிரலை முக்கில் வைத்து  
 270 பேதலித்து மயங்கிடுவார்.  
 271 குளந்தை வயதுமிட்டு  
 272 கொடியிடைக்கு வயது ஏளாய்  
 273 யேளான வயது சொல்ல  
 274 யெளுத்து வாசன்<sup>204</sup> வருத்த  
 275 கூடு<sup>205</sup>விட்டு கூடுபாய  
 276 குறளிவித்தையும்<sup>206</sup> படித்தாள்.  
 277 இந்திரசால மந்திரசாலம்  
 278 யிண்சால<sup>207</sup> வித்தைகளும்  
 279 வருத்திய கைமுறயும்<sup>208</sup> கற்று  
 280 மங்கை லெச்சுமியார் தனக்கு  
 281 ஆடவர்க்கு யேற்றவளாய்  
 282 ஆயினயும் தான் வளர  
 283 யிப்படியே தான் வளர  
 284 யேற்ற நல்ல மறயவனும்  
 285 மன்னிய<sup>209</sup> கால் தடுமாறி  
 286 மதிமசங்கி<sup>210</sup> விளுந்தனநே  
 287 யிருந்தனநே ஆசையினால்  
 288 யினி அகப்பட்டானிநவே<sup>211</sup>  
 289 யெளுந்திருவு மென உரைத்த  
 290 யிசல்<sup>212</sup> மறயோன் தனைனோக்கி  
 291 திருத்திய பொதிலி மாந்த  
 292 செவ்வரியோடல் விளியும்  
 293 பொருந்திய தோர் மாமறயோன்  
 294 பிறியாமல்<sup>213</sup> ருகிருக்க  
 295 திருந்தினயாள் மதி நினைந்து  
 296 செய்தியெல்லாம் தாய்க்குரைத்தாள்.  
 297 மருந்திடவே வேணுமென்று  
 297.1 மருந்து மலர் தேடுவாளாம்  
 298 ஆடைவொட்டி<sup>214</sup> பின்துடரி<sup>215</sup>

<sup>202</sup> ஒப்பின – ஒப்பனை.

<sup>203</sup> துடந்திடுவார் – தொடர்ந்துவிடுவார்.

<sup>204</sup> வாசன் – வாசனம் – அறிவு.

<sup>205</sup> கூடு – உடம்பு.

<sup>206</sup> குறளிவித்தை < Skt. *kurali vidyā*.

<sup>207</sup> யிண – இணை – உடலுறவு, சால – சாலம் – ஒக்க.

<sup>208</sup> கைமுற – கைமுறை – மருந்துசெய்யும் அனுபவமுறை.

<sup>209</sup> மன்னிய – உறுதியாய் நின்றல்.

<sup>210</sup> மசங்கி – மயங்கி.

<sup>211</sup> பட்டானிநவே – பட்டானெனவே.

<sup>212</sup> யிசல். I read இயல் (nature, worth, good conduct).

<sup>213</sup> பிறியாமல் – பிறியாமல் (பே.வ.மா).

<sup>214</sup> ஆடைவொட்டி – ஆடையொட்டி.

<sup>215</sup> பின்துடரி – பின்தொடரி – பெண்தொடரி.



- 299 அதிய<sup>216</sup>மடி சேலையொட்டி  
 300 பேடையொத்த கரும் காக்கை  
 301 பித்தூடநே பித்தாந்தல<sup>217</sup>  
 302 தேடியொக்க<sup>218</sup> மருந்த யெல்லாம்  
 303 திரட்டி யிணலால்<sup>219</sup> உணர்த்தி<sup>220</sup>  
 304 பாடு பட்ட மருந்த யெல்லாம்  
 305 பாக்கிலே தான் முட்டினளே  
 306 யிட்ட பல மருந்தாலும்  
 307 யினந் தனமாருறவாலும்<sup>221</sup>  
 308 கட்டுகின்ற தனத்தாலும்  
 309 கால் பிடிக்கும் திறத்தாலும்  
 310 ஒட்டத்தனத்தாள் மாமி  
 311 ஒருதி<sup>222</sup> ஒளித்திட்டாலும்<sup>223</sup>  
 312 வட்டமிட்ட பணத்தயெல்லாம்  
 313 அவள் வசமாய்<sup>224</sup> கொடுத்தனநே  
 314 கொடுத்தனநே பல னாளாய்  
 315 கொடுத்தமுத்த பின்பு  
 316 அப்போது தாய் கிளவி  
 317 அவன் முகம் பாற்தே<sup>225</sup> யுரைப்பாள்  
 318 யென் தின்னை<sup>226</sup> விட்டு யெளுந்திரடா  
 319 யெளிதான வேதியநே  
 320 யிந்த மொளிதனை கேட்டு  
 321 யேற்ற வனகாச மிட்டான்.  
 322 வனகாச காடதிலே  
 323 வளிபாற்த்து அவனிருக்க  
 324 சடப்பாகி<sup>227</sup> கோவிலிலே  
 325 தாசியவள் ஆடினதால்<sup>228</sup>  
 326 நம்மை விட்டு பிரியாத<sup>229</sup>  
 327 நல் மறயோன் யெங்கே போனார்  
 328 யென்று சொல்லி லெச்சுமியார்  
 329 இன்பமுடன்<sup>230</sup> தனை தேடி  
 330 அடந்த<sup>231</sup> பெருஞ்சாலி<sup>232</sup> வயல்  
 331 அணி மதுரம்<sup>233</sup> நிலங் கடந்து  
 332 சீர்குலைந்து போவதற்கு  
 333 செய்த பள வினையாலே  
 334 அருந் தவ(ம்)செய்ய வேணுமென்று

<sup>216</sup> அதிய – அதிக. Nāṭār dialect. Cf. N10.11a.

<sup>217</sup> பித்தாந்தல – பித்தம் ஆந்தை. This is virtually an inversion of ஆந்தைப்பித்தம், as found in N8.7b.

<sup>218</sup> ஒக்க – ஒருசேர.

<sup>219</sup> யிணல் – நிழல். Dialect.

<sup>220</sup> உணர்த்தி – உலர்த்தி.

<sup>221</sup> தனமாருறவாலும் – தனமார் உறவு.

<sup>222</sup> ஒருதி – ஒருத்தி.

<sup>223</sup> ஒளித்திட்டாலும் – ஒழித்துவிட்டாலும். ஒழித்தல் – நீக்குதல் – வெளியே அனுப்புதல்.

<sup>224</sup> அவள்வசம் – அவளிடம்.

<sup>225</sup> பாற்தே – பார்த்தே.

<sup>226</sup> தின்னை – திண்ணை.

<sup>227</sup> சடப்பாகி – சடைவாகி, சோர்ந்து.

<sup>228</sup> Lines 324-5 are out of their actual order. According to N10.17a they should occur between lines 347 and 348.

<sup>229</sup> The negative *peyreccam* should very probably be read as *peyreccam* non-negative. Unfortunately, no analogous sentence is found in the other versions available to me.

<sup>230</sup> இன்பமுடன். Here a filler.

<sup>231</sup> அடந்த – அடர்ந்த.

<sup>232</sup> சாலி – செந்நெல் < Skt. *sāli*.

<sup>233</sup> மதுரம். An alternative reading would be the metathetic மருதம் நிலம், as in N8.8a.

- 335 அவனு(ம்) மனம்தனில் நினைந்தான்.  
 336 நினைந்து அந்த மறயவனும்  
 337 நேரிளய<sup>234</sup> தனை(த்) தேடி  
 338 வாறயந்த வேளயிலே  
 339 வளி பாற்த்து அவனிருக்க  
 340 தேடியவள் யிருண்ட பெரு  
 341 காட்டு வளி நடந்தனளே<sup>235</sup>  
 342 கள்ளருண்டும் கானகத்தில்  
 343 கன பணி யெல்லாம் பூண்டு வாதாய்<sup>236</sup>  
 344 யிப்படியே வருவாளே.  
 345 யேதுமக்கு<sup>237</sup> சீர்தூக்கம்  
 346 முக்காடு<sup>238</sup> வேதியனேன்  
 347 மோசம் வரும் யெளுந்திரியும்<sup>239</sup>  
 348 நீல மொத்த கட<sup>240</sup>வளசி<sup>241</sup>  
 349 நிறவளசி தாக்குடனே  
 350 சாலம்<sup>242</sup> ஒக்கயெடுத்திடலாம்  
 351 யிவளை தன்னை வதை செய்திடுகில்<sup>243</sup>  
 352 யென நினைந்தங்கருள் மறயோன்  
 353 யிளமணலை மிக கூட்டி  
 354 அன்ன நடயாள் தலயை  
 355 அசையாமல் மணலில் வைத்து  
 356 மனம் துணிந்த மறவரைப்போல்  
 357 மறயவனும் மனதுறப்பாய்<sup>244</sup>  
 358 வனமிருந்த நெடுவயிர  
 359 கல்லை யெடுத்திட்டனரே  
 360 மனமிருந்த மாமயில் போல்  
 361 மாது தலை நெரிந்தனளே  
 362 கல்லை யெடுத்து மறயவன் போட  
 363 கன்னி நல்லாள் தலை தகறந்ததே<sup>245</sup> நெரிய  
 364 நெரிந்தாள் சரிந்தாள் பொரிந்தாள் மெலிந்தாள்.

<sup>234</sup> நேரிளய – நேரிழை.

<sup>235</sup> So far N1, N10.14a, N8.8a, and N2.11c relate to one another. In the following, up till N1.347, my base text N1 remains unclear, lacking as it does the connecting passages preserved in the versions N10, N8, and N2 (see translation).

<sup>236</sup> பூண்டு வாதாய் – பூண்டவளாய் – பூண்டவளாக. N1.342-3 are out of their actual order. According to N10, N8, and N2, these two lines should appear between N1.347 and N1.348. See N10.15d.366-7 and N8.8b.194, where—unlike N1 (there seemingly in the narrative mode; see line 344)—they form part of the dialogue between Icakki and Veṭṭiyāṅ, the Brahmin.

<sup>237</sup> From உமக்கு it is clear that a woman is addressing a man and not vice versa.

<sup>238</sup> முக்காடு – முகம் ஆடை.

<sup>239</sup> For better comprehension I add the section left out in N1 but found in N8.8b-c and (as quoted) N10.15c-16a:

மொழிந்தனளே வேதியனும் முத?ள்ளது பொருள்பலதும்  
 திருந்தினை யேவடமயிலே  
 சேர உனக்களித்தேனே  
 விழுந்தோடி தேடி வந்தாய் விட்டகத்தில் வாறதில்லை (...)  
 கள்ளருண்டு காட்டகத்தில்  
 கன பணியல்லாம் பூண்டு (=N1.342-3)  
 எள்ளளவும் மனமில்லா என்பிற கேதனியே வந்தாய் (...)  
 உள்ளதொன்றும் குறையாது  
 ஊரகத்தேவாருமென்றாள் (...)  
 இருந்தன னேகாட்டகத்தில் ஏற்றகள்ளிழித்திலே  
 சடைவாகி கோவிலிலே  
 தாசியவள் ஆடினதால்(=N1.324-5) (...)  
 மடிதனிலே வினிதுயின்றாள்.

<sup>240</sup> கட – கடல்.

<sup>241</sup> வளசி – வளைவி – வளையல். Cf. line 988.

<sup>242</sup> சாலம் – எல்லாம்.

<sup>243</sup> செய்திடுகில் – செய்துதிகில்.

<sup>244</sup> உறப்பாய் – தைரியமாய்.

<sup>245</sup> தகறந்தது – சிதைந்துவிட்டது.

- 365 நிலைநின்ற கள்ளியர் நீங்கள் நடுவென்றாள்.  
 366 திரிந்தாள் உருண்டாள் மருண்டாள் வெருண்டாள்.  
 367 சிவசங்கரக் கடவுளே தஞ்சமென்றாள்.  
 368 யென்றா ளிறந்தாள் பெரும் சீவனும்போய்  
 369 யிதுநன்று கலிகாலம் அவகால மென்னா  
 370 களத்தி<sup>246</sup> மறயவன் வேட்டியில் முடிந்து  
 371 கன்னிநல்லாளுட உடமை பணிகளெல்லாம்  
 372 பிளைக்கலாம் நம்முடைய பிள்ளை உள்ளளகும்<sup>247</sup>  
 373 பிற மாகவே மனது பூரித்து  
 374 பூரித்து மறயவன் பொட்டணமதாக  
 375 போக புறப்பட்டு அவிடமிட்டானே<sup>248</sup>.  
 376 போன பொளுது திருக்கண்ட நட்டுவன்  
 377 புகள் கோவில் விட்டவன் வீட்டிலே வந்தான்.  
 378 வந்தவன் மத்தளம் கீளே யிறக்கி  
 379 வாய்மொளி கேட்டானே சிவகாமியோடே  
 380 யென் தங்கை லெச்சமி யெங்கயடி அம்மா  
 381 யென்று சிவகாமி யோடே அவன் கேள்க்க  
 382 உன்தங்கை லெச்சமி ஊதாரி போலே  
 383 உத்தமற வேதியனே தேடியே போனாள்.  
 384 கெடுத்தானே பாவி சதித்தானே யென்னை  
 385 கெட்டோமெனத் தலை மீதிலடித்தான்.  
 386 அடித்து தெருத் தலைவீதி கடந்து  
 387 ஆயிளை லெச்சமி தடத்தின் துடந்தான்.  
 388 வேதியன் தடத்துடன் தாசியர் தடமும்  
 389 மிக்க தமயனும் தேடி னடந்தான்.  
 390 ஓடிஓடி நடந்துள்ளம் பதைக்க  
 391 உற்ற<sup>249</sup> பளகை நகர் காட்டிலே வந்தான்.  
 392 காட்டிலே தங்கை யிருந்த யிடத்தில்  
 393 கள்ளியடி முட்டிலே தங்கயரைக் கண்டான்.  
 394 கண்டானே தங்கை தலை மேலே கல்லை  
 395 கட்டி யெடுத்தவன் கல்லை நகட்டி  
 396 உன்னாலே தங்கா பிளைத்திருந்தோமே  
 397 ஊளி<sup>250</sup> விதியோ நீ காட்டிலிறக்க  
 398 தங்கா நீ யிந்த தனிக்காட்டிலுன்னை  
 399 சதித்தார் தமக்கு யிது தற்மமோ வென்றான்.  
 400 யெந்தவிதமா யிறந்தா<sup>251</sup> தங்கா  
 401 யினிதான் முகம் யிறக்க<sup>252</sup> ஆருண்டுமென்றார்<sup>253</sup>.  
 402 வங்கார சிங்கார அலங்காரமேனி  
 403 மண்ணுன்று தோ<sup>254</sup> வென்று மனமறுகி விளவே  
 404 பொங்கார<sup>255</sup> மேனி லெகுவானதாலே<sup>256</sup>  
 405 புவதமயனும்<sup>257</sup> ஆவியவிட்டானே.

<sup>246</sup> களத்தி – கழற்றி.

<sup>247</sup> உள்ளளகும் – உள்ளளவும் – உள்ளவரை.

<sup>248</sup> அவிடம் – அவ்விடம்.

<sup>249</sup> Just a filler.

<sup>250</sup> ஊளி – ஊழி – விதி.

<sup>251</sup> யிறந்தா. Read இறந்தாய்.

<sup>252</sup> யிறக்க – இரக்க.

<sup>253</sup> ஆருண்டுமென்றார் – யார் உண்டும் என்றார்.

<sup>254</sup> மண்ணுன்றுதோ – மண்ணுண்டுதோ. Cf. N10.21a.

<sup>255</sup> பொங்காரம் – மிகு தூக்கம்.

<sup>256</sup> லெகு. I read வெகு. Cf. N10.21a வெகு.

<sup>257</sup> புவ – புவை; தமயன் – தமையன்.

(விருத்தம்)<sup>258</sup>

- 406 ஆவிதா னடங்கி யந்த அண்ணனும் தங்கைதானும்  
 407 பாவி யந்தணர் தாம் கொன்ற பனியது வாங்க வென்று  
 408 தாவியே வனத்தில் வந்ததமயனும் தங்கைதானும்  
 409 மேவியே சிவனை போற்றி விண்ணிலே உயிர்கள் போனாரே.

(பாட்டு)

- 410 தாசியை கொன்ற பளி நம(க்)கில்லை தடந்தெரியாதினவே  
 411 சாட்டு வளி<sup>259</sup>விட்டு காட்டுவனியாக சற்றே தூரம் போனார்.  
 412 காசிக்கு போய் வோடி<sup>260</sup> வாசிப்பு<sup>261</sup> தேடலாம் கப்பல் சமைத்திடலாம்<sup>262</sup>  
 413 கவ்வை<sup>263</sup> நமக்கில்லை யென்றந்த வேதியன் கைதட்டி பாடினாரே.  
 414 யெல்லா யாபாரமும்<sup>264</sup> செய்து பிளைக்கலாம்  
 415 யென்றொரு பொட்டணமாம்<sup>265</sup>  
 416 கெட்டி யெடுத்தவன் மாறாப்பு<sup>266</sup> போட்டு  
 417 கெறுவிதமாய்<sup>267</sup> நடந்தான்.  
 418 வேண்டும் பவுசை<sup>268</sup> பெறலாம் நம(க்)கொரு  
 419 வே றொரு தீங்குமில்லை.  
 420 வேதியனுக் கொரு யெள்ளள வாகிலும்<sup>269</sup>  
 421 விசனங்கள்<sup>270</sup> கிடையாது.  
 422 <sup>271</sup>வேசய<sup>272</sup> கொன்ற ரெத்த<sup>273</sup>விறியாலே<sup>274</sup>  
 423 வெய்யில் தகை யெனும்பி  
 424 வெருண்டுடொரு<sup>275</sup> காதம் யிருண்ட  
 425 வனத்தில் விரவாய்<sup>276</sup> வளி நடக்க  
 426 சண்டை பிடிக்கின்ற வண்ட<sup>277</sup> கிளவி மகள்  
 427 தங்கசரப்பணியை  
 428 தட்டானிடத்தில் விலைக்காட்டலாமென்று  
 429 <sup>278</sup>சந்தோஸ(ம்) மெத்த மெத்த கண்ணி கயற்றோடு<sup>279</sup>

<sup>258</sup> This term is taken from N10.21b.

<sup>259</sup> சாட்டுவளி – போக்கானவழி, நெர் சாலை வழி.

<sup>260</sup> வோடி – வட்டி. Cf. N10.21c, N8.10, N6.5.

<sup>261</sup> வாசிப்பு – வசிப்பு – வாழ்க்கை.

<sup>262</sup> See also N8.10c காசி சென்றுவட்டி வாங்கி கப்பலும் செய்திடலாம்; N6.5 காசிக்கும் போய் வட்டி வாசிக்குஞ் தேடலாம் கப்பலும் வைத்திடலாம்; N10.21c காசிக்கு போய் வட்டிவாசிக்கு தேடலாம் கப்பல் முடித்திடலாம்.

<sup>263</sup> கவ்வை – கவலை.

<sup>264</sup> யாபாரம் – வியாபாரம்.

<sup>265</sup> பொட்டணமாம். A scribal mistake. Read பொட்டணமாய்.

<sup>266</sup> மாறாப்பு – மாராப்ப. A word seldom used.

<sup>267</sup> கெறுவிதமாய் – ஆணவமாய்.

<sup>268</sup> பவுசை – மேன்மை.

<sup>269</sup> யெள்ளள வாகிலும் – எள் அளவாகிலும்.

<sup>270</sup> விசனங்கள் – விசாரம் – துன்பம். Cf. N10.22c.

<sup>271</sup> Lines 418-9 and 422-9 are in a different order in N10.22c-d: 426-427-428-429-418-419-424-425-422-423.

<sup>272</sup> வேசய – வேசியை.

<sup>273</sup> ரெத்த – இரத்தம் < Skt. rakta.

<sup>274</sup> விறி – வெறி.

<sup>275</sup> வெருண்டுடொரு – வெருண்டு+வ+ஒரு.

<sup>276</sup> விரவாய் – விரைவாக.

<sup>277</sup> வண்ட – தீய.

<sup>278</sup> Cf. N8.11 and N6.7.

<sup>279</sup> கண்ணி கயிறு. A rope made from coconut fibre. (My thanks to Professor T. Naṭarāṇ for explaining this to me.)

- 430 தோண்டியதொட்டவ<sup>280</sup> கல்லில் மிதித்திடவே  
 431 கல்பிடைக்குள்ளொரு சற்ப்பம்<sup>281</sup> மிருந்து  
 432 கடித்தது பாப்பானை.  
 433 கய்யிலுட்மையத்தில்<sup>282</sup> விளவே  
 434 கரயிலவன் விளுந்தான்.  
 435 கண்டவருண்டென்று கூப்பிட்டு கூப்பிட்டு  
 436 காட்டில் பதபதைக்க<sup>283</sup>  
 437 யிரண்டடி தூக்கி யெடுக்குமுன் னாளில்<sup>284</sup>  
 438 கோதி<sup>285</sup>கொள்ளவே  
 439 யிந்த உலகத்துக்கு ஆகாதுயென்று  
 440 பாப்பானும் யிறந்து விட்டானே.  
 441 போனார் கயிலயில் முபேருமாகவே ஒன்று  
 442 பொல்லாத பாவியும் அண்ணனும் தங்கையுமாக  
 443 ஆதிசிவனார் யிருக்கும் கயிலாமும்<sup>286</sup> தன்னில்  
 444 ஆகாத பாவியை அப்பாலே நில்லென்று சொன்னார்.  
 445 நில்லென்று சொல்லி  
 446 நிருத்தி மறயவந்தன்னை  
 447 நேரிளயாளும்  
 448 தமயனை(ப்) பாற்த்தேது<sup>287</sup> சொல்வார்.  
 449 கல்லாலே கொன்ற  
 450 பளிய திரும்பவும் வாங்க  
 451 காசினி தன்னில் பிறப்பிக்க  
 452 வேணும் சிவனே  
 453 நல்லது யென்று நயினார்.  
 454 மனது மகிள்ந்து  
 455 னாட்டில் பிறப்பிக்க  
 456 கூட்டகணக்கில் யெளுதும்  
 457 யெளுதிடும் யென்று  
 458 ஈஸ் பரனார் சொன்ன போது  
 459 யெல்லோரும் நல்லது யென்று சிவனோடுரைத்தார்.  
 460 நல்லது யென்று நயினார் மனது மகிள்ந்து  
 461 நாட்டிலே பிறப்பிக்கக் கூட்ட  
 462 கணக்கி லெளுதும்  
 463 யெளுதிடும் மென்று சொல்லிய - சோளன்  
 464 அரசனவனுடதேவி தோகை நல்லாளுமே  
 465 பிள்ளையிலலாமல் திகைத்தாள்.  
 466 தனார்மொளியாள் திகை(த்)தந்த செம்பியன்தேவி  
 467 செம்பியன்தேவி திகைத்தேது வார்த்தைச் சொல்வாளாம்.  
 468 யேனோ மதலை நமக்கு ஒன்றில்லாத பாபம்<sup>288</sup>  
 469 யிருந்தால் யிறந்தால் யினிகூடங்காரது<sup>289</sup> செய்வார்.  
 470 உய்யும்<sup>290</sup> புவிதனில் யெத்தனைபேர் பிள்ளையில்லார்.  
 471 உடயோன் விதித்த விதிவசம் ஒண்ணுதல் கேளு  
 472 யின்னிலந் தன்னிலே நல்மகனை யீன்றெடுத்தாக்கால்

<sup>280</sup> தோண்டியதொட்டவ - தோண்டியை தொட்டவன். The தோண்டி, according to Professor T. Naṭarājan, is made from palmyra leaves.

<sup>281</sup> சற்ப்பம் - சர்ப்பம்.

<sup>282</sup> கய் - கை; உட்மை (a scribal mistake) - உடமை/உடைமை; கயம் - குளம்.

<sup>283</sup> பதபதைக்க - பதைபதைக்க.

<sup>284</sup> னாளில். A scribal error. I read நாவில் on the basis of N10.24a நாவில் ரெத்தம் குதிகொளளவே. Accordingly I emend to <நாவில் இரத்தம்>.

<sup>285</sup> கோதி. I read குதி (to splash). Cf. N10.24a குதி.

<sup>286</sup> கயிலாமும் - கயிலாசம்.

<sup>287</sup> பாற்த்தேது - பார்த்து எது.

<sup>288</sup> பாபம் - பாவம்.

<sup>289</sup> கூடங்காரது - சடங்கு யார் அது.

<sup>290</sup> உய்யும் - வாழும்.

- 473 யெல்லோற்க்கும் அன்னமிட்டேங்கி மகிள வேண்டாமோ.  
 474 நல்லமகனை மணி தொட்டின் மேலே கிடத்தி  
 475 னாடிவிளக்கேற்றி மோடியாய் தாராட்டேனோ.  
 476 அன்பாய் மகனுக்கு கிண்கிணி நூல்புரம்<sup>291</sup> கொஞ்ச  
 477 ஆதரவாய் வரும் பாவினை காண வேண்டாமோ.  
 478 ஆவலுடன் பல ஆய்த<sup>292</sup> வித்தயும்கற்று  
 479 அங்கத்திலே<sup>293</sup> வரும் சங்கீதம் கேள்க்க வேண்டாமோ.  
 480 மேவு<sup>294</sup> மடவார்கள்<sup>295</sup> மிக்க கலியாணம் செய்து  
 481 வெற்றி முரசிகள்<sup>296</sup> ஒக்க அதிர வேண்டாமோ.<sup>297</sup>  
 482 பாவினையாக மகனாரை பள்ளியில் வைத்து  
 483 பள்ளி புகுந்து படிப்பது காண வேண்டாமோ.  
 484 தாபமோடுள்ள<sup>298</sup> சடங்கு பலது முகித்துத்<sup>299</sup>  
 485 தாயாரை கைதொள ஆசயாய்நாந்<sup>300</sup> மகிளேனோ.  
 486 அந்தனா னொரு சோளன்தேவி  
 487 அசயா மணி மடந்தை  
 488 அய்யகோ உயிர் தேய்யவே  
 489 உள்ளம் நய்யவே<sup>301</sup> உடலசய  
 490 யெந்த னாளிலு முகியா தவம்  
 491 யேற்றி முகித்திடவே  
 492 யிமயோருட<sup>302</sup> உமயாள்பல  
 493 உமை கேள்வனும்<sup>303</sup> வெளியாய்  
 494 உய்வெளியாகிய<sup>304</sup> பகவானுயிர்  
 495 வேந்தர் முகம் னோக்கி  
 496 வீண்போய மன்னா<sup>305</sup> உனக்கேபிள்ளை  
 497 தனக்கெதி<sup>306</sup> யில்லைக் காண்

(சோளன் அரசன் செம்பியனுக்கு பெண்ணும் ஆண்குமுந்தையும் பிறத்தல்)

- 498 அரை மாசமும்<sup>307</sup> புவி மீதினில்  
 499 அஞ்சோடஞ்சி நிறய  
 500 அறிவோம் மென னோக்காடிது  
 501 ஆவோமென அறிந்தார்.

<sup>291</sup> நூல்புரம் – நூபுரம் – காற்சிலம்பு.

<sup>292</sup> ஆய்த – ஆயுத.

<sup>293</sup> அங்கம். Here in the sense of “heart.” (I would like to thank the bow-song bard T.M.P. for clarifying this point.) Cf. N10.26d.

<sup>294</sup> மேவு – விரும்பும்.

<sup>295</sup> மடவார்கள். I read here singular rather than plural, as reflected in the translation.

<sup>296</sup> முரசி – முரசு.

<sup>297</sup> Lines 482-3 are displaced. From a chronological point of view, they should appear between lines 477 and 478. Cf. N10.26 c-d.

<sup>298</sup> தாபம் – தாகம்.

<sup>299</sup> முகித்து – முடித்து.

<sup>300</sup> ஆசயாய்நாந் – ஆசையினால்.

<sup>301</sup> நய்யவே – நையவே.

<sup>302</sup> யிமயோருட – இமையவருடன் – தேவர்களுடன்.

<sup>303</sup> கேள்வனும் – கேளனும் – தோழன். An old word for “companion.” Cf. N10.27c கேளனும்.

<sup>304</sup> உய். I read உயிர் on the basis of N10.27c.

<sup>305</sup> ன்நா – என.

<sup>306</sup> தனக்கெதி – தனக்கு கதி. கதி (fortune, luck, way; see *TL* s.v.). Cf. N10.27d தனக்கே விதி.

<sup>307</sup> அரை மாசமும் (half of the [ten] months [of pregnancy]). Cf. N10.29b, which is identical with lines N1.498-9, but is preceded (20 lines) and followed (1 line) by lines which are not found in N1: தேவ தேவனைவணங்கிதிருத்தேவி மனம் திகைத்தாள். அரைமாதமும் பவி மீதினில் அஞ்சோடஞ்சு நிறைய. அரசன்திருத்தேவிவயறுளைந்து மதிமயங்கி.

- 502 ஆரூர்பெருமானே உன(க்)கபயம்<sup>308</sup>  
 503 உனக்கபயம்  
 504 வேற்ப்பாள்<sup>309</sup> வெதும்பிடுவாள்<sup>310</sup>.  
 505 பிள்ளை விதனங்<sup>311</sup> கடிதென்பாள்.  
 506 ஆகோவென<sup>312</sup> அளுவாள்.  
 507 மலரணை மேல் பய்ய சரிவாள்.  
 508 ஓகோ மருத்துவமே<sup>313</sup>பிள்ளை  
 509 உனக்கேப் பதமென்பாள்<sup>314</sup>.  
 510 யென்பாளுடன் மெலிவாள்.  
 511 யினமான் போல விளுந்தளுவாள்.  
 512 பொன்போல முகம் வேற்ப்பாள்.  
 513 புவியீதில் புரண்டளுவாள்.  
 514 புவியப் படை(த்)தோனே.  
 515 பொல்லாங்கல்லோ செய்தாள்<sup>315</sup>.  
 516 நஞ்சோ நடுவயிற்றில்  
 517 னாதன் தரிப்பித்தானோ<sup>316</sup>.  
 518 நானோ யிது படுவோயிது  
 519 நடுவொன்றில்லை அய்யயோ  
 520 வாளத் தடை<sup>317</sup> போலே  
 521 சித்திர வற்றன<sup>318</sup>துடை ரண்டும்  
 522 வயறும் குலைத்திடயும்  
 523 கடவயறு மிருகுது<sup>319</sup> அய்யயோ  
 524 காலத்த உண்டவர் போலே  
 525 உடல்கட்டு விழுகுது நெரிய  
 526 கண்ணிலே முளிக்க<sup>320</sup> சொல்லுங்கோ.  
 527 கன்னிமார்களை நீங்கள்  
 528 மாலைதந்தனர் மணமுண்டவர்  
 529 மணவாளவரெங்கே  
 530 மன்னவா உயிர்கன்னுதே<sup>321</sup>.  
 531 மதிப்பேன்கண்ணில் முளிப்பாயோ.  
 532 கண்ணில் முளிக்க கருதியே மன்னவனாரை  
 533 கய்யோடே நீங்கள் கூட்டிவர வேணுமிப்போ<sup>322</sup>  
 534 யென்னுட பக்கத்திலிருக்கிற தோளிமார் நீங்கள்  
 535 யீராசாவை<sup>323</sup> சென்று அளைத்து வாருமெடி<sup>324</sup> பெண்ணே  
 536 கோல வயிற்றிலே கல்லா கனக்குதே<sup>325</sup> பிள்ளை  
 537 கூறுங்கே பெற்று பிளைப்பதற்கென்னுயிர் தோளி

<sup>308</sup> அபயம் – அடைக்கலம்.

<sup>309</sup> வேற்ப்பாள் – வேற்ப்பாள்/வியர்ப்பாள்.

<sup>310</sup> வெதும்பிடுவாள் – நொந்திடுவாள்.

<sup>311</sup> விதனம் – வேதனை. In use in the Kanniyākumari district dialect.

<sup>312</sup> An exclamation of pain.

<sup>313</sup> மருத்துவமே – பிரசவம்பார்க்கின்றவளே. Cf. line 547.

<sup>314</sup> பதம் – பொழுது.

<sup>315</sup> செய்தாள். A scribal error. I read செய்தா<ர்>, as reflected in the translation. It is the god whom the queen addresses at this point.

<sup>316</sup> தரிப்பித்தானோ – தரச் செய்தானோ.

<sup>317</sup> வாளத் தடை – வாழைத்தடல்.

<sup>318</sup> வற்றன – வர்ணம் < Skt. *varṇa*.

<sup>319</sup> இருகுது – இறுகுது.

<sup>320</sup> முளிக்க – முழிக்க – விழிக்க.

<sup>321</sup> கன்னுதே – குறையுதே.

<sup>322</sup> இப்ப – இப்பொழுது.

<sup>323</sup> யீ-இந்த.

<sup>324</sup> எடி – அடி/ஏடி.

<sup>325</sup> கனக்குது – மாரமாதல் < Skt. *ghan*.

538 புத்தியற்று போனால்<sup>326</sup> பொன்னே<sup>327</sup> திருத்தேவியம்மா  
 539 பூவுலகானதில் யாபேற்கு<sup>328</sup> உள்ளமுறைதான்  
 540 யில்லயே யெந்தன்வயிற்றில் சனித்ததோர்<sup>329</sup> பிள்ளை  
 541 யீனம் யிரக்கமில்லாத நெட்டுர்<sup>330</sup> குளந்தை  
 542 குளந்தை யிதில்லைக் காண்  
 543 யினக்கு உதவ மாட்டாது.  
 544 கூத்துவனாக<sup>331</sup> வயிற்றில்  
 545 ஸெனித்தது<sup>332</sup> கொல்ல  
 546 யென்னடி பெண்ணே  
 547 மருத்துவமே<sup>333</sup> யின(க்)கிப்போ  
 548 யீன்றெடுத்திடவே  
 549 லெக்ஷணமுண்டாக்கால்<sup>334</sup> பாரு.  
 550 பாற்த்ததினால் பளுதில்லையே திரு(த்)தேவி  
 551 பாருலகானதில் யாபேற்கு உள்ளமுறைதான்  
 552 உள்ள முறையே உடன் கொடுவாருங்கோ<sup>335</sup> வென்று  
 553 உத்த<sup>336</sup> நிலத்திலே சத்திரமிட்டு<sup>337</sup> யெருதி  
 554 மெளுகியே பன்னீரும் சந்தணம் கொண்டு தொளித்து<sup>338</sup>  
 555 மேகவறணப் பட்டு னாள்<sup>339</sup> கொண்டு உள்ளூற முடி  
 556 முடிநிறமரக்கால்<sup>340</sup> நிறனாளியும் வைத்து  
 557 முப்பது பொன்னயும் முந்தி<sup>341</sup> கெட்டாகவே<sup>342</sup> வைத்தார்.  
 558 கெட்டி வைப்பது வன்ன<sup>343</sup> கலத்திலே யிட்டு  
 559 கிறுபயுடநே<sup>344</sup> மடவார்களைல்லோரும் காண  
 560 காணவே கிண்ணியில்<sup>345</sup> மூன்று குல யெண்ணை<sup>346</sup> வாங்கி  
 561 கன்னியே அஞ்சாதேயென்று வயிற்றினிலிட்டார்.  
 562 யிட்டிடும் யெண்ணை யிவள் வயிறானதில் சென்று  
 563 யெல்லோரும் காண மெய் னோவுது டங்கிடுமாமே<sup>347</sup>.  
 564 பத்தான மாஸ்த்தயிலே  
 565 பாரரசன் திருத்தேவி  
 566 உற்றான ஆளோடி  
 567 உறமுறயாள் குணம் சொல்லி  
 568 மற்று நிகரொவ்வாத

<sup>326</sup> போனால். Probably a scribal error. I read போனாய், and emend accordingly. Cf. N10.31d புத்தியது சொன்னாய்.

<sup>327</sup> பொன்னே – பெண்.

<sup>328</sup> யாபேற்கும் – யாவர்க்கும்.

<sup>329</sup> சனித்ததோர் – தோன்றியதோர் < Skt. *jan*.

<sup>330</sup> *netṭūr* – *netṭūram* < Skt. *niṣṭhura*.

<sup>331</sup> கூத்துவனாக – கூற்றுவன்.

<sup>332</sup> ஸெனித்தது – தோன்றியது. See line 540 சனித்தல். Note the different orthography.

<sup>333</sup> Cf. line 508.

<sup>334</sup> உண்டாக்கால் – உண்டானால்.

<sup>335</sup> கொடுவாருங்கோ – கொண்டுவாருங்கள்.

<sup>336</sup> உத்த – உற்ற.

<sup>337</sup> சத்திரமிட்டு யெருதி – சித்திரம்வரைதல். Cf. N10.32b-c சந்தணம்மிட்டுமெழுகி.

<sup>338</sup> தொளித்து – தெளித்து.

<sup>339</sup> பட்டு னாள். Read பட்டினால். Cf. N10.32c.

<sup>340</sup> மரக்கால், னாளி (நாழி) – அளவைப்பெயர்; நிற – நிறை.

<sup>341</sup> முந்தி – முந்தானை.

<sup>342</sup> கெட்டாக – கெட்டியாக.

<sup>343</sup> வன்ன – வண்ணம்.

<sup>344</sup> கிறுபய் – கிருபை.

<sup>345</sup> கிண்ணி – கிண்ணம்.

<sup>346</sup> மூன்று குலயெண்ணை – மூன்றுவகையான எண்ணெய்.

<sup>347</sup> னோவுது டங்கிடுமாமே. Read நோவு துடங்கிடுமாமே – தொடங்கிவிடுமாமே. Cf. N10.33a வயிறுநோவது வருமாமே.



- 569 மருத்துவத்தாள் சொல்ப் படியே  
 570 உரைத்திடுவாள் கருத்திலிட்டு  
 571 உருத்திரண்ட கெற்ப்பமதாய்  
 572 பொருத் தெலும்பும் குறுக்கெலும்பும்  
 573 பொன்னாந் சரீரமெல்லாம்  
 574 வயிற்றில் நெரி புதல்வநென்னா  
 575 வயிற்றில் நெரிப்பாகுதய்யோ  
 576 கருங்கல்லோ யென் வயத்தில்<sup>348</sup>  
 577 கல்லாக கனக்குதம்மா  
 578 யிந்தசெய்தி தெரியுமானால்  
 579 யிருப்பேனோ அருந்தவசி<sup>349</sup>  
 580 கணவனயும் அறியாமல்  
 581 கருமருந்தெ<sup>350</sup> குடித்தேனில்லை.  
 582 ஆடுகெற்ப்பம் ஆனாலும்  
 583 அலறியொரு மறியீணும்<sup>351</sup>.  
 584 மாடு கெற்ப்பம் ஆனாலும்  
 585 மறுகியொரு கன்று யீணும்.  
 586 அயிரெட்டி<sup>352</sup> பங்காக<sup>353</sup>  
 587 அடிமுறிகள் னோகுதம்மா  
 588 மளைபொளிந்த குளலானே  
 589 மலங்காதே பிள்ளை பிறக்குமென்றார்.  
 590 வல்லவரி கல்லதிலே  
 591 வருத்தி வைத்த யெருத்ததுவோ.  
 592 காரிகயாள் மெய்னோக  
 593 கன்னிநல்ல குடமுடய  
 594 கன்னிக்குடமுடய  
 595 கண்டானே மருத்துவமும்  
 596 திருவயிறு வாள்ந்திலங்க  
 597 சிறந்து ரண்டு<sup>354</sup> குளந்தயது  
 598 ஒரு குளந்தை பிறந்தபோது  
 599 ஓவியத்தார் குரவையிட்டார்<sup>355</sup>.  
 600 மறுபடியும் பெண் பிறந்து  
 601 மனமகிளந்தார் தாதியர்கள்  
 602 மந்திரி மார்தனை யளைத்து  
 603 வரவளைத்தார் சோசியநெ<sup>356</sup>  
 604 காறந்த பால் நெய்யது போல  
 605 கய்யோடே சோசியநெ  
 606 வந்து அந்த சோசியனும்  
 607 வளர் சோளன்தனை தொளுதாரே.

(விருத்தம்)

- 608 தெளிந்திருந்திருந்த செம்பியர் முன்  
 609 சென்று நின்று சோசியனும்  
 610 மொளிந்தானே சாஸ்த்திரத்தின்  
 611 முன்னூலின் முறைப் படியே

<sup>348</sup> வயத்தில் – வயிற்றில்.

<sup>349</sup> தவசி – தவம்.

<sup>350</sup> மருந்தெ – மருந்தை.

<sup>351</sup> மறி – ஆட்டுக்குட்டி; யீணும் – ஈணும்.

<sup>352</sup> அயிரெட்டி – ஐ x இரட்டு – பத்து.

<sup>353</sup> பங்காக – தடவை.

<sup>354</sup> ரண்டு – இரண்டு.

<sup>355</sup> குரவையிட்டார் – ஆண் குழந்தை பிறந்தால் சமுதாயத்தில் குரவையிடுதல் மரபு. அதனையே இந்தாலும் குறிப்பிடுகின்றது. பெண் குழந்தை பிறந்தால் குரவையிடுதல் இல்லை.

<sup>356</sup> சோசியன் – சோதிடன்.

- 612 அளிந்திடுமே<sup>357</sup> பிறந்த பிள்ளை  
 613 அவனி<sup>358</sup> மோயரிமை<sup>359</sup>.  
 614 யிறந்திடுமே<sup>360</sup> படைவிடுதனில்<sup>361</sup>  
 615 யிவர் பிறந்த பலாபலநே

(விருத்தம்)

- 616 யென்ன பலன் கண்டுரைத்தா<sup>362</sup> யியலுடைய<sup>363</sup> சோசியநே  
 617 மொளிந்தனநே சாஸ்திரத்தின் முன்னூலின் முறைப்படியே<sup>364</sup>.  
 618 அளிந்திடுமே படைவீடு அவரிருவர் பிறந்த பலன்.  
 619 யிளந்த செல்வம் யெருபது பேர் யிறுதியுண்டும் கண்டாயோ.

(விருத்தம்)

- 620 ஓது மறயோர் தமயும் உடனரசர் முகம்னோக்கி  
 621 னாதநருளப்படியானால் நம்மாலே வேறுமுண்டோ  
 622 அளிந்திடுமே பிறந்தபிள்ளை  
 623 அஸ்ட்டமே<sup>365</sup> னாலாமிடத்தில்  
 624 ஆனது கண்டே உரைத்(து)தேன்  
 625 அரசே யென்றடி தொளுதாரே.  
 626 அரசாள வாய்(த்)தில்லை செவ்வாய்  
 627 அஸ்ட்டமே னாலாமிடத்தில்  
 628 கேது ஒன்பதா(ம்) னாலாமிடத்தில்  
 629 நின்றராகுவது<sup>366</sup> பொல்லாது  
 630 ஒப்பாதிங்கொரு<sup>367</sup> னாளும்  
 631 உள்ளுறக்கம் வாராது  
 632 அப்போதுவும் பிதாவும்  
 633 உங்கள் அடிமுதலும் அளிந்து போகும்.  
 634 <sup>368</sup>ராரி ஆரி ஆராரோ கன்னே  
 635 ஆரி வரி ஆராரோ  
 636 யீனாத வாளயது யிளவாளை  
 637 யீன்ற கன்னோ<sup>369</sup>  
 638 கன்றோடிணங்கிய  
 639 கார்வண்ணரோ  
 640 கலச(த்)துறிவெண்ணை உண்டவனோ ராரி  
 641 யெங்கள் குடியாள பிறந்தவனோ  
 642 யீனாதிள வாளை யீன்ற கன்றோ  
 643 யென்று சொல்லியே தாதியர்கள்  
 644 யிரவும் பகலுமாய் தாராட்ட<sup>370</sup>

<sup>357</sup> Read இறந்துவிடுமே. I replace அழிந்துவிடுமே with இறந்துவிடுமே of line 614.

<sup>358</sup> அவனி – பூமி.

<sup>359</sup> அரிமை – அருமை – அபூர்வம்.

<sup>360</sup> Read here அழிந்துவிடுமே. Following N10.42a, I replace இறந்துவிடுமே with அழிந்துவிடுமே of line 612.

<sup>361</sup> படைவிடு – படைவீடு – இராசதானி.

<sup>362</sup> கண்டுரைத்தா – கண்டுரைத்தான்.

<sup>363</sup> யியல் – புகழ்.

<sup>364</sup> See lines 610-1; சோதிடன் சோதிடம் பார்த்துக் கூறும் முகூற விளக்கம் பட்டுள்ளது, see lines 617-33.

<sup>365</sup> அஸ்ட்டமே – அஷ்டமி – எட்டாம்.

<sup>366</sup> ராகு – இராகு.

<sup>367</sup> ஒப்பாது – உடன்படாது.

<sup>368</sup> Lines 634-42: தாலாட்டு.

<sup>369</sup> கன்னோ – கன்றோ. The two lines 636-7 express a simile.

<sup>370</sup> தாராட்ட – தாலாட்ட.

- 645 நன்றெநருள்படி கால் திருத்தி<sup>371</sup>  
 646 நலமாய் வளர்கின்ற னாளயிலே  
 647 ஊட்டி உறக்கிற தாதிமாரை  
 648 உபாயத்தாலவர்<sup>372</sup> முன்னுறக்கி<sup>373</sup>  
 649 பூட்டு நவமணி கதவு தன்னை  
 650 புலிய போல சென்று தாந்திறந்து  
 651 வேட்ட புலி போலே குதிபாய்ந்து  
 652 வீதி தெருவெல்லாம் விளயாடுவார்.  
 653 <sup>374</sup>மாட்டு நிரை மேலே சென்று கொண்டு  
 654 வலிய<sup>375</sup> காராவும்<sup>376</sup> பொலியெருதும்<sup>377</sup>  
 655 ஊட்டிதனை<sup>378</sup> முறித்திருபேரும்  
 656 ஒளுங்காய் கிடக்கிற நிரைகளெல்லாம்  
 657 காட்டிலிடயர்கள் காணாமல்  
 658 கதற கதறவே கொல்லுவாராம்.  
 659 கொம்பும் தோலும் குளம் பெலும்பும்  
 660 கூண்ட<sup>379</sup> முடியுடன் குடல் கிடக்க  
 661 ந(ர)ம்பு சதைகளும் அறிந்து<sup>380</sup> தின்று  
 662 நடந்து ஒருவரும் அறியாமல்  
 663 மீண்டு கோவிக்கல்<sup>381</sup> உள்புகுந்து  
 664 வீதி தெருவெல்லாம் விளயாடுவார்.<sup>382</sup>  
 665 பூண்ட பசு நிரை கோன்களெல்லாம்  
 666 பொருது விடிந்தபின் யெருந்திருந்து  
 667 யெருது பசுக்களை காணாமென்பார்.  
 668 யேங்கி சேகன்று<sup>383</sup> யெங்கேயென்பார்.  
 669 கருதி நிரைகொண்டு போனதாரோ  
 670 கைகால்ப் பதறியே கதறிடுவார்.  
 671 ஒட்ட சாண்கொம்ப சுட்டிகாளை<sup>384</sup>  
 672 உறுக்கி பாய்கின்ற உகூ<sup>385</sup> கொம்பன்  
 673 கட்டகருமறை<sup>386</sup> மாக்காளை  
 674 காரிகாளையே<sup>387</sup> காணாமென்பார்.  
 675 பொட்ட கண்ணொரு முட்டிவாலன்<sup>388</sup>  
 676 புண் தளும்புள்ள பின்மறையோன்

<sup>371</sup> நன்றெநருள்படி. Corrupt. I read the line on the basis of N10.46b நன்றாய் உருப்பட கை கால் திருத்தி (in order to give good shape to the baby's physique they massage its hands and feet).

<sup>372</sup> உபாயம் – தந்திரம்.

<sup>373</sup> முன்னுறக்கி – முன்னே உறங்கச் செய்து.

<sup>374</sup> The following lines, narrating the killing of the cattle and sheep, seem to be important for the tradition. This episode is found in all the versions, with the Itaiyār herdsmen appearing in all versions of the margosa–plough type.

<sup>375</sup> வலிய (M.) (வழக்கு) – பெரிய.

<sup>376</sup> காராவும் – கரும்பசுவும்.

<sup>377</sup> பொலியெருது – பொலிகாளை – பொலிகடா.

<sup>378</sup> ஊட்டி – குரல்வளை, மிடறு.

<sup>379</sup> கூண்ட – கூடின.

<sup>380</sup> அறிந்து – அறிந்து.

<sup>381</sup> கேவிக்கல் – அரண்மனை.

<sup>382</sup> வீதி தெருவெல்லாம் விளயாடுவார். This sentence seems to be displaced. The sentence that occurs in N10.47b would make sense here: விரைவாய்தொட்டிலில் சென்றேறுவாராம்.

<sup>383</sup> யேங்கி சேகன்று. I read -ஏ கன்று; ஏ as an emphatic particle added to யேங்கி: யேங்கி+யே. I follow here the reading in N10.47d rather than that of N8.14c சிவந்த கன்று.

<sup>384</sup> சுட்டிகாளை – நெற்றிச் சுட்டியுள்ள காளை.

<sup>385</sup> உகூ – உச்சி. Cf. N10.47d ஊசி.

<sup>386</sup> மாக்காளை – மாமைநிறக்காளை.

<sup>387</sup> காரி – கறுப்பு.

<sup>388</sup> பொட்ட கண் – குருட்டுக்கண்; முட்டிவால் – குறுகியவால்.

- 677 குட்டி கருமறை கூளவாலன்<sup>389</sup>  
 678 கொம்பு முறிந்தானே காணோமென்பார்.  
 679 யெட்டி பாற்த்திட நிரய காணோம்  
 680 யெங்கி சே<sup>390</sup>கன்று யெங்கயென்பார்.  
 681 நெட்ட<sup>391</sup> தடிகம்பை தறயில்<sup>392</sup>போட்டு  
 682 நிமர<sup>393</sup> சாடியே<sup>394</sup> விஞ்ருந்திடுவார்.  
 683 கிட்ட கிளயில்லை<sup>395</sup> குடி<sup>396</sup>வாங்க  
 684 கிடுகிடுன்றவர்<sup>397</sup> பதறிடுவார்<sup>398</sup>.  
 685 பாடுபலாபட்டு<sup>399</sup>, தண்ணீருட்டி  
 686 பரம கோனாரும் பாற்த்தடைத்தார்.  
 687 கூடு கிடக்க ஆடய்ந்து<sup>400</sup> போச்சே  
 688 குட்டி கோனாரே குடிகெட்டோமென்பார்.  
 689 கோனார் பேனாய்<sup>401</sup> போலோடுவார்.  
 690 கூட மேய்ப்பாரும் வாய்ப்பாறுவார்<sup>402</sup>.  
 691 அப்படியே பலனாளும்  
 692 ஆடுமாடும் கொன்றறுத்து  
 693 கொன்றிப் படிவரும் வேளயிலே  
 694 கோன்களெல்லாம் கூதம்மில்<sup>403</sup>  
 695 ஒன்றி(த்)தெளுந்தவர்<sup>404</sup> தான்போக  
 696 ஒருமித்தார்<sup>405</sup> யிடயரெல்லாம்  
 697 கொங்கமார் கூடியே தாங்கு மடமில்லாமல் கூடினார் செம்பியனாட்டிலே<sup>406</sup>  
 698 வாள்ந்த மனயில்க் களவு வந்ததில்லை யிது வரயும் மாடாடு சேடம்மொளிய<sup>407</sup>  
 ஆச்சதே.  
 699 ஆச்சதே யினி னாமன் யெல்லோரு மிக கூடி அரசனை காண வென்று  
 அவர்களும்  
 700 விரவாக வரும் யிடயர் அவருடய பேரேது விளம்பவே கேளும்.  
 701 <sup>408</sup>ஆண்டி கோன் பாண்டி கோன் அண்ணாமலை கோனும்  
 702 அளகிய நம்பி கோன் மாலுகோன்  
 703 நம்பிகோன் தம்பிகோனும் கோன் வேலுகோன்  
 704 நயினாரும் நல்ல மாட கோனுடன்  
 705 நல்ல மாடகோனுடன் பெரிய அணஞ்சான் கோனும்  
 706 நாமகோன் மானுகோன் வேலுக்கோன்  
 707 வேலுக்கோன் மாலுக்கோன் வீரவாகுகோனும்

<sup>389</sup> கூளவால் – குட்டைவால்.

<sup>390</sup> See line 668.

<sup>391</sup> நெட்ட – நெட்டை.

<sup>392</sup> தறயில் – தரையில்.

<sup>393</sup> நிமர – நிமிர.

<sup>394</sup> சாடியே – வேகமாக ஓடியே. The former is the Nāgarkoil dialect. (I thank the bow-song bard T.M.P. for supplying the correct meaning.)

<sup>395</sup> கிளய் (M.) – சந்தை (fair, market). (I thank T.M.P. for supplying the correct meaning.)

<sup>396</sup> குடி – குட்டி.

<sup>397</sup> கிடுகிடு–என்று. An echo word.

<sup>398</sup> பதறிடுவார் – நடுங்கிடுவார்.

<sup>399</sup> பாடுபலாபட்டு – பாடுபலபட்டு.

<sup>400</sup> அய்ந்து – ஐந்து.

<sup>401</sup> பேனாய் – பேய் பிடித்த நாய், வெறி நாய்.

<sup>402</sup> வாய்ப்பாறுவார் (குமரிமாவட்டவழக்கு) – உளறுவார்.

<sup>403</sup> கூதம்மில். A scribal error. I read கூடிதம்மில் on the basis of N10.50a கூடி சேர்ந்து தம்மில்.

<sup>404</sup> ஒன்றித்து – ஒருங்கு கூடி.

<sup>405</sup> ஒருமித்தார் – ஒன்றுசேர்ந்தார்.

<sup>406</sup> செம்பியன் – சோழன்.

<sup>407</sup> சேடம் – சொத்து. Cf. N10.50d. See also line 727, containing the orthographically variant form சேமம்.

<sup>408</sup> The list of the names of the herdsmen is a sub-set of the more extensive list mentioned in N10.51f.

708 விரவான வீரபாண்டி கோனுடன்  
 709 நெட்டை கோன் கட்டை கோன்  
 710 மட்டி கோன் ஆண்டிகோன்  
 711 விரவான பிச்சாண்டி கோனுடன்  
 712 பிச்சாண்டி கோனுடன்  
 713 பெரிய மலை நம்பிக் கோனுடன்  
 714 பிணமாலை பிறைகுடி கோனுடன்  
 715 விடுமாடன் பேயாண்டி  
 716 மாடன் கூளத் தடிமாடன்  
 717 வீர உடன் வருகின்ற கோங்கன்மார்.  
 718 கோங்கன்மார் கைதனிலே கடயாலும் தடிக்கம்பும்  
 719 கொண்டு கூடினார் முகூந்தி வீதியிலே  
 720 வந்து நின்றான் வயி(ர)வனாத கோன்  
 721 மைத்துனன் சடைகுட்டி கோனாருடன்  
 722 குட்டி கோனாரும் கோபாலன் குற்றாலன்  
 723 குருனாதன் யிருளப்ப கோனாரும்  
 724 ஆண்டி கோனாரும் பாண்டிதன் கூட்டமும்  
 725 அண்ணாமலை கோன் அளகிய நம்பிகோன்  
 726 சோட்ட கோனாரும் காட்டு கிடாகோனும்  
 727 சேமமொளியவே<sup>409</sup> ஆச்சுதே மாடுகள்  
 728 மாடு ஆடு நிரயது போச்சுதே  
 729 வலது கையில் கடயாலும் தூக்கினார்.  
 730 கடயாலும் தடிக்கம்பும் தோளிலே  
 731 கடு நடயாக கொண்டு புறப்பட்டார்.  
 732 விரவாக வளிநடந்தேகியே  
 733 வேந்தர் மண்டப வாசலில் வந்தனர்  
 734 வாசலில் வந்து மன்னனை கும்பிட்டு  
 735 வாய் பொத்தியே விண்ணப்பம் சொல்லுவார்  
 736 ஆளுவாயே உலகம் அடங்கலும்  
 737 அன்று சோளன் அசயா மணி<sup>410</sup> கெட்டி<sup>411</sup>.  
 738 <sup>412</sup>வீதி(க்)கே வெட்டி ஆக்ஷினை<sup>413</sup> சேவிப்பேன்<sup>414</sup>  
 739 விடியுமுன்றே னீ ரண்டிலொன்று சொல்லு  
 740 சிதம்பரத்தின் மகதேவர் தன்னிடம்  
 741 திரு நடனம் செய்து முகித்தவர்<sup>415</sup>.  
 742 உலகிறோம்<sup>416</sup> யெங்கள் ஆடு பசுக்களை  
 743 ஒருநாள் கண்டதை ஒருநாளில் காணிலோம்.<sup>417</sup>  
 744 நகரி அடிப்பவ(ர்)க்கு மேய்ப்பாரின் சொல்லி<sup>418</sup>  
 745 னாடியே படைவீடு காற்ற்க<sup>419</sup> துடங்கினாரே.<sup>420</sup>  
 746 காற்த்திருப்பது<sup>421</sup> நியாமல்  
 747 கன சோளன் தன்னுடனே

<sup>409</sup> சேமம் – சேடம் (698) – சொத்து.

<sup>410</sup> மணி – நீதியின் மணி.

<sup>411</sup> கெட்டி – கட்டி. Cf. N2.23a, N8.15d, N10.53b.

<sup>412</sup> This section (lines 738-41) is out of its actual order; it should follow lines 742-3 rather than precede them. It is also shorter than the corresponding section in N10.56. Cf. N10.56a, N8.17a, N2.25c, where the following discourse between the king and the watchmen precedes line 738: கனவுதானும் பிடியாமல் இருந்தாக்கால் (If you don't catch the culprit/thief [...]).

<sup>413</sup> ஆக்ஷினை – ஆக்கினை < Skt. *ājñā*. Cf. N10.56a, N8.17a.

<sup>414</sup> சேவிப்பேன் – செய்விப்பேன். Cf. N8.17a.

<sup>415</sup> முகித்தவர் – முடித்தவர்.

<sup>416</sup> உலகிறோம் – உளைகிறோம்.

<sup>417</sup> Lines 742-3 are out of their actual order. They should occur after line 737.

<sup>418</sup> நகரி அடிப்பவ(ர்)க்கு மேய்ப்பாரின் சொல்லி. I read this on the basis of N2.25d/N8.17b, as follows: நையடிப்பார் குமைப்பார் எனச் சொல்லி. Cf. N10.56b.

<sup>419</sup> காற்ற்க – காக்க.

<sup>420</sup> Cf. N8.17b.

<sup>421</sup> காற்த்திருப்பது – காத்திருப்பது.

- 748 கோத்திரத்தில் பிறந்தபிள்ளை  
 749 குளந்தை யுருவாகினரே<sup>422</sup>  
 750 ஆத்த<sup>423</sup> வொண்ணா பசி யெனும்பி  
 751 அடங்காத பசியெனும்பி  
 752 குன்றெடுத்து குடைபிடித்த  
 753 கோபாலன் தனை<sup>424</sup> வினாங்கி  
 754 மீண்டு அவர் காத்திருப்பார்<sup>425</sup>  
 755 மிக்க தலையாரிமார்கள்  
 756 தாண்டியென்று சொல்லிடுகில்<sup>426</sup>  
 757 தானடக்கமாய் கேட்டு  
 758 உலகின் மெனுகின் உருகி  
 759 ஒன்றொடிமார் தனக்குரைத்து  
 760 சுத்திலுள்ள ஆடுப்பசு  
 761 சேமமொளிய<sup>427</sup> தின்றபிள்ளை.  
 762 தெள்ளுந் தமிழ்<sup>428</sup> செம்பியந்தன்  
 763 திருத்தேவி மனம் உருகி  
 764 துள்ளி மனம் பதபதைத்து<sup>429</sup>  
 765 துடிக்க துடிக்க சூள்ந்து தென்றார்.  
 766 சூள்ந்து வினை தன்னையே அரசர் மனதில் கொண்டு  
 767 சோதித்து னாமும் விசாரிக்கிறோமென்னு  
 768 நினைந்தனர் மனந்தனில் உணர்ந்து விணிகேசன்<sup>430</sup>  
 769 நிலை நின்ற கள்வரே<sup>431</sup>, நீதியுள்ளோர்களே<sup>432</sup>  
 770 அந்த சாமம் அரசர் மகவை குளிப்பாட்டி  
 771 அள்ளியே தொட்டினில் யேறியே த(ர)ராட்டி  
 772 புந்தியே<sup>433</sup> தாசிமார் தங்களு(க்)கஞ்சியே  
 773 பொய்யுறக்கமாக உறங்கின்ற போதே  
 774 பொய்யுறக்கமாக உறங்கின்றபோதே  
 775 வந்தியே ஓடியே மாடாடுயெல்லாம்  
 776 வாயார<sup>434</sup> கவ்வி வயிறார<sup>435</sup> தின்றார்.  
 777 தின்றுயிருபேரும் புகளேப்பமிட்டு  
 778 தேடினார் யிடயர் உறங்குமிடத்தே  
 779 அண்டர்<sup>436</sup> திரளான ஆடுமாடெல்லாம்

<sup>422</sup> குளந்தை யுருவாகினரே. This makes no sense. I follow versions N2.26a/N8.17b குழந்தையுருதன்னை விட்டு. Cf. N10.57a பருவரை போல் உருவாகி.

<sup>423</sup> ஆத்த – ஆற்ற.

<sup>424</sup> குன்றெடுத்து குடைபிடித்த கோபாலன்தனை – குன்றெடுத்து குடைபிடித்தோன் குலத்துதித்த கோபாலனை.

<sup>425</sup> Between lines 753 and 754 one line is missing; it occurs in N2.26c, N8.17c, and N10.57c: மன்றரசர் மக்கள் தங்கள் மாளிகைக்கே மீண்டனராம்.

<sup>426</sup> சொல்லிடுகில் – சொன்னால். Part of the sentence is missing, but it occurs in N2.26d, N8.17c, and N10.57d: தாண்டியென்று சொல்லிடுகில் தலைபோமென்றுரைத்தனராம்.

<sup>427</sup> சேமம்/சேடம் – சொத்து.

<sup>428</sup> தெள்ளுநதமிழ். Read தெள்ளும் தமிழ்.

<sup>429</sup> பதபதைத்து – பதைபதைத்து.

<sup>430</sup> விணிகேசன் – அரசர்கோமான். Cf. N10.59d, N8.18a. See also *TL* s.v.

<sup>431</sup> நிலை நின்ற கள்வரே. I read நிலைநின்றவர்களே/நிலைநின்ற காவலரே – நிலைநின்றகோன் (firm-minded one/king). The vocative in கள்வரே makes little sense if we read it as “thieves.” Cf. N2.27c நிற்கின்றகோன்பார்த்து சொன்னாரே நூலோர்; N8.18a நிற்கின்ற கோன்பார்த்து. N10.59d is of no help since it reads the same as N1: நிலைநின்றகள்வரே நீதியுள்ளோரே.

<sup>432</sup> The words of the astrologer, as recalled to mind.

<sup>433</sup> புந்தியே – புத்தியாய் (N10.60c), புத்திமகிழ்கின்ற (N2.28b), புந்தி மகிழ்கிற (N8.18c).

<sup>434</sup> வாயார – வாயால்.

<sup>435</sup> வயிறார – வயிறால்.

<sup>436</sup> அண்டர் – தேவர்.

- 780 அசயிட்டவாரென ஆரோடும்<sup>437</sup> அருளி  
 781 சண்டாள பாலகரை யின்று னாம் வைத்தால்  
 782 சாவதுவே நம்முடய சீர்மை சனமெல்லாம்<sup>438</sup>  
 783 பண்டாயம்<sup>439</sup> சுங்காம் பணங்கள் திரவியங்கள்<sup>440</sup>  
 784 பரணிலே போய் விடும் (யி)வரிருந்தாக்கால்  
 785 கொண்டு யிருபேரயும் முதுகாட்டினோடே<sup>441</sup>  
 786 கொல்லாமல் போட்டு வருவீறையென்றார்.  
 787 உரைத்த உடநே தலயாரிமார்கள்  
 788 உடநே யெடுக்க பதறியே அஞ்சியே  
 789 அஞ்சியே பாலகர அவருடய சூகூம்<sup>442</sup>  
 790 ஆருக்கும்<sup>443</sup> தெரியாது பாலருட வளமை  
 791 யெடுத்து திரு சோளனாடது கடந்து  
 792 யிரு பேரயுங் கொண்டு விடவேதான்  
 793 நிரைத்த மரமும் கறடு<sup>444</sup> ஓடயும் அடுத்து  
 794 நிணலான<sup>445</sup> வேப்பமரமுட்டிலே விட்டார்.  
 795 யிரத்த குளலுடய<sup>446</sup> ரண்டதயுமிட்டு  
 796 யெப்படியும் தப்பி பிளயென்றுசொல்லி  
 797 திரைகடல் ஒலியென உரைமொளி கேட்டு  
 798 செம்பியனும் திகைத்திருந்தானே.  
 799 திகைத்தவர்கள் தாணிருக்க  
 800 செம்பியனும் ஊரவரும்  
 801 முகத்தறஞ்சேர்<sup>447</sup> சேர் மலர் வேப்பின்  
 802 மூட்டகத்தே வான்ந்தனராம்.  
 803 உகந்த புகள் நீலராசன்  
 804 உடன்வளர் ஆனைகள்<sup>448</sup> போல  
 805 ஆலியப்<sup>449</sup> போலவன் வளர  
 806 ஆயினயும் பருவமதாய்  
 807 கேட்டிரோ அண்ணர்களை  
 808 கிட்ட ஒரு யிடமிருந்தான்<sup>450</sup>  
 809 னாட்டிலுள்ளோர் நம நகைப்பார்.  
 810 நமக்கீனம் பறைந்திடுவார்  
 811 வாட்டமில்லாயிங்கிரும் நீர்  
 812 வாளுகிறேன் செங்காட்டில்  
 813 செங்காட்டில் போவதற்கு  
 814 சிவநே நீர் துயில்<sup>451</sup> தாரும்  
 815 யின்று துயில் தாருமென்று  
 816 யிசக்கியம்மைதான் கேள்க்க  
 817 அன்று சிவநருளாலே  
 818 ஆகாச துயில் வரவே

<sup>437</sup> ஆரோடும் – மற்றவர்.

<sup>438</sup> சனம் – ஜனம்.

<sup>439</sup> பண்டாயம். I read பண்டாரம் (treasury).

<sup>440</sup> திரவியம் – சொத்து.

<sup>441</sup> முதுகாடு – முதையல் (See TL) – பழங்காடு.

<sup>442</sup> சூகூம் – சூட்சம். Tirunelvēli dialect.

<sup>443</sup> ஆருக்கும் – யாருக்கும்.

<sup>444</sup> கறடு-கரடு – சிறுகுன்று.

<sup>445</sup> நிணல் – நிழல். Note the different spelling in line 303: யிணல்.

<sup>446</sup> குளல் – குடல். Note the change from ட் to ள்.

<sup>447</sup> முகத்தறஞ்சேர் – முகத் திறம் சேர்.

<sup>448</sup> ஆனைகள் – யானைகள்.

<sup>449</sup> ஆலியம். Tirunelvēli dialect. I read ஆலி – பூதம் (demon). Cf. N10.63c ஆவினம் போல் நீலனோடு ஆயினையும் வளர்ந்தனளே (Like a group of heavenly cows / Kamadhenus, the beautiful lady grew up with Nilan).

<sup>450</sup> இருந்தான். Read இருந்தால்.

<sup>451</sup> துயில் – துகில். Cf. N10.64b, N8.19c.

- 819 நின்ற நிலை பிரியாமல்  
 820 நீலனு மோவேம் படியில்  
 821 குன்றெனவே நின்று கொண்டு  
 822 கூட்டமிட<sup>452</sup> துடங்கிவாராம்.  
 823 ஆலமிட<sup>453</sup> பாய்ந்ததென்னா<sup>454</sup>  
 824 அவனத்தே<sup>455</sup> தோன்றுவானாம்.<sup>456</sup>  
 825 சதிப்படுத்தி கொ(ண்)டுபோன<sup>457</sup>  
 826 சதிகாற<sup>458</sup> மா<sup>459</sup>மறயோன்  
 827 சந்தமில்லாகருங்காட்டில்<sup>460</sup>  
 828 சாஸ்த்தா உண்ட வனத்தில்  
 829 பிடித்த துயில்<sup>461</sup> நிலத்தில் விள  
 830 பெருஞ் சருவமும்<sup>462</sup> அரிகி<sup>463</sup>  
 831 கெடுத்து வளி பிளைதோடி  
 832 கீரி கண்ட பாம்பது போல  
 833 அடித்து மனம் தனைப் பதறி  
 834 அய்யாவென்றோடு வானாம்.  
 835 அய்யாவே மாபூதம்  
 836 அடியேனயும் தின்ன வந்து  
 837 அந்த மொளிதனை கேட்டு  
 838 அய்யனாரும் யேகிவிட்டார்<sup>464</sup>  
 839 பொய்யாம வய்யனுந்தான்  
 840 புகளும் குண்டோதரனை விட்டு  
 841 கையோடே கைநெரித்து  
 842 கதிர்த்து பிடி(த்)தே யடித்தான்.  
 843 அடித்தானே கைகள் ரண்டும்  
 844 ஆடாமல் அசையாமல்  
 845 பிடித்தானே யிச்சக்கியுடன்  
 846 பிறந்தாரே கொல்லவென்று<sup>465</sup>

<sup>452</sup> கூட்டமிட – கொட்டமிட. Cf. N2.31a, N8.19d. கூட்டமிட is also found in N10.65a.

<sup>453</sup> ஆலமிட. The lines 823-4 are out of their actual order. According to version N10, the lines in question should occur later, after line N1.846. Cf. N10.66d ஆலமுடன் பாய்ந்ததன்ன அவ்வனத்தே தோன்றுவானாம். In N10 the phrase relates to Nili coming to visit her brother Nilan, bearing delicious food. Asked for the meaning of ஆலமுடன் in version N10, T.M.P., who usually performs that version, suggested that his version, too, was in error, yet he could not offer a satisfying reading. In my opinion, ஆலமுடன் in N10 possibly corresponds to நஞ்சு (poison) or, still more likely, கருமை (blackness; see TL ஆலம் < Skt. *āla*): “She [i.e. Nili] appears as if darkness spread over the forest” (N10.66d). I suggest this meaning as well for the reading of lines 823-4 above.

<sup>454</sup> என்னா – என.

<sup>455</sup> அவனம் – அவ்வனம் – அந்த வனம்.

<sup>456</sup> Cf. N10.66d தோன்றுவானாம்.

<sup>457</sup> The text in lines 824-5 is corrupt and out of its actual order. Many syntactical questions remain unresolved. The same phrase is repeated in lines 863-4, there in its proper place. Other versions are silent. N10.65ab, for instance, reads at this point instead as follows: துடங்கியதோர் நாளையிலேதுஷ்டமிருகங்கள்எல்லாம் / அடங்கலுமோ கொன்றுநின்று / அவ்வனத்தே அடங்கினின்றார். Similarly N8.19d, N2.31a: துடங்கியந்தக் காட்டிலுள்ள தொன்மிருக முள்ளதெல்லாம் / அடங்கலுந்தான் கொன்றுதின்று அவ்வனத்தி லடங்கினராம் (He performed all kinds of atrocities while in the forest, killing and eating all manner of animals). I have attempted to integrate the phrase into the given context, though I am fully aware of its syntactical incompatibility with line 826 and my highly tentative translation.

<sup>458</sup> சதிகாற – சதிகாரன் – மோசக்காரன்.

<sup>459</sup> மா. Lit. “great,” but I read it in the sense of நல்ல.

<sup>460</sup> சந்தமில்லா – சத்தம+இல்லாத.

<sup>461</sup> துயில் – துகில்.

<sup>462</sup> பெருஞ்சருவமும் – வாயகன்ற பாத்திரவகை (TL).

<sup>463</sup> அரிகி – சோறுடனே. Cf. N8.20a. See also N10.65c.

<sup>464</sup> ஏகிவிட்டார் – ஏவிவிட்டார்.

<sup>465</sup> For better comprehension I add at this point a passage missing in the base text N1 but found in N2.32a-b, N8.20b, and N10.67a-b: நீலனங்கே இறந்தபின்பு நீலியண்ணன் தனைத்தேடி (N8.20b). [...] அன்னேரம் அவ்வனத்தில் அறப்பிசாகுகள்தான் கூடி முன்னே சென்று (N10.67a-b).



- 847 யின்னேரம் உன்தமயனயும்  
 848 யிசம்புரம்<sup>466</sup> யேற்றிவிட்டார்.  
 849 நின்ற ம(ர)த்தடிதனிலே  
 850 நேரிளயும் யிருந்தளுதாள்.  
 851 அன்று அவள் முடித்தகுளல்  
 852 அவள் முடியாதிருந்தனளே  
 853 இருந்தனா ளறியாமல்  
 854 யெளுபது பேர் கரயாளர்  
 855 திருந்த புகளய்யனுக்கு  
 856 திருக் கோவில் கெட்ட<sup>467</sup>வென்று  
 857 பொருந்தும் நல்லவன் காட்டில்  
 858 பொருப்பனவே வேப்பவெட்டி  
 859 அருந்த<sup>468</sup> திரு கோவில் கெட்டி  
 860 அவர் பளகைஊர் புகுந்தாள்<sup>469, 470</sup>  
 861 யெண்ணமெல்லாம் யெண்ணியெண்ணி  
 862 யிடகாட்டில்<sup>471</sup> தான் திரிந்தாள்.

(மானாகன் செட்டிக்கு ஆண்குழந்தை பிறத்தல்)

- 863 சதிபருத்தி<sup>472</sup> கொடுபோன  
 864 சதிகாற மாமறயோன்  
 865 செப்பமுள்ள மானாகன்  
 866 திருவயிற்றில் பிறக்கவென்று  
 867 ஒப்பமுள்ள சிவனாரும்  
 868 உரைக்கலுற்றார் அவன்வயிற்றில்  
 869 சொல்படியே பிறக்கவென்று  
 870 சொல்லுவாராம் சிவனாரும்  
 871 விண்ணுலகம் தனில் சேறந்த வேதியநேபிரமா  
 872 மீளவே காவேரிபூம்பட்டணத்தில்  
 873 மண்ணுலகில் ஒருநீலி வலியபளவினையால்  
 874 வலியதொரு மான(ர)கன்  
 875 மனவி திருவயிற்றில்  
 876 பண்ணைய மொளியாளுக்கு  
 877 யீரஞ்சி<sup>473</sup> ஒன்றாய்  
 878 பருவானுடன் மெய் நொந்து  
 879 பெற்றெடுத்தாளே.  
 880 பெற்றெடுத்தது கண்டு  
 881 வந்து மானாகன்  
 882 பிரமயுடன்<sup>474</sup> சோதிரியை  
 883 தன்னை வரவளைத்து  
 884 சுத்த<sup>475</sup> கிரகங்களோடு  
 885 பக்கவாரங்கள்  
 886 சுத்தினால்<sup>476</sup> பக்கமும்

<sup>466</sup> யிசம் – யமன்.

<sup>467</sup> கெட்ட – கட்ட.

<sup>468</sup> அருந்த – அரும், அழகிய. Cf. N10.68b அளிந்த.

<sup>469</sup> புகுந்தாள். A scribal error, which I emend on the basis of the pronoun and the closest variant (N10.68b) to புகுந்தாள்<ர்>.

<sup>470</sup> For better comprehension I add here a passage missing in the base text N1 but found in N2.32d, N8.20d: இயக்கியம்மை அமுதுநின்று உரைத்திடுவாள் அவ்வனத்து தெய்வத்திடம் அண்ணரையும் கொன்றுவிட்டார் அவருறைந்து நின்றதொரு விண்ணடர்ந்த வேம்பையுமோ வேறறவே வெட்டிவிட்டார். பண்ணமரும் தமிழ்ப் பழகைப் பதியையும்நா னழிப்பேனென (...)

<sup>471</sup> யிடகாட்டில் – இடைகாட்டில்.

<sup>472</sup> சதிபருத்தி – சதிபடுத்தி.

<sup>473</sup> யீரஞ்சி – இரண்டு ஐந்து.

<sup>474</sup> பிரமய் – பிரியமாய்.

<sup>475</sup> சுத்த. Em. <உற்ற> on the basis of N10.69b.

<sup>476</sup> சுத்தினால் – சுற்றி நால். Cf. N10.69b பூதரிய நாள் பக்கம்.

- 887 ஒக்கவே யெண்ணிப்  
 888 சுற்ற பல நூலறிவு  
 889 நன்னூலும் யெண்ணி  
 890 சுற்றவர் தொகுத்தவர்  
 891 னாவிலுளிருந்தருளி  
 892 ஆறினால் ஒருபத்து<sup>477</sup>  
 893 வயதாகுமுன்னே  
 894 அதிய மாதா பிதாவுக்கு மதிமோசம்  
 895 மீறிவரும் வயசு பதினாறு பதினேனி(ல்)<sup>478</sup>  
 896 மேலும் ஒருநீலி பனிகுள்<sup>479</sup> விதியுண்டும்  
 897 யேற்ற புகள் குளவே<sup>480</sup> நீலி பலியாலே<sup>481</sup>  
 898 யென்பது பேர் கரயாளர் யிறக்க விதியுண்டும்  
 899 உண்டும்<sup>482</sup> யிதுக்கு விதியேற்ற நலமில்லை<sup>483</sup>  
 900 ஊர்வளி தனித்து போ கண்ணாது<sup>484</sup> காணும்  
 901 பண்டே பருத்த வயிரகொடி<sup>485</sup> வேம்பின்  
 902 பத்திரம்<sup>486</sup> நெடுங்கயில் யெடுத்திடவும் வேணும்  
 903 தண்டான மனதாயன் விண்டொருகு தீரன்<sup>487</sup>  
 904 தாநெங்கும் சார்த்திரம்<sup>488</sup> தானவே சொல்லி  
 905 உண்டே நல்மொளியுரை கண்டவர் சொல்லி  
 906 யிவையோதாமும் கலந்து பரதவித்து<sup>489</sup>  
 907 யிளவரசன் ஆனந்தன் யென்று பேரிட்டார்.  
 908 பேரிட்டு கண்டு மானாகன் தனக்கு  
 909 புகளான் ஆனந்தன் வளருகிற நேரம்  
 910 வாக்குடனல்லதோர் பள்ளியில் வைக்க  
 911 வாத்தியார் தன்னை அளைத்தார் சிணத்தில்  
 912 நேரிட்டு விக்கிற வினாயகனருளால்  
 913 நிறனாளி<sup>490</sup> நெல் விடலை<sup>491</sup> கடலை பயறவல்<sup>492</sup> தேன்  
 914 சீரிட்டு<sup>493</sup> விக்கிற வினாயகநருளால்  
 915 செல்வ குமாரனொரு பள்ளிக்கிருத்தி  
 916 பள்ளி புகுந்து படிப்பு துடங்குவாரே.  
 917 அரினமோ த்துசிநவென்று<sup>494</sup>  
 918 அண்ணாவி ஓதி கொடுத்தாரே.  
 919 அளகுடய பாலனும் படித்தான்.  
 920 தம் அ ஆ இ ஈ உ வென்று  
 921 அஞ்செருத்தும் சுற்று கொடுத்தாரே.

<sup>477</sup> ஆறினால் ஒருபத்து – ஆறினோடு பத்து – பதினாறு.

<sup>478</sup> பதினேனி(ல்) – பதினேழு.

<sup>479</sup> குள் – சேரும்.

<sup>480</sup> குளவே – சேரும். Cf. N10.70a, N2.34b, N8.21.c-d.

<sup>481</sup> பலி – பழி.

<sup>482</sup> உண்டும். I read உண்டோ in order to make the sentence comprehensible.

<sup>483</sup> யேற்ற நலம் – உபாயம். Cf. N10.70a, N2.34c, N8.21d.

<sup>484</sup> போ கண்ணாது – போகொண்ணாது – போக முடியாது.

<sup>485</sup> வயிரகொடி. Cf. N10.70a வைத்த கொடி.

<sup>486</sup> பத்திரம் – இலை.

<sup>487</sup> தண்டான மனதாயன் விண்டொருகு தீரன். Obscure. Cf. N8.21d தண்டை பிதா கையோடு வன்றோள் திரள. Neither the base text N1 nor the variants N8/N2 are clear at this point. The lexical questions remain unresolved. Version N10 is silent on this point.

<sup>488</sup> சார்த்திரம் – சாஸ்த்திரம்.

<sup>489</sup> பரதவித்து. Cf. N8.22c புகித்து. Cf. N10.71b பாவித்து.

<sup>490</sup> நிறனாளி – நிறை நாளி (one-half litre).

<sup>491</sup> விடலை – இளநீர்.

<sup>492</sup> பயறவல் – பயறு அவல்.

<sup>493</sup> சீரிட்டு – சீர்செய்து.

<sup>494</sup> அரினமோ த்துசிந. Perhaps “namo ’stu [te].”

- 922 ஆதர உடனே படித்தானே.  
 923 எ ஏ ஐ ஓ ஓ லெ<sup>495</sup> கூ கா வென்று  
 924 ஆக யிருபது அகூர்தை உன்னியே<sup>496</sup>  
 925 அரிசுவடி<sup>497</sup> தான் படித்து கொடுத்தார்.  
 926 அறிவிரி கொன்ற<sup>498</sup> வேந்தன்<sup>499</sup>  
 927 அன்னயும் பிதா உடனே  
 928 ஆனை யேற்றம் கற்று கொடுத்தாரே.  
 929 அடிமுறைகளை தானும் கற்றுக் கொடுக்க  
 930 மல்லடவு சிரமமுடன்  
 931 மற்றுமுள்ள தொளிலுடனே  
 932 மானாகன் செட்டி மகன் படிக்க  
 933 வரிசை கணக்கும் கற்று கொடுத்தார்.  
 934 யிங்கிலிஸ் பாசைகளும்  
 935 யிதமான கொந்தங்களும்  
 936 யெல்லா வித்தை கற்று கொடுத்தாரே.  
 937 யிதமுடனே வாத்தியாரிடத்தில்  
 938 சந்தோஸமாய் வளியனுப்பி  
 939 தானும் வெள்ளி கோலுடனே<sup>500</sup>  
 940 ஆதிநூல் வளியாக ஆனந்தன்  
 941 மணம் புணர்ந்தானே.  
 942 மணம் புணர்ந்து யிருந்ததற்பின்  
 943 வணிகர் குல ஆனந்தனும்  
 944 குணம் புணர்ந்த தகப்பனுக்கு  
 945 கொடுமறணம் யெடுத்திடவே  
 946 புணர்ந்த புத்திதன்னாலே  
 947 போதமெல்லாம்<sup>501</sup> சொல்லுவானாம்.  
 948 வாராய்னி<sup>502</sup> ஆனந்தனே  
 949 மணமுடித்திடு மகனே  
 950 கேளாயோ நீ புதல்வா  
 951 கெணித்த<sup>503</sup> நுதல் வேதியனே<sup>504</sup>  
 952 னாளாய் சிறுபுதல்வன்  
 953 நானு முன்னாள் கேட்டிருந்தேன்  
 954 கோளான பேய் மகளால்  
 955 குலைப்படுவாய்<sup>505</sup> யென்றுரைத்தார்  
 956 மணி மருவு மலைமார்பா  
 957 வலு வேம்பின் பத்திரத்தை<sup>506</sup>  
 958 ஒரு பொளுதும் நிகளாதே<sup>507</sup>  
 959 ஊர்தனித்தும் போகாதே  
 960 தனித்து வளி நடவாதே  
 961 தங்கூரில்<sup>508</sup> போகாதே  
 962 அபத்தம் செய்யும் பனிகாறன்  
 963 அவரோடு உறவாடாதே

<sup>495</sup> லெ. Obscure. I read <ஓள>.

<sup>496</sup> உன்னியே – எண்ணியே.

<sup>497</sup> அரிசுவடி – அரிச்சுவடி.

<sup>498</sup> கொன்ற – கொன்றை.

<sup>499</sup> ஓளவையார் இயற்றிய கொன்றை வேய்ந்த என்று தொடங்கும் ஒரு நீதிநூல்.

<sup>500</sup> வெள்ளி கோல் – துலாக்கோல்வகை.

<sup>501</sup> போதம – போதமை < Skt. *bōdhanā*.

<sup>502</sup> னி – நீ.

<sup>503</sup> கெணித்த – கணித்த.

<sup>504</sup> கெணித்த நுதல் வேதியனே – கணிதன்.

<sup>505</sup> குலைப்படுவாய் – கொலைப்படுவாய்.

<sup>506</sup> பத்திரத்தை – இலை.

<sup>507</sup> நிகளாதே – இகழாதே.

<sup>508</sup> தங்கூரில் – தங்கு ஊரில்.

- 964 கனத்த முதல் தேடுதற்க்கு  
 965 கருதி புத்தி நினையாதே  
 966 யித்தலத்தில் நீ பிளைப்பாய்  
 967 யென்று சொல்லி யிறந்தனரே.  
 968 சிறந்த புகள் ஆனந்தனும்  
 969 செட்டி சில காலமெல்லாம்  
 970 மறந்தனநே தந்தை சொன்ன  
 971 வலிய உபதேச மெல்லாம்  
 972 யெல்லாந் தாமறந்தாலும்  
 973 யேந்தியதோர் பத்திரத்தை  
 974 வல்லாள ஆனந்தனும்  
 975 மறவானாம்<sup>509</sup> ஒருனாரும்  
 976 தந்தையர்க்கு சடங்கறுத்து  
 977 தானம் செய்து தவமளித்தான்.  
 978 பதினாறு திரு வயதில்  
 979 பார்<sup>510</sup> வெள்ளி கோலெடுத்தான்<sup>511</sup>.  
 980 கோலமிகு பட்டாடை  
 981 கொண்டு விக்க<sup>512</sup> து(ட)ங்கினரே  
 982 கல்லாலே கொன்றபளி  
 983 காலம் வந்து முடுக்கிடவே  
 984 காலம் வந்து முடுக்கிடவே  
 985 கடும் சரக்கு கஸ்த்தூரி  
 986 யேலம் யிஞ்சி பொற்பராகம்<sup>513</sup>  
 987 யிசைந்த சந்தன குறடாம்<sup>514</sup>  
 988 நீலமொத்த கடவளயல்  
 989 நிறவளசித் தாக்குடநே  
 990 கோல மிகு பட்டாடை  
 991 கொண்டு விக்க துடங்கினரே  
 992 உடக்கியதோர்<sup>515</sup> ஆனந்தனும்  
 993 ஊளி<sup>516</sup> விதிபடியாலே  
 994 ஓய்யார தொங்கலுடன்  
 995 ஒரு தோளில் பக்கறயும்<sup>517</sup>  
 996 அடக்கியதோர்<sup>518</sup> அவல் பொரிசேர்  
 997 அதியதாம்<sup>519</sup> பலகாரம்  
 998 மிடுக்குடய வெள்ளி கோல்<sup>520</sup>  
 999 மேவியே பாக்கு சுருக்காம்<sup>521</sup>  
 1000 சுருக்காம் வெத்திலை<sup>522</sup> சுருக்காம்  
 1001 சுத்தி<sup>523</sup> நவகறண்டவமாம்<sup>524</sup>

<sup>509</sup> மறவான் – மறவாமல் இருக்கையில். Cf. N8.24b.

<sup>510</sup> Unclear; perhaps பாரம் – கனம்.

<sup>511</sup> வெள்ளி கோல் – துலாக்கோல்வகை.

<sup>512</sup> விக்க – விற்க.

<sup>513</sup> பொற்பராகம் – புட்பராகம், நவமணியிலொன்று < Skt. *puṣpa-rāga*.

<sup>514</sup> குறடு – மரத்துண்டு.

<sup>515</sup> உடக்கியதோர். See also N8.24b. Cf. N10.75b உறுதிகொண்டு.

<sup>516</sup> ஊளி – ஊழி – விதி. This phrase recurs in line 1037.

<sup>517</sup> பக்கறய் – பக்கரை – பை. The former is in usage in the Tirunelvēli/Kaṇṇiyākumari dialect.

<sup>518</sup> அடக்கியதோர் – உள்ளடக்கியதோர்/அடுக்கியதோர்.

<sup>519</sup> அதியதாம். A scribal miscopying of a dialect form. I read அரிய தரம் (well made, high-quality); அதிய – அரிய. Cf. N10.75b, N2.39c, N8.24b அரியதரம்.

<sup>520</sup> வெள்ளி கோல் – தராசு.

<sup>521</sup> சுருக்கு – சுருக்குப்பை.

<sup>522</sup> வெத்திலை – வெற்றிலை.

<sup>523</sup> சுத்தி < Skt. *śuddhi*.

<sup>524</sup> கறண்டவமாம் – கரண்டகம் < Skt. *karaṇḍaka*.

- 1002 யிருக்கால் முக்கால் வெளுத்த  
 1003 யெண்ண<sup>525</sup> சாய<sup>526</sup> துப்பட்டியாம்  
 1004 துப்பட்டியாம் அதினிடயில்  
 1005 சேற்றந்தனல்ல அரஞாணமாம்<sup>527</sup>  
 1006 கல் பதித்த மோதிரமாம்  
 1007 காதில் தங்க கடுக்கன்களாம்  
 1008 யிப்படியே ஆனந்தனும்  
 1009 யெடுத்து சந்தோஷமுடன்<sup>528</sup>  
 1010 கொப்படியே<sup>529</sup> தாண்டுவழி  
 1011 கோதயர்கள்<sup>530</sup> தெருக்கடந்து  
 1012 முப்பொளுதும் புகள் படைத்த  
 1013 முடுக்கில் வந்து தோன்றினரே  
 1014 விலக்கிடுமாம் கோட்டானும்  
 1015 மிக்க கட்டி சுட்டி முயல்  
 1016 யிடுக்கியொரு யிறுதலக்ஷி<sup>531</sup>  
 1017 யெதிராக்குசத்திவர்<sup>532</sup>  
 1018 அடுக்கிருந்து புதுப்பானை  
 1019 அதிய சட்டி தாளிகும்பம்  
 1020 ஒருக்கமுள்ள<sup>533</sup> முக்கறுவன்<sup>534</sup>  
 1021 ஒருவன் யெதிராக வந்தான்.  
 1022 நாகமது படம்விரித்து  
 1023 நடைக்கு முன்னே தோன்றிடுமாம்  
 1024 மெல்ல வளு<sup>535</sup> கால் தூக்கி  
 1025 மேவிவைக்கும் வேளயிலே  
 1026 சொல்லுதல்லோ பல்லி<sup>536</sup> – பலன்  
 1027 சூனுயத்தால்<sup>537</sup> வினை<sup>538</sup> உனக்கு  
 1028 கொல்லவென்று யிசக்கி நிற்பான்  
 1029 குலைப்படுவாயின<sup>539</sup> சொல்லுதே.  
 1030 நிக்ஷியம்<sup>540</sup> சாவி<sup>541</sup>யென்பான்  
 1031 நீலியோடு கானகத்தில்

<sup>525</sup> எண்ண. Probably a meaningless expression, though it could be an exclamation: என்ன. It is unlikely to be எண்ணெய்ச்சாயம், which is found in N8.24c.

<sup>526</sup> சாயம் – நிறம் < Skt. *chāyā*.

<sup>527</sup> அரஞாணம் – அரைஞாண்.

<sup>528</sup> For better comprehension I add here the passage occurring in N8.24c: பழகைநக ரரனதுக்கு என்றுசொல்லி வழியனுப்பி எழுந்தமனை கடந்துவெளி சென்றிடவே.

<sup>529</sup> கொப்படியே. Obscure. Em. <செப்படிவித்தைக்காரர்> on the basis of N10.75d.

<sup>530</sup> கோதயர்கள் – கோதையர்கள்.

<sup>531</sup> யிறுதலக்ஷி – அறுதலி. Cf. N8.24 பறுதலைச்சி.

<sup>532</sup> குசத்தி – குயத்தி.

<sup>533</sup> ஒருக்கமுள்ள. A scribal error. I read according to N8.24 ஒடுக்கமுள்ள.

<sup>534</sup> முக்கறுவன் – முக்கறையன். Cf. N8.24.

<sup>535</sup> வளு கால் – வலது கால். Cf. N10.76b மெல்ல மெல்ல கால்.

<sup>536</sup> In N2.40c-41a, N8.25a-b it is a woman soothsayer of the Kurava tribe (*kuratti*) who forecasts: முன்னாலே நீமறையோன் முதற்கொடியா ஞுந்தேவி உன்மேலே மனதாகி ஊர்கடந்து விரைவாக வழிநடந்தான் உன்பிறகே வன்மதிலே கள்ளியின்கீழ் விழுந்தடியான் உறங்கையிலே விரைவுடனே கல்லாலே பழுதுபட தலைநெரித்த பாவம்வந்து குழந்துதடா அழல்விழியான் கொலைநீலி அவள்பிறந்து வளருகிறாள் கொலைநீலி கண்டுனையும் கோரணிகள் பலவுரைத்து வலைவீசிப் பிடிப்பதுபோல் வழிமறித்துத் பின்துடர்ந்து பச்சமுறும் பெண்களைப்போல் பகட்டியுனை மடிப்பிடித்து.

<sup>537</sup> சூனுயத்தால் – சூனியத்தால் < Skt. *śūnya*.

<sup>538</sup> வினை – தீச்செயல்.

<sup>539</sup> குலைப்படுவாயின. A scribal error. I read குலைப்படுவாய் என்று. See also N10.77a.

<sup>540</sup> நிக்ஷியம் – நிச்சயம்.

<sup>541</sup> சாவி. I read மச்சாவி (husband). Cf. N10.77.1906 நிக்ஷியம்மச்சாவி என்பாள்.

- 1032 உக்ஷிதனில்<sup>542</sup> மேல்பளவை  
 1033 ஊருமட்டும் பின்துடர்வான்  
 1034 அக்ஷனியா<sup>543</sup> பிச்சுளைதான்<sup>544</sup>  
 1035 அலைகெடுவான்<sup>545</sup> யின சொல்லுதே.  
 1036 ஊளறியதோர்<sup>546</sup> ஆனந்தன்  
 1037 ஊளி விதிபடியாலே  
 1038 யின்றவளி<sup>547</sup> பெருங்காட்டில்  
 1039 யிடவளிக்கே தோன்றுவாளே.  
 1040 தோன்றி நின்றாளிசக்கி  
 1041 துடியிடைகேற்ற<sup>548</sup> பட்டாடியுடன்  
 1042 பட்டாடை கொய்துடுத்தாள்.  
 1043 பகள<sup>549</sup> செய்வாய்கள்<sup>550</sup> கனிந்தொழுக  
 1044 யிட்டாளே முட்டாங்கை<sup>551</sup> – செட்டி  
 1045 யெப்ப வருவாரென்றெண்ணி யெண்ணி  
 1046 கட்டான பூங்குளலாள்  
 1047 கமல முகத்திலே வேர்வை சிந்த  
 1048 பொட்டானதுவுமிட்டு  
 1049 போதவே கண்ணதில்<sup>552</sup>  
 1050 மையுமிட்டாள்.  
 1051 தொட்டாள் கருத்திலே  
 1052 தங்க சூரியன் போலே திருத்தாலி  
 1053 திருத்தாலி தானிலங்க  
 1054 செம்பகள வாய்கனிந்தொருக  
 1055 ஒருகாய் அதனிடயில்  
 1056 ஓய்யார தொங்கலும் தோளிலிட்டு  
 1057 யிட்டாள் சரப்பணிகள்  
 1058 யேலங் குளலுக்கு யெண்ணயிட்டு  
 1059 ஊன்றுங் கதிரவன் போல்  
 1060 ஓடி உலாவும் கதிர் விளியின்  
 1061 விளியாம் கனபணியாம்  
 1062 வேடிக்கை காதாம் குமிள் மூக்காம்  
 1063 மொளியாம் செவ்வாய் மலராம்  
 1064 முத்து மாணிக்கம் போலே மதிமுகமாம்  
 1065 மதிதங்கியே<sup>553</sup> முகமும்  
 1066 மங்கல ஞாணும்<sup>554</sup> நல்பொற் பணியாம்  
 1067 ஆலால<sup>555</sup> யிலைவயறும்  
 1068 அன்பு தனத்திலே பொற்சுகனியாம்  
 1069 நூல் போல யிடை துவள  
 1070 கையில் னோக்கியே  
 1071 வேல் போல யிருவிளியாம்  
 1072 விளியும் துடியிடயும்

<sup>542</sup> உக்ஷிதனில். Nāṭār dialect. உச்சிதமாக – நிச்சயம். Cf. N8.25b உச்சிதமாய்ப் பழகைநகர் ஊருமட்டும் [...].

<sup>543</sup> அக்ஷனியா. I read அச்சுறிய. சழிய (distorted, unshapely, squeezed). Cf. N8.25b அச்சொழிய; N10.77d அச்சுறிய.

<sup>544</sup> பிச்சுளை – பிச்சுடலை. Cf. N8.25b, N10.77d.

<sup>545</sup> அலைகெடுவான். A scribal error. Em. அலைகெடுவா<ள்>. Cf. N8.25b, N10.77d அலக்கழிப்பாள்.

<sup>546</sup> ஊளறியதோர் – ஊழி அறியதோர்.

<sup>547</sup> யின்றவளி. I read இன்று அவள் இப்பெருங்காட்டில்.

<sup>548</sup> கேற்ற – கட்டிய.

<sup>549</sup> பகள செய் – செய்வழம்.

<sup>550</sup> வாய்கள் – உதடு.

<sup>551</sup> முட்டாங்கு – முட்டாக்கு.

<sup>552</sup> கண்ண(த்)தில் – கண்ண்+அது+இல் – கண்ணில். Cf. N10.78d. One unlikely alternative would be கண்ண(த்)தில் (She placed a black dot on her cheek [கண்ணம்]).

<sup>553</sup> மதிதங்கியே – மதிதிங்கள். Cf. N10.78d.

<sup>554</sup> நாண் – மாங்கலியங்கோத்த சரடு.

<sup>555</sup> ஆலால – ஆலம் – மரவகை.

- 1073 மெக்ஷிய<sup>556</sup> பூச்சங்<sup>557</sup> கை வீச்சளகும்<sup>558</sup>  
 1074 நளியாம் அன்ன நடயாம்  
 1075 நல்ல விரால் போல கணங்காலும்<sup>559</sup>  
 1076 கணங்காலும் பாடகமும்  
 1077 காலில் சிலம்பு அலம்பிடவே  
 1078 மனம் போலுடன் கலர்ந்த<sup>560</sup>  
 1079 மஞ்சண<sup>561</sup> வாடையுடயளகும்<sup>562</sup>  
 1080 துடியான துகள் ரெம்ப<sup>563</sup>  
 1081 தொங்கலிட்ட<sup>564</sup> ஓய்யாரமுமாய்  
 1082 மாயாத கை சுருளும்  
 1083 வாயிலொதுக்கியே பாக்களகும்  
 1084 தோயாத<sup>565</sup> பொற்க்குடம் போல  
 ((1085 நளியாம் அன்ன நடயாம்  
 ((1086 நல்ல விரால் போல கணங்காலும்  
 ((1087 கணங்காலும் பாடகமும்  
 ((1088 காலில் சிலம்பு அலம்பிடவே  
 ((1089 மனம் போலுடன் கலர்ந்த  
 ((1090 மஞ்சண வாடையுடயளகும்  
 ((1091 துடியான துகள் ரெம்ப  
 ((1092 தொங்கலிட்ட ஓய்யாரமுமாய்  
 ((1093 மாயாத கை சுருளும்  
 ((1094 வாயிலொதுக்கியே பாக்களகும்  
 1095 நெறியுமதி<sup>566</sup> தைத்தது<sup>567</sup> போல  
 1096 ஒரு நீலியெதிர் வந்து தோன்றினாளே.  
 1097 யெதிர் வந்த செட்டி  
 1098 யக்கண்டிசக்கி(யம்)மன்<sup>568</sup> மகிள்ந்து  
 1099 யினி கெட்டி கெட்டி யென்று ஆடினாளே.  
 1100 மதுரமொளி மடவார் மனது பிரிசமுற்று<sup>569</sup>  
 1101 மகதேவர் தஞ்சமென்று வாள்த்தினாளே.  
 1102 யிது நன்று நன்று பளி<sup>570</sup>யெங்கே போனாலும்  
 1103 விடேன்<sup>571</sup> யென் பளி கொள்வேநென்று போற்றினாளே.  
 1104 அதன்கனகமுதல் அவனி முளுதறிய  
 1105 அதோ செட்டி வாறாநென்று ஆடினாளே.  
 1106 ஆடினாள் பாடினாள் ஆனந்த வாய்சொரிய  
 1107 அதோ செட்டி வாறாநென்றங் காடினாளே.  
 1108 ஓடினாள் சந்தோஸம் கொண்டு  
 1109 உலகமெல்லாம் குலுங்க  
 1110 உடயவரே தஞ்சமென்று போற்றினாளே.

<sup>556</sup> மெக்ஷிய – மெச்சிய.

<sup>557</sup> பூச்சங். Read மஞ்சன் பூச்சு (smearing turmeric).

<sup>558</sup> கை வீச்சளகும் – கை வீச்சழகும்.

<sup>559</sup> கணங்காலும் – கணுக்கால்/கணைக்கால். Colloq. – காற்பரடு. Cf. N8.26a, N10.80b.

<sup>560</sup> கலர்ந்த – கலந்த. Cf. N10.80b.

<sup>561</sup> மஞ்சண – மஞ்சன்+நெய்.

<sup>562</sup> மஞ்சண வாடையுடயளகும் < Skt. *vāṭa*. A more likely alternative is மஞ்சணை வாசனையுடய அழகும்; the reference is to a medicated aromatic mixture that places a person under a spell.

<sup>563</sup> ரெம்ப – நிரம்ப.

<sup>564</sup> தொங்கல் – பருத்த பூமாலை.

<sup>565</sup> தோயாத. A more likely alternative is தேயாத; cf. N10.80c.

<sup>566</sup> நெறியுமதி – நிறையும் மதி.

<sup>567</sup> தைத்தது. Cf. N8.26b நெறியுந் திகைந்தது.

<sup>568</sup> செட்டிய கண்டு இசக்கி – செட்டியை கண்டு இசக்கி.

<sup>569</sup> பிரிசமுற்று – சந்தோசமுற்று.

<sup>570</sup> பளி – பழிகாரன்.

<sup>571</sup> விடேன் – விடமாட்டேன்.

- 1111 துணை செய்வாய் மகதேவர்  
 1112 துஷ்ணக்காரி<sup>572</sup> நீ நல்ல<sup>573</sup>  
 1113 சொல்லிக்கொண்டு பனியிப்போ  
 1114 கொள்வேநென்றாள்.  
 1115 பனிகொள்வேன் கொள்வேநென்று பாரசிலம்பலம்ப ப்யயவே<sup>574</sup> செட்டி முகம்  
 னோக்கினாளே.  
 1116 அளிசேர்<sup>575</sup> குடல்மடவார்<sup>576</sup> ஆனந்தன் செட்டியக்கண்டு அன்னம் போல்  
 நீலியெதிராக தோன்றினாளே.  
 1117 யெதிர் வந்து தோன்றியபின் யேங்கியே மனம் பதறி மதிசுன்றி மெய்நடுங்கி  
 1118 வாயலர்ந்து<sup>577</sup> கால் பதறி விதி வந்து சூள்ந்து தென்று விரல்<sup>578</sup> வணிகள்  
 ஆனந்தனும்  
 1119 சதிவந்து சேறந்த தென்று செட்டி ஒக்கவே தள்ளாடப்பட்டனரே<sup>579</sup>  
 \*2274 பதறி பதறி மனம் கலங்கி செட்டி பாக்கம் பாக்க<sup>580</sup> முனிப்பாகி<sup>581</sup>  
 \*2275 சிதற்றுடன் மனது கலங்கி சிந்தை கலங்கிவிட்டானே.  
 \*2276 குமரகுருபரா<sup>582</sup> யென்ன கோடி<sup>583</sup>மனம் கலங்கி விட்டான்.  
 \*2277 பதறி மனம் கலங்கிவிட்டான் பாவி கெடுத்தாளே யென்றான்.  
 \*2278 யெலியின<sup>584</sup> குஞ்சிபோல்<sup>585</sup> பதுங்கி யிடகாட்டிலே வந்து மனம் கலங்கி  
 \*2279 கடுவாய்<sup>586</sup>கண்டவர் போலே அஞ்சி கலங்கி மலங்கிவிட்டானே.  
 \*2280 தொட்டுபிடியாளென்றேன் பதறி கிட்ட வராமல் முடுகி  
 \*2281 பட்டு கொடுக்கவே<sup>587</sup> யிவள்க்கு பளிதான் கொடுக்க பிறந்தேன்  
 \*2282 யெட்டி போவோமென்று உன்னி செட்டி கொள்வான் நம்மையென்று  
 \*2283 முட்டுக்காறியென்று<sup>588</sup> செட்டி விட்டுபோகாளென்று கெட்டி<sup>589</sup>  
 \*2284 தட்டுமுட்டுதலைகொண்டு கட்டுவிட்டேநென்று யெண்ணி  
 \*2285 விட்டுவிட்டாளென்று தலை தட்டுமுட்டு கொள்ளுவானாம்.  
 \*2286 கண்டாளவன் படும் பாட்டை காரிகை மாய யிசக்கி  
 \*2287 செட்டி திண்டாடும் வாற்த்தய கண்டு சிந்தகளி கூர்ந்த தேவி  
 \*2288 வந்து அகப்பட்டானென்னா<sup>590</sup> பளிவாங்காமல் னாந் விடுவேனோ.  
 \*2289 தள்ளாடி உள்ளம் கலங்கி கதிரவன் கண்ட தாமரை போலே  
 \*2290 உள்ளே உடலும் விறைத்து

<sup>572</sup> துஷ்ணக்காரி – துஷ்டக்காரி – துட்டை < *Skt. duṣṭā*. Cf. N10.81.2016, N8.26c.

<sup>573</sup> நீ நல்ல. A scribal error. Em. < நானல்ல > on the basis of N10.81c and N8.26d.

<sup>574</sup> ப்யயவே – பையவே.

<sup>575</sup> அளிசேர் – அணிசேர் – அழகு சேர்த்தல். Cf. N8.27a, N10.82b.

<sup>576</sup> குடல் – குழல். Cf. N8.27a.

<sup>577</sup> வாயலர்ந்து – வாய் உலர்ந்து.

<sup>578</sup> விரல் – விரள்தல்.

<sup>579</sup> Line 1119 is followed directly by lines 2274-91. This insertion is out of its actual order in the original hand-written Ms. provided to me. This strongly suggests that the palm leaves on the basis of which the hand-written manuscript was produced got mixed up at some point.

<sup>580</sup> பாக்கம் பாக்க. A scribal error. The copyist of the palm leaves obviously again confused the letters ற and ர். I read பரக்கப்பரக்க.

<sup>581</sup> முனி – முழி – விழி. Colloq.

<sup>582</sup> குமரகுருபரா – குமரகுருபரனாம். Another name for the god Murugaṅ. The word appears in N10.151d.3758 and N8.53b.1804, but in a different context. Therefore I see no way to tell where this passage, obviously out of its actual order, should be placed.

<sup>583</sup> கோடி. Probably கோடு – கொடுமை (hardship; see Fabricius: கோடு). It is very unlikely to be கொடிய in the sense of “crooked.”

<sup>584</sup> யெலியின – யெலியின்.

<sup>585</sup> குஞ்சிபோல் – குஞ்சு போல்.

<sup>586</sup> கடுவாய் – கழுதைப் புலி (hyena).

<sup>587</sup> பட்டு கொடுக்க – இறந்து போக (to die).

<sup>588</sup> முட்டுக்காறி – முக்காட்டுக்காறி (veiled woman).

<sup>589</sup> கெட்டி – கட்டி.

<sup>590</sup> என்னா. I read என்றான்.



- \*2291 செட்டி ஒக்கவே தள்ளாட பட்டனநே.  
 1120 தள்ளாடப்பட்டனநே தமிழ்வணிக பெருமானே  
 1121 முள்ளாடும் கரும்புரைமுட்டந்த<sup>591</sup> காட்டோடே  
 1122 துள்ளாடபடவேண்டி<sup>592</sup> துணையுமில்லா தனில் பொறந்தீர்<sup>593</sup>  
 1123 வெள்ளாட்டிக்காகவல்லோ  
 1124 விளிச்சா<sup>594</sup> பெண் சாத்துகறிர்<sup>595</sup>  
 1125 யேன் காணும் உம்மோடே  
 1126 னா நிணங்கி யிருப்பதெல்லாம்  
 1127 தான் காண பயந்தீரே  
 1128 சய்யல்<sup>596</sup> கண்டால் தெரியாதோ  
 1129 சய்யல் கண்டால் தெரியாதோ  
 1130 தனப்பட யாரினப்படயார்<sup>597</sup>  
 1131 நொய்ய மனத்தரசர் முகம்  
 1132 னோக்குவதும் னோக்காதோ  
 1133 வெய்யில் நடை தானடந்து  
 1134 வெப்பெடுத்து னாவுணர்ந்து<sup>598</sup>  
 1135 துய்ய மனதுடயவரே  
 1136 சற்றே சுண்ணாம்பு தாருமென்றார்.  
 1137 தாருங்காண் சுண்ணாம்பு  
 1138 தந்து யிணல்<sup>599</sup> மீதிலிருந்து  
 1139 ஆதினமுள்ளதலம்<sup>600</sup>  
 1140 ஆனதுண்டால்<sup>601</sup> னாலு திக்கும்  
 1141 பாரி<sup>602</sup> னாம்முக்காட்டில்<sup>603</sup>  
 1142 பதைப்பிறவே பறைந்திருக்க<sup>604</sup>  
 1143 பாரிர் னாமுக்காட்டில்  
 1144 பதைப்பிறவே பறைந்திருக்க  
 1145 துள்ளி முந்தி ஓடிவந்தாள்.  
 1146 சுண்ணாம்பு தாருமென்றாள்.  
 1147 பள்ள முண்டால் பாருமென்றான்<sup>605</sup>.  
 1148 பறைந்திருக்க வாருமென்றாள்.  
 1149 கள்ளமுண்டு யிவள் கய்யிலே  
 1150 கண்ட வர்க்கும் தெரியாதோ  
 1151 தாளாயோ<sup>606</sup> யென்றுரைத்தீர்  
 1152 தமிழ் வணிக பெருமானே  
 1153 பாளான நிலத்திலிட்ட  
 1154 பயிரது போலென்னை விட்டு

<sup>591</sup> குரை – செடிவகை (*Zizyphus oenoplia*). மூட்டந்த – மூட்டு அடர்ந்த; cf. N8.27b, N10.83b மூட்டந்த/மூட்டந்த.

<sup>592</sup> துள்ளாடபடவேண்டி. Cf. N8.27b துள்ளாடப்படவேங்கி. துள்ளாடுதல் – துள்ளத்துடித்தல் – துன்பம்.

<sup>593</sup> பொறந்தீர் – போறீர். See N8.27b; cf. N10.83b வந்தீர்.

<sup>594</sup> விளிச்சா – விழித்தால்.

<sup>595</sup> சாத்துகறிர் – சாற்றுகறிர் (explain in detail, speak; *TL* s.v.).

<sup>596</sup> சய்யல். Probably தையல் – பெண், as in N2.45b. Cf. N8.27c சையல்; N10.83d சய்யல்.

<sup>597</sup> தனப்பட யாரினப்படயார். Cf. தனம்படையார் தனம்படைத்தால், as found in N8.27c, N2.45b. Version N10 is silent on this point.

<sup>598</sup> னாவுணர்ந்து – நாக்கு உலர்ந்து. Cf. N8.27c.

<sup>599</sup> இணல் – நிழல். Cf. N8.27c.

<sup>600</sup> ஆதினம். Obscure. The lexical question remains unresolved. I read contextually, in agreement with T.M.P., மறையிடம் (hiding place [probably a pit]).

<sup>601</sup> ஆனதுண்டால் – இருக்கும் ஆனால்.

<sup>602</sup> பாரி – பாரீர். Also line 1143.

<sup>603</sup> முக்காட்டில் – கடும் காட்டில்.

<sup>604</sup> பறைந்திருக்க (M.).

<sup>605</sup> என்றான். More likely என்றான்<ள்>. Cf. N10.84b, N8.27d.

<sup>606</sup> தாளாயோ. This may mean தாழாதே போடி/போய்விட. Cf. N10.85b, N2.45d, N8.27d.

1155	வாளாதே நீர் போனால்
1156	வலிய பள வினையுனக்கு
1157	சூளாதோ செட்டியாரே
1158	சூள்ந்தாக்கால் உமை விடுமோ
1159	யினி விடுமோ செட்டியாரே
1160	யென் கய்யிலகப்பட்டீரே
1161	கனி மருவும் பூங்காட்டில்
1162	கல்லாலே கொன்ற பளி
1163	துணி <sup>607</sup> மருவும் தோளானே <sup>608</sup>
1164	துணயுமத்து <sup>609</sup> விட்டீரே
1165	தனிவருமோ செட்டியாரே
1166	தனித்து உம்மை போக ஒட்டேன்
1167	போக ஒட்டேன் யென்றிசக்கி
1168	புத்தியெல்லாம் <sup>610</sup> தடுமாறி
1169	ஆகட்டே நீலி பள <sup>611</sup>
1170	அய்யா <sup>612</sup> மொளி பொய்யாது
1171	நீலி யென்று அறியாமல்
1172	நினைந்தனநே <sup>613</sup> மணம் புணர
1173	பாலி <sup>614</sup> யென்றும் சூலியென்றும் <sup>615</sup>
1174	பக்குவப் பெண் அனுதாராம் <sup>616</sup> .
1175	வாலிபத்தில் னாநொரு பெண்
1176	வலிய அகப்பட்டேநே.
1177	ஆரானும் <sup>617</sup> விடுவாளே <sup>618</sup>
1178	ஆனாக <sup>619</sup> பிறந்தவர்கள்
1179	நாணாமல் சுளுக்காமல் <sup>620</sup>
1180	நளுக்காமல் திரிவாரோ
1181	வீணாக நடவாதே.
1182	விளலி <sup>621</sup> சும்மா போய் விட்டி <sup>622</sup> .
1183	புருசமுடன் <sup>623</sup> உமை துடர்ந்தேன்.
1184	பேருமில்லா <sup>624</sup> போய் விடவோ
1185	வரிசயுடனீருமிப்போ

<sup>607</sup> துணி மருவும் – துணிவு படும்.

<sup>608</sup> தோளானே. This may mean தோழமை – நட்பு. Cf. N10.85c, N8.28a.

<sup>609</sup> துணயுமத்து – துணையுமற்று.

<sup>610</sup> புத்தியெல்லாம். I take this to refer to Icakki, on the basis of N10.86a போகவிட்டேன் என்றிசக்கி புத்தியெல்லாம் அவன் கேட்டு.

<sup>611</sup> பள – பழி.

<sup>612</sup> அய்யா – அப்பா. Cf. N10.86b *vacanam*: நமது தந்தை சொன்ன வார்த்தை சரி.

<sup>613</sup> Lines 1171-2 are corrupt. I emend to <நீலியென்பதல்லாதே நினைத்த நேரம்> and follow more or less N8.28b: நீலியென்பதல்லாதே நினைத்த நேரம் புணர்வதற்கு. N10.86b reads நீலிஎன்றதல்லாதநினைத்த நோம்புதான் புணர (Don't think of me as Nili. I am a modest woman; I am your wife).

<sup>614</sup> பாலி. Nāṭār dialect. I read பாலி (wicked woman), or more precisely, பாலி என்று [நினைக்காதே]. பாலி (young damsel) is very unlikely. Cf. N10.86d, N8.28b, N2.46c பாலியல்ல, where the word appears with a negative.

<sup>615</sup> சூலி – *Cūlinī* (the goddess Durgā) and சூலி என்று [நினைக்காதே] respectively. Another possible reading would be கருப்பவதி (pregnant woman), but this is very unlikely. Cf. N10.86d, N8.28b, N2.46c சூலியல்ல, where the word appears in a negative sense.

<sup>616</sup> அனுதாராம் – அழுதாராம். Cf. N8.28b பக்குவப் பனுதாரம்.

<sup>617</sup> ஆரானும் – யாரொருவன், யாரானும்.

<sup>618</sup> விடுவாளே. A scribal error. Em. விடுவாளே<ர>/விடுவா<ர்களே>. Cf. N8.27b.

<sup>619</sup> ஆனாக – ஆணாக.

<sup>620</sup> சுளுக்காமல் – சுளிக்காமல்.

<sup>621</sup> விளலி – விழலி – பயனில்லாத பெண். Cf. N8.28.b, N2.46d.

<sup>622</sup> விட்டி. I read விட்டி. Cf. N8.28b, N2.46d.

<sup>623</sup> புருசம். I read பிரியம் (love, affection). Cf. N8.28b பிரியம்.

<sup>624</sup> பேர் – பெயர்.

- 1186 மணமுடியாதேயிருந்தால்  
 1187 கனிமருவும்<sup>625</sup> சுடுகாடு  
 1188 களுத்யும் போல் பிரளேனோ<sup>626</sup>  
 1189 தீண்டாதே பெண் கொடியே  
 1190 செட்டி பெற்ற<sup>627</sup> கொம்பல்லவோ<sup>628</sup>  
 1191 பெட்ட<sup>629</sup> கொம்பென்றீரே<sup>630</sup>.  
 1192 பேர்பெரிய செட்டியாரே  
 1193 வட்டிக்கிட்டு பாற்ப்பதற்கு  
 1194 மண்டலத்தில் யெங்களம்மை  
 1195 பொட்டளகும் பாவினயும்<sup>631</sup>  
 1196 பொன்னெருத்தும் ஒவ்வாது  
 1197 கட்டளகும் பாவினயும்  
 1198 கண்டா கொண்டாசை கொள்வார்.  
 1199 செட்டிகுல பெருமாளே  
 1200 செட்டியருகே வாருமென்றாள்.  
 1201 உன் வலக்கைதான் பிடித்து  
 1202 ஊரகத்தே தானிருப்பார்<sup>632</sup>  
 1203 பின் வலக்கை யார்தருவார்  
 1204 பெண்மதியால் கெட்டேனே<sup>633</sup>  
 1205 முன் வலக்கையானதென்ன  
 1206 மோகன பெண் ஆனாலும்<sup>634</sup>  
 1207 ஒத்து கேளாயிசக்கி  
 1208 உனக்குறுதி சொல்லுகிறேன்  
 1209 கொத்து கொட்டை மொகூறுமோ<sup>635</sup>  
 1210 கொண்ட மோர் கடைவார்களோ  
 1211 பத்தி<sup>636</sup> கொண்டியாதே பனிகாறி மாயிசக்கி  
 1212 யின்னேரம் போய் விட்டியென்றுரைத்தார்<sup>637</sup> யிவ்விடத்தில்.  
 1213 முன்னேரமானாலு<sup>638</sup> முகம் திரும்பி யென்னுடய

<sup>625</sup> கனிமருவும். Em. க<ரி> மருவும் on the basis of N8.28c.

<sup>626</sup> பிரளேனோ – புரளேனோ – உருந்தல். Note that at this point N8.28c-29b and its twin version, N2, continue on with a thirty-two-line dialogue between Icakki and the Ceṭṭi that is found neither in the base version N1 nor in the longest version, N10.

<sup>627</sup> பெற்ற. Cf. N10.87c பெட்ட.

<sup>628</sup> கொம்ப – கொம்பு. Cf. N10.87c கொப்பு. According to N10, this is spoken by the Ceṭṭiyār.

<sup>629</sup> பெட்ட – பெட்டை/பொட்டச்சி – பெண். Cf. N10.87d பொட்ட.

<sup>630</sup> According to N10.87d, this is spoken by Icakki.

<sup>631</sup> பாவின – பாவனை < Skt. *bhāvanā*.

<sup>632</sup> There is some confusion as to who has married whom and whose words these are. N10.89a reads at this point: வனிதையரே உனக்கேத்தமணவானயார்போடி / உன் வலக்கை முன்பிடித்தோன் ஊரிடத்தேதானிருக்க / பின் வலக்கை யார்தருவார் (O lady, who [could be] a suitable husband for you? Go away! The man who took your right hand is in town. So afterwards who else would marry [you]?). By contrast, the prose part (*vacanam*) in N10.89c that follows the lines in question reads: நான் ஊரில் சென்று என் மனவி யோடுவாழ்ந்து இருக்கிறேன் – என்றான் வனிகேசன் (“I live with my wife in town,” said the merchant). An answer to the initial question lies in considering the marriage customs. Clearly the right hand (வலக்கை) refers to the bride, since the bridegroom gives his left hand in the marriage ceremony. Therefore the speaker must be the Ceṭṭi.

<sup>633</sup> I take these words as coming from Icakki, since the term பெண்மதி (or பெண்புத்தி) is only in usage among women. (I would like to thank T.M.P. for pointing this out.) Note the well-known Tamil proverb used by women: பெண்புத்தி பின் (A woman, given her poor knowledge, is slow to catch on [lit.: realises only afterwards]). For the proverb, see Lazarus 1991:518, No. 7345.

<sup>634</sup> Cf. N10.89a-b முன்வலக்கரமுடையமோகனபெண்ணானாலும் / என்வலக்கையானதென்ன நானுக்காளில்லையடி (Even though you are a lady of seductive charm, I did not marry you).

<sup>635</sup> மொகூறுமோ – முளைத்திடுமொ. A proverb.

<sup>636</sup> பத்தி – பற்றி.

<sup>637</sup> விட்டி – விடடி.

<sup>638</sup> முன்னேரமானாலு – முன்னேரமானாலும்.

- 1214 அனியாயமோ<sup>639</sup> கெடுவா<sup>640</sup> அதட்டாதே போய் விட்டி<sup>641</sup>  
 1215 தேயிராயம்<sup>642</sup> போய்<sup>643</sup> வெருண்<sup>644</sup> திரண்ட மாகாட்டகத்தில்  
 1216 உயிராயம்<sup>645</sup> தீர்<sup>646</sup> வந்தான் ஒருதி யென்றோடலுற்றானே.  
 1217 ஓடுகிறான் செட்டி வணிகேசனவனும்  
 1218 உற்றதொரு பக்கறையும் தோளிலேயிட்டு  
 1219 காலில் வில்லை செருப்பு கலீர்கலீரென்ன<sup>647</sup>  
 1220 கடுவாய்கிட்ட வந்தனரி காட்டிலே போவது போவது போல  
 1221 பதறியோடி வணிகேசன் பளக நகர் காட்டில்  
 1222 பாவி கண்ணில் னாமள<sup>648</sup> வீணிலகபட்டேன்.  
 1223 ஆவி உயிர் போனாலல்லோ தெரியும் காண்  
 1224 அல்லாத<sup>649</sup> பாவி அகல போவாளோ.  
 1225 காரிகைக்கு யேற்ற கணவன் ஊர்திலேயுண்டும்<sup>650</sup>  
 1226 கள்ளத்தனமாக யிவள் கொல்லவே வந்தான்.  
 1227 கொல்ல வந்தாளென்று யென்னை பேசுநீர்.  
 1228 கொள்ள முதல் கொடுத்ததுண்டோ கள்ளமாகவே  
 1229 கள்ளமாக உம்முடைய மாமி<sup>651</sup> யென்னுடைய தாயார்  
 1230 கைமாலி<sup>652</sup> செய்ததற்கு உம்மை னோவேனோ.  
 1231 கைமாலி யென்று பேசறாய் பெற்ற தாய்த்தான்  
 1232 காட்டுக்குள்ளே துடர் சொல்லி கூட்டிவிட்டாளோ.  
 1233 விட்டதினால் தேடி வந்தேன் உம்மை தேடினார்<sup>653</sup>.  
 1234 வெயிலாத்த<sup>654</sup> போகுதில்லை மெல்ல நடவுங்காண்.  
 1235 வெயிலாத்த போகுதில்லை மெள்ள நடவுங்காண்.  
 1236 கட்டிலு தலையினை மேலிட்டுறங்கி  
 1237 காட்டுக் குள்ளே நடந்தலுத்து கண்ணுறக்கமில்லை.  
 1238 கண்ணுறக்கமில்லை யென்றால் மாய யிசக்கி

<sup>639</sup> அனியாயம். I read here வல்லமை (power; force) rather than the given word (which means: uselessness; wrong action). I base my decision on N10.90a (prose part): என்னைதனிமையாகவிட்டு ஓடபார்க்கிறீர்/ஆனால்என்வல்லமைஉமக்கு தெரியாது (You're trying to run away and abandon me. But you don't know my power).

<sup>640</sup> கெடுவா – கெடுவாய். Note that in N1 the line is spoken by two successive speakers: Icakki and the Ceṭṭi. Such is not the case in the corresponding lines in N10.91a-b, which contains only words of the Ceṭṭi. It is worthy observing how the different versions either skip over text or rearrange it. For instance, N10.90d-91a-b reads quite differently, containing interesting dialogue that the base version at the same point (N1.1213-4) ignores: N10.90d; Icakki's speech: இன்னேரம்போய்விட்டி என்று ரைத்தீர்இவ்வனத்தில் / முன்னேரம் ஆனாலும் முகம்திரும்பிஎன்னோடு / பொன்னார்தனம் குலையபொருந்தியொருதலமிருந்தால் / அன்னேரம் தெரியுமென்ன – உம் / ஆண்மையும் பெண்மையுமோ. N10.90ab; the Ceṭṭi's speech: அனியாயமோகெடுவாய்அலட்டாதேஎன்னைவிட்டு / [...] ஒளியாமல்வழியாக உள்ளதல்லாம்தீர்த்து / வந்தேன் /இவனோடுவாதாடினால்இனிபிளைக்கமாட்டோம் என்று [...] ([Icakki:] In this forest you urge me to leave at once. Even you said so before, please turn (now) your face towards me. If you enjoy me one time, squeezing my beautiful breasts, you will come to know your male sexual power and my female sexual power, won't you? [The Ceṭṭi:] You'll completely ruin me by your useless action. Don't threaten [me]! Hey, leave at once! I haven't hidden [from you]. I came having lost everything. [To himself:] If I argue with her, I won't escape).

<sup>641</sup> விட்டி. Read விட்டி.

<sup>642</sup> தேயிராயம் – செயிர்+ஆயிரம். Cf. N8.29c, N10.90b செயிராயம்.

<sup>643</sup> போய்வெருண். A scribal error. Read போலிருண்ட. Cf. N8.29c, N10.90b.

<sup>644</sup> வெருண் – இருண்ட.

<sup>645</sup> உயிராயம். ஆயம் is unclear. It could mean உயிர்+ஆயம், if we read ஆயம் as ஆயுள் < Skt. *āyus* (lifetime). However, it could as well be interpreted as the bow-song singer's meaningless repetition of the syllables -ஆயம் of lines 1214 and 1215.

<sup>646</sup> தீர் – தீர்க்க.

<sup>647</sup> கலீர்கலீரென்ன. An echo word.

<sup>648</sup> னாமள – நாம். பேச்சு வடிவம் (ST).

<sup>649</sup> அல்லாத. I read பொல்லாத.

<sup>650</sup> ஊர்திலே – ஊர்திலே.

<sup>651</sup> மாமி – மனைவியுடைய தாய் (TL).

<sup>652</sup> கைமாலி – கோல்மால். Dialectal usage.

<sup>653</sup> தேடினார். Em. <தேடினார் – தேடி நான்>. Cf. line 1244, where the same syntax (*vinaiyeccam* plus pronoun) is employed.

<sup>654</sup> ஆத்த – ஆற்ற.

- 1239 காட்டுக்குள்ளே துடர சொல்லி கூட்டிவிட்டானோ.<sup>655</sup>  
 1240 சூகூட்டில்லை<sup>656</sup> உம்மை தேடிதுடந்து வருவேனாந்.  
 1241 சொல்லசொல்ல தட்டிவிட்டு போகாதே காணும்.  
 1242 போகாதே யென்று சொல்லி பின்துடராதே.  
 1243 பொட்டு குலய<sup>657</sup> போறாய் விட்டுனாந் சொன்னால்  
 1244 சொன்னதெல்லாம் கேள்கவல்லோ உம்மே தேடினாந்<sup>658</sup>.  
 1245 சூஞ்சுளத் திரிந்தலைந்தேன் பளக நகர் காட்டிலே  
 1246 உம்முடய தாயர் யென்மாமி ஓடிபோக சொன்னாள்.  
 1247 உம்மாலேயல்லோ நடந்து வார்றேன் காண  
 1248 காணும் காணும் யென்று சொல்லி பாவி வராதே.  
 1249 காட்டுக்குள்ளே வாறபோது கண்டேன் தடயை  
 1250 வாட்டமில்லை உன் முகத்தில் கண்டபோதிலே  
 1251 வட்டக்கண்ணை தானுட்டி<sup>659</sup> நடமாக்காதே.  
 1252 நடமாக்க வந்தேனோ நலமாக்க வந்தேனோ  
 1253 னாயகவறிவார் காணும் போகாதே நில்லும்.  
 1254 நில்லுமென்று சொல்லி நிறுத்தாதே நீலி  
 1255 நெஞ்சுகள் பதறுதேடி<sup>660</sup> அஞ்சி உன்னாலே  
 1256 அஞ்சி அஞ்சி செட்டிபிறகே யேறிட்டு பாற்த்து  
 1257 அய்யாவே யென செட்டி கூட அலறி ஓடுவாளாம்.  
 1258 ஓடிஓடி போறீரோ மனம்வொட்டி னாநும்<sup>661</sup> வந்தேன்.  
 1259 போடி போடி யென்றீரே பூத்தான<sup>662</sup> பட்டரே.  
 1260 வாடிவிட்டரே<sup>663</sup> காணும் குங்கலியம்<sup>664</sup> தரித்தீரே.  
 1261 பாடு பட்டர் நீருமென்று பதயாமல் போனதுண்டோ.  
 1262 பாதகத்தி<sup>665</sup> பசுக்கருண்டு<sup>666</sup> பளக நகர் ஊர் தூரம்  
 1263 யிரவயிட<sup>667</sup> யெங்கள் மமை<sup>668</sup>  
 1264 யிளயவனாம்<sup>669</sup> பிள்ளைகளும்  
 1265 காயிடத்தே<sup>670</sup> வாளந்திருப்பார்<sup>671</sup>  
 1266 காளயரே உம்மாணை  
 1267 விடியமுன்<sup>672</sup> சென்றவதரித்து  
 1268 விடிய முன்னே போவோமென்றார்<sup>673</sup>.  
 1269 மச்சு முண்டு கூடமுண்டும்

<sup>655</sup> Note at this point the dialogue in the type of couplets (கன்னி) employed in later medieval, pre-modern, and modern poetry—set to music but sung without any refrain and counter-refrain (see Zvelebil 1995:326, s.v. *kaṇṇi*).

<sup>656</sup> சூகூட்டம் – சூட்டகமம்.

<sup>657</sup> பொட்டுக்குலைதல் – மதிப்பு இழத்தல் (to lose honour; *TL*); literally: to lose the *tilakam* centred on the forehead. The red dot is a sign of auspiciousness and the wedded state.

<sup>658</sup> நான்.

<sup>659</sup> தானுட்டி – தான் உருட்டி.

<sup>660</sup> பதறுதேடி – பதறுது+ஏ+டி.

<sup>661</sup> னாநும் – நாணும்.

<sup>662</sup> பூத்தான. I read பூத்தானம் (unnecessary importance; *TL* s.v.). Cf. N8.32a, where the same word appears in a different context: பூத்தானமேன் காட்டுகிறீர் செட்டியாரே.

<sup>663</sup> ஏண் – ஏன்.

<sup>664</sup> குங்கலியம் – ஒரு வகை மரம் < Skt. *guggulu*. To my knowledge the powder produced from this tree is used for purifying rooms, but not as a *tilakam*, the mark placed on the forehead of a woman.

<sup>665</sup> பாதகத்தி. Obscure. Probably பரதவித்தீர்/பரதவித்து. Cf. N8.31b, N10.93c.

<sup>666</sup> பசுக்கள் – பசி. Cf. N8.31b.

<sup>667</sup> யிரவயிட – இரவையுடன்.

<sup>668</sup> யெங்கள் மமை. Obscure; probably a scribal error. Read எங்களம்மை. Cf. N8.31b.

<sup>669</sup> யிளயவனாம். Read இளையவனும். Cf. N8.31b, N10.93c.

<sup>670</sup> காயிடத்தே. Probably தாயிடம்; perhaps a contamination of கரை (N8.31b) and தாய் (N10.93c). In the interests of a clearer comprehension, I use both expressions in my translation.

<sup>671</sup> வாளந்திருப்பார் – வாழ்ந்திருப்பார். Cf. N10.93c.

<sup>672</sup> விடியமுன். Corrupt. I emend to <விரைவுடன்> on the basis of N10.93d and N8.31b.

<sup>673</sup> என்றார். Read என்றாள்.

- 1270 மாடம் உண்டும் திண்ணையுண்டும்  
 1271 வச்சியுண்டு<sup>674</sup> போவோனாமள்<sup>675</sup>  
 1272 வாருமென்று சித்தம் வைத்தாள்.  
 1273 சித்தம் வைத்து வீட்டுத்தாள்.  
 1274 சிறப்புடனே னாலுதிக்கும்<sup>676</sup>  
 1275 கண்டானே னாலுதிக்கும்  
 1276 கயிசாலையும்<sup>677</sup> மதிலும்  
 1277 வண்டாடும் பூஞ்சோலை  
 1278 வளவு தலை வாசல்களும்  
 1279 உத்திரமும் பொற்பலகை  
 1280 உகமயுடன்<sup>678</sup> போதிகயாம்<sup>679</sup>  
 1281 சித்திர வற்ற சாலைகளும்  
 1282 செம்பொன் மணி மேடைகளும்  
 1283 குத்துமத்தும்<sup>680</sup> திண்ணைகளாம்  
 1284 தூங்குமஞ்சி<sup>681</sup> அறப்புறயாம்<sup>682</sup>  
 1285 யித்தாயும்<sup>683</sup> யிசக்கியம்மை  
 1286 யிமைக்குமுன்னுண்டாக்கி வைத்தாள்.  
 1287 உண்டாக்கி வைப்பதயும்  
 1288 உள்ளதென்று குறயாமல்  
 1289 திண்டாடி ஓடிவரும்  
 1290 செட்டி குல பெருமானே  
 1291 கண்டானே னாலுதிக்கும்  
 1292 கயிசாலையும் மதிலும்  
 1293 வண்டாடும் பூஞ்சோலை  
 1294 வளவு<sup>684</sup> தலை வாசல்களும்  
 1295 பாத்தானோ<sup>685</sup> யிவனிசக்கி  
 1296 மானிடரில் ஒருவரில்லை  
 1297 தோத்தாதோ<sup>686</sup> ஊர்மனைதான்  
 1298 துணையொருவர் வாறாரோ.  
 1299 தலை வாசல் தனிலே நின்று  
 1300 தாயினவே ஒரு கிளவி  
 1301 யிலை போலே தலையசைப்பாள்.  
 1302 யேங்குவாள் கைநெரிப்பாள்.  
 1303 வாள்ந்த மன மகளிற் கூர்ந்து  
 1304 மருமகன் வந்தாரினவே  
 1305 சூள்ந்து நின்ற கொளுந்தியர்கள்  
 1306 சோற்று கறிதான் சமைத்தார்.  
 1307 சேறந்த மொளிதான் குறைந்து  
 1308 செட்டியவன் தடுமாறி  
 1309 மகூாவி<sup>687</sup> மச்சாவி  
 1310 யெங்கள் மனயில் வந்தாலாகாதோ  
 1311 யேன் காணு மகூாவி

<sup>674</sup> வச்சி – வசதி.

<sup>675</sup> போவோனாமள் – போவோம் நாம்.

<sup>676</sup> திக்கும் – திசை.

<sup>677</sup> கயிசாலையும் – கைசாலை – சின்ன சுவர். See also line 1292. Cf. N10.95a கைசாலை.

<sup>678</sup> உகமயுடன் – உண்மையுடன். Cf. N10.94c உகமையுடன்.

<sup>679</sup> போதிகயாம் – போதிகை – குறுந்தூண் (a short, stout pillar; see *TL*). Cf. N10.94c.

<sup>680</sup> குத்துமத்தும் – சுற்றுமுற்றும்.

<sup>681</sup> தூங்குமஞ்சி – தூங்குமஞ்சம் – தொங்கியாடுங் கட்டில்.

<sup>682</sup> அறப்புறயாம் – அறைப் புரை.

<sup>683</sup> யித்தாயும் – இத்தனையும்.

<sup>684</sup> வளவு – வீட்டுபுறம்.

<sup>685</sup> பாத்தானோ – பார்த்தானே.

<sup>686</sup> தோத்தாதோ – தோற்றாதோ – தோன்றாதோ.

<sup>687</sup> மகூாவி/மச்சாவி – மச்சம்பி/மச்சான் – சகோதரியின் கணவன்.

- 1312 ஆகூடியும்<sup>688</sup> நீருமாக  
 1313 வான்ந்த னாள் யிது வரயும்  
 1314 வந்ததுண்டோ மச்சாவி  
 1315 சாந்தணியும் புயத்தானே  
 1316 சடுதியிலே<sup>689</sup> வாருமென்றாள்  
 1317 காறந்த மரும<sup>690</sup> கிளவியவள்  
 1318 கண்ணான<sup>691</sup> மருமகனே யென்பாள்.  
 1319 மருமகன்தான் உனக்காரு.  
 1320 மாமியார் யினக்காரு.  
 1321 உரிமயுள்ளோருனக்காரு<sup>692</sup>.  
 1322 உடயவள் தானிநக்காரு<sup>693</sup>.  
 1323 கருமமெல்லா மனதடக்க  
 1324 காத்தடித்த<sup>694</sup> பீடைகள் போல  
 1325 ஒரு மனப்பாடே<sup>695</sup> பளகை  
 1326 செட்டி ஊர் னோக்கி ஓடலுற்றானே.  
 1327 செறுத்தனள் வந்து சிரித்தனள்  
 1328 செட்டியார் முன்னே வந்து தோன்றினாள்.  
 1329 தென் பளவை ஊர் தூரம் வம்பாவி<sup>696</sup> போகாதே செட்டியாரே யினிபோவதோ  
 1330 போவதோ வென்று வளி மறித்தாக்கால் போவதேன் செட்டியாரே நீர்  
 1331 புகள் பளக நகரதிலே கண்டவர்<sup>697</sup> போகா<sup>698</sup> புதுமை<sup>699</sup> காணும்<sup>700</sup> பொய்யல்ல.  
 1332 பொய்யில்லவென்று மாய யிசக்கினி<sup>701</sup> பேசாமல்<sup>702</sup> யெனை நிறுத்தினால்  
 1333 பொல்லாத பாவமிது வல்லாமைகாறினி<sup>703</sup> போடினி மணவாளன்டத்திலே  
 1334 மணவாள நீரல்லவோ செறுப்பதிலே<sup>704</sup> தாலி கெட்டினீர்  
 1335 ஒரு பலகயில் யிருபேரும் வலதுகை தொட்டு பிடித்ததும்  
 1336 பிடித்தேனோ உன்னை மாய யிசக்கினி<sup>705</sup>  
 1337 பேசறாயடி பேய் மகள்  
 1338 பிறமாணமாகவே வளிதனிலே வந்துனி  
 1339 பேசறாயடி மாய யிசக்கினி  
 1340 யிசக்கி யென்று நீர் சொல்லவுமாம்  
 1341 கெளுந்துதோ<sup>706</sup> சொல்லானது  
 1342 யிடயிலே உம்மை விட்டு ஓடினால்  
 1343 யேசுவார் யென்னை பெண்டுகள்

<sup>688</sup> ஆகூடி – ஆச்சி – அக்கா. Cf. N10.98b அக்கா.

<sup>689</sup> சடுதியிலே – சடிதி < Skt. *jhaṭiti* – விரைவாக. Colloq.

<sup>690</sup> காறந்த மரும. Corrupt. I emend on the basis of N10.98b-c: <காந்தமலர்>கிளவியவள். காந்தம் (magnetic attraction; *TL* s.v.).

<sup>691</sup> கண்ணான – கண்போன்ற.

<sup>692</sup> உரிம – உரிமை.

<sup>693</sup> தானிநக்காரு – தான் எனக்கு யார்.

<sup>694</sup> காத்தடித்த – காற்று அடித்த.

<sup>695</sup> மனப்பாடே – மனப்பட்டே.

<sup>696</sup> வம்பாவி – வம்பு+ஆக.

<sup>697</sup> கண்டவர். A filler? Neither N10.91a—an identical passage apart from the word in question—nor N8.29d and N2.49c contains it.

<sup>698</sup> போகா. Obscure. Read போக as in N10.91a, N8.29d, and N2.49c.

<sup>699</sup> புதுமை – அபூர்வம் (*TL*).

<sup>700</sup> காணும். Cf. N10.91a, N8.29d, N2.49c காணுது.

<sup>701</sup> னி – நீ.

<sup>702</sup> பேசாமல். Cf. N10.91a, N8.29d, N2.49c போகாமல்.

<sup>703</sup> வல்லாமைகாறி – வல்லாண்மைக்காரி. Cf. N8.30a.

<sup>704</sup> செறுப்பதிலே – சிறுப்பத்திலே. Cf. N8.30a, N10.91b.

<sup>705</sup> னி – நீ.

<sup>706</sup> சொல்லவுமாம் கெளுந்துதோ. A scribal error. I read சொல்லவும் உமக் கெழுந்துதோ on the basis of N10.91c, N8.30b, and N2.50a.

- 1344 மண்டலந்தனிலே மாய யிசக்கினி  
 1345 வளிதனிலே மருட்டாதெடி<sup>707</sup>.  
 1346 மாபாவி நீ யொருத்தி பனிகாறி நெட்டுறி<sup>708</sup>  
 1347 வளிதனிலே உன்னை கண்டேனாங்.  
 1348 கண்டேனா நென்று பேசறாயிந்த  
 1349 காட்டிலே வந்த போதிலே  
 1350 கற்றமே யிது முன்னுள்ளவர்கள் செய்ததோ<sup>709</sup>  
 1351 காட்டிலென்னுடன் ஆனவர்<sup>710</sup>  
 1352 வருவதென்னடி மாய யிசக்கினவனிவன்<sup>711</sup>  
 1353 யென் குலமதிகமே  
 1354 வளர் வயதில் பதினாறில் கலியாணம் செய்த  
 1355 வளமங்கை தானுண்டு ஊரிலே  
 1356 ஊரிலே போனாலல்லோ தெரியுங்காண்  
 1357 உம்முட ஞாயமும் யெஞாயமும்<sup>712</sup>  
 1358 உளவர் பதி<sup>713</sup>வெகுதாரம் கடுநடயாய் ஓடாதெயும்  
 1359 உம்மாணை யென்பளி நிக்ஷயம்<sup>714</sup>  
 1360 நிக்ஷயமென்று யிசக்கி சொல்லவே  
 1361 பக்ஷி<sup>715</sup> பறவைகள் கூமாய்<sup>716</sup>  
 1362 நிகராசன்<sup>717</sup> வணிகேசன் அவனை<sup>718</sup> முகம் பாராமல்  
 1363 நிமராமலே குன்னி<sup>719</sup> ஓடினாங்.  
 1364 ஓடினாலும்மை<sup>720</sup> விடுவேனோ காண்.  
 1365 ஒரு வாற்த்தை சொல்லுகிறேன் கேளுமே  
 1366 உலகம் அறியாத படி பனிகாறி வாறாளென்று  
 1367 உடனே கடுநடயாய்<sup>721</sup> ஓடினானே.  
 1368 போகலாகலாகு செட்டியாரே போகலாகலாகுமோ<sup>722</sup>  
 1369 போகலாகுமோ பெண்களாட வரை வேகமாக<sup>723</sup> தேடி  
 1370 முன்னே வந்தெதிர்த்தால் வேக மனத்தடக்கி  
 1371 விஞ்ஞந்து யேன் ஓடுகிறீர் போ  
 1372 யென்று காண்பேநென்று யேக்கம்<sup>724</sup> தெளிய போறேன்  
 1373 நின்றேன் காட்டில் நெடுநேரமாக தேடி  
 1374 நன்றாய் வந்தெதிர்த்து நாமும்<sup>725</sup> நீரும் கூடி ஒன்றாயிருந்து

<sup>707</sup> மருட்டாதெடி – மருட்டாதே+அடி.

<sup>708</sup> *nettūri – niṣṭūri*.

<sup>709</sup> செய்ததோ. Read செய்ததோர். Cf. N10.92b.

<sup>710</sup> என்னுடன் ஆனவர். Corrupt. This appears to be a contamination of உம்முடன் நான் வர (N10.92b) and என்னுடன் கூடி நீ வர (N8.30c).

<sup>711</sup> மாய யிசக்கினவனிவன். A scribal error. I emend to <மாய இசக்கி நீ வணிகர் என் குலமதிகமே> on the basis of N10.92b, N8.30c, N2.50b.

<sup>712</sup> யெ – என்.

<sup>713</sup> பதி – ஊர்.

<sup>714</sup> நிக்ஷயம் < Skt. *niścaya*.

<sup>715</sup> பக்ஷி – பட்சி, பறவை.

<sup>716</sup> பறவைகள் கூமாய். Em. <பறவைகளை போல் அச்சமாய்>. Cf. N10.92d, N8.30d.

<sup>717</sup> நிகராசன் – மகராசன்.

<sup>718</sup> அவனை. A scribal error. Em. <அவன்> on the basis of N10.92d, N8.30d.

<sup>719</sup> குன்னி – குன்றி.

<sup>720</sup> ஓடினாலும்மை – ஓடினாலும் உம்மை.

<sup>721</sup> கடுநடயாய் – கடும் நடையாக.

<sup>722</sup> The following lines are out of their actual order. Cf. N10, N8, N2.

<sup>723</sup> வேகமாக. Corrupt. I accept the reading in N10.107a, N8.35c, and N2.59b, and emend accordingly to <மோகமாக> – ஆசை.

<sup>724</sup> யேக்கம் – ஆசை (TL). Alternatively, but less likely, in the sense of துன்பம். My preference for ஏக்கம் (eager desire) is based on the variants N10.107a, N8.35c, N2.59b ஏகபோகமாகநாமளஇருபேரும் (We once both fully enjoyed each other).

<sup>725</sup> நாமும். Read நானும். Cf. N10.107b, N8.35d.



- 1375 உரைக்க கூடாமலே போக<sup>726</sup>  
 1376 உம்மை நம்பி பின்னே ஓடிவந்த யென்னை  
 1377 பின்னும் பாராமலே பெண் பளி யேற்றவர்  
 1378 யென்ன கொன்ற பாவம் யெங்கே போனால் விடும்  
 1379 யினி யென்ன ஓடுவது யேனை<sup>727</sup> செட்டியாரே – போ  
 1380 பாவியன்றென்னை<sup>728</sup> பகட்டாதே<sup>729</sup> செட்டியாரே  
 1381 சரலம்<sup>730</sup> பேச மதகரசவரா<sup>731</sup> வேறெ [...] <sup>732</sup>ண்டும்  
 1382 ஆளி தனங்கள்<sup>733</sup> செய்ய ஆமோ செட்டியாரே – போக  
 1383 தல்லி தனமுமில்லை<sup>734</sup> தரங்கெட்டவருமில்லை  
 1384 வல்லி கொடி<sup>735</sup> கிசைந்த மகா மந்திர ரூபி  
 1385 செல்வ பெண்ணு நீ தெய்வதிறிய<sup>736</sup> ஒத்த – பாவி<sup>737</sup>  
 1386 நல்ல பெண்ணும் நீயும் னானோ உனக்குலெக்கு<sup>738</sup> – பாவி<sup>739</sup>  
 1387 பொய்யா<sup>740</sup> வளி நிமித்தம்<sup>741</sup> பொருத்தந்தி<sup>742</sup> பாற்த்தேனில்லை  
 1388 மெய்யா<sup>743</sup> யிருந்து தய்யா<sup>744</sup> விளலி<sup>745</sup> யிசக்கியுடன்<sup>746</sup>  
 1389 தாவி வினாந்தோடினும் தாலிவைத்தால் விடுவேனோ<sup>747</sup>  
 1390 காவியரும்<sup>748</sup> குளல் மடவார் கன்னியரும்  
 1391 பின் துடர்ந்தானே. [...] <sup>749</sup> செட்டியாரே முகம் பாராதே நீர் போனால்  
 1392 பாராதே நீர் போனால் பத்தி<sup>750</sup> துடருவேனே.  
 1393 துடந்தால் நீ யென்ன செய்வாய் தோகயேமா யிசக்கி  
 1394 கடந்தே வனவாசம் கரயாளர் ஊரில் போனால் தெரியும்.  
 1395 போனாலல்லோ தெரியும் புத்திகளான தெல்லாம்  
 1396 வீணிலே பேசாதேயும் அடியாள் விருவது உள்ளமெல்லாம்

<sup>726</sup> போக. Em. <(போக)>. This remains untranslated. I consider it an echoing word of the *kuṭam* player rather than what is sung by the main bow-song singer. This is supported by the closest versions, N10.107a-b and N8.35d, where போக is put in brackets to mark the accompaniment's entry. It does not occur in N2.59c.

<sup>727</sup> யேனை – ஏழை.

<sup>728</sup> அன்று. A scribal error. Read என்று.

<sup>729</sup> பகட்டாதே – அதட்டாதே.

<sup>730</sup> சரலம் பேச. A scribal error. I read சாலம் – குறளை (here: abusively; *TL* s.v.). Alternatively, but unlikely, சரசம் பேச (to speak sweetly, speak amorously).

<sup>731</sup> Lexically unclear. According to the bow-song bard T.M.P., the meaning is (வேறு) பெண்ணோடு.

<sup>732</sup> The text is missing some syllables. T.M.P. suggests துண்டும். Other versions are silent on this point.

<sup>733</sup> ஆளி தனங்கள். I read ஆலிங்கனம் < Skt. *ā-lingana* (embrace; *TL* s.v.).

<sup>734</sup> தல்லி தனமுமில்லை. Read சல்லியம் – உபத்திரவம். I emend to <சல்லிதனமுமில்லை> on the basis of N10.108b, N8.36a, N2.60a.

<sup>735</sup> வல்லி கொடி – வள்ளி கொடி.

<sup>736</sup> திறிய < Skt. *strī*.

<sup>737</sup> The entry of the *kuṭam* player remains untranslated.

<sup>738</sup> லெக்கு – இலக்கு – குறிப்பொருள் (take aim at; *TL* s.v.) < Skt. *lakṣa*. Cf. N10.108c நல்ல பெண்பிள்ளை நீநானோ உலகில் பாவி (You are the good woman and I am the wicked one in this world, isn't it so?).

<sup>739</sup> The entry of the *kuṭam* player remains untranslated.

<sup>740</sup> பொய்யா. I read பொய்ய.

<sup>741</sup> நிமித்தம் – சகுனம்.

<sup>742</sup> பொருத்தந்தி. Unclear; perhaps பொருத்தம் அன்றி.

<sup>743</sup> மெய்யா – உண்மையாக.

<sup>744</sup> மெய்யா யிருந்து தய்யா. I read மெய்யாக இருந்தாயோ on the basis of N10.108c.

<sup>745</sup> விளலி – விழலி.

<sup>746</sup> Part of the sentence is missing. See N10.108c-d மெய்யால் இருந்தாயோ விளலிஇசக்கியும் கையில் அகப்படவும் கறுமவிதியோஇது.

<sup>747</sup> The line must be divided between two speakers. Cf. the prose part (*vacanam*) N10.108d.2681.

<sup>748</sup> காவி – கருங்குவளை (blue nelumbo; *TL* s.v.).

<sup>749</sup> Some lines are missing. Other versions are silent on this point.

<sup>750</sup> பத்தி – பற்றி.

- 1397 உள்ளது மெய் நீலி யிமாற்றத்தம்<sup>751</sup> ஒன்றும் அறியாய் நீ  
 1398 கொள்ளயிடவே வந்தாய் கோட்டி கொள்ளாதெடி போ.  
 1399 தள்ள<sup>752</sup> கிளவியம்மா உன்தங்கயும் தான் விலக்க  
 1400 உள்ளதறியாமல் யிடயில் ஓடிவந்தால் போமோ<sup>753</sup>  
 1401 போமோ நீ துடர்ந்தவர் பூவயே மாயிசக்கி  
 1402 ஆமோ ரந்தனருளால்<sup>754</sup> ஆளில்லை நீ போடி  
 1403 போடியென்றே யுரைத்தீர் பொல்லாத பாவிமட்டே  
 1404 நான் வீணிலே வந்தேனோ வெருவ வெருட்டுகிறீர்.  
 1405 யிப்படி ஆகாது பாதகத்தி<sup>755</sup> அப்பாலே நில்லு நில்லு.  
 1406 தேடாத<sup>756</sup> வீட்டுக்குள்ளே நீ யொரு செல்ல பிள்ளயிசக்கி  
 1407 யிசக்கி யென்றே யுரைத்தீர் யென் கோலங்கள் காணல்லயோ  
 1408 திசைக்க<sup>757</sup> வேண்டாங்கான் அடியாள் தேட்டத்து கேற்றவள்காண்.  
 1409 மஞ்ச குளிக்க நீர் தந்த பணத்தை<sup>758</sup>  
 1410 வட்டமிட்டு தாரும் செட்டியார் பிள்ளை  
 1411 கய்யிலே கள்ள பணம் தருவீரோ<sup>759</sup> கொஞ்ச  
 1412 கோதை பெறும் மங்கல ஞாணனகு<sup>760</sup>  
 1413 பகலிரவு தரித்த <sup>761</sup>[...]ண்டாச்சுதே  
 1414 பலர் பணித்ததோர் காடு கண்டாயோடா.<sup>762</sup>  
 1415 நீதாம்பறி<sup>763</sup> தனிவளி போவா தேங்கையடா<sup>764</sup>.  
 1416 நீ தரும் பளிக்கல்லோ நீலி வந்தேனடா.  
 1417 வந்தலடா<sup>765</sup> யெலி வெகுண்டிருந்தளுது<sup>766</sup>  
 1418 வயறெறியும் பூனை தானறியுமோ<sup>767</sup>.  
 1419 யின்று யிருபேரு முன்னிருந்தயிடம்  
 1420 யிதே தெரியுது பாருங்காண் செட்டி  
 1421 பாருமென சொல்ல மாயிசக்கி  
 1422 பதறியே ஆனந்தன் ஓடிவரும் நேரம்  
 1423 வந்தாளவன் பிறகே மாய யிசக்கி  
 1424 வளமாக வேதியினிருந்த தலத்தில்<sup>768</sup>  
 1425 சந்தோஸமில்லா<sup>769</sup> நிலைநின்ற கள்ளியர்<sup>770</sup>  
 1426 சலியாது கேள் நடுநிலை<sup>771</sup> நின்ற கள்ளியர்  
 1427 யிர்தா யொடிக்கிறேன் யிதோ முடிக்கிறேன்

<sup>751</sup> யிமாற்றத்தம். Unclear; probably இந்த மாற்றம் – வஞ்சினமொழி.

<sup>752</sup> தள்ள – தள்ளை – தாய்.

<sup>753</sup> போம். A filler.

<sup>754</sup> ரந்தன். Obscure. I read இறைவன்.

<sup>755</sup> பாதகத்தி – பாதகி. Colloq.

<sup>756</sup> தேடாத – சம்பாதிக்காத.

<sup>757</sup> திசைக்க – திகைக்க.

<sup>758</sup> Lines 1409-11 are out of their actual order. Cf. N10.110d-111a.

<sup>759</sup> தருவீரோ. I emend to <தந்தீரோ> on the basis of N10.111a.

<sup>760</sup> ஞாண் – தாலி. Line 1412 is out of its actual order. Cf. N10.102a.

<sup>761</sup> Some text is missing at this point. Other versions are silent here.

<sup>762</sup> பலர் பணித்ததோர் காடு கண்டாயோடா. This line is out of its actual order. Cf. N8.33b, N2.54d. I emend according to N8.33 பணிகள் பறித்ததோர் காடுகண்டேண்டா.

<sup>763</sup> நீதாம்பறி. Corrupt. Read நீ தான் பதறி. Cf. N8.33b, N2.54d நீதியுரை (to judge), which makes little sense. The closest version, N10, is silent here.

<sup>764</sup> போவா தேங்கையடா. Read போவாது – போவது. Cf. N8.33b போவதெங்கடா.

<sup>765</sup> வந்தலடா – வந்தால்.

<sup>766</sup> அளுது – அழுவது.

<sup>767</sup> Cf. N8.33b.

<sup>768</sup> தலத்தில் – இடத்தில்.

<sup>769</sup> சந்தோஸமில்லா – சந்தோசமாக.

<sup>770</sup> கள்ளி – செடிவகை: *Buphorbia*.

<sup>771</sup> Here நடுநிலை – சாட்சி.

- 1428 யென்றெடுத்தங்கே யெடுத்தாள் முறித்தாள்.  
 1429 யிக்குள்ளியை கள்ளிகை பிள்ளையாக்கி  
 1430 யென்றெடுத்தங்கே யிடுப்பிலே வைத்தாள்.  
 1431 தோடு பிறாமணி<sup>772</sup> வைத்த பஞ்சாயுதம்  
 1432 சொரி காது யிங்கம்பி<sup>773</sup> தோளிலடிபடவே  
 1433 அடுப்பிமிட்ட<sup>774</sup> அண்து<sup>775</sup> போலே  
 1434 அளுது கதறி செட்டி அவன் பிறகால் ஓடுவாளே.  
 1435 ஆடவரே செட்டியாரே  
 1436 ஆணல்லவோ பெற்றெடுத்தேன்.  
 1437 காட்டகத்தில் பெற்ற பிள்ளை  
 1438 கள்ளியல்லோ கன்னியரே  
 1439 கள்ளி பிள்ளை யாகிடுமோ.  
 1440 காசினிக்கும் யேற்றிடுமோ.  
 1441 கொள்ளைக்கா கொடுத்தீரோ.  
 1442 குட<sup>776</sup> கெடுவான் செட்டியாரே  
 1443 வள்ளானார்<sup>777</sup> தானறிவார்.  
 1444 மாதாமயும்<sup>778</sup> யறிவார்.  
 1445 நல்ல குலமென்றிருந்தேன்.  
 1446 னாந் வார்க்க பட்டேநே  
 1447 பொல்லாத பாவியென்று  
 1448 புகள் மாலை குடுமுன்னே  
 1449 மண்ணாவாள் யென்தாயார்  
 1450 மன பொருத்தம் பாற்த்தாளில்லை  
 1451 பெண்டிருக்க வந்துமக்கு  
 1452 பொட்டு குலைந்தாகி விட்டேன்.  
 1453 குண்டணிக்கு<sup>779</sup> முத்த கள்ளி  
 1454 கோமாளி கூத்தாட  
 1455 பண்டு உன்னை கண்டறியேன்.  
 1456 பளிகாறி மாயிசக்கி  
 1457 சண்டாள<sup>780</sup> பாதகத்தி  
 1458 சனியனைப்<sup>781</sup> போல துடராதே  
 1459 யென்று சொல்லி வணிகேஷன்  
 1460 யேந்தினைக்கு உபாயமிட்டாள்.  
 1461 செந்தூர பொட்டுமிட்டாள்.  
 1462 திருநீறு பூத்து[...]மிட்டாள்.<sup>782</sup>  
 1463 சவ்வாது<sup>783</sup> பொடியுமிட்டாள்.  
 1464 அணிந்ததெல்லாம் சிவன் தகூம்<sup>784</sup> ஆதிபரனருளாலே  
 1465 வளந்த கொண்ட பூ முடிந்தாள்<sup>785</sup>.  
 1466 மஞ்சளயும் பூசி கொண்டாள்.  
 1467 சரப்பணி பொன் மாலையிட்டாள்.  
 1468 தாவடங்கள் மிக யணிந்தாள்.

<sup>772</sup> பிறாமணி – பிறைமணி.

<sup>773</sup> கம்பி – அசையும். Cf. N10.108a சொரிகம்பயும்காதும்.

<sup>774</sup> அடுப்பிமிட்ட – அடுப்பிலேயிட்டு.

<sup>775</sup> அண்து – அனல் < Skt. *anala*.

<sup>776</sup> குட – குடி.

<sup>777</sup> வள்ளானார் – வள்ளரனார் – கடவுள்.

<sup>778</sup> மாதாமயும் – மாதா உமை (the lady Umā).

<sup>779</sup> குண்டணி – கோள்குண்டணி – கோள் முட்டுபவள்.

<sup>780</sup> சண்டாள. A term of abuse.

<sup>781</sup> சனியன். A term of abuse.

<sup>782</sup> A portion of text is missing.

<sup>783</sup> சவ்வாது – ஜவ்வாது.

<sup>784</sup> தகூம். Here செயல்.

<sup>785</sup> முடிந்தாள் – குடுத்தாள்.

- 1469 பட்டரஞாண்<sup>786</sup> நெத்திப்பிறை  
 1470 பாவை உகூழி பிறையும் வைத்தாள்.  
 1471 யெண்ணவொண்ணா பணிகளெல்லாம்<sup>787</sup>  
 1472 கூடியவனார் அருளுவாராம்  
 1473 நினைத்த தெல்லாம் யிவள்க்கு வரம்  
 1474 னீடுளி<sup>788</sup> காலமட்டும்<sup>789</sup>  
 1475 பணியணிந்து யிசக்கியம்மை  
 1476 பிச்ச<sup>790</sup> பொன்னால் தானிலங்க  
 1477 உள்வாதலை<sup>791</sup> ஊருமட்டும்  
 1478 ஓடாமல் விடுவேனோ  
 1479 மடமடன<sup>792</sup> வேர்வை சிந்த  
 1480 வணிகேசனோடே கூடி  
 1481 பெண்டாட்டி வேம்பானால்<sup>793</sup>  
 1482 பெற்ற பிள்ளை பெரும் பகயோ  
 1483 பெரும் பகை பாராட்ட வேண்டாம்  
 1484 பெற்ற பிள்ளை முகம் பாருமென்றாளே.  
 1485 ஓடுவானேன் கால் வருந்த செட்டியாரே  
 1486 உம்மை யொட்டி னாநும் வந்தேன் செட்டியாரே  
 1487 போடி போடி யென்றீரே செட்டியாரே  
 1488 பெண்ணைக் கண்டால் பேயிரங்கும் செட்டியாரே  
 1489 யேற்ற பெண்காண் னாநுமக்கு செட்டியாரே  
 1490 யென்னோடிணங்கி கொண்டால், தெரியும் செட்டியாரே  
 1491 கண்டவனோ கொண்டவனோ மாய யிசக்கி  
 1492 காம சங்கிலி பூட்டாதெடி கள்ளி நீ போடி  
 1493 கள்ளியென்று யென்னை பேசுநீர் செட்டியாரே  
 1494 கற்ப்புடயாள் னாநல்லவோ செட்டியாரே  
 1495 பிள்ளை<sup>794</sup> நல்ல பெண்பிள்ளை பிராயம் காணும்  
 1496 பேதலிப்பு பண்ணாதேயும் செட்டியாரே  
 1497 பேதலிப்பு உன(க்)கேதடி மாய யிசக்கி  
 1498 பிறகே வர சொன்னேனோ பெண்ணரசே போ போ  
 1499 ஆதரித்தேனோடிருக்க<sup>795</sup> ஆத்தானமோடி<sup>796</sup>  
 1500 கய்யறியா<sup>797</sup> வெண்பத்திவம்<sup>798</sup> அப்பாலே போம்<sup>799</sup>  
 1501 அப்பாலே போக வந்தேன் செட்டியாரே  
 1502 ஆணளக<sup>800</sup> னீரல்லவோ செட்டியாரே  
 1503 தப்பாவின பேசுகிறீர் செட்டியாரே  
 1504 சங்கடத்தை தீருங்காணும் செட்டியாரே  
 1505 சங்கடம் உன(க்)கேதடி மாய யிசக்கி

<sup>786</sup> பட்டரஞாண் – பட்ட அரைஞாண்.

<sup>787</sup> பணி – ஆபரணம்.

<sup>788</sup> னீடுளி – நீடுழி – நீடு+ஊழி, நீண்ட வாழ்க்கை.

<sup>789</sup> மட்டும் – வரைக்கும்.

<sup>790</sup> பிச்ச – பச்சை.

<sup>791</sup> வாதலை. I read வாதல் – வாசல்.

<sup>792</sup> மடமடன – மடமட என்று (quickly). An echo word.

<sup>793</sup> வேம்பானால் – விரும்பாமல் ஆனால். The leaves and the oil of the margosa (வேம்பு; *Azadirachta indica*) are very bitter.

<sup>794</sup> Read பிள்ளை as இளமை.

<sup>795</sup> ஆதரித்தேனோடிருக்க. I emend to ஆதரித்<துன்>னோடிருக்க. Cf. N10.100d, N8.32c, N2.53d.

<sup>796</sup> ஆத்தானம். Unclear; probably ஆத்திரம் – கோபம். Colloq. (M. *attaram*). Cf. N10.100d, N8.32c, N2.53d. Alternatively, but not likely: ஆஸ்தானம்.

<sup>797</sup> கய்யறியா. I read <வ>கை அறியாமல் and emend accordingly. Cf. N10.100d, N8.32c, N2.53d அறியாமல் பின்பற்றாதே and அதை அறியாமல் பின்பற்றாதே.

<sup>798</sup> வெண்பத்திவம். The text is corrupt and largely unintelligible at this point. I emend on the basis of N10.100d and N8.32c to <பின்பற்றாதே>.

<sup>799</sup> போம் – போவும்.

<sup>800</sup> ஆண் – கணவன்.

- 1506 சற்றும் உடல் சுளுக்காதே சக்களத்திபோ  
 1507 பங்கபடுத்தாதேயடி மாய யிசக்கி  
 1508 பறக்குது யிறகு<sup>801</sup> உயிர்பாவி யுன்னாலே  
 1509 யிறக்கு முன்னே யென்ன<sup>802</sup> சேரும் சேரும் செட்டியாரே  
 1510 யேறிட்டு பாற்த்தினக் கொரு<sup>803</sup> முத்தம் தாரும்.  
 1511 மாறக்குமோ<sup>804</sup> உம்மாசை மனதைவிட்டு<sup>805</sup>  
 1512 மாயதுயர் தீருங்காண் பளவயாரே<sup>806</sup>  
 1513 மாய மாய மாய<sup>807</sup> ரூபா விடமயில் பெண் பெருமாள்<sup>808</sup>  
 1514 பேடமயில் பெண் பெருமாள் பிள்ளை ஒக்காயில்<sup>809</sup> வைத்து  
 1515 ஓடயதுவுங் கடந்து உத்த<sup>810</sup> மணலாறுமிட்டு  
 1516 சக்கரை போல மொளி பேசி தன் பிள்ளை முகம் பாருமென்றாரே.  
 1517 பிள்ளை முகம் பாரும் செட்டியாரே – பிள்ளை<sup>811</sup>  
 1518 பிள்ளை முகம் பாராமல் பெற்றாதனை<sup>812</sup> பாராமல்  
 1519 தள்ளி நடக்க மனம் தானாச்சுதோ செட்டி  
 1520 யெள்ளளவாகிலும் சற்றுமிரங்காதோ  
 1521 யென்னை யென்ன ஓடுவது யேளை செட்டியாரே  
 1522 யெத்தா<sup>813</sup> கோடி காலம் உத்த தவம் செய்தால்  
 1523 பெற்றெடுப்பாரொரு பிள்ளைதனை செட்டி  
 1524 அத்தன்மை<sup>814</sup> போலவே பெற்ற மகனோடே  
 1525 சுத்திக் கொண்டு போக காறணமோ செட்டி – பிள்ளை<sup>815</sup>  
 1526 கண்ணுங்காதளகும் கமல முகத்தளகும்  
 1527 பெண்ணுக்கரசி பெற்ற பிள்ளையல்லோ செட்டி  
 1528 யெண்ணுங் கலயுங் கற்று பள்ளிகிருத்தி  
 1529 யொரு ரெகசியமுண்டு சொல்வேன் – பிள்ளை  
 1530 வருவீர் வருவீரென்று வளி மேலே நின்றே  
 1531 நானும் வடக்கு வீட்டிலொரு மடவாளிவளாளே  
 1532 கருத்தாய் மருந்தயிட்டு கஞ்சி குடியலைத்து<sup>816</sup>  
 1533 காட்டுக்குள்ளே ஓடிசெய்தாள் வாளாமலே போக – பிள்ளை  
 1534 பதறி ஓட சொன்னாள் பாவி பனிகாறிதாம் பரமசிவனே  
 1535 நடு<sup>817</sup> கேளும் கேளும் அசணி<sup>818</sup> வருகுது காண் செட்டியோதனக்கு  
 1536 அய்யோ கய்யை யெட்டி பிடித்து கொள்ளுதுகாணும் – பிள்ளை  
 1537 பய்ய நடவும் காணும் செட்டியாரே பய்ய நடவும்காணு  
 1538 பய்ய நடவுங்காண் பளக நகர் ஊர் தூரம்  
 1539 பாலன் உமை நினைந்து கதறி அளுகிறான்.  
 1540 கய்யும் கடுக்குது காண் காலும் நோகுதுகாண்.

<sup>801</sup> யிறகு. I read இறக்குது – இறக்கிறது. Cf. N10.101c, N8.32d. Less likely is யிறகு (feather), given the absence of any word introducing a comparison (போல்).

<sup>802</sup> யென்ன – என்னை.

<sup>803</sup> பாற்த்தினக் கொரு – பார்த்து எனக்கு ஒரு.

<sup>804</sup> மாறக்குமோ – மறக்குமோ.

<sup>805</sup> மனதை – மனசை, மனத்தை.

<sup>806</sup> பளவயாரே – பழிகாரன் – செட்டியாரே. These are words spoken by Icakki; cf. N10.101d.

<sup>807</sup> The threefold repetition might be taken as evidence that this text was performed on stage.

<sup>808</sup> A filler.

<sup>809</sup> ஒக்காயில் – ஒரு கையில.

<sup>810</sup> உத்த – உற்ற.

<sup>811</sup> The echoing entry of the *kuṭam* player. Cf. N10.105a. The entry is marked by a dash.

<sup>812</sup> பெற்றாதனை. I read பெற்றோர்>தனை. Cf. N8.34c பெற்றோர்தனை; N10.105a பெற்றதாய்.

<sup>813</sup> யெத்தா – எத்தனை.

<sup>814</sup> அத்தன்மை – அத்தனமை / அத்தனை.

<sup>815</sup> The entry of the *kuṭam* player.

<sup>816</sup> அலைத்து – அழைத்து.

<sup>817</sup> நடு – நீதி.

<sup>818</sup> அசணி. I read அசதி (drowsiness).

- 1541 கதறியருது பிள்ளை கருத்தாக தேடுது காண் – பயன்...ண<sup>819</sup>  
 1542 அளவேண்டா மகநே னாகப்பா<sup>820</sup> செட்டியகண்ணே.  
 1543 அளவேண்டாம் விளவேண்டாம்  
 1544 அப்பச்சா<sup>821</sup> கொடுவராத<sup>822</sup> பாலுண்டு பளமுண்டு  
 1545 பஞ்சமுற்தமுண்டு<sup>823</sup> சீனி சிங்கம் பளம்<sup>824</sup> சிறந்த கனிகளுண்டு  
 1546 அள<sup>827</sup>கடைக்குளிருத்தி யுன்னை கடுஞ்சாக்கும்<sup>828</sup> வேண்டி<sup>829</sup> உனக்கு  
 பக்கறை<sup>830</sup> முதலும் உன்னாணை<sup>831</sup> தருவார்காண் அடக்கி<sup>832</sup> வாணுபம்<sup>833</sup>  
 1547 செய்ய ஆன பளகயில் போனால் தெரியும் அப்பான்<sup>834</sup>  
 1548 மஞ்ச குளிக்க தந்த பணத்தை  
 1549 வட்டமிட்டு தாரும் செட்டியார் பிள்ளை  
 1550 உம்மை நினைந்து உருகுதே பிள்ளை  
 1551 உடப்பு பிறப்போடே<sup>835</sup> பிறவாத நீரோ  
 1552 அறுத்தாக்கால் கெட்டாத<sup>836</sup> சாதியல்லோ னாமள்  
 1553 அனுதாரோம்<sup>837</sup> யில்லையே வணிகேசா உமக்கு  
 1554 குளந்தய கண்ட பொருதிலே செட்டி  
 1555 குத்தி வயிற்றிலடி(த்) தோடி போனாந்.  
 1556 போனான் பளக நகர்கிட்ட முடுக<sup>838</sup>  
 1557 பொல்லாத பாவி அகன்று போவாளோ  
 1558 வீணிலே உயிர் கொடுக்க வா வந்தேன்  
 1559 வேறுவர கெட்டவளே மாய யிசக்கி  
 1560 கண்ணும் விறியாத்து<sup>839</sup> பக்கறையும் கொண்டு  
 1561 கணவர்<sup>840</sup> காணுமல<sup>841</sup>காட்டோடே<sup>842</sup> ஓட  
 1562 ஓடை மணலாறு ஓடை கடந்து

<sup>819</sup> பய். Em. பய் <யநட>. The missing text containing the *kuṭam* player's entry is restored on the basis of N10.109.a-b.

<sup>820</sup> நாகப்பா. A proper name.

<sup>821</sup> அப்பச்சா – அப்பச்சி+ஆ (father; *TL*). According to a native speaker of Kaṇṇiyākumari district, the word is rendered as “grandfather,” but I find “father” preferable here. Cf. N10.109c-d, N8.36b அப்பச்சர்.

<sup>822</sup> கொடுவராத. Em. <கொடுவந்த-கொண்டுவந்த> on the basis of N10.109c-d and N8.36b.

<sup>823</sup> பஞ்சமுற்தம் – பஞ்சாமிர்தம்: வாழைப்பழம், தேன், சர்க்கரை, நெய், திராட்சை.

<sup>824</sup> சிங்கம் பளம் – வாழை வகைகளுள் ஒன்று.

<sup>825</sup> போதவாரி – போதுமளவுக்கு.

<sup>826</sup> A filler.

<sup>827</sup> அள. Displaced. The text is highly corrupt and misleading at this point. N10.109d shows that அள is a remnant of அழவேண்டாம், and belongs to the previous line and sentence. In N10, the word is written in brackets and signals the echoing entry of the *kuṭam* player. I emend according to N10, assigning it in the translated text to the preceding line.

<sup>828</sup> சாக்கும். A scribal error. Read சரக்கும்.

<sup>829</sup> வேண்டி – வேண்டிய.

<sup>830</sup> பக்கறை – பக்கரை, பை. Tirunelveli/Kaṇṇiyākumari dialect.

<sup>831</sup> உன்னாணை – உன் மீது ஆணை (I swear an oath to you). ஆணை < Skt. *ājñā*.

<sup>832</sup> அடக்கி. Read here உள்ளடக்கி (to pack, to stow away).

<sup>833</sup> வாணுபம். I read வாணிபம் – வணிகம் (business; Cre-A).

<sup>834</sup> அப்பான் – அப்புறம்.

<sup>835</sup> உடப்பு பிறப்போடே – உடன்பிறந்தவர்.

<sup>836</sup> கெட்டாத – தாலி கட்டாத.

<sup>837</sup> அனுதாரோம் – அனுதாபம்.

<sup>838</sup> முடுக (in haste, with speed).

<sup>839</sup> விறியாத்து – கறுத்து. See N10.111c.

<sup>840</sup> கணவர். A scribal error. Read கண்டவர், in line with N8.37b.

<sup>841</sup> காணுமல – காணாமல்.

<sup>842</sup> காட்டோடே – காட்டிலே.

- 1563 உற்<sup>843</sup>பளகையூர் தோப்பும்<sup>844</sup> கண்டான்.  
 1564 தேறினாந் சிந்தை தெளிவாக செட்டி  
 1565 சீவன் கரயேறலா மினியென்னா<sup>845</sup>  
 1566 நாவிலடி<sup>846</sup> தோப்பு<sup>847</sup> கடந்தே நடந்து  
 1567 நல்ல தோர் செட்டி பிறகால் வரவே  
 1568 யிசக்கி நடந்து வளியை மறித்து  
 1569 யிரு போக ஓட்டேன் யிருந்து போமென்றாள்.  
 1570 வளியை மறியாதே மண்ணவா(ய்) போடி  
 1571 மாலையிட்ட மணவாளன் தேடி வருவான்.  
 1572 தேடியல்லவோ வந்தேன் ஆடவரே உம்மை  
 1573 திரும்பி ஒரு வாற்த்தை செப்புங்காண்வென்றாள்.  
 1574 மடமடன<sup>848</sup> செட்டி யிதினிடயில்  
 1575 வருவது கேள்வனுட<sup>849</sup> பிறகே  
 1576 மடி பிடயாய்<sup>850</sup> மாய யிசக்கி  
 1577 வருவது கேள்வனுட பிறகே  
 1578 கலீர்கலீரேன தண்டை சிலம்புகள்  
 1579 கைதனிலொரு குழந்தையுமாக  
 1580 திருதிடென<sup>851</sup> யென் மணவாளர்  
 1581 செப்பிட ஒரு வாற்த்தய கேளு  
 1582 தென்பளவை ஊரது காணும்  
 1583 தெரியு காண் மேற்கே யென்றார்.  
 1584 வம்பிலே உயிர் போகாது காணும்  
 1585 வாற்த்தை சொல்லும் கேளும் வணிகேசா  
 1586 தம்பியல்லோ பெற்று யெடுத்தேன்.  
 1587 தனிப் பளவை ஊரது கடயில்  
 1588 சகல வகையானது முண்டு  
 1589 சதங்கை<sup>852</sup>சேறாடியு முண்டு  
 1590 தரன் ன...ண<sup>853</sup> வகையானது முண்டு  
 1591 சகலது வேண்டிடு வோனாமள்  
 1592 பண்பு கெட்ட மொழி களுரைத்தாய்.  
 1593 பளிகாறி மாய யிசக்கி  
 1594 பரிசி கெட போறாய் நீதான்  
 1595 பளகையூர் தனிலே வந்தால்  
 1596 யிடவளியில் யென்னை விடு  
 1597 யெங்கயும் நீ ஓடிப் பிளை  
 1598 நில்லு நில்லு யென்று சொன்னாய்  
 1599 நிற்ப்பேனோ செட்டியாரே  
 1600 நெடுந்தாரமதனில் நடந்து  
 1601 நெஞ்சியது நோகுது காண்  
 1602 தகையேறி போவோம் வாறும்

<sup>843</sup> உற் – உற்ற. Cf. N10.111c, N8.37b-c.

<sup>844</sup> தோப்பு – சோலை.

<sup>845</sup> சீவன் கரயேறலா மினியென்னா – சீவன் கரை ஏறலாம் இனி என்று.

<sup>846</sup> நாவிலடி – நாவல் அருகே. நாவல் – மரவகை. Cf. N10.111d, N8.37c நாகல். According to T.M.P. and other local people, நாகல் and நாவல் are one and the same tree; the letters க் – வ் are interchangeable. By contrast, *TL* has two separate entries: நாவல் (*Eugenia jambolana*, a jaumoon-plum tree) and நாகல் (cannonball tree).

<sup>847</sup> தோப்பு. *M. tāppu*. According to T.M.P. the term is only in usage with reference to தேங்காய் தோப்பு (coconut groves).

<sup>848</sup> மடமடன. An echo word.

<sup>849</sup> கேள்வன் – கணவன்.

<sup>850</sup> மடிபிடி. See *TL* s.v.

<sup>851</sup> திருதிடென. This can mean either: (1) திருதிரு என்று (a guilty person's look when caught red-handed); or (2) திடுதிடு என்று (swiftly). Here the latter seems preferable. Note again that டு and ரு are interchangeable syllables (see footnote to line 1556).

<sup>852</sup> சேறாடி. A rare word.

<sup>853</sup> Some text is missing. Other versions are silent.

- 1603 தளுத்த<sup>854</sup> மாமயிளி<sup>855</sup> லிருவும்  
 1604 யேலமே<sup>856</sup> னாந் சொன்னதெல்லாம்  
 1605 யேறாதோ உன் செவியில்  
 1606 யீஸ்பரனாரறிவார் காணும்  
 1607 யிருபேரும் செய்த முறை  
 1608 யினவே வளி புலம்பி  
 1609 யேங்கி விளுந்தோ டலுற்றாரே.  
 1610 அறிந்து முறிந்து செட்டி  
 1611 அல்லவென்றென்னை அகத்தி<sup>857</sup> விட்டு  
 1612 பறைந்தீர்<sup>858</sup> நம்முரை விட்டு  
 1613 பளக நகரதில் சொல்லுமுன்னே<sup>859</sup>  
 1614 யெறிந்த புகளான  
 1615 யெப்பு<sup>860</sup> முண்டு மெத்த யினையுமுண்டு<sup>861</sup>  
 1616 பிறிந்தீரே யென்னை விட்டு  
 1617 பெற்ற பிள்ளை முகத்தயும் பாராமல்  
 1618 ஆகூகூகி பேச்சாச்சாகூ<sup>862</sup>  
 1619 ஆலலோற்க்கும் நல்ல யிருக்காகூ<sup>863</sup>  
 1620 பேச்சாகூ<sup>864</sup> உம்மாணை<sup>865</sup>  
 1621 பொன்னும் விளக்க<sup>866</sup> தொட்டாணை யிட்டீர்<sup>867</sup>.  
 1622 வாக்கான<sup>868</sup> வேச அய்யர்<sup>869</sup>  
 1623 மனம் வைத்தீரே உறவத்தீரே<sup>870</sup>.  
 1624 நோகாதோ யென் மனந்தாம்  
 1625 நொந்தாலுமக்கு பலி யாதோ  
 1626 பலியாதோ யெலி யளுதால்  
 1627 பகூக்க<sup>871</sup> வந்த பூனை விடுமோ.  
 1628 கலியோ கலியுகமோ  
 1629 காட்டுக்குள்ளே விளுந்தோடுகிறீர்.<sup>872</sup>

<sup>854</sup> தளுத்த – தழைத்த.

<sup>855</sup> மாமயிளில் – மரம் நிழலில்.

<sup>856</sup> ஏலமே – ஏலவே.

<sup>857</sup> அகத்தி – அகற்றி.

<sup>858</sup> பறைந்தீர். I read பறந்தீர். Cf. N10.115a, N8.39a.

<sup>859</sup> சொல்லு. A scribal error. Read செல்லு.

<sup>860</sup> யெப்பு. I read எய்ப்பு. Cf. N10.115a-b எப்பும்; N8.39a எய்ப்பு.

<sup>861</sup> யினையுமுண்டு – இளைப்பும் உண்டு. Cf. N10.115a-b, N8.39a.

<sup>862</sup> ஆகூகூகி பேச்சாச்சாகூ. Unclear, but apparently a phrase of lament. The possible meanings are: ஆச்சா(ள்)-ச்சி (mother; TL) + பேச்சாச்சு (become the talk of [the mothers]); or perhaps சாகூகி – சாட்சி (eyewitness). Cf. N10.115b, N8.39b ஆச்சாச்சு பேச்சாச்சு (Whatever I wanted to tell, I told; there is nothing more to say. [Spoken in an angry mood]).

<sup>863</sup> யிருக்காகூ. I read இருந்தபெண்கள். Cf. N10.115b, N8.39b.

<sup>864</sup> பேச்சாகூகி – பேச்சாச்சு. Cf. N10.115b, N8.39b.

<sup>865</sup> உம்மாணை – உன் மீது ஆணை.

<sup>866</sup> பொன்னும் விளக்க. This could mean “golden lamp,” but I prefer பொன்னும் வெள்ளியும், as in the other versions. Cf. N10.115b, N8.39b. This is all the more persuasive as taking a vow in this manner is customary among the merchant community.

<sup>867</sup> ஆணை யிட்டீர் – சத்தியம் பண்ணுதல்.

<sup>868</sup> வாக்கான – வாகான – அழகான.

<sup>869</sup> வேச அய்யர் – வேசையின் மேல்.

<sup>870</sup> உறவத்தீரே. This can mean either: உறல்/உறவு வைத்தீரே (you were intimate); or, alternatively, உறவு அற்றீரே (you broke off the relationship). Assuming the first possibility, the full line would read: “You started a relationship [...] and became intimate,” whereas the latter would read: “You started an intimate relationship but broke it off.” Both readings are in themselves plausible, but in the context of the next line, 1624, the latter seems preferable. See also N8.39.b-c, N2.1239 வாகான வேசையரால் – நீரும் வைத்தீ ரேவுற வற்றீரே. Cf. N10.115c வாகானவேசையின்மேல்மனமதுதான் வைத்தீரே.

<sup>871</sup> பகூக்க – பட்சிக்க – உண்ணுதல் < Skt. bhaks.

<sup>872</sup> I read the phrase as in N10.115c and N8.39c என்னை காட்டுக்குள்ளே விட்டு ஓடுகிறீர். I emend to <என்னை>காட்டுக்குள்ளே<விட்டு>.



- 1630 பொலிகாறி<sup>873</sup>னா நுமக்கு  
 1631 பொங்காமல் பாலு பொலிந்திருக்க  
 1632 சலியாதோ யென் மனந்தாம்  
 1633 சந்தியில் பந்தாடலாகாதோ<sup>874</sup>  
 1634 ஆற்றக்க முடயவன்<sup>875</sup> காண  
 1635 அஞ்சி வயதிலே வாள்க்கபட்டேன்<sup>876</sup>.  
 1636 னோக்கம் பலதானாள்<sup>877</sup>  
 1637 நுன்பலம்<sup>878</sup> சொல்லியே பின் துடர்ந்தாள்.  
 1638 துடந்தாளடந்தேறி செட்டி  
 1639 கொள்ள போறேன் செட்டியாரே  
 1640 படந்த<sup>879</sup> புலி போலே  
 1641 பளக நகரதில் சொல்லுமுடனே<sup>880</sup>  
 1642 மடந்தை கிளி மொளியாள்  
 1643 மாய யிசக்கியும் பின் வரவே  
 1644 பளகை நகரடுக்க  
 1645 பண்பான ஆத்தங்கரயுமிட்டு<sup>881</sup>  
 1646 உள் வரகரயாள்<sup>882</sup>  
 1647 உற்றதோர் மாட்டுமந்தை கடந்து  
 1648 பதறி வணிகேசன்  
 1649 பக்கறை தோளிலடிபடவே  
 1650 மடவார்கள் யிறந்து நிற்க்க  
 1651 வணிகேசன் வெகுண்டு வருகிறதை  
 1652 பதறி அவனோடி  
 1653 பண்டுள்ள முன்பு வளக்குகளை  
 1654 ஒருப்போலே தான்கூடி  
 1655 ஊரிலிளந்தாரி மார்களுடன்<sup>883</sup>  
 1656 யிளைத்து வணிகேசன்  
 1657 யேங்கி மனமது தள்ளாடி  
 1658 குடம்தான் சமந்ததனம்<sup>884</sup>  
 1659 கோதை நல்லாளென்னை தின்னாமல்  
 1660 ஊராருடன் கூடி  
 1661 உத்த தலைவரி மார்குடனே  
 1662 பேரான் அம்பலத்தில்  
 1663 பேசும் கணக்கை பறைந்திருக்க  
 1664 ஆரோ<sup>885</sup> உயிர் காற்ப்பார்  
 1665 அடித்து துடயும் கொண்டே பதறி  
 1666 விளுந்தான் தறை தனிலே

<sup>873</sup> பொலிகாறி. Lexically unclear. The word may mean பொலிகடா (reckless person who leads a loose life; *TL*). T.M.P. suggests the meaning போலிகாறி (duplicate, resemblance), but in the context of the next lines this interpretation seems unlikely.

<sup>874</sup> பந்தாடலாகாதோ – பந்தாடலாக்காதே.

<sup>875</sup> ஆற்றக்க முடயவன். I read ஆக்கமுடையவன்.

<sup>876</sup> வாள்க்கபட்டேன் – வாழ்க்கைப்பட்டேன்.

<sup>877</sup> பலதானாள் – பழுதானாள்.

<sup>878</sup> நுன்பலம். Unclear; perhaps உன் பலம்.

<sup>879</sup> படந்த – படர்ந்த.

<sup>880</sup> சொல்லுமுடனே – செல்லுமுடனே.

<sup>881</sup> ஆத்தங்கரயுமிட்டு – ஆற்றுக்கரை விட்டு.

<sup>882</sup> கரயாள் – கரையாளர்.

<sup>883</sup> இளந்தாரி மார்கள் – இளையவர்கள்.

<sup>884</sup> சமந்த. Tirunelveli dialect.

<sup>885</sup> ஆரோ – யாரோ.

- 1667 விண்ணாகெறங்கி<sup>886</sup> உண்ணா கெரிந்தான்<sup>887</sup> பத்திவிஞ்ருந்திடவே<sup>888</sup>  
 1668 தலப்பாவும்<sup>889</sup> குலைந்து நிலத்தில் விள  
 1669 சேற்ற்து<sup>890</sup> விஞ்ருந்தவனை குள்ளின்றார் கெட்டிதா நெடுத்தார்<sup>891</sup>.  
 1670 கெட்டி யெடுப்பளவில்<sup>892</sup>  
 1671 கீளே கிடந்து யிளகாமல்<sup>893</sup>  
 1672 தட்டி முட்டி பாற்த்து  
 1673 தலைமுட்டு முடைந்தவநேது சொல்வான்.  
 1674 யெட்டி யெட்டி பாற்த்து  
 1675 யேக்கமும் தான்தெளிந்தேது சொல்வான்.  
 1676 யிசக்கி யென்று வணிகேசன் அவனுரைத்தபோது  
 1677 யிருந்த கரயாளர்வர்<sup>894</sup> யேங்கி பதறி விட்டார்.  
 1678 பதறி மனந் தெளிந்து உளவா<sup>895</sup> காயாளரெல்லாம்  
 1679 பார் தொங்கல் வேட்டியது யிடுப்பில் கட்டி சமைத்தார்.  
 1680 யெதிர் அவள் வரட்டும் யெல்லா பேரும் னாமள் கூடி  
 1681 யெடுத்தார்(ர்) தடிக்க கம்புகள் அடித்தவர்கள் முறிக்க  
 1682 முறிக்க வேணு மென்று சொல்லி காயாளரெல்லாம்  
 1683 மோகத்தூடன் மறு<sup>896</sup>வேசம் யெடுத்தாளிசக்கியம்மை  
 1684 யிடுக்கும் குளந்தை ஞக்கு<sup>897</sup> பணிவகையே கேளும்<sup>898</sup>  
 1685 யீசன்தனை நினைத்தாளே திருமனதிலுன்ன  
 1686 அன்று சிவ னார்தாம் நினைத்ததுன்கென்று<sup>899</sup>  
 1687 அமைத்தபடி<sup>900</sup> அரயில் அரஞாண் மின்ன  
 1688 யெடுத்த மகனுக்கு இலம்பல<sup>901</sup>பரட<sup>902</sup>  
 1689 யேற்ற சொற்ன்<sup>903</sup> வாளியோடு மோதிரமும் மின்ன  
 1690 பகல் ஒலிலிங்க பளபளன்று மின்ன  
 1691 சேசமாக<sup>904</sup> யிசக்கியம்மை பூண்ட பணியெல்லாம்  
 1692 குளய<sup>905</sup>கொண்டைக்குமேலே கொளுந்து பிக்ஷி<sup>906</sup> சூடி  
 1693 கூடை<sup>907</sup> கம்பிகர<sup>908</sup> சேலை நிலத்திலே துவள

<sup>886</sup> விண்ணாகெறங்கி – விண்ணாக்கு இறங்கி. விண் நாக்கு (tip of the tongue).

<sup>887</sup> உண்ணா கெரிந்தான் – உள்நாக்கு எரிந்தான்.

<sup>888</sup> Many lexical questions remain unresolved in this line. The other versions are silent.

<sup>889</sup> தலப்பாவும் – தலைப்பாகும்/தலைப்பாகை.

<sup>890</sup> சேற்ற்து. I read சோர்ந்து – தியங்கி. The other versions are silent on this point. N10.117b (வசனம்) agrees with the base version N1: மயங்கிதியங்கிபேச்சுமில்லாமல்மூச்சுமில்லாமல்கீழேவிழுந்தான்இப்படி.

<sup>891</sup> கெட்டிதா நெடுத்தார் – கட்டி எடுத்தார்.

<sup>892</sup> யெடுப்பளவில் – எடுக்கையில்.

<sup>893</sup> யிளகாமல். Cf. N8.40c, N2.67d மிளகாமல்.

<sup>894</sup> கரயாளர்வர் – கரையாளர்.

<sup>895</sup> உளவா. I read உள்ளவர்.

<sup>896</sup> மறு - மாறு.

<sup>897</sup> குளந்தை ஞக்கு. Read குழந்தைக்கு.

<sup>898</sup> One would have expected this line to fall between lines 1686 and 1687.

<sup>899</sup> உன்கென்று – உனக்கு என்று.

<sup>900</sup> அமைத்தபடி. A filler.

<sup>901</sup> இலம்பல. I suggest இலம்ப-தல் – சிலம்பு-தல் (to make a tinkling sound), and read சிலம்பிய.

<sup>902</sup> பரட. I read பரடு – காற்கரண்டை (ankle; *TL*). This is an old word found in the Tamil *kāppiyam Cīvakacintāmaṇi* v. 2445.

<sup>903</sup> சொற்ன்ம் – சொர்ணம் – பொன்.

<sup>904</sup> சேசமாக. I read விசேஷமாக.

<sup>905</sup> குளய – குழைய.

<sup>906</sup> பிக்ஷி – பிச்சி – மல்லிகைவகை (*Jasminum grandiflorum*; *TL*). Colloq.

<sup>907</sup> கூடை. This lexical question remains unresolved. The word is left untranslated. Perhaps கூறைநாடு (a village near Mayavaram noted for the manufacture of sarees; *TL*), whence the sense would be “Kūraināṭu-produced sari.” கூடை (basket) is unlikely in the given context.

<sup>908</sup> கம்பிகர – கம்பிகரை. See Cre-A.

- 1694 அமுந்த வாயில் பாக்கு வெத்திலை போட்டு மின்ன  
 1695 அன்ன(ம்) போல் கரயாளர் முன்பில் வந்தாளே.  
 1696 விசக்கி யென்றென்னை சொல்ல யெளுந்து தோனாவுமக்கு<sup>909</sup>  
 1697 பதைக்கிறீர் வேசை அய்யோ பாற்த்த யாரனபின்ற<sup>910</sup>  
 1698 விசக்கிறீர்<sup>911</sup> அய்யோ கேட்டேன் வெருட்டுறீர் யென்னபாவம்<sup>912</sup>  
 1699 மசக்கியே<sup>913</sup> ஊரார<sup>914</sup> கேள்க்க மங்கையும் திகைக்கலுற்றாளே.  
 1700 கற்புள்ள திறிய<sup>915</sup> செட்டி காளி<sup>916</sup> யென்றிவளை சொன்னான்.  
 1701 கற்புள்ள திறியை<sup>917</sup> யெண்ணி ஊராரும் கேட்டிருந்து  
 1702 நற்புள்ள<sup>918</sup> விசக்கி சொல்லும் வாற்த்தயை மிகவும் கேட்டு  
 1703 கற்புள்ள பளவயாரும்<sup>919</sup> நடுவரும்<sup>920</sup> திகைக்கலுற்றாரே.  
 1704 யெந்த ஊரு யெந்த தேசம் யேதுகுடி யேதுகுலம்  
 1705 தங்கள் தந்தைதாயாருடனித்திரு<sup>921</sup> பேரும் நீங்கள்  
 1706 வந்த வரலாறயெல்லாம் வகப்படியே<sup>922</sup> சொல்லுமென்று  
 1707 அந்த முள்ள<sup>923</sup> ஆனந்தனும் அடி தொளுது செப்புவாரே<sup>924</sup>  
 1708 செட்டி பதினாயிர செட்டி யெண்ணாயிரம்  
 1709 செட்டி யினம்<sup>925</sup> செட்டி நீட்டின்<sup>926</sup>  
 1710 கைகளுக்கு நிறய சொற்றணம் கொடுப்போம்  
 1711 ஊற்க்கமுள்ள<sup>927</sup> நற்குலத்தில் உள்ளத்தில் தான்பெரிய  
 1712 மாத்தமில்லா நகேந்திரன்<sup>928</sup> மகனாந் காணுமாலவரே  
 1713 நாகபிள்ளை யெங்களப்பா னாடறியவே யினக்கு  
 1714 போகு முன்னே சொன்னதொரு புத்திதன்னை கேளாமல்  
 1715 பாகாரும் மொளிமடவார் பனிகாறி முளு<sup>929</sup> நீலி  
 1716 விசக்கி யென்னை கொல்ல வந்தான் அடைக்கலமுண்டில்<sup>930</sup> பிளைப்பேன்.

<sup>909</sup> எழுந்துதோனாவுமக்கு – எழுந்ததோ நா(வு) உமக்கு (Does your tongue rise?, i.e. Does your tongue dare?).

<sup>910</sup> யாரனபின்ற – யார் அனுப்பினார் என்று.

<sup>911</sup> விசக்கிறீர் – வியக்கிறீர்.

<sup>912</sup> The wording of lines 1697-8 is quite different from that of N10.118d, N8.40d, N2.68b-c, but the content Icakki wants to convey is not.

<sup>913</sup> மசக்கி – அழகு முதலியவற்றால் மயக்குபவள். Colloq. See *TL* s.v.

<sup>914</sup> ஊரார – ஊராரை.

<sup>915</sup> திறிய – திரி – பெண் < Skt. *strī*.

<sup>916</sup> Note here காளி (the goddess Kālī), in contrast with N10.119a, N8.40d, N2.68b-c கள்ளி (clever, wicked woman).

<sup>917</sup> Partially illegible. The hand-written Ms. has: நற்புள்ள நிறைய. I complete this as follows: em. <கற்புள்ள திறியை>; திறியை – திரி – பெண் < Skt. *strī*.

<sup>918</sup> நற்புள்ள. Unclear. I read நட்புள்ள. The other versions read மெய்ப்புள்ள (proving); see N10.119a-b, N8.40d, N2.68c. This latter suits the context better.

<sup>919</sup> Note also here a slight deviation from the other versions (N10.119a-b, N8.40d, N2.68c), which read: நற்புள்ளபழகைஊரில் நடுவரும்.

<sup>920</sup> நடுவர் – நியாயாதிபதி (judge).

<sup>921</sup> Partially illegible. I read as in N10.119b and N8.41a தனித்திருபேரும்.

<sup>922</sup> வக – வகை.

<sup>923</sup> அந்தமுள்ள – அழகான < Telugu *andamu* (beauty; see *TL*). Cf. N10.119c அந்தமுடன்; N8.41a அந்தவுடன். Though அந்தமுள்ள in the sense of அழகான (handsome) is not in daily usage, and though அந்தவுடன் (immediately) would be a more usual expression at this point, I do not emend.

<sup>924</sup> செப்புவாரே – சொல்லுவானே.

<sup>925</sup> The text is corrupt and largely unintelligible. I read, therefore, according to N8.41a, N2.69a எண்ணாயிரஞ்சேரிளஞ்செட்டி ஏழாயிரமாம் இளந்தாரி மன்னர் பின்னர் குலத்துதித்த மாநாகன்றன் மகன்நானே. N10.119d reads: எண்ணாயிரம்செட்டி இளம்செட்டி ஏளாயிரம் செட்டி இளந்தாரி வண்ணர் வணிகர் குலத்துதித்த மாணாகன் செட்டிமகன்.

<sup>926</sup> நீட்டின். I read நீட்டின.

<sup>927</sup> ஊற்க்கமுள்ள – ஊக்கமுள்ள.

<sup>928</sup> நகேந்திரன். I read this as a corruption of மாநாகன்றன் (N8.41.a) and emend accordingly.

<sup>929</sup> முளு. I read முனி, a term of abuse. Other texts leave out this line.

<sup>930</sup> அடைக்கலமுண்டில் – அடைக்கலம் உண்டால்.

- 1717 செட்டி யவனுரைத்தபோது தேன்மொளி யிசக்கியம்மை  
 1718 கட்டளகி யிசக்கியம்மை கைகுளந்தையுமிடுக்கி  
 1719 யிட்ட<sup>931</sup> முட்டாங்கு<sup>932</sup> மனியாமல்<sup>933</sup> யிச<sup>934</sup> வரம்பும்<sup>935</sup> குலையாமல்<sup>936</sup>  
 1720 செட்டியும் பனியாமல் செந்திருவாய் திறந்தாளே.  
 1721 அண்ணரே கேளுங்கள் அடியாள் னாந் பட்ட சன்ன<sup>937</sup>  
 1722 மண்பிறந்த பூவுலகில்<sup>938</sup> மனு<sup>939</sup> பிறந்த வய்யகத்தில்  
 1723 பெண் பிறந்து னாநொருதி பெருக அகப்பட்டதெல்லாம்  
 1724 யெண்ண மெத்த செய்தி யெல்லாம் யெடுத்து<sup>940</sup> கேளும் அண்ணே  
 1725 நாக செட்டி மகனிவர் காண்  
 1726 கற்பக செட்டி மகள் னாங்காண்  
 1727 யெங்களுட மனயதிலே  
 1728 யிவருடய அப்பகூாதான்<sup>941</sup>  
 1729 பெண் பேசி வந்தாகள்<sup>942</sup>  
 1730 பிரிசமுடன்<sup>943</sup> யிவரப்பகூா  
 1731 கடைக்கிருக்க மதியறியான்  
 1732 காவாலிகள்<sup>944</sup> வரிவன்<sup>945</sup>  
 1733 வெள்ளியுரை யறியான்  
 1734 வெங்கலத்தின்<sup>946</sup> மாத்தறியான்  
 1735 உள்படி நிறை<sup>947</sup> போட்டு  
 1736 உடி<sup>948</sup> நறுக்க மதியறியான்  
 1737 யீயம் விலையறியான்  
 1738 யிரும்பு பித்தாளை<sup>949</sup> யறியான்  
 1739 வெள்ளி கோல் பிடித்தறியான்  
 1740 வித்து<sup>950</sup> வாணிபம் செய்தறியான்  
 1741 மனயாளென்றென் வீட்டில்  
 1742 வந்திருக்க மதியறியான்  
 1743 கலியாணம் செய்த அன்றே  
 1744 காவாலி புத்தி கொண்டு  
 1745 கலியாணம் செய்ததுதான்  
 1746 காசினியோர் தானறியார்.  
 1747 அசல்<sup>951</sup> வீட்டில் போயிருந்து  
 1748 அவளொருதி பனிகாறி.

<sup>931</sup> யிட்ட. I read யிட்டு.

<sup>932</sup> முட்டாங்கு. I read முட்டாக்கு – முக்காடு. Other versions read முட்டாங்கு too.

<sup>933</sup> மனியாமல். I read அழியாமல். Cf. N10.120b, N8.41b.

<sup>934</sup> யிச. I read இயல். Cf. N10.120b, N8.41b இயல், இயல்பாய்.

<sup>935</sup> வரம்பு – ஒழுக்கம் (rule of conduct, morality).

<sup>936</sup> Many lexical questions remain unresolved in this line.

<sup>937</sup> சன்ன – சென்மம் < Skt. *janman*. Cf. N10.120c பட்டதல்லாம்; N8.41b பட்டசளம்; N2.69c பட்டசளன்.

<sup>938</sup> மண்பிறந்த பூவுலகில். This part of the phrase is different from what is found in other versions. N10.120c, N8.41b, N2.69c read: மண்ணை அளந்த மாலறிவார் (the god who measures the Earth).

<sup>939</sup> மனு. I read மனுசர் – மனிதர். Cf. N8.41b மனுக்கள்.

<sup>940</sup> யெடுத்து. Read எடுத்துஉரைக்க. I emend on the basis of N10.120c, N8.41c, N2.69c.

<sup>941</sup> அப்பகூா – அப்பச்சர் – அப்பச்சி.

<sup>942</sup> வந்தாகள் – வந்தார்.

<sup>943</sup> பிரிசம் – பிரியம்.

<sup>944</sup> காவாலிகள் < Skt. *kāpāliṇ*.

<sup>945</sup> கள்வரிவன் – கள்வர் இவன்.

<sup>946</sup> வெங்கலத்தின் – வெண்கலத்தின்.

<sup>947</sup> நிறை – தராசு.

<sup>948</sup> உடி. Obscure. Probably it should be read as படி – தராசின படிக்கல் (weight for scales; *TL*). Other versions are silent.

<sup>949</sup> பித்தாளை – பித்தளை.

<sup>950</sup> வித்து – விற்றல்.

<sup>951</sup> அசல் – அயல் – அயலகம்.

- 1749 யென் வீட்டில் வாராமல்  
 1750 யேசாதி<sup>952</sup> மருந்தயிட்டு<sup>953</sup>  
 1751 மருந்திடுமுனாளயிலே  
 1752 மன்னவரும நாணுமாக  
 1753 பதமாக<sup>954</sup> யிருக்கயிலே  
 1754 பாலகனை பெற்றெடுத்தேன்.  
 1755 யெங்களம்மை மாபாவி யேந்தியாள் நெட்டுரி<sup>955</sup>  
 1756 பங்கப்பட யிவர்தமக்கு யினனு வாரி<sup>956</sup> மாலையிட்டான்.<sup>957</sup>  
 1757 கூத்தியிட்ட<sup>958</sup> மருந்தாலே கொடுவிறி<sup>959</sup> கொண்டோடி வந்தான்.  
 1758 பாற்த்திருக்க மாட்டாமல் பத்தி வந்தேன் பளகயிலே  
 1759 நாத்திசயும்<sup>960</sup> உங்களுட னாமமெல்லாம் கேள்ப்தற்க்கு  
 1760 சாத்தினர்<sup>961</sup> சொல்லி வளியனுப்பும் சந்தோசமாக அண்ணை.  
 1761 அண்ணையண்ணை பளக நகர் காயாளன்மாரே  
 1762 ஆணுகன் கோட்டி கொண்ட காரணத்தை கேளும்.  
 1763 பொல்லாத பாவி சொல்லனும் வாற்த்தய கேளாதே  
 1764 புத்தி யினாலுங்களை மருட்டுகிறாளண்ணை  
 1765 புத்தியதுதான் படித்து பட்டு கொடுத்தேனே.  
 1766 பொல்லாத பாவிக்கு கைபிடிக்கவும் கொடுத்தேன்.  
 1767 கையி பிடித்தாளென்று சொல்லுகிறாளண்ணை  
 1768 காட்டுக்குள்ளே வாறபோது கோட்டி கொண்டாளென்னை  
 1769 கோட்டி கொண்டல்லவோ பிள்ளை பெற்றதை கண்டீரோ  
 1770 குவலயத்தில்<sup>962</sup> அன்பேற்க்கும் உள்ளமுறை காணும்  
 1771 ஊதாரியென்றென்னை சொல்ல னாணுதே உடம்பு  
 1772 உளவர் காயாளரே பளுதில்லாமல் கேளும்  
 1773 கேளுமென்று சொல்லுகிறாள் மாயிசக்கி யிவள்தான்  
 1774 கெட்டி காறியென்று சொல்லிவிட்டு கொடாதேயும்  
 1775 விட்டு கொடாதே படிக்கு தொட்டு கையதை பிடித்தீர்  
 1776 பாவம் கெட்ட வேயி<sup>963</sup> பிறந்தாய் பனிகாறி யிசக்கி  
 1777 பண்டு உன்னை கண்டறியென் பாதகத்தி<sup>964</sup> உன்னை  
 1778 உன்னமுன்ன பேசுகிறாய் ஊர் பளகைதனிலே  
 1779 ஒத்திருந்ததறிவீரோ கத்தி கொள்ளலாமோ  
 1780 தருமமுள்ளவரிடத்தில் தானாக சொல்லும் பலகையாரே  
 1781 சாங்கம்<sup>965</sup> சொன்ன தெல்லாம் காண்போறீர் காணும்பளவயாரே  
 1782 அருமயுள்ளவர் அதிய<sup>966</sup> நீலி காணும் பளவயாரே  
 1783 அளிவாள கைதனிலே தள்ளி கொடாதிங்கோ பளவயாரே

<sup>952</sup> யேசாதி. Unclear. I read தாதி – தாசி. Cf. N10.122b, N8.42b ஏந்தியையாள்.

<sup>953</sup> மருந்தயிட்டு – மருந்தை இட்டு.

<sup>954</sup> பதமாக – இன்பமாக.

<sup>955</sup> *nettūri* < Skt. *niṣṭhura*.

<sup>956</sup> யினனுவாரி. Obscure; probably an idiomatic expression for “spinning a lot (வாரி) of lies (=tall tale; the secondary meaning of yarn=இழை).” The bow-song singer T.M.P. suggests a meaning he paraphrases as எங்கள் அம்மை பொய் சொல்லி ஏமாறியதால் (because she cheats by lying). The other versions are silent on this word.

<sup>957</sup> Cf. N10.121d, N8.42a. These versions deviate slightly. N10.121d reads எங்களம்மைமாபாவினைகெடுத்த நெட்டுரி/ கொடுப்பேன் பெண்கொடுப்பேன் என்று கூறிஎன்னை மாலையிட்டார் (My mother, that hard-hearted woman who has ruined me, great sinner [that she is], said over and over, “I’ll give the girl.” When she said this, he garlanded me). This whole phrase is displaced, and should appear after line 1740.

<sup>958</sup> கூத்தி – வேசை.

<sup>959</sup> விறி – வெறி.

<sup>960</sup> நாத்திசயும் – நால் திசையும்.

<sup>961</sup> சாத்தினர். Unclear. I read நியாயம்.

<sup>962</sup> குவலயத்தில் – பூமியில் < Skt. *ku-valaya*.

<sup>963</sup> வேயி – வேசி.

<sup>964</sup> பாதகத்தி – பாதகி. Colloq.

<sup>965</sup> சாங்கம் – சாங்கமாய் – முழுதும்.

<sup>966</sup> அதிய – அரிய.

- 1784 தள்ளி கொடுப்பதென்ன பிள்ளை<sup>967</sup> இரங்காதே அண்ணமாரே  
 1785 தாலி கெட்டி கொண்ட கணவனிவர் காணும் பளவயாரே  
 1786 அஞ்சி வயதிலென்னை கொஞ்சி மாலை யிட்ட கணவன்காணும்  
 1787 ஆகாதென்று யென்னை விட்டு போறார் காணும் பளவயாரே  
 1788 கலியாணம் செய்யவில்லை கையும் பிடிக்கவில்லை அண்ணன்மாரே  
 1789 யிடகாட்டில்<sup>968</sup> தின்னவந்த யிசக்கி யிவன் காணும் அண்ணமாரே  
 1790 அறியாமலு தரை<sup>969</sup> பேசுகிறான் அண்ணன்மாரே  
 1791 ஆத்தி பாத்தி<sup>970</sup> யெல்லாம் கூத்துகிறைத்துவிட்டார் அண்ணமாரே  
 1792 பண்டு யிவனை கண்டறியேன் அண்ணன்மாரே  
 1793 பாவி கய்யில் கொடுத்தால்  
 1794 ஆவி உயிர் போவுங்காண் பளகையாரே  
 1795 பளகை ஊராரே நடுவரே  
 1796 பாக்கிய முள்ளவரே  
 1797 வளமயாக வல்லோ வளக்கயும்ககளதளைக்க<sup>971</sup> சொல்லும்  
 1798 யினம் பெண்ணிவள்தான் யிசக்கி மசக்குகிறாள்<sup>972</sup>.  
 1799 களவு சூகூமுண்டால்<sup>973</sup> நடுவரே கண்டு சூகூத்து<sup>974</sup> யாரும்  
 1800 சூகூயம்<sup>975</sup> பாற்ப்பதுண்டால் முளுதும் அணை<sup>976</sup>கெட்டுப் போனதென்ன  
 1801 வாக்கறியாத செட்டி யினத்<sup>977</sup>தள்ள மாகள்<sup>978</sup> பேசுகிறான்.  
 1802 போக்கும் நீக்கறியான் கையய பிடித்த பலந்தானோ<sup>979</sup>  
 1803 மூக்கிலே கோப(ம்) கொண்டு திரிவான் மொளிவானதற் மொளிவான்<sup>980</sup>.  
 1804 அறமவைத்து<sup>981</sup> பேசுகிறான் அவள் பேச்சை கேளாதிங்கோ  
 1805 உறவு மனாநறியேன் யிவளுட ஊரும் அறியேனாந்  
 1806 கறயுற்ற வேல்விளியாள் கன சூகூக காறியண்ணை  
 1807 சிறயிலடயுமடா<sup>982</sup> தேசம் அளியும் அண்ணை  
 1808 தேசம் நகயாதோ சிறயிலடைத்ததுண்டால்  
 1809 யெண்ணாமல் யெண்ணுதடி உனது யிந்திரசாலத்தை கண்டு  
 1810 அண்ணாந்து பாராதே அங்கம் பறக்குதெடி  
 1811 மண்ணவா<sup>983</sup> நீ போடி உனை கொண்ட மணவாளன் தேடானோ  
 1812 தேடியல்லோ துடந்தேன் திருத்தாலி தானிலங்க<sup>984</sup>  
 1813 நாடுகரையேறி நாங்<sup>985</sup> கள்ளி ஆநேனே.  
 1814 பாடுபலதும் பட்டேன் யென்னை பரிசிகெடுத்தீரே<sup>986</sup>.  
 1815 கூடிமுனாளொரு னாந் யிருந்த குணம் அறிந்தீரில்லை.

<sup>967</sup> பிள்ளை இரங்காதே. Cf. N10.129b தள்ளிகொடுப்பதல்லாம் உங்கள்பெற்ற பிள்ளைக்கல்லோ அண்ணன்மாரே (What does he mean by “pushing (him into my hands)”?) (Does he) have no compassion for (his) child, O Elder brothers?).

<sup>968</sup> யிடகாட்டில் – இடைக்காட்டில்.

<sup>969</sup> தரை. A filler.

<sup>970</sup> ஆத்தி பாத்தி – ஆஸ்தி பாஸ்தி.

<sup>971</sup> வளக்கயும்ககளதளைக்க. I read –யும் மக்கள் தழைக்க.

<sup>972</sup> மசக்குகிறாள் – மயக்குகிறாள்.

<sup>973</sup> சூகூம் – சூட்சுமம்/சூட்சம் < Skt. *sūkṣma*.

<sup>974</sup> சூகூத்து – சூட்சித்து.

<sup>975</sup> சூகூயம் – சூட்சி, வஞ்சகம்.

<sup>976</sup> N10.123d, N8. 42c, N2.71c read சுணை (sense of shame).

<sup>977</sup> யின – எனை – என்னை.

<sup>978</sup> மாகள். Corrupt. I emend to <வம்புகள்> on the basis of N10.124a, N8.42d.

<sup>979</sup> பலந்தானோ – பலன்ந்தானோ.

<sup>980</sup> மொளிவானதற். I read மொழியாதை. Cf. N10.124a மொழிவதவனறிவான்; N8.42d மொழிவதறமொழியான்; N2.71cd மொழிவதற்மொழிவான்.

<sup>981</sup> அறமவைத்து. I read அறவைத்து – தந்திரமாக (cunningly). Cf. N10.124c அறவச்சி; N8.42d அறவச்சு.

<sup>982</sup> சிறயிலடயுமடா – சிறையில் அடையும்+டா.

<sup>983</sup> மண்ணவா. I read மண்ணவாய்.

<sup>984</sup> Cf. N10.125a தளைப்பதற்க்கு.

<sup>985</sup> நாங் – நான்.

<sup>986</sup> பரிசிகெடுத்தீரே – பரிசுகெடுத்தீரே.

- 1816 யில்லாத பாவமல்லோ சொல்லி சொல்லி யெத்தாமாலவரே<sup>987</sup>  
 1817 பொல்லாதவள் கய்யிலே பிடித்து கொடாதிருங்கோ.  
 1818 கல்லாரும்<sup>988</sup> கானகத்தில் கள்ளி கள்ளி<sup>989</sup>  
 1819 கைபிள்ளையாக்கி கொண்டு  
 1820 கொல்ல யின<sup>990</sup> துடர்ந்தான்<sup>991</sup>.  
 1821 கொல்லாமல் காத்திடுங்கோ.  
 1822 காற்றருள்<sup>992</sup> அண்ணர்களை  
 1823 கற்பு<sup>993</sup> வளுகாமல்<sup>994</sup>  
 1824 யேற்ற கணவனிப்படி சொன்னால் யினி னாநெங்கே போவேன்.  
 1825 கோத்திரத்தில் பிறந்து யிவராலே கூறுகள்<sup>995</sup> கெட்டேநே.  
 1826 மாத்தி<sup>996</sup> கொள்ள போமோ மகதேவரமைத்தபடி  
 1827 தான் மானக்காறி<sup>997</sup> உனக்கு சதிகற்றினே<sup>998</sup> வேறில்லலோ.<sup>999</sup>  
 1828 மானாகன் செட்டி மகனவ வகை வணி<sup>1000</sup> தமக்கு<sup>1001</sup> மணிந்தானோ.<sup>1002</sup>  
 1829 மானியம் கெட்டவளே உனக்கு மணவாளன் வேறில்லயோ.  
 1830 ஊன்<sup>1003</sup> படுத்தாதே உனைக்கண்டால் உள்ளம் பதறுதெடி  
 1831 தள்ளதள்ள துடந்தேன் சாதி வரம்பாலே  
 1832 உள்ள விதியோ உள்ளி<sup>1004</sup> விதியோ<sup>1005</sup> யென்றானே.  
 1833 அன்ன நடயாள் யிசக்கி சொல்லும் வாற்த்தை  
 1834 அல்லோரும் கேட்டிருந்து  
 1835 ஆகம்<sup>1006</sup> குளிர்ந்து காயாளரெல்லாம் அப்போ மனமகிள்ந்தார்.  
 1836 புத்தி கெட்ட செட்டி மெத்தமுனாளில் புலப்பம்<sup>1007</sup> யிவர்க்கு யுண்டு  
 1837 பூவை நல்லாள் சொன்ன வாற்த்தயினாலே பிளயில்லை கண்டிரோ<sup>1008</sup>  
 1838 கண்டிரோ யென்று கரயாளர் சொல்வதை காரிகையாள் கேட்டு  
 1839 கண்ணீரு மார்பில் ஓளுக யிசக்கியம்மை கய்யெடுதே துடைத்தாள்.  
 1840 துடைத்ததை பாற்த்து யிருந்த கரயாளர் சொல்லுவாரப்போது

<sup>987</sup> யெத்தாமாலவரே – எத்தாமல் அவளே. These are words spoken by the Ceṭṭi. I emend on the basis of N10.125b இல்லாதபாவமல்லாமல் சொல்லி சொல்லி எதுதுக்கிறாள் and N8.c-d இல்லாதெல்லாமுரைத்து உங்களை எத்துகிறாள் இவளும்.

<sup>988</sup> கல்லாரும் – கல்லாரந்த.

<sup>989</sup> கள்ளி. Read கள்ளியை. What is meant here is the plant, while another meaning of கள்ளி is “wicked woman,” as exemplified in the immediately preceding usage.

<sup>990</sup> யின – என்னை.

<sup>991</sup> துடர்ந்தான் – em. தொடர்ந்தான் < >. The context of line 1812 here weights heavily.

<sup>992</sup> காற்றருள் – காத்து அருள்.

<sup>993</sup> கற்பு – கற்பு. Cf. N8.43d.

<sup>994</sup> வளுகாமல் – வழுவாமல்.

<sup>995</sup> கூறு – கூறுபாடு, தன்மை (quality).

<sup>996</sup> மாத்தி – மாற்றி.

<sup>997</sup> தான் மானக்காறி. I read தானமானக்காறி.

<sup>998</sup> சதிகற்றினே. Corrupt. The intended form may be சரிபோர்ந்தார் (similar person), as in N8.45a-b, N2.73d. I emend accordingly. Cf. N10.128d சலிப் போர்ந்தார்.

<sup>999</sup> Lines 1827-30 are not found in the three versions most closely related to N1.

<sup>1000</sup> மகனவ வகை வணி – மகன் அவன் கை அணி.

<sup>1001</sup> தமக்கு. I emend to <உனக்கு>.

<sup>1002</sup> Cf. N10.128d மானகன் செட்டிமகன்உனக்கு கைவெளிச்சமண்ணாச்சோ (Do you consider Māṅakaṅ Ceṭṭi’s son to be [nothing more than] mud in your hand?); N8.45b மாநாகன் செட்டிமகன் – உனக்கு வாய்த்ததோர் மாப்பிள்ளையோ (Is the son of Māṅakaṅ Ceṭṭi really a suitable husband?).

<sup>1003</sup> ஊன் – உடல் (TL).

<sup>1004</sup> உள்ளி – நினைத்து.

<sup>1005</sup> விதியோ. I read விதியோயே (Yes, it is fate).

<sup>1006</sup> ஆகம் – மனம்.

<sup>1007</sup> புலப்பம் – புலப்பு – அழகை. Colloq. See TL s.v.

<sup>1008</sup> கண்டிரோ. I read கண்டிரே.

- 1841 தோகை நல்லாளிவள் மாயயிசக்கி<sup>1009</sup> மேல் உபாயம்<sup>1010</sup> யிருக்கு தென்றாள்<sup>1011</sup>.  
 1842 மாயமும் வேறில்லை யென்னை பெற்ற தாயார் மண்ணாவாள்<sup>1012</sup> செய்ததற்கு  
 1843 மனது கன்னி<sup>1013</sup> கொண்டு னானும் அளுதேன் மலக்கத்தை யார் தெளிப்பார்.  
 1844 யென்னை கொண்ட மணவாளனிப்படி யினகோட்டி கொள்ளுகிறான்.  
 1845 யேசா<sup>1014</sup> பாதகத்தி யவளிட<sup>1015</sup> மிசல<sup>1016</sup> மருந்தானதினால்  
 1846 மருந்தை தவிர்க்க வயித்தியருண்ணே டோ<sup>1017</sup> வய்யக மானதிலே<sup>1018</sup>  
 1847 மாணிக்க முத்து வயிடுரியத்தை<sup>1019</sup> வயித்தியர்க் கீய்ந்திடுவேன்<sup>1020</sup>  
 1848 பொல்லாத பாவி மண்ணாரள<sup>1021</sup> யிந்த புத்தியெங்கே படித்தாய்  
 1849 பிரட்டும் உருட்டும்<sup>1022</sup> யிசக்கி உனக்கு சிரட்டை<sup>1023</sup> கிடைக்குமென்றான்.  
 1850 சிரட்டை கிடைப்பது யாபாரமானது<sup>1024</sup> செய்ய படித்தவ(ர்)க்கு  
 1851 சீமட்டி யென்னை போல யெத்தானா கூடிமார்<sup>1025</sup> சேர்ந்து யிருக்கல்லயோ<sup>1026</sup>  
 1852 கண்ணை சிமிட்டி மொளிபடியாதே கைமாலி<sup>1027</sup>மா யிசக்கி  
 1853 காவலவன்<sup>1028</sup> வணிகேசனுரைத்திட கண்ணீரும் தாரைவிட்டாளே.  
 1854 கைமாலியென்று<sup>1029</sup> சொன்னீரே  
 1855 கரயாளர் செவிகேள்க்க  
 1856 காசினியில் யெந்தனுடல்  
 1857 கருதியேருரு<sup>1030</sup> காணுமோர்  
 1858 அளுதுகொண்டு மாயிசக்கி  
 1859 அம்பலத்து முன்னே வந்து  
 1860 அளப்பளந்து விட்டிரே<sup>1031</sup>  
 1861 அளப்பளந்து விட்டிரே  
 1862 அல்லவென்று அதட்டுகிறீர்  
 1863 விள்<sup>1032</sup>கெடுவான் செட்டியாரே  
 1864 விதியின்படி கேட்டிரோ<sup>1033</sup>

<sup>1009</sup> மாயயிசக்கி. Other versions read differently: மாயசரூபம் or மாயச்சொருபி. N10.132c தோகைநல்லாளவன் மாயசரூபம் உபாயம் இருக்குதன்ன; N8.46a தோகைநல்லாளிவள் மாயச்சொருபிமேல் மாயயிருக்குதென்பார்.

<sup>1010</sup> உபாயம் – தந்திரம்.

<sup>1011</sup> தென்றாள். A scribal error. Read என்றா<ர்>. Cf. N8.46a.

<sup>1012</sup> ஒரு வசைச்சொல். A term of abuse.

<sup>1013</sup> கன்னி. Corrupt. I read <கவலை> on the basis of N10.132c. I emend accordingly.

<sup>1014</sup> யேசா. Read ஏசாரி.

<sup>1015</sup> இட – இட்ட. See N10.132d, N8.46b.

<sup>1016</sup> மிசல. Corrupt. The intended meaning may be இந்திரசால (magic). We do not find the form in question in the corresponding line of the other versions. Cf. N10.132d, N8.46b ஏசாரிபாதகத்தி அவளிட்ட மருந்தின்வெறியாலே.

<sup>1017</sup> உண்ணேடோ – உண்டோ.

<sup>1018</sup> வய்யக மானதிலே – வைகமானதிலே – பூமியில்.

<sup>1019</sup> *vaiṭṭūriyam* – நவமணிகளுள் ஒன்று (emerald) < Skt. *vaiḍūryam*.

<sup>1020</sup> ஈய்ந்திடுவேன் – ஈந்திடுவேன் – கொடுப்பேன்.

<sup>1021</sup> மண்ணாரள or மண்ணாரா. Partially illegible in the original hand-written Ms. I read மண்ணாவாள். Cf. line 1842.

<sup>1022</sup> பிரட்டும் உருட்டும் – உருட்டுபுரட்டும்.

<sup>1023</sup> சிரட்டை – பிச்சைக்கலம் (*TL*).

<sup>1024</sup> யாபாரமானது. I read வியாபாரமானது.

<sup>1025</sup> ஆகூடிமார் – ஆச்சிமார்.

<sup>1026</sup> The two lines 1850-1851 appear nowhere else.

<sup>1027</sup> கைமாலி – கசுமாலி.

<sup>1028</sup> காவலவன் – காவலன் – கணவன்.

<sup>1029</sup> கைமாலி. Cf. line 1852.

<sup>1030</sup> கருதியேருரு. I propose *ru* for the last syllable, which is illegible in the original hand-written Ms. Read கருதி வேறு உரு.

<sup>1031</sup> விட்டிரே – விட்டிரே.

<sup>1032</sup> A filler.

<sup>1033</sup> கேட்டிரோ – கேட்டிரோ.



- 1865 களத்து குடி அயன்<sup>1034</sup>யெல்லாம்  
 1866 கரயாளர் அறிவோமென  
 1867 அளவறியா<sup>1035</sup> ஆண் குளந்தை  
 1868 ஆர்மடியில் சொல்லுமென்று<sup>1036</sup>  
 1869 களவறியலாமே பிள்ளை  
 1870 கள்ள மென்று அறிந்திடலாம்  
 1871 யிள மதலை தனதறயில்<sup>1037</sup>  
 1872 யிறக்கு மென்றார் கரயாளர்  
 1873 புகள் முலை பெண்பெருமாள்  
 1874 புதல்வனயும் ஊர்விட்டாள்.  
 1875 அரைதனிலே யிருந்த பிள்ளை  
 1876 அளகுடய பாலகனை  
 1877 தறையதிலே யிறக்கிவிட்டாள்.  
 1878 தாயாரும் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 1879 ஊர் விட்ட குளந்தயது  
 1880 ஊரவரே முகம் நோக்கி  
 1881 ஆரை ஓட்டி போவோமென்று  
 1882 அளுதிடுமாம் பிள்ளையது  
 1883 தாரைவிட்ட கண்ணீரும்  
 1884 சதங்கை தண்டை கரை<sup>1038</sup>புரள  
 1885 நேரே செட்டி மடிதனிலே  
 1886 நீலிபிள்ளை யேறிடுமாம்.  
 1887 மடியேறி யிசக்கி பிள்ளை  
 1888 மகிள்ந்திருந்து சிரித்திடுமாம்.  
 1889 பொருந்தியே அப்பகூரென்று<sup>1039</sup>  
 1890 பூரிப்பாய் விளிக்க  
 1891 அருந்தவம் செய்தீரனவே  
 1892 அப்புவென்றே குளந்தை  
 1893 பொருறித<sup>1040</sup> மொளி தானுரைக்க  
 1894 பிள்ளை சொன்ன சொல்கேட்டு  
 1895 யிருந்த கரயாளரெல்லாம்  
 1896 யிதுவும் ஒரு கலியுகந்தாம்  
 1897 கடகமிளும்<sup>1041</sup> பளக நகர்  
 1898 கரயாளர் செவி கேள்க்க  
 1899 மடியேறி யிசக்கி பிள்ளை  
 1900 மகிள்ந்து யிருந்து சிரித்திடுமாம்.  
 1901 கொடிமை<sup>1042</sup> யுள்ள கரயாளர்<sup>1043</sup>  
 1902 கூடவங்கே தள்ளிவிட்டார்.  
 1903 தள்ளிவிட தள்ளிவிட  
 1904 தாயருகே போகாமல்

<sup>1034</sup> அயன் – ஐயன்.

<sup>1035</sup> அளவறியா – அளவு அறியாத.

<sup>1036</sup> சொல்லும் – செல்லும்.

<sup>1037</sup> தறயில் – தரையில்.

<sup>1038</sup> Illegible in the Ms. I read கரை.

<sup>1039</sup> அப்பகூரென்று – அப்பச்சர் / அப்பர் என்று.

<sup>1040</sup> பொருறித. I read பொருந்த.

<sup>1041</sup> கடகமிளும். I read கடிக்கமழும் (respectful, wonderful). கடி+கமழ்-தல் (TL s.v.). See N10.135a, N8.47a கடிக்கமழும் பழகைநகர்.

<sup>1042</sup> கொடிமை – கொடுமை.

<sup>1043</sup> To take the Karaiyāḷars as the subjects of the finite verb seems to me illogical. For one thing, the adjective, கொடுமையுள்ள, is unlikely to qualify the Karaiyāḷars. I prefer the reading in N10.136b, N8.47b, N2.76c, where the merchant is the subject: வருமியக்கி பிள்ளைதனை வணிகேசன் தள்ளிவிட்டான் (The merchant pushed away Icakki's child as it came [up to him]). This is all the more compelling as in lines 1911-2 we learn that the Karaiyāḷars become angry upon observing everything that happens. – I take கூட as an infinitive referring to the Karaiyāḷars, whereas the finite verb and the adjective go with the Ceṭṭi.

- 1905 தள்ளிவிடும்<sup>1044</sup> பிள்ளையது  
 1906 கண் பிசைந்து அளுதிடுமாம்.  
 1907 அளுத பிள்ளைதனை விரவாய்  
 1908 ஆயினயும் சென்றெடுத்து  
 1909 பளுது வாராதே மகநே  
 1910 பதறினி<sup>1045</sup> அளவேண்டாம்.  
 1911 கண்டிருந்து கரயாளர்  
 1912 கறுத்தவர்களேது<sup>1046</sup> சொல்வார்.<sup>1047</sup>  
 1913 பெண்டாட்டி வேம்பானால்<sup>1048</sup>  
 1914 பெற்ற பிள்ளை பெரும் பகயோ<sup>1049</sup>  
 1915 உண்டோ யிப்போது பாவம்  
 1916 ஓரிடத்தில் கண்டதில்லை  
 1917 திண்டாட தள்ளிவிட்டான்  
 1918 செட்டியே<sup>1050</sup> பெண் காணுமென்பார்.  
 1919 முதேவி யிவன் கண்ணிலே<sup>1051</sup>  
 1920 முனித்தாலும்<sup>1052</sup> வெகு தோஸம்<sup>1053</sup>  
 1921 நல்லாற்க்கு பொல்லாரை  
 1922 நாயகனார் விதித்ததுண்டும்  
 1923 மல்லமருங்குளலார்க்கு<sup>1054</sup>  
 1924 மணவாளன் போந்து<sup>1055</sup>  
 1925 யிம்மடந்தை நமக்கானால்  
 1926 யிவளை னாந்<sup>1056</sup> விடுவதில்லை  
 1927 பொன் போலே நிறத்தாளே  
 1928 பிறத்தகவிட<sup>1057</sup> மனம் வருமோ  
 1929 சித்திர கால்யிலங்கமதில்<sup>1058</sup>  
 1930 சிறப்புடனே அடயு மென்றார்.

<sup>1044</sup> All other texts read கள்ளியிடும்/கள்ளிவிட்ட (*kaḷḷi*-turned[child]).

<sup>1045</sup> னி - நீ.

<sup>1046</sup> கறுத்தவர்களேது – கோபித்தவர்கள் ஏது. Alternatively, but less likely: கருத்து / கருத்தை அவர்கள் (they [told] their opinion).

<sup>1047</sup> Here, too, as in other lines of this part of the text (cf. also lines 1901-2), N1 diverges from the other versions concerning the agent. In N10.137b and N8.47c, it is the merchant rather than the Karaiyāḷars who is angry: கரையாளர் கறுத்தவனைப் பார்த்துரைப்பார் (The Karaiyāḷars looked at the angry man [i.e. the Ceṭṭi] and spoke).

<sup>1048</sup> What in lines N1.1913-4 is spoken by the elders is in N10.136c and N8.47b spoken by Icakki.

<sup>1049</sup> Lines 1913-4 are a repetition of lines 1481-2.

<sup>1050</sup> செட்டியே பெண். I read செட்டியப் பெண் (a woman of the Ceṭṭiyār community). Cf. N10.137b, N8.47c.

<sup>1051</sup> Lines 1919-20 are out of order. In the other versions, these two lines precede line 1918, where they are spoken by the Karaiyāḷars.

<sup>1052</sup> முனித்தாலும் – முழித்தாலும் – விழித்தாலும்.

<sup>1053</sup> தோஸம் – தோஷம்.

<sup>1054</sup> மல்லமருங்குளலார்க்கு (மல்லம் ஆர்தல்) – வலிமை மிகும் குழலார்க்கு. Cf. N10.137c வல்லாரும் குளலார்க்கு; N8.47c வல்லாரும் குழலார்க்கு.

<sup>1055</sup> போந்து. Obscure. Cf. line 1960. I emend to <போராது> (not enough, insufficient) on the basis of N10.137c, N8.47d. This is justified in view of the preceding lines, and also grammatically (போந்து goes with the dative case, referring to Icakki). In contrast, see my reading of போந்து as உரியதாதல் (to belong to) in line 2081 (see the discussion in the footnote to it).

<sup>1056</sup> னாந். I read here நாம்.

<sup>1057</sup> பிறத்தகவிட. Probably புறம் அகல்விட (to separate from and desert). Cf. N8.47d, N2.77d புறத்தேவிட; N10.137c பிறத்தேவிட.

<sup>1058</sup> யிலங்கமதில் – இலங்கம்+அத்+இல். The *TL* entry and its English rendering (“uniting, joining”) is not helpful in determining the nature of the building. Whether it is a house or a *maṅṭapam* (an explanation the bow-song bard T.M.P. in our interview vigorously insisted on) remains unresolved. If it is indeed a *maṅṭapam*, we may imagine it as a hall in a house—as commonly understood in Sri Lankan Tamil—or as a building with a large hall for conducting marriages, rather than as a pillared structure open on all sides. The prose part (*vacanam*) of N10.145a-b reads: இலங்கம் என்றால் அந்த காலத்தில் ராஜாக்கள். ஒவ்வரு இடம் 20 கிலோமீற்றர்தாரம் இலங்கமடம் கட்டிபோட்டிருப்பார்களாம் அப்படிப்பட்ட மடம் ஒன்று – பளகைகூறில் இருந்ததாம் (In those days kings had built *ilan̄kams* in places 20 km apart from each other. One such mutt was situated in Paḷakai).

- 1931 முத்தாரும்<sup>1059</sup> யிலங்கமதில் முன்பாக அடயுமென்றார்.  
 1932 யிரு பேரயும் தானடைத்தா<sup>1060</sup> ரண்டிலொன்று அறிந்திடலாம்.  
 1933 அடயுமென்று சொன்னபோது ஆயினயாள் யிசக்கி சொல்வாள்<sup>1061</sup>  
 1934 பனிகாறன் கொன்றதுன்மல<sup>1062</sup> பாவம் விடாதுங்களயும்  
 1935 ஒருவர் பனி ஒருவர் கொன்றால் ஒக்க<sup>1063</sup> பனி போவோமென்றார்<sup>1064</sup>.  
 1936 பனிபோவோம் மென்றீர<sup>1065</sup> பாருலகில்<sup>1066</sup> யாரறிவார்.<sup>1067</sup>  
 1937 அடையாளம் தரவேணும் அண்ணர்களை யெந்தனுக்கு<sup>1068</sup>  
 1938 னல்லதென்று கரயாளர் னாயகியாள் கைதனிலே  
 1939 உண்மையுள்ள பரல் கொடுத்தார் ஓடியவள் முகர்ந்துகொண்டாள்.  
 1940 பனிபோவோம் போவோமென்று பரல்<sup>1069</sup> கொடுத்தார் கரயாளர்  
 1941 பரல் வாங்கி முடிந்த பின்பு பதறியந்த வணிகேசன்  
 1942 திரவாயில்<sup>1070</sup> துரும்பது போல் செட்டியவன் தடுமாறி  
 1943 தரைமீதில் உருண்டு செட்டி  
 1944 தடுமாறியேது சொல்வான்.  
 1945 யிரையாகும் னாமனிமேல்<sup>1071</sup>  
 1946 யிசக்கி விட போறதில்லை  
 1947 வல்லாருமதனத்தாளே  
 1948 வளமயுட னீ துடர்ந்தாய்.  
 1949 நல்லவளே உன்னோடே  
 1950 னாந் சொன்னது முளு பிளைதாம்  
 1951 கொன்றுவிடு சடுதியிலே  
 1952 கோரணி<sup>1072</sup> கொள்ளாதே.  
 1953 கொம்பனயா ளிசக்கியம்மை<sup>1073</sup>  
 1954 கோடி முகம்<sup>1074</sup> வாடியவள்  
 1955 பரல் கொடுத்து கரயாளர்  
 1956 பாவினயாய்<sup>1075</sup> தானனைத்தாரே.

<sup>1059</sup> முத்தாரும் – முத்தாரும்.

<sup>1060</sup> அடைத்தா – அடைத்தால்.

<sup>1061</sup> Lines 1933-4, even though in their proper order, deviate from the other versions. In N10.137d, N8.48b, and N2.78c it is the merchant who, as the subject, speaks out rather than Icakki: அடைப் போம் என்று சொன்ன போது ஆனந்தன் செட்டிசெ(ர)ல்வான். பழிகாறி கொன்னதுண்டால் பாவம்விடாதுங்களயும் (When they said; “Let’s put them [in] and shut [the doors],” Āṅantaṅ, the Ceṭṭi said, “If this vengeful woman kills me, the blame [for it] won’t leave you [Karaiyāḷars]”) (N10.137d); N8.48b differs as follows: அடைப்போமென்று சொன்னபோது ஆனந்தன் செட்டி சொல்வான். படைவீட்டுள் பழிகள்செய்தால் பாவம்விடாதுங்களயும் (When they said, “Let’s lock them inside,” Āṅantaṅ, the Ceṭṭi said, “If a crime occurs within your jurisdiction, you [Karaiyāḷars] won’t escape from the blame”). The deviation does not hinder comprehension at this point, since in a later line (N8.49d) Icakki has her turn at expressing a similar fear of being killed: என்னையுமென் பிள்ளையையும் இன்றிரவு கொன்றிடுவான்.

<sup>1062</sup> கொன்றதுன்மல. Corrupt. I read கொன்றதுண்டால் on the basis of N10.137d.

<sup>1063</sup> ஒக்க – ஒரு சேர – எழுபது பேரும்.

<sup>1064</sup> போவோம் – சாதல்.

<sup>1065</sup> என்றீர. I read என்றீரே.

<sup>1066</sup> பாருலகில் – பார் உலகத்தில். பார் – பூமி.

<sup>1067</sup> While in other versions line 1934 is the speech of the Ceṭṭi, lines 1936-7 of the same versions accord with N1 in being the speech of Icakki.

<sup>1068</sup> யெந்தனுக்கு – எந்தனுக்கு – எனக்கு.

<sup>1069</sup> பரல் – அடையாளம் (a token described as being used when taking an oath). A *paral* is thought of as a document (*pattiram*). Cf. N10.138a, N8.48c (with a printing error); N2.79a, too, reads at this point பரல் (lit.: pebble, gravel, seed; *TL* s.v.). The term is in usage in *Caṅkam* literature, e.g. *Pura*. 246.9, 257.1 (ed. Cāminātaiyar 1971:420, 430); see also Lehmann and Malten 1992:294.

<sup>1070</sup> திரவாயில் – கடல் திரை வாயில்.

<sup>1071</sup> னாமனிமேல் – நாம்/நாமள் இனிமேல்.

<sup>1072</sup> கோரணி – கேலிக்கூத்து (grimace) < Skt. *ghora*.

<sup>1073</sup> கொம்பனயாள் – கொம்பனாள்.

<sup>1074</sup> கோடி முகம். Probably முகம் கோணி (to show dissatisfaction).

<sup>1075</sup> பாவ வினயாய்.

- 1957 யிலங்கமதில் போகவென்று  
 1958 யெளுபது பேர் கரயாளர்  
 1959 யெல்லோரும் தானும் நடந்தாரே.  
 1960 மங்கயவள் தந்தனக்கு மணவாளன்போந்து<sup>1076</sup>  
 1961 ரண்டிலொன்று தானறிய வேணும்.  
 1962 <sup>1077</sup>பகட்டிக் கரயாளர் பறய ஒட்டாமல் நீல<sup>1078</sup>  
 1963 பனிகாறி கைகுளந்தை பட்டேன்<sup>1079</sup> – பளி  
 1964 பளவ ஊர் தளைக்கவே மாட்டாது.<sup>1080</sup>  
 1965 தந்திரமதாக கேட்டு தாயாரும் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 1966 தன் முக(த்)தோடு அடித்து அளுதாளே  
 1967 யென் மகனே நீ புதல்வன் யேங்கி அளவேண்டாம்  
 1968 யிலங்க புரையில் பூட்டி வைத்து பாறக்க  
 1969 யென் தலயில் விதிவசமோ யென்றாள்.  
 1970 யிலங்கமதனிலே செட்டி  
 1971 யிரு பேரயும் அடைத்து  
 1972 யெல்லோரும் கேட்டிரோ<sup>1081</sup> அண்ணன்மாரே  
 1973 யென்று சொல்லி ஆனந்தனும்  
 1974 யிலங்கமதில் போன பின்பு  
 1975 கண்டனய<sup>1082</sup> மொளிமடவார்<sup>1083</sup>  
 1976 காரிகையா ளிசக்கியம்மை  
 1977 கேட்டிரோ ஊரவரே  
 1978 கீற்த்தி பெற்ற வாசகத்தை  
 1979 னாட்டிலுள்ளோர் கேற்றிடுமோ<sup>1084</sup>  
 1980 நாயகனார் சொன்ன மொளி  
 1981 காட்டகத்தில் கோட்டி கொண்ட  
 1982 கரும் மெல்லாம் அறிவீரோ  
 1983 பொல்லாதாள் னானொரு(த்)தி  
 1984 பூவுலகிலே பிறந்து  
 1985 தேடாத வீடது போல்  
 1986 இலத்தை<sup>1085</sup> கெட னாளாச்சே<sup>1086</sup>  
 1987 வாசலிலே புலம்பாதே  
 1988 வகுத்தவந்தான்<sup>1087</sup> யெளுத்துனக்கு<sup>1088</sup>  
 1989 யிட்ட மொளி சொல் கேட்டு  
 1990 யிருந்த காயாளரெல்லாம்

<sup>1076</sup> போந்து. Obscure. The phrase is a repetition of line 1924 and out of its actual order. I emend to <போராது> (not enough, insufficient). See the discussion in the footnote to line 1924. The other versions are silent.

<sup>1077</sup> Here, where several lines are missing in N1, the other versions (N10.139-140, N8.49) tell of the breakdown and lamenting of the Ceṭṭi, as he tries to make the Karaiyāḷars understand that they are about to commit a great injustice.

<sup>1078</sup> நீல. A scribal error. I read நீலி. Cf. N10.140d, N8.49c.

<sup>1079</sup> பட்டேன் – அகப்பட்டேன். See *TL*; also N10.140d, N8.49c பழிகாறிகைக்குள் அகப்பட்டேன். The text variants here show how a simple slip of the tongue (கைக்குழந்தை for கைக்குள்) results in something completely new. During my audio- and video-recording of the full version of the *IK* it became clear that the bow-song bard performs according to his manuscripts or else what he has written in a notebook. He would refer back to the written text at the beginning of each line. In doing so, words can easily be overlooked or misread.

<sup>1080</sup> From here until line 1991 the text is out of its actual order.

<sup>1081</sup> கேட்டிரோ – கேட்டிரோ.

<sup>1082</sup> கண்டனய – கண்டு/கற்கண்டு (sugar candy; *TL*)+அனைய (similar to).

<sup>1083</sup> மடவார் – பெண்.

<sup>1084</sup> கேற்றிடுமோ – ஏற்றிடுமோ. Alternatively, the intended form might be கேட்டிடுமோ, though a change from ற்ற to ட்ட is unlikely, whereas the letter க் prefixed to the long vowel ஏ is a feature that occurs elsewhere in the text.

<sup>1085</sup> இலத்தை. I read சிலத்தை – சிலவற்றை (some things). The *TL* defines இலம் as வறுமை (poverty), which cannot be the meaning here.

<sup>1086</sup> னாளாச்சே – நாள் ஆயிற்று.

<sup>1087</sup> வகுத்தவந்தான் – வகுத்தான்.

<sup>1088</sup> யெளுத்து – தலையெழுத்து.

1991	வாட்ட மில்லா <sup>1089</sup> ஆனந்தநே
1992	மனயாளும் நீயுமாக
1993	யின்றிரவு யிலங்கமதில்
1994	யிருபேரும் படுத்திருங்கோ
1995	யென்று சொல்லி கரயாளர்
1996	யிலங்கமதை தான் பூட்டி
1997	கண்டனய மொளியாளே
1998	கலங்காதே யிருவுமென்றார்.
1999	யென்று சொல்லி கரயாளர்
2000	யின்பமுடன் மனை போனார்.
2001	அறுபத் தொன்பது கரயாளர்
2002	அவரவர்கள் மனை போனார்.
2003	அதிலே ஒரு கரயாளர்
2004	ஓத்தாளாய் <sup>1090</sup> பாற்த்திருந்தான்.
2005	யிவனயுமோ மசக்கவென்று
2006	யேந்தினயும் உபாயம் கொண்டான்.
2007	நேத்து ராவு <sup>1091</sup> நித்திரயில்
2008	நீருனாமும் <sup>1092</sup> கூட்டி <sup>1093</sup>
2009	சேர்த்து <sup>1094</sup> கடங்களெல்லாம் <sup>1095</sup>
2010	சொல்லி பறைந்திருந்தோமே.
2011	ஆற்றிலது கரைத்த புளி
2012	ஆக்கிவிட்டாளே <sup>1096</sup> னாலும் <sup>1097</sup>
2013	கொண்டு வந்த அதியதரம் <sup>1098</sup>
2014	பொரி விளங்கா யிருக்குது <sup>1099</sup> காண்.
2015	தின்று தண்ணீர் குடிவாரும்
2016	செட்டிகுல பெருமாளே.
2017	தின்று தண்ணீர் குடித்தாச்சு
2018	செவியடைப்பும் தீற்த்தாச்சு.
2019	கொன்றுவிடு சீக்கிறத்தில்
2020	கோரணிகள் கொள்ளாதே.
2021	முன் சினந்தாம் போகவில்லை
2022	முதேவி மருந்தாலே
2023	கஞ்சி வைக்க அரிசியில்லை
2024	கறிகேற்ற <sup>1100</sup> வகயுமில்லை
2025	பஞ்சி மெத்த பாயுமில்லை <sup>1101</sup>
2026	படுத்தறங்க வீடுமில்லை
2027	சந்தியில் பந்தி கானேன் <sup>1102</sup>
2028	தலயினந்த நூலானேன் <sup>1103</sup>
2029	யென்தரத்து பெண்கள் முன்னே

<sup>1089</sup> வாட்ட மில்லா – வாட்டமில்லாத.

<sup>1090</sup> ஓத்தாளாய் – ஒற்றாளாய்.

<sup>1091</sup> ராவு – இரவு.

<sup>1092</sup> நீருனாமும் – நீரும் நானும்.

<sup>1093</sup> கூட்டி. Read கூடி.

<sup>1094</sup> சேர்த்து. I read சொத்து as found in N10.142d, N8.50b, N2.82b.

<sup>1095</sup> கடங்களெல்லாம் – கடன்கள் எல்லாம்.

<sup>1096</sup> ஆக்கிவிட்டாளே. I consider the line to be Icakki's speech, and emend to ஆக்கிவிட்டானே on the basis of N10.142d, N8.50b ஆக்கிவைத்து வந்தீரே.

<sup>1097</sup> னாலும். Perhaps ஆனாலும். It cannot be taken as நானும், as in line 2326 and elsewhere.

<sup>1098</sup> அதியதரம் – அரிய தரம் – அரிய வகுப்பு. Cf. N10.143a அரியதரம்.

<sup>1099</sup> பொரி விளங்கா – பொரிவிளங்காய்.

<sup>1100</sup> கறிகேற்ற – கறிக்கு ஏற்ற.

<sup>1101</sup> மெத்தபாய் – மெத்தைப்பாய்.

<sup>1102</sup> பந்தி கானேன் – பந்தானேன். This line and also lines 2028-30 are out of their actual order. Cf. N10.135d, N8.48a.

<sup>1103</sup> தலயினந்த நூலானேன் – தலைகுலைந்த நூலானேன். Cf. N8.48a; also N10.135d.

2030	யேசவென்று <sup>1104</sup> உடம்பெடுத்தேன்
2031	வீடுமுத்தம் <sup>1105</sup> அறியாதாள்
2032	மிகுந்த சந்தி கண்டு விட்டேன்
2033	ஆடுமயிடம் <sup>1106</sup> அறியாதாள்
2034	அம்பலமும் சந்திகண்டேன்
2035	மாலையில்லிட்டமடகொடிமார்
2036	வாளலய்யோ <sup>1107</sup> வய்யகத்தில்
2037	தாலிகெட்டி கொண்டவனும்
2038	தாரம் அளித்தால் <sup>1108</sup> ஆருதவா <sup>1109</sup>
2039	வீடு கெட்டி கூடம் வைத்து
2040	வெயிலு படாதே யிருந்தேன்
2041	காடு வெட்டி பயிரேற்றும்
2042	கரயாளன யிலங்கமது
2043	கூடுவிட்டு உயிர் போன
2044	கோலமுந்தான் <sup>1110</sup> ஆநேனே
2045	யென்று சொல்லி யிசக்கியம்மை
2046	யெடுத்தாளே பிள்ளைதன்னை
2047	மடகொடியா யிசக்கியம்மை
2048	மகனயும் தாராட்டுவாளே. <sup>1111</sup>
2049	நின்றார் <sup>1112</sup> தன்மன <sup>1113</sup> மகனோ
2050	நெடு நீலி பெற்ற கண்ணோ <sup>1114</sup>
2051	கன்றாத கானகத்தில் கள்ளி பெற்றகண்மணியோ
2052	கொப்பு <sup>1115</sup> சிலயானோ காட்டகள்ளி பெற்ற கண்ணோ
2053	முள் பொதிந்த மேனியேனோ
2054	முது <sup>1116</sup> கள்ளி பெற்ற கன்றோ
2055	பச்ச நிறத்தானோ பால் வடியும் மேனியனோ
2056	வெட்ட வெட்ட தளுத்தவனோ <sup>1117</sup>
2057	வேரோடும் பாலகனோ
2058	பூவுலகில் மானிடற்க்கு
2059	புது வேலியாக <sup>1118</sup> நின்றாய்

<sup>1104</sup> யேசவென்று. I read ஏக – ஏக்கி – இசக்கி என்று. Icakki is also known under the name ஏக்கி. Cf. N8.48a எந்தரத்துப் பெண்கள்முன்னே இயக்கியென்பயெரெடுத்தேன். The phrase could also be interpreted as ஏகதல் என்று [...] (I [have a body merely for it] to be scorned).

<sup>1105</sup> முத்தம் – முற்றம்.

<sup>1106</sup> ஆடுமயிடம். I read ஆடும் மிடம் – அனுபவிக்கும் இடம். This line and lines 2032-4 are out of their actual order. The corresponding lines N10.135b and N8.47d appear at an earlier point. The two versions read: (வீடுமுத்தம் அறியாதாள் – நான்மிகுந்தசந்திவிடுகண்டேன்)/நாடுகரைஅறியாதாள் [...] அம்பலமும்சந்திகண்டேன் (=N10) and (N8=) [...] நாடு நகரறியாதாள் [...] respectively.

<sup>1107</sup> வாளலய்யோ – வாழவில்லையோ.

<sup>1108</sup> I read அழித்தால் (to ruin, to damage).

<sup>1109</sup> ஆருதவா. I read யார் உதவுவார்கள் (Who will come to help [me]?). The other versions are silent.

<sup>1110</sup> கோலமுந்தான் – கோலமும் தான்.

<sup>1111</sup> What follows is a lullaby. Cf. N10.143bff, N8.50c.

<sup>1112</sup> நின்றார். The meaning is unclear; probably நின்ற கள்ளியுடைய (of the one that stood there [in the forest], that is, the *kalli* plant. Cf. N8.50c நீண்டோனின் தன்மகனோ (Viṣṇu's son, who grew to a great height [நீண்டவன்]); N10.143b-c நீலகண்டன்தன்மகனோ (Śiva's son).

<sup>1113</sup> மன. Obscure; probably a filler. Another suggestion: மனம்விரும்பிய (loving). Cf. N8.50c, N2.82d நீண்டோனின் தன்மகனோ. Cf. also N10.143bc நீலன்மருமகனோ.

<sup>1114</sup> கண்ணோ – கன்றோ.

<sup>1115</sup> கொப்பு – கொம்பு – கன்று/மகன். See line 1190.

<sup>1116</sup> முது. I read முத்தின – முற்றிய (full-grown).

<sup>1117</sup> தளுத்தவனோ – தழைத்தவனோ.

<sup>1118</sup> வேலி – காவல் (guard).

- 2060 காலிப்<sup>1119</sup> பயிர் திண்ணாமல்  
 2061 காத்து நின்ற கண்மணியோ  
 2062 மணவேலி காற்த்தவனோ  
 2063 மலக்கமெல்லாம்<sup>1120</sup> தீற்த்தவனோ  
 2064 வெயிலிலே நின்று கொண்டு  
 2065 வெத்தி பூ பூத்தவனோ  
 2066 உக்ஷியிலே<sup>1121</sup> பூ பூத்து  
 2067 ஓளுங்காக நின்றவனோ  
 2068 பாலுமுண்டு சோறுமுண்டு  
 2069 உனக்கு பசி யொரு னாள்வந்து<sup>1122</sup>  
 2070 வேருமுண்டு தூருமுண்டு<sup>1123</sup>  
 2071 வெயிலிலே நிற்பதற்க்கு  
 2072 கஞ்சி குடி அலயாத<sup>1124</sup>  
 2073 கண்மணியே நீ யுறங்கு  
 2074 அஞ்சி நீ அள வேண்டாம்  
 2075 உடன் பிறந்தாரில்லையப்பா  
 2076 ஊதாரியானேனே  
 2077 யென்று சொல்லி யிசக்கியம்மை  
 2078 யாந்தினயாள்<sup>1125</sup> தாராட்டுவாளே<sup>1126</sup>.  
 2079 சென்று நின்ற கரயாளன்  
 2080 செப்பமுடனேது<sup>1127</sup> சொல்வான்.  
 2081 கற்ப்புடய<sup>1128</sup> வாணிகனுக்கு கண்ணிவன<sup>1129</sup> போந்து<sup>1130</sup>  
 2082 நற்புடய பெண்களுண்டும் நாட்டகத்திலனைபேரும்  
 2083 யிப்படி னாம் கண்டதில்லை யிவள்தனை போல் அளகுடயாள்  
 2084 யிம்மடந்தை நமக்கானால் யிவளை னாம் விடுவதில்லை  
 2085 யென்று சொல்லி கரயாளன்  
 2086 இன்பமுடன் மனை போனான்.  
 2087 கரயாளன் போனதையும் காரிகயும் தானறிந்து  
 2088 யிது வேளை பளியெடுக்க யென்று சொல்லி யிசக்கியம்மை  
 2089 பளிகாறன் வணிகேசன் படுத்துறங்கும் வேளயிலே

<sup>1119</sup> காலி. The last syllable was written over by the scribe, but it is unclear what consonant he added to the long ā-vowel. Therefore I follow N8.50d.

<sup>1120</sup> மலக்கம் – மலக்கடி – மனக்கலக்கம் (confusion of mind).

<sup>1121</sup> உக்ஷியிலே – உச்சியிலே.

<sup>1122</sup> The line is corrupt and out of its actual order. I read in the sense of உனக்கு பசி வராது. The other versions deviate: பாலும் உண்டு சோறும் உண்டு பசிதீர மாட்டாது. நாலுநல்ல நடுவர்முன்னே எனக்கு நடு நீயாயம் சொல்ல வந்தாய் (There is milk [and] there is cooked rice, [but] they won't satisfy your hunger. You came as a witness on my behalf before the judges) (N10.144b); and பாலுமுண்டு சோறுமுண்டு பசிதீர மாட்டாமல் நாலுபேர் நடுவர்முன்னே நடுச்செல்லவந்தகண்ணோ (N8.50d).

<sup>1123</sup> Other texts have nothing corresponding to lines 2070-1, which are apparently displaced, and if not taken as a rhetorical question, wholly illogical and contrary to the situation, since Icakki wishes to convince the Karaiyālar that she has a real child.

<sup>1124</sup> அலயாத – அலையாதே.

<sup>1125</sup> யாந்தினயாள் – ஏந்திழையாள்.

<sup>1126</sup> தாராட்டுவாளே – தாலாட்டுவாளே.

<sup>1127</sup> செப்பம். A filler.

<sup>1128</sup> கற்ப்புடய. I read கற்புடையவள். Cf. N10.144d, N8.51a.

<sup>1129</sup> கண்ணிவன. The intended form could be: கன்னி; இவன is probably a scribal error. I read இவள்.

<sup>1130</sup> போந்து – உரியதாதல் (to belong, to have rights over; see *TL* போ-தல்). This meaning is supported by other references, although not in the exact wording of N1: see செப்பமுள்ளமடக்கொடியை சேர்நதவன்தான்வணிகேசன். ஆகாதவணிகேசன் அவன் தனக்கு இவன்[?] வாய்த்தான் (N10.144d/145a); அமுகணியாம் வணிகேசன் அவன்தனக்கு வாய்த்தானே (N8.51a). By contrast, I read போந்து as போராது (doesn't suit) in lines 1924 and 1960 (see the remarks in the footnote to line 1924). Reading போந்து in line 2081 differently is justified in view of the succeeding line 2086 (“K. went home highly delighted”), and on the basis of grammar as well. Whereas in the preceding lines போந்து governs *Icakki* in the dative case (“a husband not suitable for Icakki”), here the word in question governs *merchant* in the dative, a fact that makes it very likely that போந்து should be read as it appears: “the woman belongs to the merchant,” all the more so as in the cultural context of traditional India a wife is felt to belong to her husband; that is, he has rights over her, but not vice versa.

- 2090 வணிகேசன் கையிலிருந்த பத்திரமும் நளுகிவிள  
 2091 பத்திரமும் நளுகிவிள பருமவிளியால்<sup>1131</sup> உறங்கிவிட்டான்.  
 2092 ஓராட்ட ஓராட்ட<sup>1132</sup> உறங்கிவிட்டான் ஆனந்தனும்  
 2093 முத்தேவி வந்தடய<sup>1133</sup> முளியாமல் உறங்கிவிட்டான்.  
 2094 சுத்திவலமாக வந்தான்<sup>1134</sup> குரியனைதஞ்சமென்றான்<sup>1135</sup>  
 2095 ஆதியார்<sup>1136</sup> நீ சாக்ஷி<sup>1137</sup> அம்மயுமை நீசாக்ஷி  
 2096 பாதிமதியுமணியும் பரமசிவர் சாக்ஷி யென்றான்.  
 2097 யென்பளி னாந் கொள்ளுகிறேன்  
 2098 யெல்லோரும் சாக்ஷி யென்றான்.  
 2099 குமுகுமென<sup>1138</sup> குரவை யிட்டான்.  
 2100 கோதை நல்லாள் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 2101 நெஞ்சதிலே பாய்ந்தேறி  
 2102 நெடுங்குதிரி<sup>1139</sup> சேறாட<sup>1140</sup>  
 2103 தொண்டைதனை முறித்தாள்  
 2104 துள்ளுதிரம் சேறாட  
 2105 அன்று மகன்தனை யெடுத்து<sup>1141</sup>  
 2106 அதிய<sup>1142</sup> கள்ளி கொப்பா<sup>1143</sup> நீக்கி  
 2107 அன்று நடு நீயல்லவோ  
 2108 யின்று நடு நீ சாக்ஷி  
 2109 நெஞ்சதிலே னாட்டி வைத்து  
 2110 நேரிளயாள் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 2111 முகட்டு வளி ஆகாஸம்<sup>1144</sup>  
 2112 மொய் குளலாள் தான் பறந்தாள்.  
 2113 ஊர் முளுது முடிக்கவென்று  
 2114 உபாய மிட்டா ளிசக்கியம்மை  
 2115 கரயாளர் தங்களயும்  
 2116 கயி மேலே<sup>1145</sup> கொல்லவென்று  
 2117 ஆனந்தன் தாய் போலே  
 2118 அதிய<sup>1146</sup> நரக்கிளவியப்<sup>1147</sup> போல்  
 2119 கய்யில் கம்பு தடியும் ஊன்றி  
 2120 கக்குகக்கென்றே<sup>1148</sup> யிருமி  
 2121 பஞ்சி வெட்டும்<sup>1149</sup> கிளவியப் போல்

<sup>1131</sup> பருமவிளியால். Probably கருவிழி – கண்மணி (apple of one's eye).

<sup>1132</sup> ஓராட்ட – தாலாட்டு.

<sup>1133</sup> வந்தடய – வந்தடைய. Cf. N8.51ab வந்தணைய.

<sup>1134</sup> வந்தான். A scribal error. I emend to வந்தா<ன்>. Cf. N10.146c.

<sup>1135</sup> என்றான். A scribal error. I emend to என்றா<ன்>.

<sup>1136</sup> ஆதியார். I read ஆதிபரனே (god). Cf. N10.146a ஆதிபரா; N8.51b அத்தனே.

<sup>1137</sup> சாக்ஷி – சாட்சி < Skt. *sākṣin*.

<sup>1138</sup> குமுகுமென – குமுகுமென்று. An echo word.

<sup>1139</sup> நெடுங்குதிரி. I read நெடும் குருதி; குருதி – இரத்தம். This is apparently a contamination of குருதி (N10.146d) and உதிரம் (N8.51c); உதிரம் – இரத்தம்.

<sup>1140</sup> சேறாட. I read சேறோட – சேறு ஓடு-தல். See N8.51c சேறோட. Cf. N10.146d சோறோடே.

<sup>1141</sup> எடுத்து – உண்டாக்கி.

<sup>1142</sup> அதிய – அரிய.

<sup>1143</sup> கொப்பா – கொப்பாக.

<sup>1144</sup> ஆகாஸம் < Skt. *ākāśa*.

<sup>1145</sup> கயி மேலே – கைமேல்.

<sup>1146</sup> அதிய – அதிக. Cf. N8.51d அதிகநரை கிழவியைப் போல். Note that in version N1 அதிய apparently must be read as அதிகம் (see line 149) and as அரிய (see line 1782).

<sup>1147</sup> நரக்கிளவிய – நரைக்கிழவியை. Cf. N10.148a, N8.51d.

<sup>1148</sup> கக்குகக்கென்றே. An echo word.

<sup>1149</sup> பஞ்சி வெட்டும். This can mean both “like someone beating raw cotton with a stick” or “speaking like a chatterbox” (an idiom). The former seems preferable here: பஞ்சி வெட்டும் – அடிக்கும். N10.149d reads பஞ்சி போல்



- 2122 கரயாளர் தெருவில் வந்தாளே.  
 2123 பளகநகர் தெருவிலே வந்தடி பணிந்து<sup>1150</sup> யிசக்கியவள்  
 2124 பாங்கு பெற<sup>1151</sup> தெருவதில் கூடி  
 2125 தொண்ணூறும் பத்தும் சென்றது வண்ட<sup>1152</sup> நரக்கிளவியப்போல்  
 2126 துணிந்தவளும் யேது மொளி சொல்வாள் – துணி<sup>1153</sup>  
 2127 கொஞ்ச மெடர்<sup>1154</sup> நம்முடய கொடியுள்ள<sup>1155</sup> வால்வதுவும்  
 2128 கோலமாகி<sup>1156</sup> விட்டாயோ மகநே<sup>1157</sup>

[Emended Order]

- 2210 கூடிடவே யெல்லாரும்  
 2211 அறுபத்தொன்பது கரயாளர்  
 2212 அவிரிலங்க மதனிலே<sup>1158</sup> வந்தார்.  
 2213 யிலங்கமதை தாள் திறந்து  
 2214 யெல்லோரும் பாற்பளவில்  
 2215 ஆடறுத்த களம்<sup>1159</sup> போலே  
 2216 அவனில்<sup>1160</sup> பட்ட உருதிகள்<sup>1161</sup> போல்  
 2217 பாடு கண்ட செட்டிதனை  
 2218 பைந்தொடியை கண்டுதில்லை.  
 2219 உயிர்விடுவோ<sup>1162</sup> னாமளினி  
 2220 ஊரதிலே போய் விடவே  
 2221 பாதகத்தி<sup>1163</sup> கிளவியவள்  
 2222 பாவியவள் விடுவாளோ.  
 2223 அடித்துதள்ளி முடுக்கிடலாம்  
 2224 ஆயினயே<sup>1164</sup> கிளவிதன்னை  
 2225 இசக்கி கய்யில் கொடுத்த பரல்  
 2226 யில்லை யென்று போய்விடுமோ<sup>1165</sup>  
 2227 தாயாக வந்தவனாம்<sup>1166</sup>  
 2228 தலயிலடித்தே வினாவாள்.  
 2229 யெங்கேசென்றால் காண்பேநெடா<sup>1167</sup>  
 2230 யென் மகநே ஆனந்தனே

நரைத்துபாவையரைபோல்வடிவாய் (She took the form of a woman with grey, cotton-like hair). But that is not the meaning here.

<sup>1150</sup> அடி பணிந்து – அடி பணிந்து.

<sup>1151</sup> பாங்கு பெற – பாங்கு பரிசனை (good manners, genteel dress and behaviour; see *TL* s.v.) – ஒழுக்கம்.

<sup>1152</sup> துவண்ட.

<sup>1153</sup> I consider this as an echoing interjection on the part of the *kuṭam* player.

<sup>1154</sup> எடர்-இடர்-துன்பம். See *TL* s.v. Cf. N10.150a, N8.52c கொஞ்சமடா நம்முடைய கொடுமையுள்ள வாழ்வது தான்.

<sup>1155</sup> கொடியுள்ள – கொடுமையுள்ள.

<sup>1156</sup> கோலமாகி. I read கோலமாக்கி on the basis of N10.150a, N8.52c, N2.86a. கோலம் – பெருந்துன்ப நிலை (wretched condition; *TL*).

<sup>1157</sup> Line 2210 follows directly upon line 2128. Note that the last portion (lines 2129-2484) of the *katai* is seriously out of its actual order and therefore has been emended.

<sup>1158</sup> அவிரிலங்கமதனிலே. A scribal error. I read அவிரிலங்கம். Cf. N10.154c.

<sup>1159</sup> ஆடறுத்தகளம் – ஆடல் (=போர்) அறுத்த களம் / ஆடல் யுத்தம் களம்(?) – போர்க்களம். On ஆடல் see *TL*.

<sup>1160</sup> அவனில். Cf. N10.154cd அமரில் (on the battlefield).

<sup>1161</sup> உருதி. I read குருதி/உதிரம் – இரத்தம். It looks as if two words with the same meaning have been telescoped into one.

<sup>1162</sup> உயிர்விடுவோ. I read உயிர்விடவோ.

<sup>1163</sup> பாதகத்தி – பாதகி. Colloq.

<sup>1164</sup> ஆயிழை. A term usually only used to address young women. N10.155a confirms the reading.

<sup>1165</sup> Cf. N10.155a இசக்கி கையில் கொடுத்த பரல் இல்லை யென்றால் போய்விடுமோ. It is unclear how the line should be interpreted within this context. I therefore cite the prose text (*vacanam*) of N10.155c: கிளிவியை தள்ளிவிட்டாலும் ஆனால் இசக்கி கையில் கொடுத்தபரல் விடுவாளோ என்று.

<sup>1166</sup> வந்தவனாம். A scribal error. Em. <வந்தவன் >. Cf. N10.155d.

<sup>1167</sup> காண்பேநெடா – காண்பேன்+ஏ+டா.

- 2231 மதிப்பே<sup>1168</sup> னாந்<sup>1169</sup> யென்று சொல்லி  
 2232 வயிற்றிலடித்தே யளுதாள்.  
 2233 குட்டிடுவாள் மோதிடுவாள்.  
 2234 முகத்தோடே தானறைவாள்.  
 2235 செங்கைவளை ஓலமிட  
 2236 தெருவதிலே புரண்டளுவாள்.  
 2237 அளுதளுது கிளவியவள்  
 2238 அவன் பளியை மீள்வேநென்றாள்.  
 2239 பளகை நல்ல ஊரையெல்லாம்  
 2240 பாளாக்கி விடுவே நென்றாள்.  
 2241 மலங்காதே கிளவியம்மா  
 2242 மகன் பளியை னாங்கள் தாறோம்.  
 2243 பளிதாரும் பளிபோறோம்.  
 2244 பயிந்தோடியே பாற்க்கின்றார்.  
 2245 அறிவு கெட்ட கரயாளர் அவரவர் கய்யிலே  
 2246 வாள் னாட்டி சாவாரும் மரு<sup>1170</sup> னாட்டி சாவாரும்  
 2247 நஞ்சி<sup>1171</sup> தின்று சாவாரும் னாண்டுகொண்டு<sup>1172</sup> சாவாரும்  
 2248 அறுப தொன்பது பேரும் அத்தலத்திலே<sup>1173</sup> மாண்டார்.  
 2249 உள்<sup>1174</sup> போன கரயாளன் ஒருவனும் கொல்லவென்று  
 2250 ஒருவனும் கொல்லவென்று உபாயமிட்டாளிசக்கியம்மை  
 2251 கரயாளன் மகளாக  
 2252 கஞ்சி கொண்டு போகவென்று  
 2253 அக்ஷதிலே<sup>1175</sup> வாற்த்தது போல்  
 2254 அவனுடய மகளை போலே  
 2255 காரிகையாளிசக்கியம்மை  
 2256 கன்னி சிறுபிள்ளை போல்  
 2257 கோலங் கொண்டாளே.  
 2258 கோலங் கொண்டாள்  
 2259 சிறு பிள்ளை போலே  
 2260 கொடியிடை மாயிசக்கி  
 2261 கொண்டைக்கு மேலொரு மல்லிகைமுல்லை  
 2262 கொளுந்து மலர் கூட்டி<sup>1176</sup>  
 2263 பாடகம் தண்டை சிலம்பு புலம்பிட  
 2264 பைந்தொடி மாயிசக்கி  
 2265 பைம்பொன்<sup>1177</sup> மணிமுத்து தாவமின்ன<sup>1178</sup>  
 2266 பதைக்க<sup>1179</sup> சேவடி<sup>1180</sup> மின்ன  
 2267 கண்ணதில் மய்யிட்டு<sup>1181</sup> நெத்தியில்  
 2268 பொட்டிட்டு களுத்தினில் மஞ்சணயாய்<sup>1182</sup>

<sup>1168</sup> மதிப்பேன். I read மரிப்பேன். See N10.155d.

<sup>1169</sup> னாந் – நான்.

<sup>1170</sup> மரு. I read மமு – கோடாலி.

<sup>1171</sup> நஞ்சி – நஞ்சு – விஷம்.

<sup>1172</sup> னாண்டுகொண்டு. I read நாணிகொண்டு.

<sup>1173</sup> அத்தலத்திலே – அந்த தலத்திலே < Skt. *sthala*.

<sup>1174</sup> உள் போன – உழப் போன.

<sup>1175</sup> அக்ஷதிலே – அச்சில்.

<sup>1176</sup> கூட்டி. I prefer <கூட்டி> (adorned with) on the basis of N10.157b, N8.54b குட்டி/குடி. I emend accordingly.

<sup>1177</sup> பைம்பொன். I read பைய பொன். The other texts differ at this point. N10.157b பய்யவேதண்டை காலில்கலீரன்ன; N8.54bc பையப்பார் மீதில் நடக்கப் பளீரென.

<sup>1178</sup> தாவம். I read தாவடம் (a kind of ornament).

<sup>1179</sup> பதைக்க. I read பதக்கம் – மாற்பணி (a pendant set with gems and suspended from a necklace) < Skt. *padaka*. Cf. N10.157b, N8.54b பதைக்கன்; N2.89c பதைக்ககன்.

<sup>1180</sup> சேவடி. I read சவடி (neck-ornament) on the basis of N10.157b, N8.54b.

<sup>1181</sup> மய்யிட்டு – மையிட்டு.

<sup>1182</sup> மஞ்சணயாய் – மஞ்சணை.

- 2269 காலன்<sup>1183</sup> கரயாளன் தன் மகளைப் போல்  
 2270 கன்னியர் பட்டுடுத்து  
 2271 முத்துபோல் பல்லும்  
 2272 முருக்கிதள்<sup>1184</sup> வாயும்  
 2273 மேனி தளதளன<sup>1185</sup>  
 2442 கஞ்சியும் கொண்டு கரயாளனை தேடி கன்னியர்தான் வரவே  
 2443 கண்மணி யென்மகள் வாறானே யென்று கரயாளர் பாற்த்து சொல்வாரே.  
 2444 யேறிட்டு பாற்த்திவளை  
 2445 மரதகமே<sup>1186</sup> கண்மணியே  
 2446 யேது சொல்வார் கரயாளர்  
 2447 மகளே நீ வருவதென்னா  
 2448 மனயை<sup>1187</sup> மறு வீட்டில்  
 2449 மகளே நீ போகாதான்  
 2450 கரயாளன் மகளினவே<sup>1188</sup>  
 2451 காசியோரறியார்கள்<sup>1189</sup>  
 2452 உளவுகல் மனதிலே<sup>1190</sup>  
 2453 ஒண்ணுதலே<sup>1191</sup> வந்தென்னா  
 2454 ஊரிலாவலாதியுண்டோ<sup>1192</sup>  
 2455 ஒன்றோடியே<sup>1193</sup> சொல்லுமென்றார்.  
 2456 ஆவலாதி பேசிடலாம்  
 2457 அப்பு<sup>1194</sup> நீ கஞ்சி குடி  
 2458 கஞ்சியது குடித்திடலாம்  
 2459 கண்மணியே சொல்லுமென்றார்.<sup>1195</sup>  
 2460 சொன்னாக்காலென்ன பலன்  
 2461 சொல்லாவிட்டாலென்ன பலன்.  
 2462 பறைந்திடவே<sup>1196</sup> னாநுனக்கு  
 2463 பாவி ஒருதி பிறந்தேன்.  
 2464 பிறந்ததினால் யெனக்குகஞ்சி  
 2465 பெலனாக<sup>1197</sup> கொண்டு வந்தாய்.  
 2466 மறந்து போகுதே யினக்கு புத்தி  
 2467 வாய்திறந்து பேசமுன்னே  
 2468 நன்று நடு பறைந்தீர்களே

<sup>1183</sup> காலன் – யமகிங்கரன் (Yama's messenger).

<sup>1184</sup> முருக்கிதள். I read முருக்கு இதழ். முருக்கு – முள்ளுமுருக்கு (East Indian coral tree, *Erythrina indica*, TL).

<sup>1185</sup> தளதளன. I read தளதள என/என்று. An echo word. Line 2442 follows directly upon line 2273. I emend according to N10.157.

<sup>1186</sup> மரதகமே. I read மரகதமே (emerald). The other versions are silent.

<sup>1187</sup> மனயை – மனை(யை) – வீட்டை. I suspect that the line is a contamination of two different versions. See N10.157d, N8.54d, N2.90a மங்களமாக மறு மனை செல்லாத / மங்கையர்க்கரசி (like a queen among ladies, one who hasn't [yet] gone auspiciously [i.e. as a newly wedded woman] to another house).

<sup>1188</sup> இனவே – என்று.

<sup>1189</sup> காசியோர் – காசினியோர்.

<sup>1190</sup> உளவுகல் மனதிலே. Corrupt. I emend to <உளவு+தலம்+அதில்> (to the ploughing field) on the basis of N10.158a உளவுதலம்தன்னில்.

<sup>1191</sup> ஒண்ணுதலே – ஒண்-மை+நுதல் (a woman with a beautiful forehead; TL).

<sup>1192</sup> ஆவலாதி, here: complaint. (Cf. Fabricius: "slander, defame"). See also N10.157d, N8.55a ஊரிலே வழக்கானது உண்டோ.

<sup>1193</sup> ஒன்றோடியே. I read ஒண்தொடியே/ஒண்டொடியே (a woman adorned with shining bracelets; TL).

<sup>1194</sup> அப்பு – அப்பா.

<sup>1195</sup> Lines 2457-9 differ in the other versions (see N10.158a), in that they read as the speech of the Karaiyāḷar: [...] கஞ்சிகொண்டு (ஓடிவருவானேன்) / காரியமேதேனும் உண்டானால் சொல்லு / கண்மணியே மகளே ([Why are you coming] with gruel for me? If there is any reason for it, tell me, my dear daughter!). See also N8.55a.

<sup>1196</sup> பறைந்திடவே – சொல்லிவிடவே. Cf. the other versions, where this verb refers to the Karaiyāḷar's speech. In N10.158bc and N8.55b, the verb is part of a preceding sentence, which is missing in N1: அன்னமே நீ உளளசெய்தி ஆதரவாகப்பறைவாய். ("My dear, kindly tell me the truth," [he said]).

<sup>1197</sup> பெலனாக – பெலமாக – பலமாக.

- 2469 னாட்டிலயும் யிருந்தீர்களே<sup>1198, 1199</sup>  
 2292 யெளுபது பேர் கரயாளர்  
 2293 யிசக்கி கயில் கொடுத்தீரே.<sup>1200</sup>  
 2294 பாதகத்தி இசக்கியாலே  
 2295 பளகநகர் அளிந்துவிட்டோ  
 2296 தோதக<sup>1201</sup> கூத்தாடுதற்க்கு  
 2297 தொல்லைக்கா<sup>1202</sup> வருத்தி வைத்தீர்.  
 2298 ஆகாத<sup>1203</sup> கரயாளர்  
 2299 அவர்கள் உயிர் போவதற்க்கு  
 2300 பாவி மட்டை இசக்கி கய்யில்  
 2301 பனிகார பரல் கொடுத்தீர்.  
 2302 கொடுத்ததினால் பலனுமில்லை  
 2303 கொன்றாளே பாதகத்தி  
 2304 பாதகத்தி கொன்றுவிட்டு பறந்துவிட்டாள் ஆகாசம்  
 2305 கொன்றாளே பாதகத்தி கோலமுந்தா<sup>1204</sup> ஆனோமே  
 2306 அளுத குரல் ஆத்தாமல்<sup>1205</sup> அவர் போனாரிலங்கமதில்  
 2307 இலங்கமதை தாள்திறந்து  
 2308 யெல்லோரும் பாற்ப்பளவில்  
 2309 கலங்காத கரயாளர் கண்டாரே படுகளத்தை  
 2310 படுகளத்தை கண்டபோது பாவி வர ஒட்டாமல்  
 2311 அவர்களுட கால் மாட்டில் அடித்தளுது<sup>1206</sup> கிளவியவள்  
 2312 அளுதகுரல் ஆத்தாமல் அவரவரே யிறந்துவிட்டார்.  
 2313 செத்தாலும் குடிகேடு  
 2314 இருந்தாலும் யிருக்கல்லவோ.  
 2315 சாகமதி அறியேநே  
 2316 சங்கயுள்ள<sup>1207</sup> யென் மகளே  
 2317 அவதான<sup>1208</sup> காட்டுகுள்ளே<sup>1209</sup>  
 2318 ஆர் பிடிப்பார் கல் பாய்த்து  
 2319 கோபமுள்ள அய்யாவுக்கு  
 2320 கொளு<sup>1210</sup>முனைதான் பஞ்சமில்லை.  
 2321 வாய்க்கவில்லை யென் மகளே.  
 2322 வயக்காட்டில்<sup>1211</sup> ஒருவரில்லை.  
 2323 வேறொருவர் வந்தாலும்  
 2324 விதனமுண்டு<sup>1212</sup> அப்புனக்கு  
 2325 நல்ல வேளை கஞ்சி கொண்டு

<sup>1198</sup> நாட்டிலயும் யிருந்தீர்களே. Corrupt. I emend to <அறிந்து> இருந்தீர்களே. See N10.158c, N8.55b, N2.91a நாடறிய இருந்தீர்களே.

<sup>1199</sup> Line 2469 is followed directly by line 2292. I have emended according to N10.159a.

<sup>1200</sup> N10.158cd, N8.55b, N2.91a have a different reading at this point (N1.2292-3): இன்றழியச் செட்டிதனை இயக்கிகையில் கொடுத்தீர்களே (You are responsible for the loss of the Ceṭṭi now, since you left him in the hands of Icakki) (N8.55b).

<sup>1201</sup> தோதகம் – வஞ்சகம் <tōtaka> (deceit; see *TL* s.v.).

<sup>1202</sup> தொல்லைக்கா – தொல்லைக்காக.

<sup>1203</sup> ஆகாத – புத்திகெட்ட (foolish). Cf. N10.158d, N8.55c, which read ஆகதக்க/ஆகத்தக்க (honourable).

<sup>1204</sup> கோலமுந்தா – கோலம்+உம்+தான். கோலம் – பெருந்துன்ப நிலை (wretched condition; *TL* s.v.).

<sup>1205</sup> ஆத்தாமல் – ஆற்றாமல்.

<sup>1206</sup> அடித்து – இழவுக்கடித்து (to beat one's breast).

<sup>1207</sup> சங்கயுள்ள – சங்கையுள்ள. This is frequently translated as “honourable,” but as the bow-song singer T.M.P. explained, it is uncommon for a father to use the word “honourable” in addressing his daughter.

<sup>1208</sup> அவதான. Unclear; perhaps வனாந்தரம் (uninhabited place; see Winslow). The other versions are silent here.

<sup>1209</sup> காட்டுகுள்ளே – காட்டுக்குள்ளே here இடம்.

<sup>1210</sup> கொளு – கோள்/கொழு – ஏர்காறு.

<sup>1211</sup> வயக்காட்டில். I read வயல்+காட்டில்.

<sup>1212</sup> விதனம். I read விசனம் – துக்கம் <Skt. *vyasana*.

- 2326 னாலும்<sup>1213</sup> வந்தேன் பேரெடுக்கு<sup>1214</sup>  
 2327 ஆபத்துக்கு பாவமில்லை  
 2328 அப்பகூரே<sup>1215</sup> பதறாதே.  
 2329 சீவனுக்கு வந்தாலும்  
 2330 தெரிய<sup>1216</sup> வேணும் னாட்டினுள்ளோர்  
 2331 னா னிருக்க நீ நடுங்க  
 2332 நடுக்கமுண்டோ அப்பகூரே  
 2333 செங்கை<sup>1217</sup> வளை ஓலமிட  
 2334 சென்றெடுத்தாள் கலயத்தை<sup>1218</sup>  
 2335 கலப்பை கொளுவானதிலே<sup>1219</sup>  
 2336 கரயாளன் பாய்ந்திறந்தான்.  
 2337 கரயாளன் யிறந்ததற்பின்  
 2338 காரிகயாள் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 2339 மயில் போலே துடியிடயாள்  
 2340 வாள்<sup>1220</sup> பளகை ஊரில் வந்தாளே.  
 2341 அவ்வூரில் வாறபோது ஆயினயாள்<sup>1221</sup> சக்கியம்மை  
 2342 அவள் மனது புகள்ந்தேது சொல்வாள்.  
 2343 யி(வ்)வூரில் கரயாளர் யெல்லோரும் யிறந்தாடுன்று<sup>1221</sup>  
 2344 யிளவுகள்<sup>1222</sup> ஓசையது கேட்டாள்.  
 2345 ஐயயோ கரயாளர் யெல்லோரும் யிறந்தியளே  
 2346 அவள் மனதில் கன கிருபை கொண்டாள்.  
 2347 நல்லது காண கரயாளர் னாசமாக போனாரோ.  
 2348 னாமளினி உபாயமிடவேணும்.  
 2349 போனாக்கால் ஒரு போலே உகமுடிந்து போகவேணும்  
 2350 பிளைத்தால்<sup>1223</sup> ஒருப்போல் பிளைக்கவேணும்<sup>1224</sup>  
 2351 ஆனாலும் யிசக்கி கொன்ற பேரெடுக்க வேணுமென்றால்<sup>1225</sup>  
 2352 அவ்வூரு சனங்ளெல்லாம்<sup>1226</sup> கொல்ல  
 2353 தாயான<sup>1227</sup> தாம் பெருக்கம்<sup>1228</sup> தந்தைதாய்<sup>1229</sup> அன்னஅத்தம்<sup>1230</sup>  
 2354 தடுமாறி நின்று அலையாமல்  
 2355 ஊரோடும் வேண்டும்  
 2356 ஒக்கவுந்தான் முடிக்கவென்று<sup>1231</sup>

<sup>1213</sup> னாலும். I read னாலும். Cf. N10.160b, N8.56a. But cf. also line 2012, where the meaning is unclear.

<sup>1214</sup> பேரெடுக்கு. I read பேரெடுக்க. Cf. N10.160b, N8.56a.

<sup>1215</sup> அப்பகூரே – அப்பரே.

<sup>1216</sup> Cf. N10.160c, N8.56b தெரிய.

<sup>1217</sup> A repetition of line 2235.

<sup>1218</sup> கலயத்தை. A scribal error. I read கலப்பைதனை on the basis of the next line (2335), and on the basis of N10.160d, N8.56b; கலப்பை – உழுபடை (ploughshare).

<sup>1219</sup> கலப்பை கொளுவானதிலே – உழுபடையின் கொளுவானதிலே (ploughshare).

<sup>1220</sup> வாள் – வாழ் – புகழ். Cf. N10.2c திருக்கோயில்; N8.2c வாழ்கோயில், திரு and வாழ் being interchangeable.

<sup>1221</sup> யிறந்தாள். I emend to இறந்தா<ர்>.

<sup>1222</sup> யிளவு – இழவு.

<sup>1223</sup> பிளைத்தால். Read பிழைத்தால்.

<sup>1224</sup> Lines 2349-50 are not found in the other relevant versions (N10, N8, N2).

<sup>1225</sup> The line is out of its actual order and context. Cf. the different meaning conveyed in N10.162a, N8.56c, N2.93b: அல்லவே இயக்கிகொன்றாளென்னப்பே ரெடுக்கவென்றால் (N8.56c) ([...] if not, I shall earn the reputation that Icakki herself has killed). In the other versions, the line occurs after னாமளினி உபாயமிடவேணும் (Now I must plan the strategy) (i.e. after N1.2348).

<sup>1226</sup> சனங்ளெல்லாம் – சனத்தை எல்லாம்.

<sup>1227</sup> தாயான – தாயாரும். Cf. N10.162a, N8.56c.

<sup>1228</sup> தாம் பெருக்கம். Obscure; probably தன்குடும்பம். I read, on the basis of N10.162a, N8.56c தமருபக்கம் (relatives, friends).

<sup>1229</sup> தந்தைதாய். I read தந்தையுடன். Cf. N10.162a, N8.56c.

<sup>1230</sup> அன்னஅத்தம். A scribal error. I read அன்னை சுற்றம் on the basis of N10.162ab. See also N8.56c அன்னசுற்றம்.

<sup>1231</sup> முடிக்க – அழிக்க.

- 2357 உபாயமிட்டாளிசக்கியம்மைதானும்  
 2358 யேதேது செய்வோமென்று  
 2359 யெண்ணாமல் யெண்ணி கொண்டு  
 2360 யிடைகாடு ஒரு பிறமாய்<sup>1232</sup> வரவே<sup>1233</sup>  
 \*2129 யெழுபது பேர் கரயளரை<sup>1234</sup>  
 \*2130 யிறந்த போது யிசக்கியம்மை  
 \*2131 யெழுபது பேர் பெண்டுயிள்ளை  
 \*2132 யிவர்களைத்தான் கொல்லவென்று  
 \*2133 காட்டின் ஒரு புறமாக  
 \*2134 காரிகயான் வந்தனளே  
 \*2135 யீச்பரனை தனை நினைந்து<sup>1235</sup>  
 2361 காயாத கள்ளிப்பால் யிருனாளி னானாழி  
 2362 கய்யாலே கறந்தாளே யிசக்கி  
 2363 யேலம் பால் னாநாளி யெப்படினாந் கறப்பேநென்று  
 2364 யெண்ணியபடி கறந்துமாச்சே<sup>1236</sup>.  
 2365 ஆவின்<sup>1237</sup> பால் ஆர் தருவார் அரனாரே<sup>1238</sup> யிப்போது  
 2366 அவள் நினைத்தபடிதான் கறந்துமாச்சே.<sup>1239</sup>  
 \*2136 யேலம் பால் கறந்து வைத்தாள்.  
 \*2137 கள்ளி பால் ஆளாக்கு<sup>1240</sup>  
 \*2138 காஞ்சிரம்<sup>1241</sup> பால் ஆளாக்கு  
 \*2139 யேலம் பால் ஆளாக்கு  
 \*2140 யெருக்கலம்<sup>1242</sup> பால் ஆளாக்கு<sup>1243</sup>  
 2367 பச்சனாவி<sup>1244</sup> பரசரணம்<sup>1245</sup> பரமசிவர் தானாமென்று<sup>1246</sup>  
 2368 பனிகொள்ளபோறேனாந்யென்னா<sup>1247</sup>  
 2369 அத்தாயும்<sup>1248</sup> ஒன்றாக பாத்திரத்திலிட்டபடி  
 2370 ஆயிளயாளிசக்கி ஒரு கோலம்<sup>1249</sup>  
 2371 ஒக்க ஒரு பாத்திரத்திலிட்டபடி மோராக்கி  
 2372 உகந்து<sup>1250</sup> மோர் குடுக்க<sup>1251</sup> யது யெடுத்தாள்.

<sup>1232</sup> பிறமாய் – புறமாய்.

<sup>1233</sup> Line 2360 is followed directly by line 2129.

<sup>1234</sup> The following lines are out of their actual and logical order. Cf. N10.150a, N8.52c. Apparently the palm leaves of the hand-written text got mixed up.

<sup>1235</sup> Line 2135 is followed directly by lines 2361-6.

<sup>1236</sup> கறந்துமாச்சே – கறந்தாயிற்று.

<sup>1237</sup> ஆ – எருமை (buffalo). An old word.

<sup>1238</sup> அரனாரே – அரன் – சிவன் (TL).

<sup>1239</sup> Line 2366 is followed directly by line 2136.

<sup>1240</sup> ஆளாக்கு – ஆழாக்கு – அரைக்காற்படி.

<sup>1241</sup> காஞ்சிரம் – காஞ்சிரை.

<sup>1242</sup> எருக்கலம். The lexical and botanical question remains unresolved. (I would like to thank Professor T. Naṭarājan for identifying the word as a species of medicinal plant.)

<sup>1243</sup> Line 2140 is followed directly by line 2367.

<sup>1244</sup> பச்சனாவி – பச்சனாவி – வச்சநாபி – விஷப்பூடுவகை (*Aconitum ferox*, a poisonous shrub) < Skt. *vatsa-nābha*.

<sup>1245</sup> பரசரணம். A scribal error. The copyist of the Ms. apparently mistook here as elsewhere the long vowel “a” for “r” (another example being பால் instead of பரல்). I read பாஷாணம் (poison; see Fabricius) < Skt. *pāṣāṇa*. My reading is supported by the single reference N10.162d, where the two terms பச்சனாவி and பாஷாணம் appear in reverse order: பாசானம் பச்சநாவி (பரமசிவா அருளும் பனிகொள்ள [...]).

<sup>1246</sup> Cf. N10.162d பாசானம் பச்சநாவிபரமசிவா அருளும் என்றார். Versions N8 and N2 are silent.

<sup>1247</sup> போறேனாந்யென்னா – போறேன் நான் என்றான்.

<sup>1248</sup> அத்தாயும் – அத்தனையும்.

<sup>1249</sup> கோலம். Corrupt. I read கோலங்கொள்ளுவாள்/கோலம் கொண்டு. The other versions are silent here.

<sup>1250</sup> உகந்து – மகிழ்ந்து.

<sup>1251</sup> குடுக்க. I read குடுக்கை. Cf. N10.163a.

- 2373 அவ்வேசம்<sup>1252</sup> தான் போட்டு ஆயிளயாளிசக்கியம்மை  
 2374 அளகுடய யிடக்ஷியப்<sup>1253</sup> போலானாள்.<sup>1254</sup>  
 \*2141 கோசலயாள் யிடக்ஷியப்<sup>1255</sup> போல்  
 \*2142 கொடி யிடையாள் கோலம் கொண்டு  
 \*2143 மோருபாணை தலயில் வைத்து  
 \*2144 மொய்குளலாள் வளி நடந்தாள்.<sup>1256</sup>  
 2375 பண்டுமுன்னால்<sup>1257</sup> பளகயிலே மோரு விக்கும்  
 2376 யிடச்சியப் போல் பளகிய<sup>1258</sup> யிடக்ஷி<sup>1259</sup> போலானாள்.  
 2377 கண்ணினால் நீர்கள் சாட<sup>1260</sup> காரிகயாள்  
 2378 யிசக்கியவள் கடயாலில்<sup>1261</sup> மோர் தூக்கி கொண்டாள்.<sup>1262</sup>  
 \*2145 பளகையூர் தெருவதிலே  
 \*2146 பளிகாறன் கரயாளன்  
 \*2147 அவர்களுடைய வீடு தோறும்  
 \*2148 ஆயிளயாள் தானளுது  
 \*2149 உண்டு வந்தேன் உங்கள் சோறு  
 \*2150 உள்ளி விதி முடிந்தது வேர்<sup>1263</sup>  
 2379 உண்டேனாட் உங்களுட சோறுகறி தின்று வந்தேன்.<sup>1264</sup>  
 2380 உள்ளி<sup>1265</sup>விதியல்லாது உண்டோ.  
 2381 யிடச்சியவள் தெருதெருவாய் யேற்ற கிளவி<sup>1266</sup> போலே  
 2382 யியவுடன்<sup>1267</sup> கரயாளர் தெருவில் வந்தாளே.  
 2383 யெளுபது பேர் குடியிருக்கும்  
 2384 யியல் பளகை நகரில் வந்தான்<sup>1268</sup>.  
 2385 தடுமாறி சந்தியிலே தானிருக்க வெகுநேரம்  
 2386 அளுத குரல் அல்லாதே ஆரொருவர் அறிவாரோ.  
 2387 யிடவளியில் போனதுண்டால்  
 2388 யெவரும் வந்து கேள்க்கமாட்டார்.  
 2389 கரயாளர் தெருவில் வந்து  
 2390 கன்னியரும் யிசக்கியம்மை

<sup>1252</sup> அவ்வேசம். I read அந்த வேசம் – வேடம் (disguise; see *TL*) < Skt. *vēṣa*. வேசம் போட்டு – வேடங்கட்டி. Alternatively, but less likely, ஆவேசம் (anger, fury); cf. N10.163b ஆவேசம்.

<sup>1253</sup> யிடக்ஷிய – இடைச்சியை (a woman of the herder caste).

<sup>1254</sup> Line 2374 is followed directly by line 2141.

<sup>1255</sup> யிடக்ஷிய – இடைச்சியை.

<sup>1256</sup> Line 2144 is followed directly by line 2375.

<sup>1257</sup> பண்டுமுன்னால் – முற்காலம்.

<sup>1258</sup> பளகிய – பழகிய.

<sup>1259</sup> யிடக்ஷி – யிடச்சி – இடைச்சியை.

<sup>1260</sup> சாட – சொரிந்து.

<sup>1261</sup> கடயால் – கடையால்/கடைசால்.

<sup>1262</sup> Line 2378 is followed by line 2145.

<sup>1263</sup> வேர். Unclear. Line 2150 is followed directly by line 2379.

<sup>1264</sup> My comprehension of this line is based on N10, N8, and N2. Note that the parallel versions differ from N1 inasmuch as Icakki, in disguise, laments her father's death. N10.4062-3 reads as follows: கன்னியரும் ஏதுமொழிசொல்வாள் / கரையளன் மார் சோறு உண்டு வாழ்ந்தேனே / இதுவரைக்கும் / [...] / நன்றுநடுவில்லாமல் மண்ணாவாகெடுத்தாளே / நான் பிழைத்தபிழைப்புகளும் போச்சே / மண்ணாவா இசக்கி என்று அண்ணாவிகரையாளர் மாயமும் தனறிந்தாரில்லை என்று சொல்லி சற்றுநேரம் இருந்தமுது இசக்கியம்மை (Listen to what the young woman said! "Up to now the Karaiyāṇ paid for my upkeep and fed me. That woman—may she go to dust!—has spoilt (everything), without caring for justice. My life is forever destroyed. May that Icakki go to dust!" she said. "[It seems] nobody knows about the death of my father, the Karaiyāṇ," she said, sitting and weeping). See also N8.57b, which has the same meaning as, yet not the exact wording of, N10.

<sup>1265</sup> உள்ளி – உள்ள.

<sup>1266</sup> கிளவி – கிழவி – தலைவி (See *TL*).

<sup>1267</sup> யியவுடன். Unclear; probably a scribal error. I read இயலுடன் (famous).

<sup>1268</sup> வந்தான். I emend to வந்தா<ள்>.

- 2391 அனந்தாயி வெயிலுகந்தா<sup>1269</sup>  
 2392 அம்மை முத்து மோரடியோ  
 2393 மாறு கண்ணி<sup>1270</sup> புதுமாடி  
 2394 மந்திர கண்ணி மோரடியோ<sup>1271</sup>  
 \*2178 பிக்ஷபிள்ளாய்<sup>1272</sup> மோரடியோ  
 \*2179 பிணமாலை<sup>1273</sup> மோரடியோ  
 \*2180 கோளு சொல்லும் பண்டாரத்தி<sup>1274</sup>  
 \*2181 கோஸலயே மோரடியோ  
 \*2182 கண் சிமிட்டி மொளிபறயும்  
 \*2183 கசுமாலி<sup>1275</sup> மோரடியோ  
 \*2184 பிள்ளை மனம் கன்ன வைத்த  
 \*2185 பேகூயம்மா மோரடியோ  
 \*2186 சின்னணஞ்சி மோரடியோ  
 \*2187 சிவகாமி மோரடியோ  
 \*2188 அடுத்தவர்க்கு தூதுஸெல்லும்  
 \*2189 அபிராமி மோரடியோ  
 \*2190 பிச்சபிள்ளாய்பிக்ஷ முத்து  
 \*2191 பளகையூரான மோரடியோ  
 \*2192 முத்தாசி மோரடியோ  
 \*2193 மோகன பிள்ளாய் மோரடியோ  
 \*2194 அணஞ்சி பிள்ளை மோரடியோ  
 \*2195 அபிராமி மோரடியோ  
 \*2196 சின்னணஞ்சி மோரடியோ  
 \*2197 சிவகாமி மோரடியோ  
 \*2198 முத்தாசி மோரடியோ  
 \*2199 சித்தாசி மோரடியோ  
 \*2200 அணஞ்சி பிள்ளாய் மோரடியோ  
 \*2201 அம்மை முத்து மோரடியோ<sup>1276</sup>  
 2395 யிப்படியே பேர் கூறி  
 2396 யிடகூயிர் தெருவில் வந்தாளே.  
 2397 யேநென்று கேட்பவ ரொருவருமில்லை.  
 2398 வாவென்று சொல்லி அளைப்பாருமில்லை  
 2399 மங்கயர் கூடி அளுதிடவேணும்  
 2400 யென்று சொல்லியந்த மாய யிசக்கி.  
 2401 யெல்லாரும் கூட அளுதிடும் வேளை  
 2402 கட்டம்<sup>1277</sup> செய்தோர் பாவி பட்டுயிறக்க  
 2403 கயிலாச பதவி கிடைக்குமே தாயே  
 2404 அளுதால் ஒருவர் முனிக்கவு மாட்டார்  
 2405 அமர்த்துங்கோ வென்று கட்டி அணைத்தாள்.  
 2406 நடட்டம்<sup>1278</sup> வாராதெடி தாய்மாரே நீங்கள்  
 2407 நாச்சியரே நீங்கள் அளுதது போதும்  
 2408 அளுதளுது யிடகூயவள்  
 2409 அவளுக்கு<sup>1279</sup> புத்தி தெளிவு சொல்லி

<sup>1269</sup> This is a list of proper names. Read வெயிலுகந்தாள். Cf. N10.165a.4095, N8.57d.1956, N2.95b.1791, where the list starts with the same names.

<sup>1270</sup> One letter in the script is not legible, the reading being possibly either மாது கண்ணி or மாறுகண்ணி. I read மாறுகண்ணி. Cf. N10.166b.4122.

<sup>1271</sup> Line 2394 is followed directly by line 2178.

<sup>1272</sup> A female proper name. The varying orthography (see பிள்ளாய் in lines 2178, 2190, 2193, and 2200 vs. பிள்ளை in line 2194) can be considered incidental rather than meaningful.

<sup>1273</sup> This is probably a proper name.

<sup>1274</sup> பண்டாரத்தி – பண்டாரசாதி பெண்.

<sup>1275</sup> கசுமாலி – சண்டைக்காரி.

<sup>1276</sup> Line 2201 is followed by line 2395.

<sup>1277</sup> கட்டம் – கஷ்டம்.

<sup>1278</sup> நடட்டம் – நஷ்டம்.

<sup>1279</sup> அவளுக்கு. I read அவர்களுக்கு. Cf. N10.168b.



- 2410 பதறாதே பதறாதே  
 2411 பாவியரே கய்யை விடு  
 2412 கய்யை விடு யினிமேலும்  
 2413 கனமோகும் சேற்ற்திடுவார்.  
 2414 அனாதாக்கால் வருவாரோ.  
 2415 அற்ப பாவமாகுதெடி  
 2416 எருபது பேரிறந்தாலும்  
 2417 யிருக்குதெடி பெண்டுபிள்ளை.<sup>1280</sup>  
 \*2151 அள வேண்டாம் பெண் கொடியே  
 \*2152 அனாதாக்கால் வந்திடுமோ  
 \*2153 போன போக்கு மோச்ச<sup>1281</sup> முண்டும்  
 \*2154 புத்தி கெட்டு புலம்பாதே<sup>1282</sup>  
 2418 வாருமெடி யிடச்சியரே  
 2419 மங்கயரே புத்தி சொல்லு<sup>1283</sup>  
 \*2155 மோர் குடிக்க வாருங்கெடி<sup>1284</sup>  
 \*2156 ஒரு மனயில் கூடுங்கெடி<sup>1285</sup>  
 2420 மோர் குடித்து பசி தீர்த்து  
 2421 மொய் குளலே பேசிடலாம்  
 2422 முத்தரசி<sup>1286</sup> வீடதிலே  
 2423 மொய் குளலார் தான் கூடி<sup>1287</sup>  
 \*2202 யெத்த நயோ<sup>1288</sup> பேரும் கூடி  
 \*2203 யிவளுரில் கூடுங்கெடி  
 \*2204 யென்று சொல்லி மாயிசக்கி  
 \*2205 யேற்ற மனைதனை கூடி<sup>1289</sup>  
 \*2157 சின்ன பிள்ளை ஒரு பக்கம் வைத்து  
 \*2158 சேய்யினயே ஒன்றாக  
 \*2159 அனையோர்க்கும் புத்தி சொல்லி  
 \*2160 ஆயினையாள் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 \*2161 வட்டில் செம்பு யெடுப்பாரும்<sup>1290</sup>  
 \*2162 கிண்ணி வட்டில் கொடுவாரும்  
 \*2163 செம்பு கெண்டி<sup>1291</sup> யெடுப்பாரும்  
 \*2164 யென்று சொல்லி யிசக்கியம்மை  
 \*2165 யின்பமுடன் கூடுவாராம்  
 \*2166 மோர் குடிக்க வாருங்கெடி  
 \*2167 மொய் குளல்மார் யெல்லோரும்  
 \*2168 அனந்தரசி<sup>1292</sup> மனமதிலே<sup>1293</sup>  
 \*2169 ஆயினையார் கூடுவாராம்<sup>1294</sup>

<sup>1280</sup> Line 2417 is followed directly by line 2151.

<sup>1281</sup> மோச்ச – மோட்சம்.

<sup>1282</sup> Line 2154 is followed by line 2418.

<sup>1283</sup> Lines 2418-9 are apparently corrupt. They can probably be read as follows: வாருமடி மங்கையரே. Cf. N10.169d, though it is unclear whether these are parallel lines in N1 and N10. Furthermore, I read புத்தி சொல்லி for புத்தி சொல்லு. Line 2419 is followed by line 2155.

<sup>1284</sup> வாருங்கெடி – வாருங்கள்+அடி.

<sup>1285</sup> Line 2156 is followed by line 2420.

<sup>1286</sup> I consider this a proper name. N8.58d reads differently: எழுபதுபேர்க் கும்முத்த இயல்கரையாளன் மனையில் (in the house of the eldest of the the seventy Karaiyārs). Cf. also N10.169d-170a எழுபது பேர்கரையாளர் / இவரில் ஒருமுதலானார் / அவர்மனையில் கூடுவாராம்.

<sup>1287</sup> Line 2423 is followed by line 2202.

<sup>1288</sup> யெத்த நயோ – எத்தனை+ஓ.

<sup>1289</sup> Line 2205 is followed by line 2157.

<sup>1290</sup> யெடுப்பாரும். I read this as எடுங்கள்/எடும்.

<sup>1291</sup> செம்பு கெண்டி – கெண்டிச்செம்பு.

<sup>1292</sup> அனந்தரசி. A proper name.

<sup>1293</sup> மனமதிலே. I read மனை+அதில் (in the house).

<sup>1294</sup> Line 2169 is followed by line 2424.

- 2424 கிண்ணி<sup>1295</sup> வட்டில் யெடுப்பாரும்<sup>1296</sup>  
 2425 கெண்டி செம்பு யெடுப்பாரும்  
 2426 தாறா<sup>1297</sup> வட்டில் தவலை செம்பு  
 2427 சருவமுடன் கிண்ணி வட்டில்  
 2428 ஒருமுடிவாய் தானே விட்டாள்  
 2429 ஓவியமாய் விசக்கியம்மை<sup>1298</sup>  
 \*2170 வாறவிதி அறியாமல்  
 \*2171 மங்கைமார் மோர்குடித்தார்.<sup>1299</sup>  
 2430 விசக்கியென்று அறியாமல்  
 2431 யெல்லோரும் மோர் குடித்தார்.<sup>1300</sup>  
 \*2206 யிளந்தாரி பெண்களுடன்  
 \*2207 யெல்லோரும் மோர் குடித்தார்.  
 \*2208 சின்னம் சிறு பிள்ளைகள் போல்  
 \*2209 சேய்யுளயும்<sup>1301</sup> மோர் குடித்தாள்.<sup>1302</sup>  
 2432 மோர் குடிக்கும் வேளையிலே  
 2433 விறையலது பொறுக்குதில்லை.  
 2434 ஆகமது<sup>1303</sup> விட்டதினால்  
 2435 அடித்திளுக்கும் காலுகய்யை  
 2436 வெட்டி<sup>1304</sup>னாக்கும் உடம்புகள்க்கும்  
 2437 மெள்ளவே<sup>1305</sup> பால் குடியுமெடி.  
 2438 அடிமுறியும் உடலிளுக்க  
 2439 ஆக உயிர் முடிந்திடவே<sup>1306</sup>  
 \*2172 குடித்த மோர் தங்குமுன்னே  
 \*2173 குலபனிகள்<sup>1307</sup> செய்குறாளாம்.  
 \*2174 பாவிசுளே சூலிகளை<sup>1308</sup>  
 \*2175 பிசுப்பிள்ளை<sup>1309</sup> தசூலிகளை<sup>1310</sup>  
 \*2176 கருக்கருவாய்<sup>1311</sup> தானறுத்து  
 \*2177 கருவதிலே<sup>1312</sup> யேறி கொன்றாள்.<sup>1313</sup>  
 2440 அவர்களுட சிறுபிள்ளையை  
 2441 வேடிக்கை வீச்சு<sup>1314</sup>முட்டாங்கு மிட்டு<sup>1315</sup> விரவுடனே நடக்க<sup>1316</sup>

<sup>1295</sup> கிண்ணி – கிண்ணம்.

<sup>1296</sup> The following list of vessels differs slightly in the other versions. Cf. N10.170a-b.

<sup>1297</sup> தாறா. I read தாரைத்தாள்வட்டில் – பாத்திரவகை; see *TL*. Cf. N10.170b தாரைவட்டில்.

<sup>1298</sup> Line 2429 is followed by line 2170.

<sup>1299</sup> Line 2171 is followed by lines 2430-1.

<sup>1300</sup> Line 2431 is followed by lines 2206-9.

<sup>1301</sup> சேய்யுளயும் – செய்யோளும்.

<sup>1302</sup> Line 2209 is followed by line 2432.

<sup>1303</sup> ஆகமது – ஆகம்+அது. ஆகம் – உடல்.

<sup>1304</sup> வெட்டி (an attack of fits), i.e. நாக்கு உள்ளே இழுத்துக் கொள்ளும் [...] (The tongue draws back, the whole body suffers from convulsions).

<sup>1305</sup> மெள்ள – மெல்ல.

<sup>1306</sup> Line 2439 is followed by lines 2172-7.

<sup>1307</sup> குலபனிகள் – கொலை பணிகள்.

<sup>1308</sup> சூலிகளை – கருப்பவதி.

<sup>1309</sup> பிசுப்பிள்ளை. I read பச்சை குழந்தை (young [lit. tender] child).

<sup>1310</sup> தசூலிகளை. An echo word. Read பிசுப்பிள்ளை தசூலிகளை as பச்சைப்பிள்ளை தச்சப்பிள்ளை (little babies).

<sup>1311</sup> கருக்கருவாய். Unclear. The bow-song bard T.M.P. suggests the meaning துண்டம் துண்டமாக (into pieces).

<sup>1312</sup> கருவதிலே – கழுமரத்தில்.

<sup>1313</sup> Line 2177 is followed by line 2440.

<sup>1314</sup> வீச்சு – கை வீச்சு.

<sup>1315</sup> முட்டாங்கு மிட்டு – முட்டாக்கிட்டு/முக்காடு இட்டு.

<sup>1316</sup> Line 2441 is followed by line 2470. I emend according to N10.171.

- 2470 ஆயினாயாள் கொல்லவென்று<sup>1317</sup>  
 2471 சுண்ணாம்பும் சோறுமாக  
 2472 திரட்டியவள் தான் கொடுத்து  
 2473 கொன்றாளே பாதகத்தி  
 2474 கொடும்<sup>1318</sup> நீலி யிசக்கியம்மை  
 2475 யெல்லோரும் யிறந்தபோது  
 2476 யேற்ற<sup>1319</sup> நரி ஓடவிட்டாள்.  
 2477 பளகையூரானதிலே  
 2478 பகல்<sup>1320</sup> தீ கொளுத்தி விட்டால்<sup>1321</sup>  
 2479 யென்பெருமாள் துணையெனவே<sup>1322</sup>  
 2480 கூஸபரனார்<sup>1323</sup> கயிலயிலே<sup>1324</sup>  
 2481 கயிலாழ<sup>1325</sup> புரமதிலே  
 2482 கரைக் கண்டனாரிடமதிலே  
 2483 சிவனுடய கயிலயிலே  
 2484 சென்றாரே யிருபேரும்.

பகவதி அன்ன யிசக்கி கதை முற்றிவிட்டது.

<sup>1317</sup> The sense is certain if we connect the two lines N1.2441 and N1.2470 on the basis of N10.171. Cf. N10.171ab எழுபதுபேர்சிறுபிள்ளையை இனி எந்தாயார் / கொல்லவேணும்என்று.

<sup>1318</sup> கொடும் – கொடிய.

<sup>1319</sup> A filler.

<sup>1320</sup> பகல் – பகர் (blazing, bright, splendour; *TL* s.v.). This is based on the reading in N10.171d, where the word appears twice, once as பகல தீ and once as பகல நரி.

<sup>1321</sup> விட்டால். I emend to விட்டா<ள்> on the basis of N10.171d and N8.59a-b. In these two versions, lines N1.2477 and 2478 have no relation to one another. N1.2478, rather, evidently belongs in the scene that follows the killing. பனகநகர் தெருவதிலே பகலதீகொடுத்திவைத்தாள் / பழகைநகர்தெருவதல்லாம் பகல நரிஓடவைத்தாள்.

<sup>1322</sup> யெனவே – என/என்று.

<sup>1323</sup> கூஸபரனார். Corrupt. I emend to <குருபரனார்> on the basis of N10. 173a, N8.59b.

<sup>1324</sup> கயிலயிலே – கயிலாயம்/கயிலாசம்.

<sup>1325</sup> கயிலாழ – கயிலாசம். Note the difference in orthography compared to line 2480—a feature typical of the N1 text.

## 5.4 Translation of N1 with Annotations

### Icakki Katai<sup>1</sup>

#### *Invocation*<sup>2</sup>

- 1 What is played is the excellent *kañcam* musical instrument. What bathes is the water bubble.  
 2 Where one kills [the enemy in battle] is the battlefield. Where one sows is the field for growing crops.  
 3 What is to be tied is the swift horse. What has to be protected is *karpū*, female virtue.  
 4 That which is to be praised are the three divisions<sup>3</sup> of the Tamil language; to be praised is famed Paḷakai Nakar<sup>4</sup>.  
 5 What is great there is the Ammaiyappar temple.  
 6 In order to tell the greatness of this good town to this earthly realm,  
 7 I shall—(together) with sugar candy, fruits, and pastry—  
 8 offer colourful flowers at your feet. O Gaṇapati, come and help me [to succeed]!

#### *Time, place, etc. of the composition*

- 9 The prosperous southern land,  
 10 a mountainous land where honey flows;  
 11 a land where rain falls daily;  
 12 a land where monkeys are [ever] capering;  
 13-14 the land of kings and gurus, where cool groves bountifully give forth flowers  
 15 and charity never fails;  
 16 a land where water ever flows.
- 17 In the Kṛta-yuga,  
 18 in the Tretā-yuga,  
 19 in the Dvāpara-yuga,  
 20 in the unbearably heavy Kali-yuga—  
 21 [it was] in the Kali-yuga,  
 22 [that] the story was written down and compiled,  
 23-24 in the northern place [called] Cūraṅkuṭi, where the deer play,  
 25 the bright (Kerala) *kollam*<sup>5</sup> year being replaced,  
 26 in the running *kollam* year of this Kali-yuga,  
 27 in the year 1134 [=1959]  
 28 in the (Kerala) month of Iṭṭapam (i.e. May-June), on the 27th day,  
 29 in the (Tamil) month of Vaikāci<sup>6</sup>,  
 30-31 on the 27th day, when rain was pouring down heavily,

<sup>1</sup> There is no profane context in which this narrative text is performed.

<sup>2</sup> Traditionally there is an invocation at the beginning of a poem. Invocations are a special genre, separate from the *katai* and not part of the story-line, but nevertheless part of the ‘complete’ *katai*; they invoke and summon the divine powers.

<sup>3</sup> முத்தமிழ்: இயல், இசை, நாடகம் (literature, music, drama). These three divisions are considered to constitute the totality of Tamil.

<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy that நகர் (town) is added to the word Paḷakai at the beginning of the *katai* but not at a later stage of the story (for instance, in the passages culminating in the episode of the Ceṭṭi’s coming to Paḷakai and pleading with the Karaiyāḷars for help).

<sup>5</sup> See Fabricius 1972:307.

<sup>6</sup> The second Tamil month: mid-May to mid-June.

- 32 on Monday morning,  
 33 in the eminent eighth [astrological] phase,  
 34 [in the night], in the 55th *nāḷikai*,<sup>7</sup>  
 35 [this work] was swiftly completed  
 36 under the stars of the 25th lunar mansion.  
 37-41:  
 37 It was written in order to become famous,  
 39 written by Poṅṅiliṅkam Nāṭār,<sup>8</sup>  
 38 who [in it] pours out a torrent of flowers.  
 40-43:  
 43 Through the *aruḷ* of Śiva-Parameśvaram,  
 40-41 he wrote down the epic of Paḷakai Nallūr in order to be read—  
 42 [he], the son born to Bhagavatī,  
 44 born at the feet of Śiva,  
 45-46 and married by garlanding Aṅṅavaṭivu Nāṭācci.  
 47-51:  
 47 During the time they lived  
 51 he wrote it  
 48 so that his entire family would prosper,  
 49 the people of the world would flourish,  
 50-51 and so that it would be read by both wives and husbands.  
 52-56:  
 56 [Śiva] Mahādeva gives the boon  
 52 [that] cattle, wealth, and happiness—  
 53 all this—shall prosper,  
 54 [that] those who wrote [this story], too, shall prosper,  
 55 and [that] children and wives shall prosper.  
 57 Those who have given a contribution [of money for the temple festival] shall prosper!  
 58 Their families shall prosper!  
 59 May possession by the spirits flourish!  
 60 May the people who are assembled here prosper!  
 61-62 May all those who dance and sing prosper!  
 63-64 May all who listen to this story prosper!  
 65-66 Even if there is a flaw, O people of this earthly realm, please excuse it.  
 67 I sing this story.  
 68 May we be benefited! You please listen!  
 69-70:  
 70 You all listen,  
 69 and after the *Icakki Katai* is finished,  
 71-72 another palm-leaf manuscript, [containing the story] of the *Malai Valappam*,<sup>9</sup> can be heard

<sup>7</sup> நாழிகை (an Indian hour of twenty-four minutes; Fabricius, s.v.).

<sup>8</sup> This person belongs to the Nāṭār community. For further details on the Nāṭārs, see Sects. 7.1, n. 10 and 7.2.

<sup>9</sup> The story of the “Mountain’s Riches,” also known as the “Nīlacāmi Katai,” is based on the *Icakkiammaṅ Katai* (*IK*). Parts of the *IK* (Nīlaṅ–Nīli born to the Cōḷa king and abandoned under a margosa tree, Nīlaṅ killed by Kuṅṅōtaraṅ, and the journey to Kailāsa) recur in it. However, after the journey to Kailāsa, the Nīlacāmi Katai departs from the *IK*’s story-line, and tells of a boon given by Śiva and of Nīlaṅ’s journey to the southern land. Nīlaṅ passes Cōḷa Nāṭu, the Kāviri River, Paḷakai Nakar (here he remembers his past encounter with the Karaiyāḷars and Nīli’s revenge), continues on his way to Nāṅciḷnāṭu (where he witnesses the riches of the mountain) via Tiruccentūr (where he praises Murukaṅ), and further to Patmānāpapuram (the Nīlakaṅṅa Cāmi temple) and Tiruvaṅantapuram (present-day Trivandrum, where he dances in front of the Patmānāpa Cāmi temple). The story also tells of Nīlaṅ’s former births as Bhīma (*Mbh.*) and as one of the heroes who fought against Rāvaṅa (*Rām.*), then as one of a pair of twins born to a Paṅaiyar woman, and as one of a pair of twins born to a devadāsī, each time dying a cruel death. Finally Nīlaṅ settles down permanently in Nāṅciḷnāṭu (see the synopsis in Perumāḷ and Śrīkumār 2002:125ff.). – According to Perumāḷ 1990:47ff. (or the reprint, Perumāḷ and Śrīkumār 2002:19ff.), the author of the “Nīlacāmi

- by all of you—  
 73 telling of the land's riches.  
 74 And if again we want [another story] thereafter,  
 75-76 we shall listen to the *Vaṅṅiyaṭi Maṟavaṅ Katai* in order to obtain wealth,  
 77 to increase our prosperity(?), to increase our [head of] cattle,  
 78 [and] in order that our world, Poṅṅilīṅkam Nāṭār, and [his wife] Aṅṅavaṭivu Nāṭācci may prosper!

*The Icakki Katai of ancient South Paḷakai*<sup>10</sup>

*Invocation*

- 79-80:  
 80 I am going to sing with my tongue, according to my knowledge, the entire  
 79 Icakki story of the ancient village of South Paḷakai—in the threefold [division of] Tamil.  
 81 The white-tusked god,<sup>11</sup> associated with fine Tamil, offered it.  
 82 He, the pot-bellied, elephant-faced god who is associated with knowledge, protects me.  
 83-84 O noble five-armed Gaṇeśa, [you who are] worshipped in order to obtain<sup>12</sup> success! O  
 elephant god, happily born to Siva Śaṅkara on the [Himālaya] mountains as ruler over the  
 Sanskrit language!  
 85 O pot-bellied Gaṇapati! O elephant of sweet tongue,  
 86 you do inaugurate<sup>13</sup> the *katai* with your sweetness, so that we will never face obstructions.  
 87 O goddess Sarasvatī, kindly inaugurate [the *katai*] with never-(failing) flawlessness!  
 88 O golden-footed one, [sitting] on the pericarp of a lotus, (your) royal seat!  
 89 O goddess Lakṣmī, you [who] sit majestically, spreading light like the glittering sun!  
 90 I am your humble devotee. Graciously grant clarification of my flawed knowledge!

*Viruttam*

- 91-94 To perform the story of Icakki, who spoke with a cunning tongue, murdering the merchant  
 who crossed her path, is like saying: “I will leap beyond the great sea that spreads in all  
 directions, giving the horse free rein.”<sup>14</sup>  
 95 (The story of Icakki) was composed in Tamil by Kōvintaṅ Mārttāṅṅaṅ Kuṭṭi

*Katai*” was Poṅṅaiṅcavaṅ Putalvaṅ Umaikuṭṭi (Perumāḷ 1990:48), as stated in one “Nīlacāmi *Katai*” palm-leaf manuscript. A.K. Perumāḷ draws the conclusion that the story of Nīlacāmi may have been composed around 1775 C.E. (Perumāḷ 1990:49/Perumāḷ and Śrīkumār 2002:21). His evidence for this date is drawn directly from the “Nīlacāmi *Katai*,” which speaks about the fame of Patmānāpapuram in the taluk of Kalkuḷam, K.K.Dt. (it was once the capital of Tiruvitāṅkūr). Among the kings of Tiruvitāṅkūr, King Rāmavarma was especially popular, and earned the title of *dharma rājā*. He ruled from 1758 to 1798 C.E. In the years following 1790, the fame of Patmānāpapuram decreased (see Perumāḷ 1990:49). One “Nīlacāmi *Katai*” palm-leaf manuscript, extant in Eṟumpukkāṭu, dates from the *kollam* year 950 (=1775 C.E.), a time when the population of Nāṅciṅṅaṭu was suffering the ravages of war, according to historical sources relating to Tiruvitāṅkūr (Perumāḷ 1990:49/Perumāḷ and Śrīkumār 2002:21). – In the Icakki temples in Nāṅciṅṅaṭu to which I have so far had access, Nīlacāmi (or Nīlaperumāḷ) is represented as a subordinate deity.

<sup>10</sup> I believe it unwise to make identifications of the original geographical location of Paḷakainallūr (or Paḷakai), in the absence of reliable information from inscriptions or coins (cf. Sect. 2.5, and Perumāḷ 1990:45).

<sup>11</sup> Gaṇapati/Gaṇeśa.

<sup>12</sup> A somewhat free translation of பரவுதல்.

<sup>13</sup> Literally: “walk before the story.”

<sup>14</sup> Compare similar phrasing in Pukaḷenti’s introduction to his *Naḷavenpā*; I cite Shulman’s (2001:109) translation: “Like someone trying to bind a violent and fearless elephant with a lotus stalk—that is how I have sung this divine tale of Nala with his fresh garland of flowers filled with singing bees.” On such standard literary figures and the pregnant images in them, occasionally paired with a personal remark on the part of the *kavi* author, see Shulman 2001:109.

- 96 through (Śiva's) compassionate act of giving—<the ruler><sup>15</sup> of the earth, who dwells on the  
great mountains, wearing <Gangai><sup>16</sup> [in his coiled, matted hair].  
97 [I will perform] with clarity and in a perfect manner the whole grand(?)<sup>17</sup> story of Icakki.  
98 In this <way><sup>18</sup> I will sing the song in this village.<sup>19</sup>

*Apologetic preface*<sup>20</sup>

- 99-100 O great people, [observers of] the conventions(?) in [our] land, please accept my apology  
for [my] insufficiency in singing of your greatness in a composition in pure, high Tamil!  
101-02 O young Bhūdēvi, come and stand first, to increase the <strength><sup>21</sup> of this humble man's  
tongue [so as] to [elicit] everyone's appreciation!

*The Icakki Katai [proper]*

- 103 In the land of lands<sup>22</sup> (i.e. in the best land),  
104 in the fine northern region,  
105 in the [best] country<sup>23</sup> among all countries,  
106 in the best town,  
107 in that city,  
108 in that city,  
109 in the Ammaiappar temple,  
110 in the Ammaiappar temple,  
111 those Brahmins who know the Vedas, [the Ādiśaiva<sup>24</sup> Brahmins],  
113 are the most orthodox Brahmins  
112 among Brahmins;  
114 orthodox Brahmins who do pūjā  
115 to please Mahādeva.  
117 Those best Brahmins  
116 do the pūjā while praising the four directions  
118 to the sixty-one<sup>25</sup> sages—  
119 to each in a fitting manner—

<sup>15</sup> Em. <பூபதி>.

<sup>16</sup> Restored <கங்கை> .

<sup>17</sup> யேவிந்தம் remains unclear.

<sup>18</sup> Em. <வண்ணமாக>.

<sup>19</sup> The literal meaning of பார் is “earthly realm.”

<sup>20</sup> அவையடக்கம். A common preliminary declaration of modesty and certain failure on the part of singers on stage.

<sup>21</sup> Em. <வல்லார்>.

<sup>22</sup> On *nātu* as a person-centric term, see Daniel 1987:68, 69, 70, where the term is defined as “any place that to [a person ...] at that moment strikes him as his country, whether it be India as a whole or the cluster of villages to one side or the other [...]” (ibid.:70).

<sup>23</sup> On *tēcam*, see Daniel 1987:68–70, 101: “In marked contrast to the terms *nātu* and *ūr* are the terms *tēcam* and *kirāmam*, which are of Sanskrit origin and which refer to nation/country and village, respectively. Both terms refer to bounded, standard, universally accepted, and constant spatial units. The government determines what is a *tēcam* and a *kirāmam*, [...]. There is no contextual variation in the use of these terms” (68f.). The term *tēcam* (from Skt. *deśa*) carries politico-geographical connotations. According to Daniel (ibid.), “[t]he word *tēcam* is by and large a political concept, and for those who are not interested in national politics [...] *tēcam* remains abstract and affectively distant” (69). The meaning of *tēcam* “is relatively context free, universal, and fixed” (70).

<sup>24</sup> Skt. *ādiśaiva*, Ta. *kurukkaḷ*: officiating Brahmin priests in Śaiva temples. The Ādiśaivas are one of the sixteen Śaiva sects that give prominence to outward symbols and forms of worship.

<sup>25</sup> The number sixty-one is of no significance; any other number could have been used. The same number is mentioned in N8.3d. One might have expected sixty-three saints, referring to the Śaiva saints known as Nāyanmārs.

120 without leaving a single day out,  
 121 true to the customary way,  
 122 without failing to do pūjā  
 123 at the time [they] come [to worship].

*A child is born to the Brahmin.*

124 At that time the Brahmin Śivapāppāṅ  
 125 had no child.  
 126 At this time Śivapāppāṅ, the Śaiva Brahmin—  
 127 [his wife] then barren,  
 128 barren Śiva-Āti—  
 129 was stricken with grief.  
 130-31 As they, grief-stricken, worshipped the flower-like foot of Ammaiyyappar  
 132 out of sadness because of [their] childlessness,  
 133 by the grace of the god an embryo began to grow.

134 As the growing embryo took shape,  
 135 ten months passed happily.  
 136 When ten months had passed  
 137 [the wife] gave birth to a son.  
 138 To the child that was born  
 139 the Brahmin and his wife Āti—  
 140 to the surpassingly good son  
 141 they gave a good name.

142-45:

142-43 In those days, when Śivapāppāṅ happily had given him the name Vēṭṭiyan  
 144 and as the Ādiśaiva Brahmin was growing up—  
 145 at that same time—to the devadāsī Śivakāmi [who was] endowed with perfect Brahmanical  
 146 manners a male child was born.

*A male child is born to the devadāsī<sup>26</sup> Śivakāmi.*

146 Śivakāmi, a devadāsī of perfection indeed,  
 147 performed her temple duties perfectly every day.  
 148 Of the forty-one<sup>27</sup> beautiful devadāsīs she was the oldest.  
 149 The devadāsī Śivakāmi was expert in many (rare) arts.  
 150 And as she had learned acting and dancing in addition to many [other] arts,  
 151 she [performed] before an audience and earned much money.  
 152 Even though she had collected gold and belongings and had a sufficient number of dresses,  
 153 there was no child to enjoy all this wealth.

<sup>26</sup> Devadāsī: temple dancer; literally: “female servant of a god.” Devadāsīs are considered to be auspicious, particularly when it comes to increasing fertility (Marglin 1985). They used to play an important role in Hindu marriages (except for the dāsīs of Travancore; cf. Thurston and Rangachari 1909:141). Devadāsīs know no widowhood, since they are formally married to a god or a sword. On devadāsīs and their tradition in South India, see Kersenboom-Story 1987; in Puri, cf. Marglin 1985.

<sup>27</sup> The significance of the number forty-one in this particular context is unclear. Generally, the number forty-one is found in connection with the fasting and abstinence for the forty-one days of the Aiyappaṅ festival (see Flood 1996:214), and the forty-one days of mourning when someone has died. The number forty-one also figures on the occasion of birth. Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi comments on this number with regard to “women’s pollution periods in Tamilnad” (1974:149).



- 154-55 “Did I drop the small water-pot and stop the picotah,<sup>28</sup> [refusing water to a thirsty person]?  
 156 I can’t really say  
 157-58 I enjoy all this wealth.” She said this several times  
 159 in lamentation,  
 160-61 while thinking fervently of the god.  
 162 The mighty Śiva,  
 163 after talking to Pārvatī,  
 164-65 blessed Śivakāmi.  
 166 His blessing bore fruit, as expected, and a child took shape  
 167 in the beautiful womb within ten<sup>29</sup> months.  
 168-69 Once kith and kin came to know that the months had been completed, they gathered full of  
 compassion.  
 170 The day having been determined by Śiva, [Śivakāmi] gave  
 171 birth to a boy and uttered [three times] a shrill *kuravai* sound.<sup>30</sup>
- 172 Everyone heard the shrill sound that she gave forth, and it made them happy.  
 173-74 When she had given birth to that baby, [a baby] delivered by the beautiful Śivakāmi, they  
 took the baby and put it on their laps to feed it milk.  
 175 Many people gathered to name the child.<sup>31</sup>  
 176 They named it Tirukaṇṭa Naṭṭuvar<sup>32</sup>.
- 177 Tirukaṇṭa grew up like an elephant running about briskly here and there.  
 178 As he was growing up [and] running about, the Naṭṭuvars joined together  
 179 and taught him correct Tamil,  
 180 and how to play the drum. He strove hard,  
 181-82 and they saw the extraordinary talent he had of working his fingers over the drum,  
 183-84 so brilliantly did he render service as a talented artist by playing the drum.  
 185 Having offered [his talents] in such a way, he expected a recompense,  
 186 and so stayed with the lovely Śivakāmi [to accompany her dancing].<sup>33</sup>

*A female child is born to the devadāsī Śivakāmi.*

- 187 At that time Śivakāmi  
 188-89 was [full of] grief, saying that she desired a baby girl for herself,<sup>34</sup> [one precious] like

<sup>28</sup> Meaning: “Did I stop drawing water from the well?”

<sup>29</sup> Literally: “two times five.” Ten is the number of lunar months that elapse from conception to delivery.

<sup>30</sup> If a boy is born the sound is repeated three times; if a girl, once. My thanks to Dr. Vijayalaksmi of Maturai Kamraj University, Dept. of Folklore, for providing me with this information and actually demonstrating the *kuravai* sound for me—a sound produced by fluttering the tongue rapidly across the open mouth while emitting a high-pitched tone.

<sup>31</sup> The *katai* refers here to the childhood rite of naming a child. On the naming of children, van Gennep (1960:62f.) notes: “[W]hen a child is named, [... it] is both individualized and incorporated into society” (62).

<sup>32</sup> Naṭṭuvar, an addition to the name proper, indicates the profession of dance master.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Thurston and Rangachari (1909:127), who remark: “Some of the sons remain in the caste, and live by playing music for the women to dance to, and accompaniments to their songs, or by teaching singing and dancing to the younger girls, and music to the boys. These are called Nattuvans. Others [...] drift out of the community.”

<sup>34</sup> On inheritance through the female line, see Thurston and Rangachari (1909:149), referring to the Indian Law Reports, Madras Series Vol. XIII, 1890. As stated by the two authors (ibid.:144): “The birth of male children is not made an occasion for rejoicing, and, as the proverb goes, the lamp on these occasions is only dimly lighted. Inheritance is in the female line, and women are the absolute owners of all property earned [...]’.” The same authors (151) states: “It may be observed that *Dēvadāsīs* are the only class of women, who are, under Hindu law as administered in the British Courts, allowed to adopt girls to themselves.” – A *devadāsī* who desires a female child as her heir, acquires one and brings her up in splendour, teaching her all the necessary skills, is a very familiar character in Tamil literature. A fine example is found in Caravaṇap Perumāḷ Kavirāyar’s *Cētupati Viṅgaliviṭṭūtu* (nineteenth century), 191ff., where in the story of Cuntaramaiyaṅ, son of Ātirattiṅgam Aiyar, we hear about the famous courtesan Cenkamalavalli of Marutūr, who had long been barren (p. 226, v. 248), but finally by the grace of

- nectar.  
 190 Grief-stricken, Śivakāmi lost [all] charm.  
 191 “There’s no use in living.  
 192 At least one attains salvation if one dies.”  
 193 Before the breast-feeding [of the first child] was completely over, forgetting [her grief],  
 194 she would give birth to [a second child], a baby girl.  
 195 While [the other] ladies were wondering whether there would be any chance [astrologically]  
 of a baby girl,  
 196 Śivakāmi was doing penance for the [longed-for] child.
- 197 “If only I could have a baby girl  
 198 I could always earn enough money [for my livelihood] and make a profit,”  
 199 Śivakāmi-Dāsī said to herself,  
 200 and she pleaded, “May the god give me [one].”  
 201-02 For as long as she practised austerities [for the female child], she did not go to the temple  
 to perform her dance.
- 203 Śiva and Pārvatī made up their mind,  
 204-06 and blessed the young, richly ornamented lady Śivakāmi with a healthy, fully developed  
 baby.  
 207 At that time, without any defect,  
 208 the embryo grew in a shape befitting Śivakāmi.  
 209 It grew, and the month arrived  
 210 when the lady’s (i.e. Śivakāmi’s) labour pains began.  
 211 Painful and afflicted, her body showed [signs of] weakness.  
 212 Two ladies of slender waist held her hands on both sides [of her],  
 213 supporting her in a manner that was comfortable.  
 214 As had been determined by Śiva,  
 215 happily, [and] in a fitting manner, the lady—  
 216 entirely delighted—  
 217 delivered a baby girl.
- 218-19 It was indeed a baby girl that the lady Śivakāmi gave birth to.  
 220 All her kith and kin,  
 221 young women with beautiful bangles, brought presents,  
 222 and [as pretty] as a painting, the new-born  
 223 daughter of Śivakāmi  
 224 was nursed with their (i.e. the visitors’) own breast milk,  
 225 and the girls with the beautiful bangles sang lullabies.  
 226 [Thus] singing lullabies,  
 227 they brought her up [as an heir] within their lineage.  
 228 While she was growing up in this manner, the ladies

the god gave birth to a baby girl. It is stated explicitly that only baby girls are coveted and respected (தாசிகள் வீட்டில் பெண் குழந்தைகளுக்குத்தானே மதிப்பு, p. 192). The baby girl Mōhaṇamuttu is described as being fed with milk mixed with various character traits, such as deceitfulness, fraud, splendour, allure, charm, trickery, and deception (குது, கவடு(-கவடம்), பகடம்(-பகட்டு), தித்திரிப்பு, வஞ்சம், p. 227, vv. 260-1), and is richly decked out with jewels (v. 264) by her old mother (தாய்கிழவி), who teaches her, after the young woman’s அரங்கேற்றம் (p. 230, v. 294), all the needed skills (pp. 230f., vv. 296ff.) of her trade (குலவித்தை, v. 297). She advises her, among other things, not to hesitate to lie and deceive men in order to accumulate wealth. Remembering all of her mother’s advice, the enchanting Mōhaṇamuttu, the most accomplished courtesan of her era, wasted no time impoverishing men, robbing them of both esteem and a clear mind (மோக வயையில் சிக்கி, பொன்னையும், பொருளையும், மதிப்பையும், மானத்தையும் இழந்தனர்) (p. 193). Here similar to the *Icakkiammaṅ Katai*, this portion of the poem is highly interesting as a description of courtesan life, and provides psychological, sociological, and cultural insights into that profession.

- 229-30 [asked themselves], “Whose name do we want to give the girl?  
231-32 Shall the lovely daughter be named after [one of her] ancestors,  
233 or be named after one of the elders?”  
234 Reflecting on this,  
235-36 they named the beautiful girl Lakṣmī Ammai.
- 237 After naming her and singing lullabies,  
238 [her mother] adorned the child with golden jewels;<sup>35</sup>  
239 for her foot she put on a silver foot-ring;  
240 a bracelet<sup>36</sup> on her upper arm;  
241 for the shoulders, twisted bangles;  
242 for the (slender) *tuṭi*<sup>37</sup>-like waist, an *oṭṭiyāṇam*-like ornament;  
243 a golden cord around the hips and a forehead-jewel in the shape of a crescent;  
244 and the pretty girl also put on a crescent-shaped head ornament—  
245 a crescent-shaped ornament resembling an eye for the centre of the head;  
246 also a fitting necklace with its string of shining gems;  
247 an ornament studded with green stones  
248 [and] decorated with a [round] pendant set with gems [was] suspended from the necklace  
she wore;  
249 a golden neck-chain;  
250 a drooping pearl necklace, studded with sundry pearls;  
251 forehead-jewels, [and] hair-parting jewels (in the shape of a crescent moon);  
252 for the finely adorned young woman, a crescent-shaped ornament worn on the forehead,  
253-54 in the shape of a pulse in a pod<sup>38</sup>; also rings on her ten fingers;  
255 like a sprinkling of drops of water  
256 on the body of the woman as slender and supple as a growing branch,  
257-58 the white spots scattered on the stomach [and looked] as [if they had been] scooped up and  
sprinkled;  
259 her very long<sup>39</sup> hair tied in a knot.  
260 [Such was] the beauty of the body and the make-up  
261 of the girl of fish-shaped<sup>40</sup> eyes—  
262 eyes, too, with a modest, downcast glance.  
263 [In this manner] Lakṣmī grew up.<sup>41</sup>
- 264-65 In the days when she was growing as the sun rises in the sky,  
266-68 strong men saw and followed her.  
269 Putting their thumbs on one nostril [as a sign of surprise],  
270 they lost their senses and became bewildered.  
271 Having crossed the age of childhood,  
272 once the girl with the vine-like waist reached the age of seven<sup>42</sup>—

<sup>35</sup> In lines 239-54 we find various ornaments described. This beautiful description is missing in N8.6b and N2.8b, but is found in part in N10.8c (till N1.248). Wearing a plethora of jewels is part of the devadāsī and courtesan tradition; cf. *Cil.*, Chap. 6, containing a description of the courtesan Mātavi so decked out.

<sup>36</sup> கடையம், cf. *Cil.*, Chap. 6, where the *kaṭaiyam* (bracelet) dance is mentioned.

<sup>37</sup> துடி (a small hourglass-shaped drum).

<sup>38</sup> Of the size of a green gram.

<sup>39</sup> A literal measurement is given, corresponding to approximately 3,66 metres (4 yards).

<sup>40</sup> The eyes of a beautiful woman are conventionally compared to a fish.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Mōhaṇamuttu’s growing up in the *Cēṭupati Viṛaliviṭutūtu* by Caravaṇap Perumāḷ Kavirāyar, p. 227, vv. 258ff. (see my more detailed discussion above in n. 34 to N1.188-9).

<sup>42</sup> Education usually begins at the age of seven. There are many popular songs on this theme.

- 273 when they say her age passed seven—  
 274 they called for a learned person to impart knowledge to her,  
 275 and [so] she learned<sup>43</sup> [the art] of leaving her body, [and] entering the body of someone else,  
 276 and also magical tricks, [such as] being aided by *kuraḷi* women.  
 277-79 As she learned juggling, the use of mantras, and numerous skills relating to love spells  
 (*Liebeszauber*), and also acquired a practical method of preparing traditional medicine,  
 280-82 the young woman Lakṣmī matured sexually.<sup>44</sup>
- 283 As she came of age in this manner,  
 284 the good, agreeable Brahmin, too,  
 285 was one [of those] who stumbled on his steady legs  
 286 and, confused and numb, fell down—allured by her.<sup>45</sup>  
 287 He, whose desire indeed was great,  
 288 was now trapped.
- 289-95 The beautifully adorned woman saw the good Brahmin [falling]. Telling him to get up, she  
 reflected [to herself] on being constantly together with the great Brahmin, who, [intoxicated  
 with her beauty,] had red streaks in his eyes, as if he had been drinking the exquisitely made  
 local drink.  
 296 [Having thus reflected,] she told her mother about the whole matter.<sup>46</sup>
- 297 When [the mother] said that a love potion must be given [to the Brahmin],  
 297.1 [the daughter] began to collect medical herbs, shrubs, and flowers,<sup>47</sup>  
 298-99 [and] put [them] into her sari<sup>48</sup>: a plant with clusters of bristles that cling to clothes (*Pupalia*  
*orbiculata*),<sup>49</sup> [and] a plant[-based] drug which charms and enslaves men (*Scutia indica*)<sup>50</sup>.  
 300-01 [She collected also] bile from both a black female crow<sup>51</sup> and an owl's liver.  
 302-03 After she had searched and collected all these medicines and the like and dried [them] in the  
 shade [of a tree],  
 304-05 she wrapped all the collected medicine in a betel leaf.  
 306 Due to all the medicine given [to him]  
 307 and due to the relationship with [his] lady of tender breasts,  
 308 due to her alluring breasts  
 309 and due to her art of pleasing [him] by massaging his legs—  
 310-11 (even) though that good old lady [Sivakāmi] of shrivelled breasts had discarded [him]—

<sup>43</sup> The following passage, lines 275-9, is missing in the versions closest to the base text, namely in N2.8bc, N8.6b, and N10.9a. These three versions seem to avoid describing sensuality/eroticism and sorcery.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Mōhaṇamuttu's coming of age in the *Cētopati Viraliviṭutūtu* by Caravaṇap Perumāḷi Kavirāyar, p. 229, vv. 288ff. (see again my more detailed discussion above in n. 34 to N1.188-9).

<sup>45</sup> The description of the Brahmin who, mad with desire, spends his days hanging around the house of the devadāsī, is more elaborately described in other versions of the corpus. – Cf. the *Kūḷappa Nāyakaṅ Viraliviṭutūtu* by Cupratipak Kavirāyar (eighteenth century), p. 113, vv. 387-8: களைப்புமாய்ப் பூனைபோற் கத்தி-கிழக்கே / அடுத்த மனையில் அருகுதிண்ணை தன்னில் / படுத்துக் கிடக்கின்றான் பாரும்-படித்தவரே, a very similar description of a love-sick client who is impoverished by a courtesan and passes his days, like a cat, on the veranda of a house neighbouring the courtesan's.

<sup>46</sup> These lines are somewhat different from those in both N8 and N2, where Śivakāmi gives the wily advice to her daughter not to take money from the Brahmin and not to allow anybody other than the Brahmin to become intimate with her, in order to attract him all the more (see N8.6d and N2.9b).

<sup>47</sup> A list of the medical herbs etc. follows in lines 298-301.

<sup>48</sup> மடி சேலை (the part of the sari that is kept loose [to serve as a kind of pouch for carrying things]; Cre-A, s.v.).

<sup>49</sup> ஆடைவொட்டி – ஆடையொட்டி.

<sup>50</sup> பிண்டொடரி. This drug is administered particularly to men: ஆணை வசிப்ப படுத்தும் மூலிகை.

<sup>51</sup> காக்கைப் பித்து. The bile of a crow's liver is used in a potion for bringing men under one's control.

- 312-13 he gave all his money to her (i.e. Lakṣmī), as [she] continued to encircle [him];  
 314 gave [money] for many days.  
 315 After he had given away everything,  
 316 the old mother then  
 317 looked in his face and said:  
 318 “Get up and leave my veranda!  
 319 You idiot Brahmin!”<sup>52</sup>
- 320 Hearing these words,<sup>53</sup>  
 321 he entered upon a forest life, as suited him.  
 322-28 While he was resting, having made his way through the forest where he took refuge,  
 Lakṣmī was asking herself, exhausted by the *dāsī* dance in the temple: “Where has the good  
 Brahmin gone who left [the house] and parted(?) from us?”  
 329 And [so she] began to search for him.
- 331 He was [just then] crossing the beautiful *marutam*<sup>54</sup> land  
 330 and its big fields of densely growing paddy.  
 332 As he had lost his status (and reputation)  
 333 as a result of former deeds,  
 334-35 he pondered the need for severe penance.  
 336-41 While the Brahmin was [thus] pondering and resting, the lady [who was] adorned with fine  
 jewels at the same time had her eye on the path, on the lookout for him. She came searching  
 along the path of the vast black forest.<sup>55</sup>
- 342 Into the forest where there are Kaḷḷars (i.e. a caste of thieves),  
 343-44 she comes richly adorned with jewels; in such a state she comes<sup>56</sup> [towards the Brahmin,  
 addressing him as follows: “What is wrong with you that you have come to this forest?”]<sup>57</sup>  
 345 “[Brahmin], how can you get a sound sleep [here]?”

<sup>52</sup> The role of the heartless old mother of a devadāsī who insults the impoverished clients who are penniless and sick with desire, is found richly depicted in the *virālivīṭutūtu* literature; see, for instance, the *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṇ Virālivīṭutūtu* by Cupratīpak Kavirāyar: lines 735ff., p. 153.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. N8.7c-d and N2.10d-11a, where the Brahmin reflects on his situation: அம்மையப்பர் தேடும்முதல் அத்தனையு  
 தோற்றாமே [...] ஆயுபல கல்விகற்றும் அறிவிழந்து போனோமே [...] கல்லையொத்த மனத்தார்க்கு காசீந்தும்  
 பலனோயில்லை [...] பரதேசம் கற்றவென்னத் துணிந்தனனே [...] துணிந்ததற்பின் சுகமிழந்து வேதியனும் [...] அணிந்தனனே திருநீற்றை[...]நடந்தனனே (“I have lost all the money belonging to the Ammaiappar [temple]. / I have become a fool, even though I am a learned man. / There is no use giving money to the hard-hearted.” / He decided to go to other places. / Deciding [thus], he lost his desire [for her]. / He smeared himself with sacred ash and walked away). This passage is not found in N1, while N10.12b displays slightly other wording. – N1 lacks a line at this point that is found in other versions. In N10.12b we read: வாயுறவு அல்லாது கையுறவுகண்டேனில்லை ([The Brahmin reflects:] “I did not have sexual contact. The relationship was nothing other than a mere [lit. verbal] friendship.”). In my interview, the bow-song singer T.M.P. cites this line as indicative of the virginity of the devadāsī. In his view, it is precisely Lakṣmī’s virginity that legitimates her later deification. Cf. the parallel line in N8.7c: வாயுறவே இல்லாதே வந்திலையே மனவுறவு. In my opinion, this sentence makes sense if we read மனவுறவு as மணவுறவு (There was never a marriage relationship. There was no other relationship than a verbal [i.e. non-sexual] friendship).

<sup>54</sup> I take the alternative reading மருத நிலம், as in N8.8a. The *marutam* (agricultural tract) is one of the fivefold poetic divisions of land found in the *Tolkāppiyam* and applied in the Caṅkam *akam* poems (of the first to the third century).

<sup>55</sup> Up to here N1, N10.14a, N8.8a, and N2.11c correspond with one another. In the following lines, up to N1.347, my base text is not clear, lacking the connecting passages that are preserved in the versions N10, N8, and N2.

<sup>56</sup> The lines N1.342-3 are out of their proper order. According to N10, N8, and N2, they should appear between N1.347 and N1.348. See N10.15d.366-7 and N8.8b.194, where they—unlike in N1 (there seemingly in a reporting mode)—are a part of the dialogue between Iakki and Vētiyaṅ, the Brahmin. In this dialogue we are helped in our understanding of the further development of the story by the Brahmin’s words to Lakṣmī: எள்ளளவும் ஈரமில்லா என்பிற்கே ஏன் தொடர்ந்தாய் (Why have you followed me, who feel no love at all for you?; N8.8b, N10.15d).

<sup>57</sup> I add this passage, which is missing in N1 but found in N10.15a.343 and N8.8a.186, for clarity’s sake.

346 O veil[ed]<sup>58</sup> Brahmin,  
347 something bad may take place [in this forest]. Get up!”

[While the Brahmin tried to make her understand that he had lost everything to her and that trying to convince him to return would be in vain, Lakṣmī, insisting that she would not leave him, caught hold of the edge of his clothing. The Brahmin thought, “Let it be,” and as Lakṣmī was tired, she fell asleep, her head on his lap. The Brahmin then began to plot:]<sup>59</sup>

348 “Bangles as blue as the sea— [Repeated in line 988]  
349 attached to colourful bangles! [Repeated in line 989]  
350-51 “If [I] kill her, [I] can take all (her jewels) collectively!”  
352 [There], with murder in his mind,<sup>60</sup> the Brahmin  
353 heaped up much soft sand,  
354-55 and slowly, without moving it too much, placed the head of the woman, whose gait was as graceful as a goose’s, on the sand;  
356 and like a rude-hearted Maṅavar warrior,  
357-59 the Brahmin boldly lifted the hardest stone in the forest,  
360-61 and the head of the lady, who was as beautiful as a great peacock, was crushed [by it].

362-64 When the Brahmin took the stone and flung it down, the head of the young woman was smashed, slipped down (the mound) and split (open), and (she) grew weak.  
365 She said, “O *kaḷḷi* plant, you are firm evidence.”  
366 She turned over, rolled, was stricken with fear—startled.  
367 “O Śiva Śaṅkara, you are my refuge!” she said.  
368 She said [this], and her great spirit left [her], whereupon she died.  
369 This is the Kali-yuga. The Kali-yuga is the period of evil.  
370-71 The Brahmin removed all the jewels from the body of the young woman and wrapped them in his dhoti.  
372-73 He was joyful and excited. “I can live [wholly on these jewels]. It will indeed be enough till the end of our children’s lifetime.”  
374-75 Joyful and excited, the Brahmin left that place with [his] bundle.

376 At the same time, when the Brahmin was thus setting off, Tirukaṅṭa Naṭṭuvaṅ (the brother of Lakṣmī)  
377 had left the famous temple and was coming home.  
378 Arriving home, he put down his drum  
379 and asked Śivakāmi:  
380 “Mother, where is my younger sister Lakṣmī?”  
381 Śivakāmi, (so) questioned,  
382 [replied,] “Your younger sister Lakṣmī, like a careless spendthrift,  
383 went in search of (her) Brahmin friend.  
384 He has spoiled that wretch and ruined me.”  
385 “We have been ruined”; so saying, he (i.e. Tirukaṅṭa) beat his head in agitation.  
386 Beating himself, he crossed the main street  
387 and followed Lakṣmī’s footprints.  
388-89 He followed the footprints of the Brahmin and his sister carefully.  
390 He proceeded, running on and on, his mind in a state of great agony,  
391 and arrived at the forest of the locality called Paḷakai Nakar.  
392 In the forest, right where his younger sister had been,

<sup>58</sup> The word *veil* is here employed figuratively, in allusion to the Brahmin’s intention of hiding from the other’s view.

<sup>59</sup> For clarity’s sake, I add the section left out in N1 but found in N10.15c-16a.357-74 and N8.8b-c.191-209.

<sup>60</sup> Literally: “thinking in such a way.”

393 he found his sister next to the stem of the *kaḷli* plant.  
 394 He saw, of course, the stone on the head of his sister.  
 395 He pushed the stone away [and] hugged and lifted her.  
 396 “[With] your [help], O my younger sister, we secured our livelihood!  
 397 Was it your fate to die in the forest?<sup>61</sup>  
 398 [As] for those who killed you, O younger sister, you in this deserted forest—  
 399 is this [the justice of] *dharmā*?” he said.  
 400 “O younger sister, how did you die!  
 401 Who is there now to show compassion?” he said.  
 402 “Your golden, beautifully decorated body  
 403 was devoured by the sand.” His mind dazed, he fell down,  
 404 and since the travail of his body was overpowering,  
 405 the breath of the flower-like woman’s elder brother, too, left (him).<sup>62</sup>

[*Viruttam*]

406 After their breath had ceased, the brother and his younger sister  
 407 resolved to take revenge on the Brahmin culprit for the murder,  
 408 and that brother and his sister, as they both had come rushing to the forest,  
 409 [now] joined and praised the god Śiva, and their spirits<sup>63</sup> went to the upper world.

410 “We cannot be blamed for killing the dancing girl; there is no evidence.”  
 411 [The Brahmin *Vēṭiyaṅ*] left the straight path and went a little further through the forest.  
 412 “Let’s go to *Kāci*<sup>64</sup> and seek a profitable life, and let’s build a ship.  
 413 (There’s) nothing to worry about.” Saying this, the Brahmin clapped and sang.  
 414 “Let’s do all kinds of business and live!”  
 415-16 He tied [his plunder] into a bundle, put the bundle on his shoulder—like a cross-belt<sup>65</sup>—  
 417 and swaggered away.  
 418-19 “Let’s gain the prosperity (we) desire! There’s no more danger in store for us.”  
 420-21 The Brahmin was no more troubled than a sesame seed [is large].  
 423 [But] in the sun’s heat he became thirsty.  
 422 <sup>66</sup>With a mad thirst for blood caused by his having killed the harlot,  
 424-25 he walked speedily one *kātam*<sup>67</sup> of the way through the black forest,  
 426-28 saying, “Let’s take the golden necklace of the daughter of the wicked old woman who

<sup>61</sup> Lakṣmī is one of those who, having died an untimely death, are not granted the customary funeral rite of passage. Such dead greatly desire vengeance (see Gennep 1960:160f.), and are correspondingly dangerous. According to van Gennep (*ibid.*), “[p]ersons for whom funeral rites are not performed are condemned to a pitiable existence, since they are never able to enter the world of the dead. [...] They would like to be reincorporated into the world of the living, and since they cannot be, they behave like hostile strangers towards it. They lack the means of subsistence which the other dead find in their own world and consequently must obtain them at the expense of the living.”

<sup>62</sup> From these verses it is unclear whether the elder brother of the *devadāsī* died a natural death or whether he died by committing suicide, as in other versions; cf. N12 ed. P. Subramaniam (see Sect. 2.4 above). Note the strong bond between the elder brother and younger sister. The “*Nilacāmi Katai*,” too, highlights this bond. There *Nilāṅ*, retrospectively retelling the events that happened in the forest, makes it clear that he, as *Tirukaṅṅa Naṭṭuvar*, died because he was unable to bear separation from his murdered sister Lakṣmī.

<sup>63</sup> In Tamil popular religion there is belief in spirits rather than in souls.

<sup>64</sup> It is obvious that *Kāci*, which any Hindu would identify as the old name of Varanasi, would not be a town where one would go to establish a money-lending business and to build a ship. Moreover, it is simply too far away from the scene of action in the far south of India. In my opinion, *Kāci* is here used symbolically: it is the place where all the accumulated karma of bad deeds is removed. For Brahmins especially, a pilgrimage there is a must. The name occurs in all the relevant versions, but the bow-song bards could not answer my question why he should want to go there for business.

<sup>65</sup> *மாறாப்ப – மாறாப்பு*. A word seldom used.

<sup>66</sup> Lines 422-9 (also 418-9) are in a different order in N10.22c-d: 426-427-428-429-418-419-424-425-422-423.

<sup>67</sup> *காடம்*. A measure of distance equal to about 17 km.

- provoked the quarrel to the goldsmith and find out its value!”
- 429-30 Extraordinarily happy, he stepped on a stone while reaching for the roped bucket [of a well].
- 431 A snake in the middle of the stone
- 432 bit the Brahmin.
- 433 The bundle in his hand tumbled down into the well,
- 434 while he dropped onto its edge.
- 435 “Is there anybody who can see me?” he cried in a loud voice, again and again.
- 436-37 With a throbbing heart he had taken two steps forward in the forest,
- 437-38 [while] <blood><sup>68</sup> spurting out from his <tongue><sup>69</sup>.
- 439 Unwanted in this world,
- 440 the Brahmin, too, finally died.
- 441 All three went together to Mt. Kailāsa:
- 442 the wicked culprit, the elder brother, and the younger sister.
- 443 Ādi-Śiva, on Mt. Kailāsa,
- 444 told the unwanted culprit to stay away.
- 445 Telling the Brahmin to stay away,
- 446 he stopped the Brahmin.
- 447 The beautifully adorned woman,
- 448 looking at her elder brother, says,<sup>70</sup>
- 449-50 “In order to take revenge for being killed by a stone,
- 451-52 O Śiva, you must let us be reborn on the earth!”
- 453-54 “All right!” Approvingly he (i.e. the god) ordered
- 455-56 that a rebirth in this land should be written into the accounts.
- 457-58 When the god ordered this to be written,
- 459 everybody said to Śiva: “That’s fine!”
- 460 Saying [in response], “That is [indeed] fine,” the god approvingly
- 461-63 ordered to be written into the accounts that they should be reborn in the same land.
- 464 The Cōḷa king’s wife, beautiful as a peacock,
- 465 had no children. The queen was alarmed.
- 466 The queen of honeyed tongue, wife of the Cōḷa king Cempiyaṅ, was alarmed.
- 467 Listen to what the alarmed wife of the Cōḷa king Cempiyaṅ says:
- 468 “Why don’t we have a child? It’s a curse.
- 469 If we stay childless, who will perform the rites of the dead when we die?
- 470 Who remains childless in this living world?”
- 471 “Listen, my lady of fair forehead, that is a fate determined by the god.”
- 472-73 “In this land [why] shouldn’t we have the joy of giving birth to a nice baby boy and giving a feast for everybody?
- 475 Shouldn’t I light the *nāṭi*-lamps and proudly sing lullabies,
- 474 after placing the baby boy into a beautiful cradle?
- 476-77 [Why] shouldn’t I see the beauty of my son as he walks gracefully with the sweet jingling sounds of tinkling bells on his anklets?
- 478 [Why] shouldn’t I [see] his eager interest in learning to use many weapons?
- 479 [Why] shouldn’t I listen to the music that comes from his heart?

<sup>68</sup> Em. <நாவில் இரத்தம்> on the basis of N10.24a நாவில் ரெத்தம் குதிகொளளவே.

<sup>69</sup> Em. <நாவில்>.

<sup>70</sup> சொல்வார்: Note the change of tense. – Note also at this point (though not reflected in the translation) the use of ஏது ([he says] what?). The insertion of a question addressed to the audience is typical of the style of a performance text.



- 480-81 [Why] shouldn't all the drums of victory be heard when he marries the wom<a>n [he] loves?
- 482-83 [Why] shouldn't I watch my son go to school and study, after putting the splendid [boy] in school?<sup>71</sup>
- 484-85 [Why] shouldn't I have the joy [of seeing] him happily worshipping his mother, [each time] he eagerly completes [life's] many rites?"
- 486-87 On that day the wife of the Cōla king, a lady [as] beautiful as a motionless bell,  
490-91 adopted [a regime of] endless austerities.
- 488-89 Alas, her mind distressed, her body weary, she wore away her life.
- 492-93 Umā, with many celestials, and Umā's husband (Śiva) appeared.
- 494 Bhagavan, who is the space that gives life,  
495 looked into the face of the king.
- 496-97 "O king, look, it's useless!<sup>72</sup> There's no way to give you a child."  
[Finally, after the king's repeated requests, Śiva granted him the boon and the queen became pregnant.]<sup>73</sup>

*[Twins are born to the Cōla king]*<sup>74</sup>

- 498-501 On earth the people knew [well], (when) half of the months (of pregnancy) (were over), and what we would become (when) the pangs of childbirth (began), for they would say, "We know when five plus five months are completed!"
- 502 "O god of Tiruvārūr,<sup>75</sup> only you can save us!
- 503 Only you can save us!"
- 504 She is sweating. She has pain.
- 505 She says that the labour pains are very bad.
- 506 She cries out, "Ah! Oh!"
- 507 She lowers (herself) onto the soft<sup>76</sup> cushion.
- 508-09 "Ow! Ow! Midwife, it's time! The child is yours. [Deliver it!]"
- 510 She says [this] and her body becomes slimmer.
- 511 The pregnant queen falls, crying like a doe.
- 512 Her gold-like face is sweating.
- 513 Rolling on the ground, she cries.
- 514 "O Brahmā, Creator of this earth!
- 515 Didn't <he><sup>77</sup> do great harm (to me)?"
- 516 "Is it poison [that's] in the middle of my womb?
- 517 Has my husband made me carry this?
- 518 Or is it me? Shall we suffer this?

<sup>71</sup> Lines 482-3 are displaced. Chronologically, they should appear between lines 477 and 478. Cf. N10.26cd.

<sup>72</sup> வீண்போய். Note the god's discouraging the king.

<sup>73</sup> At this point, a long section of 32 lines is missing in N1 but documented in N10.27d-29b. For a better understanding, I have inserted a line from N10.29a. The versions N8 and N2 skip far more of this passage concerned with the pregnancy of the queen, jumping ahead to where the queen has conceived and ten months have passed (N8.12b).

<sup>74</sup> The bow-song bard T.M.P., in an interview held on 10 May 2002 (K-O.01, A), commented as follows on the section about the birth, the killing of the cattle, and the children being punished: (A, 650ff.): T.M.P. begins to sing: "The children are born" (A, 650). "It will take two hours to sing all these matters. We'll cut all these things short. This is why we're cutting the portion in the middle. In such places we cut portions short. After ten months the first child [born] is male; the second, female. The first child is named after Nīlarācaṅ, and she after Icakkiammaṅ, as is recorded by Chitraputraṅ. The children are born. They are brought up. [... Taking] the form of devils, [... they] kill and eat livestock. [...] The king ordered these two children to be murdered in the forest. This is the beginning."

<sup>75</sup> Located north-east of Tanjavur. The presiding gods are Vaṅmīkānātaṅ and Tiyaṅkāraṅ.

<sup>76</sup> Literally: "flower-like."

<sup>77</sup> Em. செய்தா<ர்>. – The queen is scolding the god. In Tamil literature there are poetic compositions (called *ēcal pirapantam*) in which the poet scolds a god in every line.

- 519 O my god, this is not at all just!  
 520-21 (My) two picturesque thighs, like plantain stems,  
 522 (my) stomach, intestines, waist,  
 523 and lower abdomen [are] becoming tight, O my god!  
 524 As one who has swallowed poison,  
 525 the firm constitution of my body is crumbling.  
 526 Please call [my husband] to [come] see me!<sup>78</sup>  
 527 O you young women,  
 528-29 where is my husband who garlanded me and tasted marriage?  
 530 O my king, my life is fading!  
 531 Please! Will you not look at me?  
 532-33 You must summon the king now and immediately<sup>79</sup> bring him to see me!  
 534 You, my women friends who sit beside me,  
 535 go, my dear women, and bring the king!  
 536 The baby is as heavy as a stone in my comely belly.  
 537 Please tell [me a way] to deliver the baby and [still] survive, my trusted female companion!  
 538 O young woman, Tirutēviyammā, <you><sup>80</sup> must have forgotten your knowledge.”  
 539 “Childbirth is an affair common to all in this earthly realm.”<sup>81</sup>  
 540 “[But] the baby that I conceived in my womb  
 541 is a hard-hearted child that has no compassion.  
 542 Look, this is no child!  
 543 It will be of no help to me.  
 544 Like the god of death in my womb it is.  
 545 It is one born to kill.  
 546 What is it, O young woman?  
 547-49 O midwife, look and see if there is any sign of delivery (in) me now!  
 550 If it is done, there is no harm, Tirutēvi.”
- 551 “Childbirth is an affair common to all in this world. [Repetition of line 539]  
 552 Please bring what custom demands!” Saying this,  
 553 [the midwife] made a drawing<sup>82</sup> in the proper place,<sup>83</sup>  
 554 cleansed the floor with cow-dung water, sprinkled [fragrant] rose water [mixed] with  
 sandalwood,  
 555-56 put in place the *marakkāl* measuring vessel and the four-litre *nāḷi* measuring vessel full [of  
 paddy], closed them by covering them with black<sup>84</sup> silk,<sup>85</sup>  
 557 and tied thirty gold coins together in the end of a sari.  
 558 She (i.e. the midwife) put the tied [piece] into a colourful vessel,  
 559 and as all the women benevolently watched—  
 560 as they watched—she (i.e. the midwife) took three different kinds of oil from a small vessel  
 561 and applied [the oil] to the belly, saying, “Young woman, don’t be afraid!”

<sup>78</sup> She wishes to see her husband, fearing impending death.

<sup>79</sup> கய்யோடே. Literally: “by the hand.”

<sup>80</sup> Em. போனா<ய்>.

<sup>81</sup> Spoken by the midwife.

<sup>82</sup> சித்திரமிட்டு யெழுதி/சித்திரம்வரைதல். In order to foretell the gender of the child, the midwife draws a square diagram representing the four directions before she begins the delivery. I owe this information to Professor T. Naṭarajan, Kamraj University of Maturai.

<sup>83</sup> Lines 553-61 contain a description of the preparations made by midwives for a delivery.

<sup>84</sup> மேகவர்ணம். Literally: “the colour of rain clouds.”

<sup>85</sup> This procedure is not the same everywhere; it differs among *jātis* and regions. The மூடிநிறமரக்கால் is a sign of wealth.

- 562 The applied oil seeps into her womb  
 563 and, as all can see, the labour pains begin.<sup>86</sup>
- 564 In the tenth month<sup>87</sup>  
 565 the queen, wife of the ruler of the world  
 566-67 [and soon-to-be mother], talks about the qualities of her relatives and supporters,  
 568-70 and then, given that she (i.e. the queen) had the advice of an incomparable midwife,  
 571 the pregnancy took ideal shape:  
 572 ribs and backbone—  
 573 the entire body—golden in colour.  
 574 “If the child gives crushing pain in the womb,  
 575 is it [then] not taking shape in the womb?  
 576 I wonder whether there is a black stone in my womb.  
 577 It is as heavy as a stone in my womb, Ammā!  
 578 If I had known this [earlier],  
 579 would I not have performed rigorous austerities,  
 580 and without my husband’s knowledge,  
 581 would I not have drunk the black abortive medicine?  
 582 Even when a sheep gets pregnant,  
 583 it weeps when it gives birth to a lamb.  
 584 And if a cow gets pregnant,  
 585 it is exhausted when it gives birth to a calf.  
 586 Tenfold  
 587 pain [I have] in all [my] base bones, O Ammā!”<sup>88</sup>
- 588 “O woman whose hair is dark, like a black cloud that brings rain,  
 589 be not disturbed! The child will be born,” they said.  
 590-91 “Is not your fate written and fixed on stone by the god?”  
 592 The body of the lady was aching.  
 593 As the amnion of the young woman ruptured,  
 594-95 and after the midwife made the uterus of the young woman tear,<sup>89</sup> she saw  
 596-97 in the womb two most excellent children to be congratulated.<sup>90</sup>  
 598 When a boy was born  
 599 the ladies, [beautiful] as pictures, made the *kuravai* sound.  
 600 And after that, again, a girl was born.  
 601 The maidservants were happy;

<sup>86</sup> Note the change of tense to the future (in Tamil).

<sup>87</sup> In Tamil culture (as in many Asian countries), pregnancy is considered to begin with the month of the last menstruation.

<sup>88</sup> Interestingly, N10.33d-37d goes on to extend the description of the queen’s labour pains for more than one hundred lines, whereas versions N8 and N2 leave out this part of the text completely. See N8.12.

<sup>89</sup> We find here a wonderful description of the “rites of separation” (p. 54), that is, “rites which involve cutting something” (Gennep 1960:53). “[T]he child must first be separated from his previous environment, which may simply be his mother. [...] The principal separation is expressed in the cutting of the umbilical cord [...]” (50). Van Gennep points out further that “sometimes the instruments used to cut the umbilical cord belong to a class of tools appropriate to activities of one or the other sex” in order to “definitively establish the sex of the child” (50f.). From this point in the narration until the episode of *Āṅantaṅ*’s marriage, we find various Tamil rites of separation, transition, and incorporation.

<sup>90</sup> As van Gennep (1960:41 ff.) remarks, “pregnancy and childbirth together generally constitute a whole. Often the first rites performed separate the pregnant woman from society [...]. They are followed by rites pertaining to pregnancy itself, which is a transitional period. Finally come the rites of childbirth intended to reintegrate the woman into the groups to which she previously belonged, or to establish her new position in society as a mother [...]” (41). Pregnancy and childbirth are rites of separation for both mother (her isolation, since pregnancy imposes, physiologically and socially, a special condition upon her) and child. “Pregnancy ceremonies [...] include a great many rites [...] whose purpose is to facilitate delivery and to protect mother and child [...] against evil forces [...]” (41).

- 602 [they] called for the minister,  
603 and had the astrologer come.
- 604-06 The astrologer came immediately, just as milk becomes ghee in no time.  
607 He bowed low to the great Cōḷa king,  
608-09 and approaching the Cempiyaṅ Cōḷa king, who was sitting there clear-minded, the  
astrologer stood in front of him,  
610-11 and foretold, according to the old tradition of the former Śāstras:  
612 “The children who have been born will die.<sup>91</sup> How is not known.  
613 It is rare in this world.  
614 The ruling capital will be destroyed.<sup>92</sup>  
615 This will be the result of their being born.”  
616 The famous astrologer calculated the result,  
617 and explained, according to the old tradition of the former Śāstras:  
618 “As a result of those two children having been newly born, the royal capital will definitely  
be destroyed.  
619 You will see. There will be loss of property and the end of seventy persons.”  
620 The king looked into the faces of the Brahmins reciting the Veda.  
621 “If this is the will of the deity, can anything be done by us?”
- 622 “The children who have been born will definitely be destroyed.  
623 The eighth sign of the zodiac is in the fourth house.  
624 I have spoken, seeing what is to be,  
625 O king!” he said and worshipped the king’s feet.  
626 “There is no chance to rule the kingdom [further]. The sign of Mars,  
627 the eighth sign of the zodiac, is in the fourth house.  
628 Kētu is in the ninth house  
629 and Rāhu, which is located in the fourth house, [there] brings misfortune.  
630 [The configuration] will never be favourable.  
631 There will be no sleep [for you] any more.  
632 And at that time the ancestors  
633 and your [kingdom] will be rooted out.”<sup>93</sup>
- [The king, after listening to the astrologer’s words, sent him off with gifts and asked for the  
children. Brought by the nursing maidservants, he hugged them lovingly, adorned them  
with various jewels, and gave them back to the maidservants for bathing. The nursing  
maidservants laid them in the cradle and sang a lullaby].<sup>94</sup>
- 634 “*rāri āri ārārō kannē*  
635 *āri vari ārārō.*<sup>95</sup>
- 636-37 Is this the offshoot that was born to the tender banana plantain which had not given birth up  
till then?<sup>96</sup>
- 638-39 Is he the black-coloured child (Kṛṣṇa)?

<sup>91</sup> Em.: I replace அழிந்துவிடுமே with இறந்துவிடுமே of line 614.

<sup>92</sup> Em.: I replace இறந்துவிடுமே of line 614 with அழிந்துவிடுமே of line 612.

<sup>93</sup> Literally: “will be destroyed from top to bottom.”

<sup>94</sup> The narration does not advance smoothly at this point. For clarity’s sake I add portions of the text that are found in N10.43-5 and, in part, in N8.13b-c, but missing in N1.

<sup>95</sup> The two lines of the lullaby are onomatopoeic. In N10.45a the lullaby is preceded by two lines that introduce the reader to a new scene in the children’s bedchamber: இலங்கியநீலரையும் எந்தாயார் இசக்கிஅம்மைதனையும் / யேத்தியேபொன்தொட்டில் கிடத்திதாலாட்டுவாரே.

<sup>96</sup> The point of this figure of speech is that like the queen, a young plantain takes a long time to produce its first offshoots.

- 640 Is it he who ate the butter in the small earthen pot put in the net bag?  
 641 Is it he who has been born in order to make our family illustrious and prosperous?  
 642 Is this the sprout that was born to a tender plantain which had not given birth before?"  
 [Repetition of lines 636-637]  
 643 So sang the (nursing) maidservants.  
 644 As they sang the lullabies day and night,  
 645 (they) massaged the [babies'] legs and feet to shape them nicely.<sup>97</sup>  
 646 In the days when [the twins] were growing up well,  
 647-48 by a clever strategy, they would (regularly) put to sleep the (nursing) maid who fed them  
 and made them go to bed,  
 649 [and] moving towards the beautifully gem-decorated locked door,  
 650 like a tiger, they would break open the bolt;  
 651 like a tiger on its hunt, jumping and leaping about,  
 652 (they) would play everywhere in the broad roads and streets.  
 653 <sup>98</sup>They would go towards a big herd of cattle, and taking  
 654 the strong black cows and the breeding bulls,  
 655 they would slit their throats.  
 656-58 Unnoticed by the herdsmen, the two children would kill all the cattle that were bellowing in  
 the pen.  
 659 And leaving behind the horns, skin, hooves, and bones,  
 660 and also the hairs and the intestines,  
 661 they would cut the nerves and flesh of the muscle into pieces and would eat it.  
 662 Unnoticed by anyone,<sup>99</sup>  
 663 they would return to the king's palace.  
 664 They would play in the roads and streets.<sup>100</sup> [Repetition of line 652]
- 665 The herdsmen of the herds of yoked cows  
 666 would get up after dawn  
 667 and report that the bulls and cows had disappeared.  
 668 Sorrowfully they would ask where the calves were,  
 669 and they would brood whether the herd had [intentionally] been taken away.  
 670 They would lament with trembling hands and legs:  
 671-74 "The one bull with a single horn a span in length and a white patch on its forehead, the  
 frisky straight-horned bull, the big bull with small black spots, [and] the black bull—[they]  
 have [all] disappeared," they would say.  
 675 "One blind with a short tail,  
 676 one with a scar from a wound and spots on its back,  
 677 the young black-and-white-spotted [one] with the short tail  
 678 and broken horn—[all these] have disappeared," they would say.  
 679 Peering about, [they would discover] that many had disappeared.  
 680 Sorrowfully they would ask where the calves were. [Repetition of line 668]  
 681 They would throw their long, thick staffs onto the ground,

<sup>97</sup> It is a custom in India and elsewhere to apply oil to a baby's body and massage its limbs to form them while they are still soft.

<sup>98</sup> The tradition seems to consider the following lines, which tell of the killing of the cattle and sheep, to be important, since they are found in all versions. As for the Itaiyār herdsmen, they are mentioned in all versions of the margosa-plough type.

<sup>99</sup> For a similar notion of the "mystical capacities of twins," see the study on twinship in Africa by Masquelier (2001:49), who writes: "[Twins] can enter a house without anyone seeing or hearing them. They can fly like witches [...] they can use their power to act in an antisocial manner. [...] They are especially fond of nocturnal escapades [...] and regularly leave their homes [...]. [With] spirits [...] they share a number of characteristics [...]" (51).

<sup>100</sup> வீதி தெருவெல்லாம் விளையாடுவார். This sentence seems to be displaced. The sentence as found in N10.47b offers somewhat more meaning: விரைவாய்தொட்டிலில் சென்றேறுவாராம்.

682 their upper bodies would become erect (in anger), and they would run and stumble about.  
 683 There being no market for flocks and herds nearby where [they could] buy (new) calves,  
 684 their bodies would tremble strongly.<sup>101</sup>

685 Parama Kōṇār<sup>102</sup> had taken pains to water the cattle  
 686 and had carefully hedged them.  
 687 “[Here] stands the pen. Five sheep have been lost.  
 688 Oh, Kuṭṭi Kōṇār, (our) family is ruined!” So he would say,  
 689 [and] the herdsman would run about like a mad dog.  
 690 Along with him, the [other] herdsmen would also wail.  
 691 Thus it had been for many days:  
 692 the sheep and cattle were being killed and cut up.

693 At the time the killing was going on  
 694 all the Kōṇārs gathered among themselves,  
 695 and together got ready to go.  
 696 All the herdsmen were in accord.  
 697 The Koṅkamārs joined together, and having no other place, they assembled in the Cōḷa  
 country.  
 698 “Until now there has been no theft where we lived, but now a wealth of cattle and sheep has  
 been completely destroyed.  
 699 That’s what has happened, [and therefore] now we all shall gather and [go] see the king!”  
 they said.  
 700 The herdsmen, who were quick to arrive, gave their names [one by one, to show their  
 presence at the meeting]. Listen [to the names that were given]!  
 701 Āṇṭi Kōṇ, Pāṇṭi Kōṇ, Aṇṇāmalai Kōṇ,  
 702 Aḷakiya Nampi Kōṇ, Mālukōṇ,  
 703 Nampi Kōṇ, Tampi Kōṇ, Vēlu Kōṇ,  
 704 and Nayaṇār Nalla Māṭa Kōṇ,  
 705 and Nalla Māṭa Kōṇ, Periya Aṇancāṇ Kōṇ,  
 706 Nāma Kōṇ, Maṇu Kōṇ, Vēlu Kōṇ,  
 707 Vēlu Kōṇ, Mālu Kōṇ, and Vīravāku Kōṇ,  
 708 and Viravāṇa Vīrapāṇṭi Kōṇ,  
 709 Neṭṭai Kōṇ, Kaṭṭai Kōṇ,  
 710 Maṭṭi Kōṇ, Āṇṭi Kōṇ,  
 711 and Viravāṇa Piccāṇṭi Kōṇ,  
 712 and Piccāṇṭi Kōṇ,  
 713 Periya Malai Nampi Kōṇ,  
 714 Piṇamālai Piṇaicūṭi Kōṇ,  
 715 Viṭumāṭaṇ Pēyāṇṭi, [and]  
 716 Māṭaṇ Kūḷa Taṭimāṭaṇ.  
 717 Bravely the Kōṇārs came.  
 718-19 The Kōṇārs, with vessels and heavy staffs in their hands, came and gathered at the crossing  
 of three roads.  
 720 One who came and stood there was Vayiravaṇāta Kōṇ,  
 721 along with his son-in-law Caṭaikūṭṭi Kōṇār,  
 722 Kuṭṭi Kōṇār, Kōpālaṇ Kuṭṭālaṇ,  
 723 and Kuruṇātaṇ Iruḷappa Kōṇār,  
 724 Āṇṭi Kōṇār, and Pāṇṭitaṇ Kūṭṭam,

<sup>101</sup> They will be held responsible by the owners of the cattle and sheep.

<sup>102</sup> Kōṇār is the name of a community.

- 725 Aṅṅāmalai Kōṅ, Aḷakiya Nampi Kōṅ,  
726 Cōṭṭa Kōṅār, and Kaṭṭu Kiṭā Kōṅ.  
727 Wealth and property of cattle have been destroyed;  
728 many of the cattle and sheep are lost.  
729 Carrying in their right hands vessels,  
730 [and] on their shoulders vessels and heavy staffs,  
731 they departed with hurried steps.
- 732 Hurriedly going their way, they arrived  
733 at the entrance of the royal hall.  
734 Coming up to the entrance, they venerated the king, and  
735 shielding their mouths behind their (right) hands (while extending their left hands in a  
gesture of begging), they petitioned:  
736 “[Hail to] you who rules the entire world!  
737 In former days the Cōḷa kings tied the bell of justice firmly.”<sup>103</sup>
- [The king called the royal guards and commanded them to keep watch during the night<sup>104</sup>:  
“If you don’t catch the culprits,<sup>105]</sup><sup>106</sup>  
738 I’ll order you [guardsmen] killed right in the street.  
739 Before dawn you will have to give one clear answer (out of two), [whether you caught them  
or not,]  
740 in the presence of Mahādeva of Chidambaram (i.e. Śiva-Naṭarājan),  
741 he who danced—and perfected—the holy dance!”<sup>107</sup>
- [The continuation of the dialogue between the herdsmen and the king:]  
742-43 “We’re suffering. One day we saw our sheep and cattle, but the next day we didn’t see  
them.”
- 744 [The royal guards] said [among themselves]: “[If we don’t protect them,] he (i.e. the king)  
will punish us severely; he will destroy us.”  
745 And [so] they began to guard the realm.  
746-49:  
747-48 The children born into the family of the honourable Cōḷaṅ,  
746 unaware of the guards,  
749 <abandoned><sup>108</sup> the form of children.  
750 In their uncontrollable hunger—  
751 an insatiable hunger—  
752-53 they swallow a herdsman from the family of Kṛṣṇa, [he] who had [once] lifted up a hill,  
holding it like an umbrella,<sup>109</sup>  
754 and (then) they return [to the palace].

<sup>103</sup> The reference is to a particular Cōḷa king by the name of Maṅunītikanda Cōḷaṅ, who had his own son crushed under the wheels of a chariot after the latter had run over a calf and the calf’s mother had come to the palace and rung the bell (of justice) at the royal gate, asking for redress (see *Cil.*, Chap. 20). The key cultural value attached to the just rule of kings is seen here. We may remark in passing that this key value is pronounced in various Tamil works; see, for instance, *Tirukkural* 388, 546, and 549; also the Caṅkam poems *Pura* 37 and 39, which allude to the Buddhist Jātaka story of King Śibi and the dove.

<sup>104</sup> See N8.17a and N2.25b.

<sup>105</sup> See N8.17a and N2.25c.

<sup>106</sup> The following section is out of proper order. Missing parts are supplied in square brackets with the help of other versions.

<sup>107</sup> Lines 740-1 hint at the historically close connection between the Cōḷa kings and the god of Chidambaram, whose temple they renovated and whose dance they consecrated.

<sup>108</sup> Em. <abandoned (*viṭṭu*)> instead of “took” (*āki*). The emendation is made on the basis of N2, N8, and N10.

<sup>109</sup> An allusion to the story in the *Harivaṃśa* of Kṛṣṇa raising aloft Mt. Govardhaṇa. See Hardy 1983:71.

- 755 Meanwhile the bold royal officers (who) were guarding and watching [over the realm],  
 756 accused [the twins] of having trespassed. “If we tell this fact [to the king, our heads will roll].”
- 757 Listening sheepishly [to their own words],  
 758 [the guards felt as if] their minds were melting just like wax.  
 759 They told the queen, [she] of beautiful bangles:  
 760-61 “These are the children who ate the sheep and cows in the surrounding (places), causing the  
 loss of cattle wealth”. [The queen and the king realised what had happened.]  
 762-63 The mind of the queen of the bright shining Tamil Cempiyaṅ was deeply shaken.  
 764 Her mind was trembling and throbbing,  
 765 and being in a great flurry of agitation, she said: “(Destiny) has manifested and fulfilled  
 itself.”
- 766 The king, pondering (the effects of) the destiny that encircled him,  
 767 said: “We will investigate [the matter] and make inquiries.”  
 768 The king of kings recollected in his mind [what the astrologer had said]:  
 769 “O firm-minded king! O king of justice!<sup>110</sup> [Evil will come once these children are  
 born.<sup>111</sup>”
- 770 That night the royal children were bathed  
 771 and, after they were taken and put in the cradle, (the nursing maidservants) sang lullabies.  
 772 Afraid of the discerning (nursing) maids,  
 773 they pretended to be asleep. Then  
 774 having pretended to be asleep,  
 775-76 they ran away and bit into the sheep and cattle, and ate till their stomachs were full.  
 777 After eating, both belched loudly.  
 778 (Then) they came in search of the herdsmen at their camp<sup>112</sup> shelter.
- 779-80 (The king) and the others, mentally terrified, thought: “These (two children) were chewing  
 up the flock of sheep and cows, which are like a group of celestials.”  
 781 (And the king said:) “If we now allow these wretched children to live with us,  
 782 it will be the death of all the people of our region.  
 783-84 If they are alive, our treasures, customs, and wealth will all be lost.  
 785-86 Take these two to the wild forest, abandon them without killing them, and return!” Thus he  
 spoke.
- 787 When [this] was uttered, the royal officers  
 788 were instantly shocked, and were afraid of taking (the children).  
 789 Afraid of the children and their subtle magical skills,  
 790 whose extent nobody knew,  
 791-92 they led the two children away [and] crossed the holy Cōḷa kingdom,  
 793 traversing many dense forests, hillocks, and rivulets,  
 794 and abandoned them at the foot of a shady margosa tree next to a rivulet.  
 795 Abandoning those two, who had bloodthirsty intestines,  
 796 they said, “Try somehow to escape and survive!”
- 797-98 [When the royal guardsmen came back] King Cempiyaṅ listened to their report as [if he

<sup>110</sup> I take the line as containing the astrologer’s words, here recollected by the king, who reminds himself of his duty to dispense justice, for which his predecessors had been famous.

<sup>111</sup> For clarity I add (in brackets) the text as it continues in N10.59d: அனத்தம்வரும்மிந்தமக உண்டானபோது; N8.18a: அனர்த்தம்வரு மிச்சிசு உண்டான போதே; N2.27c: அனத்தம் வருமிஞ்சி உண்டான போதே.

<sup>112</sup> Literally: “sleeping.”



- were listening] to the roaring waves of the ocean. He was perplexed.<sup>113</sup>  
 799-800 [All,] Cempiyaṅ and those close to him—his ministers and counsellors<sup>114</sup>—were deeply perplexed.
- 801-02 (The two children) grew up at the foot of the mighty<sup>115</sup>, fully grown and [ever] blossoming margosa tree<sup>116</sup>.  
 803 Great Nīlarājaṅ  
 804 was growing physically like an elephant;  
 805 demon-like he was growing up,  
 806 (together) with the young woman, who was going through puberty.<sup>117</sup>
- 807 “Listen, elder brother,  
 808 if we are close to each other in one place  
 809 the people of this land will mock us.<sup>118</sup>  
 810 They will slander us publicly.  
 811 You stay here, free of trouble!  
 812 I shall live in the dense forest<sup>119</sup>.  
 813 For going into the dense wood,  
 814 O god Śiva, give me a piece of clothing!<sup>120</sup>  
 815 Give [me] a piece of clothing today!”  
 816 When Icakkiammaṅ had beseeched in this way,  
 817 by the *aruḷ* of Śiva, on that day,  
 818 a heavenly piece of clothing came.
- 819-21 And Nīlaṅ? He keeps standing like a hillock at the foot of the margosa tree; he stays [there], not moving from [that] point,  
 822 and starts to behave in an unruly manner.

<sup>113</sup> One would have expected lines 797-800 to fall between lines 778 and 779.

<sup>114</sup> As suggested by N10.63b, where the phrase is part of the text at this point: வகைத்திறம் சேர்மந்திரிமார்.

<sup>115</sup> In T.M.P.’s opinion, முகத்திறம் stands for முத்திறம் (three powers). In his view, therefore, the meaning is: “[the margosa tree has] the power of the *śaktis*, the consorts of the trio Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva” (personal communication, 20 January 2003).

<sup>116</sup> According to the bow-song bard T.M.P., the margosa (*vēmpu*) tree is considered to be female. See also Fergusson 1971:61, Chap. 11, “Tree-worship in Present-day India.” He reports that in the state of Mysore margosa/*nim* trees are thought of as female, and indeed ceremonial marriages with the pipal (fig) trees are performed there. – By contrast, in Rajasthan and the desert areas of the Punjab the margosa is regarded as a male, and there women cover their faces at the sight of this tree, as they do in front of unfamiliar men.

<sup>117</sup> Note that the following episode appears in all versions of the margosa leaf–plough type (N1, N2, N8, N10): (1) Icakki matures sexually, (2) she fears being ill spoken of by the people, (3) she asks for a piece of clothing (in N2, N8, N10, in the latter shared with Nīlaṅ), (4) Icakki goes to Ceṅkāṭu to live separately. Interestingly, the whole episode is absent in the versions of the sword–fire type (N7, N9), and appears only very rudimentarily in the versions of the margosa leaf–fire type (N5, N6), where the texts mention merely that Icakki has matured sexually (N5) or that the brother and sister are six years old (traditionally the marriage age).

<sup>118</sup> On the theme of sister–brother incest in folk tales, see Blackburn 2001.

<sup>119</sup> I translate செங்காடு somewhat uncertainly as “dense forest.” Cf. *Nīli Yaṭcakāṇam*, ed. Pū. Cuppiramaṇiyam 1994, Vol. 1:23, No. 17, where the second-last line contains the form “Tiruceṅkāṭu,” apparently the name of a place. It is worth mentioning that the place where the heroine of the *Cilappatikāram*, Kaṇṇaki, went after destroying Maturai was Tiruceṅkāṭu; see Zvelebil 1995:324. The proposed identification with a particular place, though, is rejected by the bow-song singers T.M.P. and G. Muttuleṭṭumi. Still, it may be noted that not far from Chengan-ur (Kerala) is the Panayannarkavu Bhagavati temple, which is, according to Cardwell (1999:210), “renowned for the extreme ferocity of its goddess, as well as for the miraculous closure of the shrine’s eastern door.” That there is a link between Icakki and Bhagavati on the level of the story is well attested in the last line of my base version N1, which reads: “Here ends the story of Icakki, who resembles Bhagavati.” For a further discussion of the latter goddess, see below p. 217, n. 479.

<sup>120</sup> A sign that she had become sexually mature. – Note that the forest is no less a place of social rules than the village (see lines 808-9 above).

- 823-24 Like darkness spreading all over the forest—in such a way he appeared.<sup>121</sup>  
 825-26 [Nīlaṇ,] the treacherous plotter, who had been taken there [by the king], takes steps to kill<sup>122</sup>  
 [Repeated in lines 863-864]  
 827 —in this quiet, black wild forest,  
 828 in the forest where Cāstā<sup>123</sup> resides—  
 826 a good Brahmin [who comes daily to do pūjā].<sup>124</sup> [The Brahmin looks at the huge dark,  
 cloud-like Nīlaṇ, who is coming to seize him.]<sup>125</sup>  
 829 The piece of tissue in his hands<sup>126</sup> [containing the offerings for the deity] falls to the ground.  
 830-32 (The Brahmin) drops a large, wide-mouthed shallow vessel containing rice and, like a snake  
 that at the sight of a mongoose [tries to] escape, he flees.  
 833 His throbbing heart is seized by panic.  
 834 He calls out, “O my god!” and runs away.  
 835-36 “O my god, a huge demon has come to devour me, your humble devotee!”  
 837 Aiyaṇār heard these words  
 838 and was ready to help<sup>127</sup>.  
 839 Without faltering,  
 840 he sent the famous (pot-bellied) Kuṇṭōtaraṇ<sup>128</sup>.  
 841 (The gluttonous) Kuṇṭōtaraṇ strangled (Nīlaṇ) with his hands.  
 842 Trembling (but) holding [him] firmly, he struck.  
 843 He struck with both hands.  
 844 Without trembling and without any movement,  
 845-46 he firmly grasped the one who together with Icakki was born, and killed him.  
 [After Nīlaṇ’s death Nīli came in search of him, carrying some light food dear to her  
 brother. The demons that had assembled there came up to her and explained what had  
 happened:]<sup>129</sup>  
 847 “Now your brother  
 848 has reached the world of Yama, the god of death.”  
 849 At the foot of the tree that stood there  
 850 the beautiful young woman sat and wept.  
 851 On that day her long hair, which was [usually] braided,  
 852 hung loose;<sup>130</sup>  
 853 on [that] day she sat there, not knowing  
 854 [that] seventy persons of the Karaiyālar community  
 855-56 had decided to build a temple for their highly praised god (Cāstā/Aiyaṇār),  
 857-58 and had—in the lush forest that suited [their purposes]—most properly cut down the

<sup>121</sup> The two lines are out of their actual order.

<sup>122</sup> The text in lines 824-5 is corrupt and wrongly placed. The translation is highly conjectural. Other texts read differently at this point: N10.65ab, N8.19d/N2.31a: “He committed all kinds of atrocities while staying in the forest, killing and eating all the animals.”

<sup>123</sup> Also called Aiyaṇār; this is a deity associated with water. He often resides near waterfalls and is considered to be the protector of water sources. Protecting from both floods and drought, this god is especially important for farmers (Vēlālas, Karaiyālar), and since he guards the forest, he is important for hunters as well. He is said in particular to protect the trade route through the forest. Cāstā, a god that requires no blood offerings, has a firm place in both great and little traditions of religion.

<sup>124</sup> I add a passage that is missing in the base version N1, but which occurs in N10.65b, N2.31b, and N8.20a.

<sup>125</sup> I add this passage, as recounted in N10.65c, N2.31c, and N8.20a, so as to bridge the discontinuity that occurs in the base version N1.

<sup>126</sup> Literally: “he is holding.”

<sup>127</sup> Literally: “to give the order.”

<sup>128</sup> Kuṇṭōtaraṇ is one of Śiva’s multitudinous retinue.

<sup>129</sup> For better comprehension I add a section that is missing in the base text, but is found in N2.32a-b, N8.20b, and N10.67a-b.

<sup>130</sup> This is an expression of great sadness at having lost some beloved person.

859 margosa tree [where Nīlaṅ resided]<sup>131</sup>,  
 and had built a beautiful temple,  
 860 and had [then] proceeded [back] to Paḷakai.<sup>132</sup>

[Standing and weeping, Nīli began to complain to the god of the forest: “They killed my brother and also the tree where he resided. The huge margosa tree was felled by them and rooted out. I shall destroy the famous Tamil [place of] Paḷakai!”]<sup>133</sup>  
 861 Thinking the whole strategy over again and again,  
 862 she roamed about in the midst of the wild forest.

[A baby boy is born to Māṅākaṅ Ceṭṭi]

863-64 “The Brahmin, the treacherous plotter, [he who] took steps to kill [the devadāsī Lakṣmī in  
 his previous life], [Repetition of lines 825-6]<sup>134</sup>  
 865-66 —have him be [re]born in the womb (of the wife) of the perfect (and wealthy) Māṅākaṅ<sup>135</sup>!”  
 867 Thus Śiva, the incomparable one,  
 868 decided. “As his son,  
 869 as (I) said before, let him be born!”  
 870 Thus are the god’s words.

871 Vēṭiyaṅ, the Brahmin who had gone to the heavenly spheres, by the god Brahmā  
 872 was given back to [the town of] Kāvērīpūmpaṭṭiṇam,  
 873 [reborn] into a worldly life under the sway of the strong old *karma* of one Nīli  
 874 —[she of great] power—  
 875-76 into the womb of the melodious-tongued wife of Māṅākaṅ<sup>136</sup>.  
 877 (After) altogether two times five [months],  
 878 at the proper time of delivery, her body suffering from labour pains,  
 879 she [, the wife of Māṅākaṅ,] gave birth.

880 Seeing that the birth had taken place,  
 881 Māṅākaṅ came,  
 882-83 and with delight he called for the astrologer.

<sup>131</sup> This is clear from other variants: N2, N8, etc.

<sup>132</sup> The two episodes that recount both the killing of Nīlaṅ by Kuṅṭōtaraṅ and the felling of the margosa tree by the Karaiyāḷars vary in the versions available to me: In the margosa leaf–plough type versions N2, N8, and N10, the narrative sequence is as in the base text above, whereas in the margosa leaf (N5, 6)/sword(N9)–fire type versions the narrative sequence is the reverse: the Vēḷāḷas/Karaiyāḷars fell the margosa tree – Nīlaṅ breaks a leg – Nīlaṅ comes along to the temple within the cut wood – Nīlaṅ in anger attacks Cāstā’s pūjārī – in retaliation Kuṅṭōtaraṅ kills Nīlaṅ (N5, N6)/the pūjārī burns Nīlaṅ (N9) – Icakki takes an oath: “They felled and uprooted the margosa tree/the Karaiyāḷars are responsible for the death of my brother, I will destroy Paḷakai.” (It is interesting to note that version N7 [the most northern one] does not conform to either of these story-lines, omitting as it does the Kuṅṭōtaraṅ and tree-felling episodes in the forest in their entirety. Moreover, in N7 the children are abandoned under a banyan tree rather than a margosa tree; and further, in the forest they build a *maṅṅapam* with *gopuras*, where they produce food, clothes, and jewels for sale.) Whatever the narrative sequence in the various versions is, the sequence of action in all is doubtless: the Karaiyāḷars’ felling the margosa tree for the Cāstā temple – Nīlaṅ’s angrily attacking Cāstā’s pūjārī (a spontaneous reaction to his tree being felled) – Nīlaṅ’s death (the result of the pūjārī appealing to Cāstā for help) – Nīlaṅ going to Kailāsa. The dilemma for the reader/audience is that we have two independent agents (the Karaiyāḷars responsible for the death of the margosa tree; and Cāstā/Kuṅṭōtaraṅ, for the death of Nīlaṅ), whereas vengeance is only wreaked upon the Karaiyāḷars. This suggests that the principle of first cause is here operative when it comes to assigning guilt (the felling of the tree in which Nīlaṅ dwelt). One may recall that the worship of trees in India is “not for its own sake, but because it is the home of the spirit” (Fergusson 1971:23).

<sup>133</sup> For clarity, here I add a passage that is left out of the base text, but found in N2 and N8. See N2.32d and N8.20d.

<sup>134</sup> This is probably the right place for these lines, which occur in exactly the same wording in lines 825-6.

<sup>135</sup> Note the appearance of the name Māṅaiikkaṅ as that of the wealthy father of Kaṅṅaki in *Cil.*, Chap. 1.

<sup>136</sup> Māṅākaṅ belongs to the Ceṭṭi trading community, a left-hand caste, seen by scholars (see Rao 1986:147) as woman-centred, in contrast to the farming and landowning community, which is one of the right-hand castes.

- 884-87 (The latter) calculated and compared with the [help of the] <positioned><sup>137</sup> planets their rotation<sup>138</sup> and their positions, and the constellations.
- 888 With the knowledge he had acquired by studying many  
889 good books, and pondering  
890 [the knowledge of] those specialists and compilers,  
891 he uttered divinely inspired words:  
892 -93 “Before [the child] attains the age of sixteen,  
894 there will very probably be a bad period for its mother and father.  
895 After it passes the age of sixteen—in the seventeenth year—  
896 it is further fated that vengeance will be wreaked [upon it] by one Nīli.  
897-98: There is destiny [in the form] of death for seventy Karaiyāḷars,  
897 [brought on] by the vengeance of one Nīli,<sup>139</sup> who [will have] achieved increasing fame.”
- 899 “Is there not a remedy for this fate?” [Māṇākaṅ asked].
- 900 “He (i.e. the son) mustn’t go alone on village paths.  
901-02 [If he ever wants to go] he must take one of the long leaves of a very old, sturdy margosa tree in his hand.”<sup>140</sup>
- 903 The talented astrologer(?)<sup>141</sup>  
904 spoke according to the Śāstras,  
905 and they perceived the words [of] good [intent],  
906 and along with those [who had come to worship the child]<sup>142</sup> they feasted,  
907 and named the young prince Āṇantaṅ.
- 908 After Māṇākaṅ had named him,  
909 Āṇantaṅ grew up renowned.  
910 In order to put him, with blessings, into a good school,  
911 they called quickly for a teacher<sup>143</sup>.  
912 In the presence (*aruḷ*)<sup>144</sup> of Viṇāyakaṅ,<sup>145</sup> [the god who removes all obstacles], they placed him properly,  
913 [and offered to the teacher] a full measure<sup>146</sup> of paddy, a tender coconut, gram grain, puffed rice, and honey.  
914-15 Giving [these] presents, they admitted the beloved son by the god’s *aruḷ* into school.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Em. <உற்ற> on the basis of N10.69b.

<sup>138</sup> Literally: “their rotation around the four corners of space.”

<sup>139</sup> நீலி. Cf. N2.34b, N8.21c-d இசக்கி/இயக்கி. By contrast, N10.70a has நீலி.

<sup>140</sup> Note that in two of the versions available to me (N7, N9), it is a sword rather than a margosa leaf (as found in N2, N5, N6, N8, and N10) that is said to protect Āṇantaṅ.

<sup>141</sup> The lexical question remains unresolved; perhaps “the talented astrologer, worshipper of the sky.”

<sup>142</sup> See N8.22b-c.

<sup>143</sup> It is a custom that in the ceremony at hand the teacher smears a palm leaf with turmeric and takes the boy’s hand and trains him to use the stylus (*eluttāṇi*).

<sup>144</sup> See Handelman and Shulman 2004:40f.: “*Aruḷ* can [...] correspond in Śaiva texts to [...] the god’s compassionate giving to his servants. More often, however, it approximates a notion of coming into being or freely becoming present, close, alive (40). [...] *Aruḷ*, for the Siddhantins, is a *śakti*—an active and female aspect of Śiva. Not ‘grace’ but ‘emergent presence’.” (41).

<sup>145</sup> Ganeśa.

<sup>146</sup> Half a litre.

<sup>147</sup> Here the *katai* adds support for van Gennep’s (1960:55) view that “childhood last[s] until the performance of the important ceremony called ‘entering school’; this marks the beginning of adolescence.” (55) Entering school is one of the rites of incorporation.

- 916 Having entered school, he began his studies.  
 917-18 The teacher taught [him] to recite [the invocation] “*Hari*<sup>148</sup> *namo 'stu [te](?)*,”  
 919 and the comely youth learnt [it].  
 920-21 The teacher taught him to say the five [vowel] letters *a ā i ī u*.  
 922 He learnt them with ease.  
 923 Saying *e ē ai o ō <au>*<sup>149</sup> *kū kō*—  
 924 counting twenty letters in this way—  
 925 the teacher taught him the whole alphabet;  
 926-27 also the *Ariviri*<sup>150</sup> and *Koṅrai Vēyntaṅ*<sup>151</sup>, [Tamil schoolbooks] containing moral aphorisms,  
 (ones like) “(Your) mother and father alone [are real gods].”  
 928 He taught him elephant riding.  
 929 He also taught him the martial arts  
 930 together with the difficult moves in wrestling.  
 931 Along with other skills  
 932-33 he taught the son of *Māṅākaṅ Ceṭṭiyār* [how] to learn mathematics,  
 934 also the English language,  
 935 also the useful fine arts agreeable (to the heart, mind, and senses).  
 936 He taught him all skills.  
 937 (After he had learnt) from the teacher in a pleasing way,  
 938 (his parents), in a very happy frame of mind, sent the teacher off.  
 939 (Then) they [provided] the son with a steelyard [to begin to do business with]<sup>152</sup>,  
 940 (and) in accordance with the Veda  
 941 *Āṅantaṅ* got married.<sup>153</sup>  
 942-47:  
 942-43 After *Āṅantaṅ* of the merchant community got married,  
 944 his father, who combined the best of qualities,  
 947 gave (him),  
 945 before his harsh death took place,  
 947-46 all [manner of] wise advice.<sup>154</sup>  
 947 Listen [to what he told him]:  
 948 “*Āṅantaṅ*, you come [here]!  
 949 My son, you are now married.  
 950 Will you listen to me, my son?  
 951-55:  
 952-53 In earlier days I long asked for a little son.  
 951 [But] the astrologer predicted that  
 955 you would be killed  
 954 by a very bad female demon.

<sup>148</sup> Hari – Viṣṇu.

<sup>149</sup> Obscure. I read <au>.

<sup>150</sup> Perhaps identical with the *Atticūti*?

<sup>151</sup> A short moral code in Tamil by *Auvaīyār*, commencing with *koṅraivēynta*.

<sup>152</sup> For clarity I add this passage, as found in N2.669 and N8.

<sup>153</sup> According to van Gennepe (1960), the age of sixteen is considered to be the age of “children’s ‘maturity’” (59), and “maturity [...] is most clearly expressed in the founding of a family. Marriage constitutes the most important of the transitions from one social category to another [...]” (116).

<sup>154</sup> Note that all the relevant versions foretell that the son will be killed by a woman. All except N7 and N9 contain the advice that he should carry a margosa leaf with him. Only in N9 does the father give his son an amulet and a magic sword. N2 and N8 (*Nāṭār* texts) speak of the need to respect women’s chastity. N2, N5, N6, and N8 proscribe visiting prostitutes. N1, N2, N5, N6, and N8 consider wealth to be a god for the *Ceṭṭis*. N7 is the only version in which it is the mother rather than the father who warns their daughter-in-law that danger can be expected in the form of a woman should their son travel north.

- 956-58:  
 958 Don't ever ignore  
 957 the powerful margosa<sup>155</sup> leaves  
 956 on [your] mountain-strong, gem-studded chest!  
 959 Don't go alone anywhere!  
 960 Don't walk alone!  
 961 Don't go and stay away from home!  
 962-63 Don't mingle with wicked fellows who are doing wrong!  
 964-65 Don't plan or cherish the idea of earning huge amounts of money!  
 966 [Only] in this native place should you earn your living."  
 967 Saying this, he passed away.  
 968-71: [But] famous Āṇantaṅ, after some time, forgot all the good advice given by his father, the Ceṭṭi.
- 972-75:  
 972 Even though he forgot everything (else),  
 974 strong Āṇantaṅ  
 975 never forgot  
 973 to keep (margosa) leaves in his hand.  
 976 After he had completed the rites for his father,  
 977 he practised charity and austerities.  
 978 At the age of sixteen  
 979 he took a weighty steelyard,  
 980 (dressed up) in very beautiful silk clothes,  
 981 [and] began to carry on a trade,  
 982-83 while the time of vengeance for his having killed with the stone speedily approached.  
 984 While the time was speedily approaching [Repetition of line 983],  
 985-91:  
 991 he began to carry on trade, selling [Repetition of line 981]  
 985 many goods: musk,  
 986 cardamom, ginger, topaz,  
 987 pieces of fine sandalwood,  
 988 sea-blue bangles [Repetition of line 348]  
 989 together with an attached set of colourful bangles, [Repetition of line 349]  
 990 and very beautiful silk clothes. [Repetition of line 980]  
 992-93:  
 993 And as dictated by fate, [Repeated in line 1037]  
 992 Āṇantaṅ firmly arranged  
 994-95 on one (of his) shoulders a bag and an elegant decorative towel,  
 996 and packed [for his journey] flakes of husked rice and puffed grains  
 997 delicious light food<sup>156</sup>,  
 998 [and] a majestic steelyard,  
 999 and added [to all these things] a small pouch of areca (made of cloth drawn together at the mouth with a string),  
 1000 a small pouch of betel leaves,  
 1001 and a new polished small metal box for keeping the quicklime to be used with betel;  
 1002 a twice- or thrice-washed  
 1003 cotton cloth of pleasing colours [for covering himself in cool weather]<sup>157</sup>

<sup>155</sup> When women cross the Icakkiammaṅ temple grounds at Muppantal they usually carry margosa/*nīm* leaves or a piece of iron with them; cf. Haussig 1984:900.

<sup>156</sup> பல்சாரம். Usually *iṭṭi*, *dōsai* etc.

<sup>157</sup> Usually used as a blanket.

- 1004 around the waist,  
 1005 (together) with a nicely fitting waist cord;  
 1006 also a (precious) stone–studded ring,  
 1007 and golden ear pins in his ears.
- 1008-09 After Ānantan had in this manner joyfully gathered up (all these things) [and had informed his wife, he began his journey to Paḷakai Nakar],<sup>158</sup> [to the accompaniment of bad omens].<sup>159</sup>  
 1010 On his way he passed a <juggler>,  
 1011 crossed a street where ladies as beautiful as garlands (resided),  
 1012-13 and came to the ever famous narrow lane,  
 1014 (where) an owl obstructed his way,  
 1015-16 (where) a widow<sup>160</sup> took a mischievous rabbit very tightly under her arms,  
 1017 and a potter woman, coming his way,  
 1018 set new pots in a row—  
 1019 a number of earthen vessels and large earthen pots—  
 1020-21 (and where) a disabled man whose nose had been amputated came his way.  
 1022 A cobra that was opening out its hood  
 1023 appeared in his path  
 1024-25 at a moment when he was putting one foot forward, gently raising his right leg.<sup>161</sup>  
 1026 Does<sup>162</sup> not the sound of the gecko<sup>163</sup> contain a prediction?<sup>164</sup>  
 1027 “The result of an evil deed [done] by sorcery awaits you.  
 1028 Icakki is waiting to kill you.  
 1029 You will be killed,” (the gecko) is saying.  
 1030 “She will claim with certainty that you are her (dear) husband.  
 1031 Once you meet up with Nīli in the wild forest,  
 1032-33 she will surely follow (you) up to the village of West Paḷakai.  
 1034-35 She will pluck out your twisted intestines,” (the gecko) is saying.
- 1036 Ānantan knows his fate.  
 1037 In accordance with (his) fate,  
 1038 now in the vast forest—  
 1039 in the middle [of it]<sup>165</sup>—she appears.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>158</sup> For clarity, here I add the passage found in version N8 (N8.24c).

<sup>159</sup> Note that in all the versions I have compared, Ānantan is reminded of his fate, either at an earlier point by his father (see the advice in N7) or by his mother via his wife, or, as here, by bad omens or a prediction of a woman (a Kuṛatti/Kurava)/a gecko. – In N2, N6, N8, N9, and N10, when the Ceṭṭi leaves for Paḷakai, a Kuṛatti/Kurava woman tells him about his former life, reminding him of his murderous act. No mention of the Ceṭṭi’s former life is found in N1, N5, or N7. With the exception of N7, bad omens appear in all versions: N1, N2, N5, N6, N8, N9, and N10. In all versions, too, the Ceṭṭi ignores either the advice he has been given or the omens/predictions.

<sup>160</sup> யிறுதலக்ஷி – அறுதலி. A widow, whose *tāli* (marriage badge) has been removed, is considered to be *amangala* (inauspicious).

<sup>161</sup> Judging by N10.76.1880-2, this line is related to N1.1022-3, since a gap and the opening of the *vacaṇam* follows.

<sup>162</sup> Note the change of tense—an alert signal.

<sup>163</sup> *Lacerta gecko*.

<sup>164</sup> In N2.40c-41a and N8.25a-b, a woman diviner (Kuṛatti) of the Kurava tribe blocks his way and tells him that he committed a murder in his previous life and that the murdered woman will appear to him.

<sup>165</sup> Handelman and Shulman (2004) emphasise the god’s appearance in the “middle space.” According to them, the “middle space is the only locus for interaction” (44). It is in the middle of the forest that Icakki, emerging as the goddess, meets the Ceṭṭi. Something happens thereby not only to the Ceṭṭi, but also to the goddess’s inner self: she penetrates to the *middle* of herself, begins to feel joy, and becomes beautiful and present. From this medial position, the Ceṭṭi could have moved in any direction he wanted, but he chooses the *way of dying*.

<sup>166</sup> Note here the future tense. Given the dramatic climax, however, I render the verb in the present tense. – The goddess manifests her presence at this point. This is her first *alaṅkāram*.

- 1040 Icakki appears.<sup>167</sup> She stood (there)  
 1041 in her silk sari tied around her *tuṭi*-like slender waist.  
 1042 Thus she wore the silken sari, gathered into folds.<sup>168</sup>  
 1043-50:  
 1043 Her lips were ripe and soft, red as coral.[Repeated in line 1054]  
 1044 She had put on a veil.  
 1045 Again and again she thought [to herself], “When will the Ceṭṭi come?”  
 1047 Drops of sweat (appeared) on the lotus-like face  
 1046 of the beauty, whose hair<sup>169</sup> was well-formed and soft.  
 1048 A black dot was in the middle (of her forehead).  
 1049-50 She smeared collyrium on her eyes—just in the right position.<sup>170</sup>  
 1051 She touched her neck.  
 1052-53 The sacred *tāli* [on it] glittered golden, like the sun.  
 1054 Her lips were ripe and soft, red as coral. [Repetition of line 1043]  
 1055-57:  
 1057 She had put a gold chain inlaid with diamonds  
 1056 round her neck, with an elegant pendant  
 1055 duly placed at the centre of it.  
 1058 To her beautifully arranged hair she had applied oil.  
 1059-62:  
 1060 The shining pupils in her eyes reached out (everywhere),  
 1059 like the blazing sun emitting rays of light.  
 1061 She was decked with all sorts of ornaments.  
 1062 Cute ears, a snub nose,  
 1063 a beautiful voice, soft, red lips,  
 1064 a moon-like face, as if of pearls and rubies—  
 1065 resembling a full moon—were [marks of] hers.  
 1066 The auspicious *tāli*, containing fine gold ornaments,  
 1067 a stomach shaped like a banyan<sup>171</sup> leaf,  
 1068 on [each of] her lovely breasts a beautiful circlet,  
 1069 a slender waist, supple as a thread,  
 1070-71 [and] two spear-shaped eyes drawn to her hands were [marks of] hers.  
 1072 Her eyes, her waist as slender as a *tuṭi* drum,

<sup>167</sup> The following section, featuring the goddess’s first *alaṅkāram* (N1.1040ff./N10.78b/N2.41c/N8.25c), is considered to be the most important by the bow-song bard T.M.P. (K-O.01, A, 425). He sung this section during my first interview with him on 10 May 2002 at his home in Svayambulingapuram: (K-O.01, A, 279ff.) “Only if the particular tune is sung by me will possession come.” Music: (A, 319) “She appears. She is dressed in what suits her waist, dressed in silk, with a hip ornament on her waist. She wore gold jewels; she had oiled her beautiful hair. That deity of beautiful hair will appear just like the moon” (A, 326) (end of the singing demonstration). [...] T.M.P. sings: (A, 336) “That young lady, that adolescent girl, in order to heighten her beauty, tied her beautiful long hair into a knot, and exposed the sacred *tāli* on her neck. She smeared *mañcaṇai* [N10.1073/1079] (*mañcaṇātai manakavē pūci*)” (A, 344). [T.M.P. says in prose:] “She smeared sandalwood and applied a tilak. O Ceṭṭiyār, you stop here. (She called upon the Ceṭṭiyār to stop). That sweet-tongued Icakki, the deity, appears like that” [A, 349, end of the music]. – K-O.01, B, 096/119: “So if the deity does not come, I have to sing the part that goes ‘*tōṇri* ... beautiful waist, silk sari...’ again to the right musical tune.” T.M.P. sings this portion again (119). – K-O.02, A, 155ff.: “Exactly at midnight. At that time I shall sing the part that goes *tōṇriṇāḷ Icakkiammai*. If I begin with that line, that is the place where the power possesses me. At that time the *pūjā* is also performed. The power of Icakki will come to a particular person. Everyone’s attention is attracted at that time. The man who possesses the power of Icakki will begin to act” (167).

<sup>168</sup> An elegant way of wearing a sari is by gathering it into folds—very different to the manner as commonly worn in villages.

<sup>169</sup> Groomed and oiled hair, according to Tamil proverbs, is an expression “of pride and of being human in general” (Beck 1979:31). Beck (ibid.) adds: “The hair can be further understood to express the body’s sexuality [...]”

<sup>170</sup> Alternatively, but less likely, this could be read: “She placed a black dot on her cheek (கன்ன(த்)தில்).” A black dot on the cheek is thought to protect one from the evil eye.

<sup>171</sup> ஆலம். *Ficus bengalensis*.



- 1073 the lovely smearing of turmeric,<sup>172</sup> the swinging of her arms,  
 1074 the proud graceful gait of a goose,<sup>173</sup>  
 1075 shins like a faultless *virāl* fish,<sup>174</sup>  
 1076 with anklets on her ankles,  
 1077 on her feet the anklets jingling,  
 1078-79 the scent of turmeric powder mixed with *kuṅkumam* and oil<sup>175</sup>—(as much of each) as the  
 fancy struck her—(smears on her neck):  
 1079 she was a [perfect] beauty.  
 1080-81 That she wore a quivering flower garland filled with pollen (added) to her [extraordinary]  
 beauty, too.  
 1082-83 There was beauty in her rolling a betel nut continuously<sup>176</sup> in her hand and pressing it into  
 a corner of her mouth,<sup>177</sup>  
 1084 as if it were a brand-new<sup>178</sup> gold pot.  
 1085-94 [Repetition of lines 1074-83]:  
 1085 The proud graceful gait of a goose,  
 1086 shins like a faultless *virāl* fish,  
 1087 with anklets on her ankles,  
 1088 on her feet the anklets jingling,  
 1089-90 the scent of turmeric mixed with *kuṅkumam* and oil—(as much of each) as the fancy strike  
 her—(smears on her neck):  
 1090 she was all beauty.  
 1091-92 That she wore a quivering flower garland filled with pollen (added) to her [extraordinary]  
 beauty, too.  
 1093-94 There was beauty in her rolling a betel nut continuously in her hand and pressing it into a  
 corner of her mouth.  
 1095-96:  
 1096 Nīli,  
 1095 like a rising full moon,  
 1096 made her appearance, coming up face-to-face [with the Ceṭṭi].<sup>179</sup>  
 1097-99:  
 1098 When Icakki caught sight of  
 1097 the Ceṭṭi as he was coming towards her, she joyfully  
 1099 began to dance, calling out “Bravo! Bravo!”  
 1100 The sweet-voiced woman joyfully  
 1101 praised Śiva Mahādeva for his mercy.  
 1102-03 “This is fine! This is good! No matter where the blameworthy man goes, I shall not leave

<sup>172</sup> Note that the goddess Icakki is known as மஞ்சளை வாடை உடையாள் (she whose fragrance is that of turmeric–sandal paste). See also Sect. 9.2.1, p. 291, n. 61.

<sup>173</sup> Here the bow song resorts to highly literary expressions, of the sort extensively used, for instance, by the poet Kampan.

<sup>174</sup> This is a semi-classical expression of exquisiteness.

<sup>175</sup> In the *koṭai* festival for Icakkiamman held at Paḷavūr on 7 and 8 May 2002, the *mañcaṇai* the pūjārīs used was a mixture that contained *mañcaḷ* (turmeric), *kuṅkumam*, and oil.

<sup>176</sup> மாயாசூ. Literally: “without dying/perishing.”

<sup>177</sup> Chewing betel is considered beautiful. It adds redness to lips, while it is also valued for its medicinal properties.

<sup>178</sup> சேறாயாசூ. Literally: “not soaked.”

<sup>179</sup> Note that there are only slight differences among the versions with respect to describing Nīli’s appearance in the forest. The descriptions of the *alaṅkāram* in N1, N2, N5, N8, and N10 range from long to very long. Those in N6 and N9 are respectively short and very short, neither one mentioning the following: the drops of sweat, the tilak, the *tāli*, the smearing of *mañcaḷ*, or the joy/dancing/singing, which otherwise appear in almost all of the versions: N1, N2, N5, N8, and N10. The betel chewing is found in fewer versions (N1, N2, N5, N8), and the lovely breasts in only two (N1, N5). Again, N7 is an exception to all versions, in that Nīli does not appear in her *alaṅkāram* form at all, either to the Ceṭṭi’s wife or to the Ceṭṭi. Rather, she appears to the Ceṭṭi disguised as his actual wife, holding a *kaḷḷi*-turned-child in her arm.

- him. I shall take revenge on him,” she said happily.
- 1104-05 She danced, repeating again and again, “Look over there; the Ceṭṭi is coming to let the whole world know about his wealth of gold!”
- 1106-07 She danced [and] she sang, spilling out words in joy: “Look, the Ceṭṭi is coming!” Thus she danced there.
- 1108-10 She ran about filled with joy. “The whole world is shaking! O god, you are my protector!” [With these words] she worshipped.
- 1111-14 “I have your support, Mahādeva. <I am not><sup>180</sup> a wicked woman, (though) I now take revenge,” she said.<sup>181</sup>
- 1115 Her anklets tinkling, she gently looked into the Ceṭṭi’s face, repeating again and again, “I shall take revenge, I shall take revenge.”
- 1116 When Nīli, the woman of beautiful hair, saw Āṅantaṅ, the Ceṭṭi, she appeared before him as graceful as a goose.
- 1117 As soon as she came up to him, (the Ceṭṭi) screamed, panic-stricken. His mind shrunk, his limbs trembled,
- 1118 his mouth dried up. With trembling legs Āṅantaṅ the merchant said, frightened, “Fate has come and caught me.”
- 1119 “A conspiracy has overtaken me,” said the Ceṭṭi, completely losing his balance.
- <2274 Afraid and confused, the Ceṭṭi was watchful; his eyes wandered about.
- <2275 Bewildered and extremely confused,
- <2276 in his hardship(?) and confusion he cried out: “O Kumarakuruparā!”
- <2277 He was afraid and confused. He said: “The wicked woman has ruined (me).”
- <2278 Sneaking off like a young rat, he came to the middle of the forest—confused,
- <2279 frightened, like one who has caught sight of a hyena.
- <2280 Taking pains not to get close (to her) in his fright, he<sup>182</sup> said, “She won’t leave me without <grasping and taking hold of (me).”
- <2281 “Was I born only to be trapped by her and suffer revenge?
- <2282 Let’s get away (from her),” the Ceṭṭi thought, “she is going to kill (me otherwise).”
- <2283-85 Thinking that she who is covered with a veil won’t let him go, the Ceṭṭi ties up the goods, [and] sets them on his head, saying, “I have escaped from bondage.” Thinking that she has left him, he carries off the utensils on his head.
- <2286 The lady, that vengeful Icakki, watched his painful suffering.
- <2287 The lady, who felt in an excess of joy at noticing Ceṭṭi’s struggling words,
- <2288 said, “He’s ensnared. Would I let him go without taking revenge?”
- <2289 Swaying, with a distressed mind, just like a lotus that senses the sun,
- <2290 his body cold and shivering,
- <2291 Ceṭṭi completely lost his balance.
- [Nīli:]
- 1120 “O great Tamil merchant, you have lost your balance!
- 1121-22 Why did you enter this dense forest filled with black thorn-bushes—alone, without company, distressed, and panic-stricken?

<sup>180</sup> Em. <நானல்ல>.

<sup>181</sup> Note that N2, N8, and N10 contain a passage that is important. It refers to Nīli’s promise that she will take revenge for the murder of her brother and the felling of the tree in which he had resided. See N2.44b, N8.26d புழைக்கைபோன்ற என்னண்ணன் தன்னைக் கொன்றபழியும் / புகழுடன் நின்றநிம்பத்தின் பழியும்.

<sup>182</sup> The Tamil text uses the first person: என்றேன்.

- 1123 Wasn't it because of a concubine<sup>183</sup>?
- 1124 If you (now) approach the woman, shouldn't you give her a detailed explanation? [But you just stand there. I know well enough (why). You've forgotten everything.]<sup>184</sup>
- 1125-27 Though you see I am at peace with you, you are still afraid. Why?
- 1128 When you see (me)—don't you recognise this woman?<sup>185</sup>
- 1129 When you see (me)—don't you recognise this woman? [Repetition of line 1128]
- 1130 If those who have had no wealth acquire riches,
- 1131-32 will they [still] look at the face of a king whose mind is troubled? [Likewise, do you, when you look at me, care or not? I want to be recognised as your wife, just as the king wants to be recognised as king by his subjects.]
- 1133-34 As I was walking in the sun, my tongue became dry because of the heat.
- 1135-36 Please give me a bit of lime,<sup>186</sup> pure-hearted man," she said.
- 1137 "Please give me some lime!"<sup>187</sup>
- 1138-46:
- 1145 She came running, jumping forward.
- 1146 She asked again for some lime.
- 1144 She chatted to allay his fears.
- 1138 "After you give (me some lime), let's sit down in the shadow (of a tree) [and you can enjoy me, O great man of the Ceṭṭi community!]<sup>188</sup>
- 1139 Let's see whether there is a hiding place!
- 1141 Look
- 1140 in all four directions if there is such (a place)
- 1141 in this dense forest!"
- 1142 So she spoke to allay his fears.
- 1143 "Look around in this dense forest!
- 1147 Look [to see] if there is a hollow pit," <she><sup>189</sup> said.
- 1148 "Come and chat," she urged.
- 1149-52:
- 1152 "O you great Tamil merchant,
- 1151 you told me not to stay, to go away at once!
- 1150 'Don't those who see her<sup>190</sup> know
- 1149 she is full of deceit?' [You said such words to yourself.]
- 1153-57:
- 1155 If you go away without living with me, (enjoying me)—
- 1154 (if you) leave me behind like a crop
- 1153 sown on wasteland—
- 1156-57 won't [some] powerful, ancient fate catch up with you, O Ceṭṭiyār?
- 1158 When it catches up with you, can you escape?
- 1159 Will it leave you hereafter, Ceṭṭiyār?

<sup>183</sup> வெள்ளாட்டி is presumably an allusion to Lakṣmī, the Ceṭṭi's lover in his previous life.

<sup>184</sup> For clarity I add the text as it appears in version N10.83c: வெள்ளாட்டிக்காக வந்து மெய்மறந்துநிற்குநீர் (You came for the sake of a concubine, and (now) you stand here, having forgotten everything). Cf. N8.27b and N2.45a வெள்ளாட்டிக்காகநின்று விழிபரந்து பார்ப்பானேன். – Note, too, the interesting suggestion of the Ceṭṭi's self-forgetfulness in version N10.83c. On "men's self-forgetfulness," see Shulman's analysis of Nala (2001:131ff.).

<sup>185</sup> This can mean: "I am not going to harm you!"

<sup>186</sup> Lime is used with the areca nut (betel). The request for lime paste for the areca nut is "a common euphemism for sexual intimacy" (Blackburn 1980:207).

<sup>187</sup> It is a common belief among Tamils that a demon, upon meeting someone, asks first of all for some lime.

<sup>188</sup> For better comprehension I add a line left out in N1 but found in N8.27c and N10.84a.

<sup>189</sup> Em. <ள்>.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. N10.84d, where the possessive pronoun உன் is used. I take this line, therefore, as being a *direct thought* of the Ceṭṭi.

- 1160 You are entangled in my hands.  
 1161 [One day] in this beautiful forest surrounded by fruits  
 1162 you took on yourself the guilt of killing me with a stone.  
 1163 You gave up our daring friendship<sup>191</sup>,  
 1164 and you left me without any help.  
 1165 O Ceṭṭi, did you come here alone or not?  
 1166 I shall not allow you to go (on) alone!  
 1167 I won't allow (you) to go (on alone),” Icakki said.
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1168 Under (her) power of judgement he became apathetic.  
 1169 “Let Nīli’s revenge take place!  
 1170 My father’s words won’t prove to be wrong!”
- [Icakki:]  
 1171-72 “<You didn’t think of me as Nīli<sup>192</sup> (at that time,)><sup>193</sup> when you were enjoying me.  
 1173 Don’t say I am a wicked woman, a Durgā!  
 1174 Wasn’t I a mature woman of the right age?” she sobbed.  
 1175-76 “I was like a woman of a young age voluntarily entangled in your trap.  
 1177-78 Would any of <those><sup>194</sup> who are born as men abandon [a woman in her youth]?  
 1179-80 Would she not follow (after), roaming around with a sense of shyness, with dislike (of her own state), and in distress?”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1181 “Don’t behave irresponsibly!<sup>195</sup>  
 1182 Worthless woman—hey, just leave me alone and go away!”
- [Icakki:]  
 1183 “I followed you in love.  
 1184 Is it right for you (now) to leave without any sign [of our close relationship]?  
 1185-86 If you don’t marry me now, as custom demands,  
 1187-88 I’ll roll like a donkey at the cremation ground, which is filled with <ashes><sup>196</sup>.”<sup>197</sup>
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1189 “You vine-like woman, don’t touch me!  
 1190 Am I not the offshoot of a Ceṭṭi?”<sup>198</sup>

<sup>191</sup> An alternative reading: “You took [it, i.e. the guilt] onto your brave shoulders.”

<sup>192</sup> An expression of rebuke.

<sup>193</sup> Em. <நீலியென்பதல்லாதே நினைத்த நேரம்>.

<sup>194</sup> Em. விடுவா<ர>/விடுவா<ர்களோ>.

<sup>195</sup> Another possible reading: “Don’t waste your time walking (with me)!”

<sup>196</sup> Em. க<ரி> (charcoal). Alternatively, but less likely, according to *TL* கரி (she-ass), in use in the *Nilakēci*.

<sup>197</sup> Version N8 contains at this point 32 additional lines (N8.28c-29b) of dialogue (between Icakki and the Ceṭṭi) not found in the base version N1. Two lines are of particular interest for the interpretation of the text. In N8.28c Icakki makes it clear that she has been sexually neglected: மருவிவினை யாடுதற்கு வாய்க்காமல் காத்திருந்தேன் / இத்தனைநாட் கவலையெல்லாம் இன்றோடே போச்சகாண் (I was waiting without the chance to play with you. [But] from today all [my] worries have gone). And in N8.29b Icakki wonders why the king did not make inquiries about her murder by the Brahmin: அன்றுஎன்னைக் கொன்றதற்கு அரண்மனையார் கேட்டாரோ.

<sup>198</sup> The *vacanam* of N10.87c helps in the understanding of this line: *eṅkaḷ kulam ceṭṭi kulam. Ataṅāl eṅṅai toṭarātē* (We are of the Ceṭṭi community, so don’t touch me). Alternatively, but not likely, since *offshoot* usually refers to male offspring, the line could also be translated as: “You are not the daughter of a Ceṭṭi.”

- [Icakki:]  
 1191 “You said that I am a twig-like woman,<sup>199</sup>  
 1192-93 O Ceṭṭiyār, (you) who have made a name (for yourself) for receiving interest on loans<sup>200</sup> and  
 other things!  
 [Am I not beautiful?]<sup>201</sup>  
 1194-98 If someone sees me, he will desire me greatly. Such is the beauty of my well-shaped  
 appearance, which cannot be equalled<sup>202</sup> in this land—[not] even by the beauty and glamour  
 of our goddess, (she) who has a red dot on her forehead, or by letters of gold.  
 1199 Great man of the Ceṭṭi community,  
 1200 Ceṭṭi, come closer!” she urged him.
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1201-02 “The one who married<sup>203</sup> you is in the town.  
 1203 Who could be married twice? [How can I become your husband? You have already given  
 your right hand.]”
- [Icakki:]  
 1204 “Woe is me<sup>204</sup> for a woman’s (poor) knowledge!”<sup>205</sup>
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1205-06 “Though you are a young woman of seductive charm, how could I already have been  
 married to you?  
 1207 Accept [the fact] and listen (to me), Icakki.  
 1208 I swear an oath to you.  
 1209 Does a bunch of plucked nuts grow again? [No, because they are not seeds.]  
 1210 Does buttermilk need to be churned? [No, once there is buttermilk it is not necessary to  
 churn it again. Likewise, if one is already married, why should one marry again?]  
 1211 Don’t grab me, vengeful Icakki!  
 1212 Leave this place at once!” he said.
- [Icakki:]  
 1213-14 “If you turn your face away [and try to run away, leaving me alone],<sup>206</sup> you will be  
 completely ruined by my power,” [she said.]

<sup>199</sup> In N1.1191 one would have expected a repetition of கொடி (vine-like) (of N1.1189); the bow-song singer, however, put the word கொம்பு (twig-like) into Icakki’s mouth; this is probably a lapsus linguae on the part of the singer, who still may have had the preceding line 1190, which contains the word கொம்பு, reverberating in his mind.

<sup>200</sup> A short poetic text reproduced in the *Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer* (1995:183f.) provides a glimpse into the money-lending business of the Ceṭṭiyār community. The text is well known among the Ceṭṭiyārs of Kanniyākumari district.

<sup>201</sup> For clarity I add this line on the basis of N10.87.2149f., citing the *vacanam*: நான் என்ன அழகா இல்லையாயோட ஆண்பிள்ளைகள் யாராவது என்னை கண்டால் போதும். அப்புறம் என்னைவிட்டு போகவே மாட்டார்கள் (Am I not beautiful? If any young lad catches sight of me, he won’t let go of me).

<sup>202</sup> Note the use of the classical figure of speech (*alamkāra*) termed *pratīpa*.

<sup>203</sup> Literally: “grasped your right hand.” In Tamil marriage ceremonies, the bride gives her right hand and the bridegroom, who is sitting to the right of the bride, takes it in his left hand. – One might ask how the Ceṭṭi can be sure that the woman before him is married. The sign for him is obviously the *tāli* she is wearing (see the description of her appearance).

<sup>204</sup> Literally: “I am ruined.”

<sup>205</sup> Icakki’s words reflect the self-image of Tamil women. Their subtle undertone hints at customs and conditions of enforced enclosure, especially among the women of the Vēlāla and Ceṭṭi communities in Tamilnadu’s villages. These customs give women little opportunity for any wider experience.

<sup>206</sup> The fuller meaning is supplied from N10.90a.

- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1214 “Don’t threaten! Come on, leave at once!  
 1215-16 This woman has come to take my life in this dark and vast forest, which looks like the  
 gathering of a thousand evils.” So saying, he ran away.  
 1217 The Ceṭṭi merchant runs<sup>207</sup> away,  
 1218 with a bag over his shoulder  
 1219 and shoes with tiny round ornaments that jingle on his feet.  
 1220-21 The merchant ran through the forest like a fox that has come across a hyena. He ran through  
 the forest of Paḷakai Nakar in a panic.  
 1222 “Willy-nilly we were caught by the eyes of that cruel woman.  
 1223 If [one’s] life spirit is vanishing, one knows it. Isn’t it (so)?  
 1224 Will that wicked woman leave (this place) and go away [before she takes my life]?  
 1225 Even though there are (other) suitable husbands available in town for that woman,  
 1226 she cunningly came (to *me*) in order to kill [me].”
- [Nīli:]  
 1227 “You say about me: ‘She’s come to kill me.’  
 1228 Did I cunningly (arrange to) get a huge sum [for killing you], or what?<sup>208</sup>  
 1229-30 Should I blame you for the trick your mother-in-law, my mother, cunningly played on you?  
 No, I can’t blame you.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1231 “You are saying your own mother is a swindler.  
 1232 Did *she* advise you to follow [me] into the forest?”
- [Nīli:]  
 1233 “Ever since you left me, I have come searching for you. <I><sup>209</sup> searched for you.  
 1234 The sun’s heat is intolerable, so walk slowly!<sup>210</sup>  
 1235 The sun’s heat is intolerable, so walk slowly!”  
 1236-37 “I feel drowsy from the (tedious) walk into the forest. Though I am tired, I have had no  
 sleep [so far]. [There is a cot in my mother’s house]. I put pillows on the cot.”<sup>211</sup>
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1238 “If you didn’t sleep, you cunning Icakki, [how did you find the strength to follow me?]  
 1239 (Who) advised you to follow [me] into the forest?” Your mother? [Repetition of line 1232]
- [Nīli:]  
 1240 “I came after [you] in search of you, without any tricks [to play].  
 1241 I keep on telling you not to go away.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1242 “Don’t follow me saying I should not go away!  
 1243 If I open my mouth, you will (surely) lose your honour.”

<sup>207</sup> Note the shift to the present tense.

<sup>208</sup> Although it is unclear, this appears to be Nīli speaking.

<sup>209</sup> I read தேடினேன்.

<sup>210</sup> நடவும் marks this line of speech as being addressed to a male.

<sup>211</sup> The text is corrupt at this point and the passage is out of its actual order. Other versions do not contain this phrase. N10.96d, N8.31d, and N2.52b all refer to a cot in their descriptions of the magically created house (see below in 1273ff.). In these versions this line reads: படுக்கநல்ல மெத்தையுண்டு (There is a good mattress to lie down on).

- [Nīli:]  
 1244 “I came in search of *you*. Should I listen to everything you say?  
 1245 I was going round and round, wandering and roaming in the forest of Paḷakai Nakar.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1246 “Your mother, my mother-in-law, told me to go.”
- [Nīli:]  
 1247 “Do I not come on foot to see you?”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1248 “You cruel woman, don’t come telling (me) again and again to look at (you)!  
 1249 When I came into the forest, I perceived an obstacle<sup>212</sup>.  
 1250 When I behold you, there is no distress in your face.  
 1251 Don’t roll your round eyeballs so threateningly!”
- [Nīli:]  
 1252-53 “Whether I have come here to destroy or to do [something] beneficial,  
 1253 you see, the god alone knows. Don’t go! Stay!”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1254 “You Nīli, don’t stop me, saying I should stay!  
 1255 My heart throbs in fear of you.”  
 1256 Then, frightened to the core, the Ceṭṭi directed his glance back towards her and looked at her.  
 1257 He said, “O my god!,” as she ran [off] with the Ceṭṭi, screaming.
- [Nīli:]  
 1258 “I wonder! You run away again and again, when I come (with a desirous mind) attached to you.  
 1259 You said that I should go away. You attach unnecessary importance to that.  
 1260 Why are you so tired [of me]? You adorned me [with] a red dot<sup>213</sup>.  
 1261 You, too, have suffered. Did I go without caring that you also suffered?  
 1262 You are sorely distressed and hungry. (But) Paḷakai Nakar is far off.  
 1263-64 My mother, my younger (sisters), and (their) children—all  
 1265 are living [at the edge of Paḷakai]<sup>214</sup> at my mother’s place<sup>215</sup>.  
 1266 O bull-like man, it’s true. I swear an oath to you!  
 1267 Let’s get there <quickly><sup>216</sup>!  
 1268 And let’s proceed [to Paḷakai tomorrow] before dawn!” she said (in an effort to convince him).  
 1269 “There will be an upper storey, a small hall.  
 1270 There is a balcony and a raised front veranda<sup>217</sup>.  
 1271 It is comfortable. Let’s go!  
 1272 Come!” she forced him.

<sup>212</sup> Meaning a bad omen.

<sup>213</sup> Made of powder produced from the *kuikiliyam* tree.

<sup>214</sup> According to N8.31b. See the footnote in the Tamil text.

<sup>215</sup> According to N10.93c. See the footnote in the Tamil text.

<sup>216</sup> Em. <ஹிரைவுடன்> on the basis of N10.93d, N8.31b.

<sup>217</sup> At the ground-floor entrance.

- 1273 (And while so) forcing him, she created a mansion.<sup>218</sup>  
 1274-75 He saw in all the four honoured directions, in all the four directions:  
 1276 small walls(?) and a compound wall,  
 1277 a flower garden with bees swarming,  
 1278 an open plot at the main entrance.  
 1279 At the cross-beam a golden-shining plank,  
 1280 a supporting timber indeed,  
 1281 and halls decorated with pictures,  
 1282 the second storey decorated with bright gold and precious stones,  
 1283 verandas on every side,  
 1284 and in the rooms, hammocks.  
 1285 All these Icakkiammaṇ<sup>219</sup>  
 1286 created in the blink of an eye.  
 1287-91 The great man of the Ceṭṭi community, bewildered, [and still] running, saw in all four directions everything that she had created, taking it for real [1291=Repetition of line 1275]:  
 1292-94 [Repetition of lines 1276-1278]:  
 1292 the small walls(?), a compound wall,  
 1293 a flower garden with bees swarming,  
 1294 an open plot at the main entrance.  
 1295 Did he see that she was Icakki?<sup>220</sup>
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1296 “She is not a human being.  
 1297 Aren’t the houses in town [ever] going to come into view?  
 1298 Won’t someone come to help [me]?”  
 1299-1300:  
 1300 A motherly old woman  
 1299 standing at the main entrance  
 1301 shakes her head like a leaf.  
 1302 She sighs. She wrings her hands<sup>221</sup>,  
 1303 and in a happy state of mind, in an excess of joy [at his appearance]  
 1304 she calls out, “[My] son-in-law has come!”  
 1305 The wife’s sisters, who stood around her,  
 1306 were cooking rice and curry.  
 1307-08 The Ceṭṭi was bewildered, his voice feeble.
- [One of the sisters:]  
 1309 “Brother-in-law, brother-in-law,  
 1310 why don’t you come into our house?  
 1311 Why, brother-in-law?  
 1312-14 Have our elder sister and you up to now not always come, brother-in-law?  
 1315 O man whose arms are adorned with sandalwood,  
 1316 come quickly!” she said (invitingly).

<sup>218</sup> Producing imaginary objects is a feat traditionally ascribed to *yakṣīs/iyakkis*; see for instance the *Telapatta Jātaka* (No. 96), in *Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 395f. (tr. Cowell 1895 [Vol. 1]:234f.). In this Pali Buddhist literature, in addition to raising spectacles of houses, *yakṣīs* were supposed to seduce men by their charm and to follow them with a child on their hip (for the latter, see *ibid.*, p. 397/tr. p. 235; cf. N1.1429-36).

<sup>219</sup> Note the use of the term *ammai*, which implies that here Icakki’s status is considered to be that of a goddess.

<sup>220</sup> A question raised by the bow-song singer.

<sup>221</sup> Literally: “she cracks her fingers.”



- [The mother:]  
 1317 The cheerful<sup>222</sup> old woman called out, attracting him like an [iron] magnet.<sup>223</sup>  
 1318 “O my beloved<sup>224</sup> son-in-law!”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1319 “Who is for you a son-in-law?  
 1320 Who is for me a mother-in-law?  
 1321 Who are [your] relatives for you?  
 1322 Who is the only rightful wife for me?”  
 1323-26 (With) all his past acts suppressed in his mind, the Ceṭṭi ran, as if flying,<sup>225</sup> in horror [and] with a single aim, towards Paḷakai.  
 1327 She who was angry at (him) came laughing.  
 1328 She came and appeared in front of the Ceṭṭiyār.  
 1329-30 “South Paḷakai is far away. Don’t go, useless man!” Blocking the path, she asked, “Is it right to go now, O Ceṭṭiyār? Hey, you Ceṭṭiyār, why are you going?”
- [Icakki:]  
 1331 “It’s not a lie (to say) that it is strange to see you [now] going to famous Paḷakai Nakar.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1332 “If you unrightfully stop me, you vengeful Icakki, telling (me) that [what you said] is not a lie,  
 1333 that is a great sin. You clever woman, you had (better) go [back] to your husband!”
- [Icakki:]  
 1334 “Aren’t you my husband? At a young age you tied the *tāli* and married me,  
 1335 as we two placed our right hands on a plank.”<sup>226</sup>
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1336 “Would I [ever] grasp (your hand) and marry you, vengeful Icakki?  
 1337 You are talking (to me) like the daughter of a demon.  
 1338 You have come all this way on an oath.  
 1339 You are talking (to me) as vengeful Icakki.”
- [Icakki:]  
 1340 “You call (me) Icakki.  
 1341 Do you (have the right) to choose this word?  
 1342 If I leave you in the middle of the path and go away (alone),  
 1343 the womenfolk will scold me.”<sup>227</sup>
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1344-45 “Vengeful Icakki, don’t frighten me at this spot [while I am] on my way!  
 1346 You are a wicked and vengeful woman, you hard-hearted woman!  
 1347 I saw you on the path.”

<sup>222</sup> Em. <மலர்>. Literally: “of a flower-like face.”

<sup>223</sup> Em. <காந்தம்>.

<sup>224</sup> Literally: “like my eyes.”

<sup>225</sup> Literally: “struck by the wind.”

<sup>226</sup> A wedding custom.

<sup>227</sup> Note that at this point Icakki’s problem is portrayed as something that concerns all women.

- [Icakki:]  
 1348 “You say that you saw me  
 1349 when I came into this forest.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1350-51 “That you are coming along with me in the forest—is this the result of past acts of our  
 ancestors, I wonder?  
 1352-53 Why are (you) coming, <you><sup>228</sup> vengeful Icakki? In my large merchant community,  
 1354 I was married at the age of sixteen  
 1355 to a beautiful, good young woman. She is at my place.  
 1356-57 If we go to my place, you will come to know whether the truth is on my side or on yours.”
- [Icakki:]  
 1358 “The village of the farmers is far away. Don’t run so fast!  
 1359 I swear an oath to you: my revenge is certain.  
 1360 It is certain,” Icakki said.
- 1361 Just <like> fearfully flying birds,  
 1362-63 the princely merchant was running fast, his body contracted, without looking up at <her><sup>229</sup>  
 face, not raising his head<sup>230</sup>.
- [Icakki:]  
 1364 “Even<sup>231</sup> if you run [off], will I let you go?  
 1365 Listen, I’ll tell (you) one thing!”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1366 “Without people knowing it, the vengeful woman is coming.”  
 1367 He instantly began to run [even more] quickly.
- [Icakki:]  
 1368 “Can you [simply] go away, can you [simply] go away, O Ceṭṭiyār?  
 1369-71 Can one [simply] go away when women <affectionately><sup>232</sup> come in search of men and  
 appear in front of them? Why are you running so fast, stumbling [burdened] with an  
 oppressed mind? Hey!  
 1372 When shall I see (it)? When do I get rid of this desire?  
 [Once we enjoyed each other. Ignoring those days, you [simply] go away.]<sup>233</sup>  
 1373 [Once] I was waiting in this forest, having been searching for you a very long time.<sup>234</sup>  
 1374 You<sup>235</sup> came. You and I joined one another, sitting intimately together,

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<sup>228</sup> Em. நீ.

<sup>229</sup> Em. <அவள்>.

<sup>230</sup> நிமராமலே – நிமிராமலே.

<sup>231</sup> ஓடினாலும்மை – ஓடினாலும் உம்மை. Cf. N10.92d.

<sup>232</sup> Em. <மோகமாக>.

<sup>233</sup> For clarity I add two lines that are found at this point in N8.35c and N2.59b, but are missing in my base text N1: ஏக போகமாக நாமளிருபேரும் இருந்து வொருதலத்திற் பொருத்திப்பாராமலே. N10.107a-b reads slightly differently at this point.

<sup>234</sup> A flashback. Lines 1373-5 refer to the forest scene of the first birth.

<sup>235</sup> According to N10.107.2645: *vantuvitṭir*.

- 1375 [but I] was unable to tell [you of my desire]<sup>236</sup>!
- 1376-77 Even after I came in pursuit of you, trusting you, you, who bear the guilt of killing a woman, did not look at me.
- 1378 Will the crime of killing me (ever) leave you, wherever you go?
- 1379 So why are you now running away, you idiot of a Ceṭṭiyār? Hey!<sup>237</sup>
- 1380 Don't abuse me by calling me a wicked woman, O Ceṭṭiyār!
- 1381 You may use such slurs with other women (?) [text missing].<sup>238</sup> [I am a chaste woman. I am your wife.]
- 1382 Why should I hesitate to enjoy sexual pleasures<sup>239</sup>? [We are husband and wife.]
- [The Ceṭṭi speaks, mocking her:]
- 1383 “[Oh no,] you are not a <troublemaker><sup>240</sup> [at all]! You are not a hussy.
- 1384 You, vine-like woman, have a bewitching figure.
- 1385 You are a woman of wealth, you are a divinely-[born], endearing woman.
- 1386 You are a good woman, and I am [the wicked one],<sup>241</sup> a target for you, am I not?<sup>242</sup> [(I regret) I didn't follow my father's advice]<sup>243</sup>
- 1387 I didn't see the omens against taking this journey.
- 1388 In truth, aren't you a worthless woman? [Is it because of my karma and fate that I have fallen into] Icakki's [clutches]?<sup>244</sup>”
- 1389 He jumped up and rushed away.
- [Icakki:]
- 1389 “After you tied the *tāli*, would I let you go?”
- 1390 The young woman with curly hair that is as beautiful as the [blue] nelumbo,
- 1391 followed him [text missing]. “O Ceṭṭiyār, if you go away without a glance at me,<sup>245</sup>
- 1392 if you go away without a glance at me, I shall follow you and catch you, you can be sure.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1393 “If you follow me what will you do, great peacock-like Icakki?”
- [Icakki:]
- 1394 “Once you cross the forest and reach the village of the Karaiyāḷars,<sup>246</sup> you will know.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. N10.107c and N8.35a சிறியவயதில் நாமள் தேனும் பாலும்போல குறியாயிருந்தோமே கூச்சமேன காண் செட்டி. (In our youth we were joined like milk and honey. Why are you feeling squeamish now, O Ceṭṭi?). In N1, many of the lines of intimate conversation are missing. It is obvious that this version avoids treating the theme of sexual desire too explicitly.

<sup>237</sup> An expression of contempt.

<sup>238</sup> At this point the text is corrupt and letters are missing. Other versions do not contain this phrase. The translation is merely a conjecture.

<sup>239</sup> Literally: “to embrace.”

<sup>240</sup> Em. <சல்லிதனமுமில்லை> .

<sup>241</sup> For clarity I supplement on the basis of N10.108c.

<sup>242</sup> A mockingly ironical utterance.

<sup>243</sup> This line appears in N10.108c at this point.

<sup>244</sup> I insert a line found in N10 to make the sentence intelligible at this point. See N10.108c-d கையில் அகப்படவும்கறாமவியோடுது.

<sup>245</sup> An expression that is commonly used to describe a loving relationship is the phrase “to look at someone.” Those who “look at us” are those who love us by sharing their property with us, spending time with us, and being willing to eat and drink our food. A glance is of great significance within the social relationships of the Tamil people.

<sup>246</sup> கரையாளர் are owners of *karai* land in a village. According to Thurston and Rangachari 1909 and *TL*, it is also a caste-title of the Maṇavārs and some Itaiyārs. During my fieldwork from March to May, 2002, I asked different groups of people what they considered the term to mean. The question remained unresolved since there was no consensus of opinion among the Tamil

- 1395 If you go (there), you will know all there is to know.  
 1396 So don't talk unnecessarily! What I, your devoted wife, say from the bottom of my heart  
 1397 is true. You don't know anything about this vow of Nīli.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1398 “You have come merely to steal. Hey! Don't get mad!  
 1399-1400 I doubt whether you, not knowing the facts in the meantime, would have rushed (here),  
 even though your aged mother and your younger sister had stopped you.<sup>247</sup>  
 1401 You, who have followed me—aren't you deceitful, beautiful Icakki?”
- [Icakki:]  
 1402-03 “You told me to leave. You say that I am not a human being. ‘Get lost!,’ [you said], calling  
 me a bad, wicked woman.  
 1404 Have I come in vain? You frighten me like anything.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1405 “[No], it won't happen that way. Evil woman, stand aside!  
 1406 Icakki, you are a spoiled child in a house that you don't deserve.”
- [Icakki:]  
 1407 “You call me Icakki. Don't you see my handsome appearance?  
 1408 You shouldn't be astonished. I, your devoted wife, suit your taste.  
 1409 Give me the money<sup>248</sup> one [usually] gives for the pleasure of bathing in turmeric!<sup>249</sup>  
 1410 Son of a Ceṭṭiyār, you are fined it, to be given (to me now) with interest [since you did not  
 give it to me at the time of our wedding]. [Repeated in lines 1548-1549]  
 1411 <Didn't><sup>250</sup> you give me fake money?  
 1411-12 [See] the beauty of the auspicious *tāli* that [I,] [your] pet woman [who is] as beautiful as a  
 garland, received (to wear)!<sup>251</sup>  
 1413 Day and night [I] wore it [text missing] [people could see](?)<sup>252</sup>  
 1414 <Haven't I discovered [the past events] in this forest, where you snatched away my  
 jewels?><sup>253</sup>  
 1415 You tremble. Where are you going all alone?  
 1416 I have come as Nīli to take revenge on you.  
 1417-18 Would a cat with a hot, burning stomach feel understanding for the fear and the (squeaky)

scholars, folklorists, historians, and members of the community of the Vēlāḷa and Nāṭār communities. According to the Nāṭār bow-song bard T.M.P., Karaiyāḷars are a sub-group of the Vēlāḷas. Others say that they are called Karaiyāḷars in the south and Vēlāḷas in the north of Tamilnadu. A third opinion is that of members of the Vēlāḷa community, who consider it a title that has been bestowed on them.

<sup>247</sup> The meaning is unclear.

<sup>248</sup> Money, here probably a euphemism for the penis. Caldwell (1999:166) cites an interesting excerpt from published texts (by N. Ucida, *Oral Literature of the Saurashtrians*. Calcutta: Simant, 1979:82-3) of some puberty songs, from the turn of the century, sung to young women by female relatives during the puberty ceremony. Their explicit goal is to teach the sexually matured young women about sexual life: “You have attained puberty, O girl! [...] Come into the eggplant field! Come! I'll give you a handful of money! Tell me whether this will go in or not! I shall very slowly thrust this in and draw it out, come dear! Go away! This cunt has just brought forth a baby. I shall very slowly thrust this in and draw it out, come dear!”

<sup>249</sup> மஞ்சட்குளிக்க. The bath taken by women after smearing their face and body with turmeric paste is a euphemism for “sexual enjoyment.” I would like to thank Professor T. Naṭarājan, Kamrāj University of Maturai, for the meaning of this phrase. See also Narayan 1995:488, cited in Sect. 9.2.3 below.

<sup>250</sup> Em. <தந்தீரோ>.

<sup>251</sup> Line 1412 is out of its actual order. Cf. N10.102a.2520.

<sup>252</sup> ...ண்டாச்சுதே. Unclear; perhaps (க)ண்டாச்சுதே.

<sup>253</sup> Em. <பணிகள் பறித்ததோர் காடுகண்டேண்டா>.

- cry of a mouse?<sup>254</sup> [Repeated in lines 1626-1627]  
 1419-20 Look here, the place where we both were in earlier days—it is visible, Ceṭṭi!”
- 1421-22 When deceitful Icakki asked him to take a look, Āṇantaṅ ran away trembling in a panic.  
 1423 Vengeful Icakki followed (close) on his heels.  
 1424 At the place where the Brahmin (once) had been powerfully [present],  
 1425 there firmly stood the *kaḷḷi* plant.
- [Icakki:]  
 1426 “Listen, O *kaḷḷi*, indefatigable [one], you stand as (my) evidence<sup>255</sup>!  
 1427 Look, I’ll break (a branch) off of you [now]! Look here, (now) it’s about to be done!”  
 1428 she joyfully said. She took hold of [a branch], broke it,  
 1429 turned the *kaḷḷi* plant<sup>256</sup> into a child on her arm,  
 1430 and lifting it, placed it on her hip.  
 1431 With the gold ornaments—earrings and crescent-shaped ornaments—she was wearing  
 1432 on her long, quivering ears touching her shoulders,  
 1433-34 she ran after the Ceṭṭi, weeping and screaming (in a heartbreaking manner), [blazing up]  
 like a fire [brand] that has been thrown into an oven.  
 1435 “O man, O Ceṭṭiyār,  
 1436 didn’t I give birth to a male child?”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1437-38 “Is the child born in the forest not a *kaḷḷi* plant, O young woman?  
 1439 Can a *kaḷḷi* plant turn into a child?  
 1440 Would it be accepted by the world?  
 1441 Didn’t you take it to further your plundering [purposes]?”
- [Icakki:]  
 1442 “O Ceṭṭiyār, you who spoil the family—  
 1443 the god (Śiva)<sup>257</sup> knows this.  
 1444 Umā,<sup>258</sup> the great lady, knows this too.  
 1445 I had thought that this would be a good family.  
 1446 I got married to experience family life,  
 1447 [and now] I am told (that I am) a bad, wicked woman.  
 1448 Before I got married, putting on the celebrated garland,  
 1449 my mother died.  
 1450 She couldn’t inspect the agreement (of features in our two horoscopes).

<sup>254</sup> The reference is to Nīli. Infuriated (by his act of injustice), she refuses to feel sympathy for the Ceṭṭi in his fear.

<sup>255</sup> Literally: “impartiality, uprightness.”

<sup>256</sup> The *kaḷḷi* plant produces a milk-like fluid, which gives rise to its association with babies. – I was told another story that portrays Icakki turning a *kaḷḷi* plant into a child. According to legend, Icakki was working in the cotton field (*parutti kāṭu*) when she was suddenly given chase to by Cuṭalaimāṅṅaṅ. When he gained ground on her, she turned a *kaḷḷi* plant into a child, and by thus feigning a married status saved herself from rape. (Interview held with Icakki’s pūjārī Paramacivaṅ Piḷḷai and Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai on 9 May 2002 in Paḷavūr). – Lines 272-84 of version N7 (the northernmost of all the versions available to me, and of the sword–fire type) contain an interesting variant found nowhere else in the versions I have used—one that deepens our understanding of why the *kaḷḷi* plant should have been turned into a child: Discovering his sister’s dead body in the forest, the brother decides to commit suicide on the spot. Before doing so, he pierces his sister’s stomach with his fingernail and plucks the child from her womb. Calling on different gods to be witnesses that the child is that of Āticēṣaṅ, the Brahmin, he throws the infant onto the *kaḷḷi* plant, repeating thrice that when his sister takes revenge, she will be able to turn the *kaḷḷi* plant back into a child.

<sup>257</sup> வள்ளாளார் – வள்ளரனார்.

<sup>258</sup> Another name for the goddess Pārvatī.

- 1451-52 I became a widow<sup>259</sup> when I came to you as your wife.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1453-55 “I didn’t know in former times that the clever girl, the eldest of the slanderer, dances on stage like a buffoon.
- 1456 Woman of vengeful character! Deceitful Icakki!
- 1457 You wretched, heinous criminal!
- 1458 Don’t follow me like a malignant troublemaker!”
- 1459 As the merchant was speaking in this manner
- 1460 to that woman, she concocted a strategy.<sup>260</sup>
- 1461 She put on a red dot.
- 1462 She smeared(?) sacred ash.
- 1463 She applied musk perfume.
- 1464 All that she wore was by the god’s compassionate giving<sup>261</sup>—Śiva’s work.
- 1465 She adorned her circular hair knot with flowers.
- 1466 And she smeared turmeric powder (on her face).
- 1467 She garlanded herself with gold and a gold necklace studded with diamonds.
- 1468 She donned a number of necklaces.
- 1469-70 The woman put on a golden waist ornament, a crescent-shaped ornament for the forehead, and a crescent-shaped ornament worn on the crown of the head.
- 1471-74 Innumerable jewels, in sum. The god would grant (her) a favour—whatever she fancied—(her life) long.
- 1475 Wearing the jewels, Icakkiammaṅ
- 1476 shone in pure gold.
- [Icakki:]
- 1477-78 “Would I let you go up to inside the entrance of the village, not following (you)?”
- 1479-80 She joined the merchant, [her forehead] running with sweat.
- 1481 “If [your] wife becomes unwanted,
- 1482 does (then) your own child (also) become a dire enemy (to you)? [Repeated in lines 1913-1914]
- 1483 You need not develop any hostility [for the child]!
- 1484 Look at the face of our child!” she said.
- 1485 “O Ceṭṭiyār, why should you run, straining your legs?
- 1486-87 I came in search of you, O Ceṭṭiyār.
- 1487 [But] you are telling me, again and again, to get out of your sight. O Ceṭṭiyār!
- 1488 (Even) demons show compassion if they see a woman.<sup>262</sup>
- 1489 Look, O Ceṭṭiyār, what a suitable wife I am for you!
- 1490 If you give in to me, you will know this, O Ceṭṭiyār.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1491 “Do I know you? Am I married (to you), O deceitful Icakki?
- 1492 You cunning woman, don’t bind me with the chain of lust!”

<sup>259</sup> Literally: “I lost my red dot (*tilakam*).”

<sup>260</sup> At this point the goddess appears in her second *alāṅkāram*. Icakki beautifies herself again.

<sup>261</sup> அருள்.

<sup>262</sup> A proverb; see Jensen 1993:383, No. 3467.

[Icakki:]

- 1493 “You call me a cunning woman, O Ceṭṭiyār.  
 1494 Am I not a woman of chastity, O Ceṭṭiyār?  
 1495 I am your beautiful<sup>263</sup> wife! See my (mature) age!  
 1496 Don’t feel estrangement, O Ceṭṭiyār!”

[Ceṭṭi:]

- 1497 “You masquerading Icakki, what do you mean by ‘estrangement’?  
 1498 Did I ask you to follow me? Go! Go, Queen of Women<sup>264</sup>!  
 1499 Would [your] anger, (born of frustration,) encourage me [to want] to be <with you><sup>265</sup>?  
 1500 You have no understanding of the <situation><sup>266</sup>. <Don’t follow><sup>267</sup> me! Go away at once!”<sup>268</sup>

[Icakki:]

- 1501 “[Do you think] I have come (just) to go away now, O Ceṭṭiyār?  
 1502 Are you not my handsome husband, O Ceṭṭiyār?  
 1503 You are talking improperly to me, O Ceṭṭiyār.  
 1504 You must resolve the distress (in my heart), O Ceṭṭiyār!”

[Ceṭṭi:]

- 1505 “What (are you saying)? The distress (of passion) is yours, deceitful Icakki. (I don’t have any difficulties.)  
 1506 Don’t contort your body, not even a bit! Go, you concubine!  
 1507 Don’t put me to shame, you deceitful Icakki!  
 1508 Because of you, wicked woman, my life is flying and <is going to leave me><sup>269</sup>.”

[Icakki:]

- 1509 “Before you die, let me enjoy the pleasures of love, O Ceṭṭiyār!  
 1510 Cast your eyes on me and give me a kiss!<sup>270</sup>  
 1511 Can I forget and dismiss the memory of my desire for you?  
 1512 You must cease this false grief, O great sinner!”

<sup>263</sup> Literally: “tender.” I do not read பிள்ளை (child). These attributes refer to Icakki, as is clear from the additional lines in the versions N8.32c and N2.53c. N10.100b reads the same as N1.

<sup>264</sup> The use of பெண்ணரசி may not be purely coincidental. Special attention should here be paid to the palm-leaf manuscript of the Icakkiamman temple in Cukkuppārai near Akasticuvaram, Kaṇṇiyākumari district; see Sect. 2.4, N4 above. This text, completely autonomous from the rest of the corpus, details the story of Princess Puruṣā Tēvi (the daughter of Queen Peṇṇaraci), a story that deals with two Icakkis: a Ciṇṇa Icakki (“Little Icakki”) and an elder Icakki. The matriarchal system underlying this text raises a series of questions that bear upon our understanding of the *Icakkiamman Katai*. Cf. also N10.111a பெண்பழிமிளவந்த பெண்ணராஜாள் நான்தான், and N8.38b, N2.64a போனசென்ம பழிக்காய்வந்த பெண்ணரசி நான்தான், where, at a later point in the *katai*, Icakki refers to herself as the “Queen of Women” (Ta. Peṇṇaraci).

<sup>265</sup> Em. ஆதரித்<துன்>னோடிருக்க.

<sup>266</sup> Em. <வ>கை அறியாமல்.

<sup>267</sup> Em. <பின்பற்றாதே>.

<sup>268</sup> Syntactical problems in this line remain unresolved.

<sup>269</sup> Em. <யிறக்கிறது>.

<sup>270</sup> Note that here the woman expresses her sexual longings and makes sexual advances, in violation of social norms that take such conduct as unfeminine, self-centred, and aggressive. Tamil society does not accept these characteristics in women, whom they expect to be loving, serving, devoted, caring, subordinate, and dependent. The Tamil women I talked to about sexuality confirm that the sexual initiative usually comes from men and is dependent on the man’s wishes, needs, and sexual rhythm, not those of the woman. This has been thematised in contemporary Indian novels; for instance, *A Married Woman* (Kapur 2002). While traditional Indian women often take satisfaction in giving pleasure and regard their own unfulfilled sexual longings as relatively unimportant—behaviour for which they are well schooled—the image of the woman in the *IK* is one of a female partner who demands satisfaction.

- 1513 The peacock-like woman of bewitching shape,  
 1514 that peacock-like woman, put the child on her arm,  
 1515 and as she crossed the stream and the sandy rivulet there,  
 1516 she said in a sugar-sweet voice: “Look at the child’s face!”  
 1517 “Look at the child’s face, Ceṭṭiyār!” – <(Child.)><sup>271</sup>  
 1518-19 “Ceṭṭi, does your heart allow you to walk away without a glance at the child’s face, without  
 a glance at the <child’s mother><sup>272</sup>?  
 1520 Don’t you have the slightest feeling?  
 1521 Now why are you running, you idiot of a Ceṭṭiyār?  
 1522-23 Ceṭṭi, how many years must one do proper penance to give birth to a child?  
 1524 [Can] I bear a son just like that?  
 1525 Is there any reason for being [unnecessarily] cross and going away, O Ceṭṭi?” – <(Child.)>  
 1526-27:  
 1527 “Isn’t the child borne by the Queen of Women  
 1528 of great beauty: the eyes, the ears, and the lotus[-like] face?  
 1528 He (will) be admitted to school, [and] learn mathematics and the arts.  
 1529 There is a secret. I will tell it to you. – <(Child.)>  
 1530 Again and again, thinking that you would come, I waited along the path.<sup>273</sup>  
 1531 In a house to the north there lives a woman.  
 1532 She invited me to eat *kañci*<sup>274</sup>, after she had carefully added some (magic) potion,  
 1533 and caused me, instead of living a family life, to run into the forest.” – <(Child.)>  
 1534 “It was that wicked, vengeful woman who told me to run in a great hurry [into the forest].  
 O god Paramaśivan!  
 1535 Hear about the justice, listen (to my words)! See, a drowsiness is coming over me, O Ceṭṭi.  
 1536 Oy, oy<sup>275</sup>! Take hold of my arm!” – <(Child.)>  
 1537 “Walk slowly, Ceṭṭiyār! Walk slowly!  
 1538 Walk slowly! Paḷakai Nakar is far away.  
 1539 The small boy is crying and weeping to break one’s heart, thinking of you.  
 1540 And my arms hurt; my legs, too.  
 1541 And see the crying and weeping. The child is longing for you.” – <(Walk slowly.)><sup>276</sup>  
 1542 “Son, you mustn’t weep, O Nākappā, my Ceṭṭi’s darling!  
 1543 You mustn’t cry! Don’t fall!  
 1544 Your father <has brought><sup>277</sup> milk and fruits.  
 1545 Here is a mixture of five delicious things. Here is sugar, plantain, exquisite fruits. See, he  
 gives you plenty to eat! – <(You mustn’t cry!)><sup>278</sup>  
 1546-47 He will bring you to his shop. He will provide you with everything you need<sup>279</sup>, with a bag  
 and some money to begin with; I swear an oath to you. After stowing (everything) away, he  
 will train you to do business. If we go to Paḷakai, we shall come to see [this all] later.

<sup>271</sup> Echoed by the *kuṭam* player. This musician has the role of a respondent whenever the lead-singer pauses. This response, which establishes phatic communication and encourages the lead-singer to continue, picks out the most salient phrase in the section of narration just completed, and is tossed back to the singer as a means of giving the singer a convenient phrase with which to begin the next sentence and thus maintain the flow and coherence. These echoed replies identify important points in the narration. According to Blackburn (2001:271), “[t]he response is thus a built-in form of oral literary criticism.”

<sup>272</sup> Em. பெற்றோர்>தனை.

<sup>273</sup> Other texts do not include the following passage (lines 1530-6), which seem to be out of its actual order.

<sup>274</sup> Gruel, a semi-liquid food.

<sup>275</sup> அய்யோ. An expression of sorrow.

<sup>276</sup> Em. பம் <யநட>.

<sup>277</sup> Em. <கொடுவந்த> – கொண்டுவந்த.

<sup>278</sup> அள் of line 1546, where it is out of place. Em. <அழவேண்டாம்>.

<sup>279</sup> Literally: “all the essential commodities.”



- 1548-49 Give me the money one [usually] gives for the pleasure of bathing in turmeric<sup>280</sup>! Son of a Ceṭṭiyār, you are fined it, to be given (to me now) with interest [since you did not give it to me at the time of our wedding]. [Repetition of lines 1409-1410]
- 1550 The child's (heart) melts when [it] thinks of you.
- 1551 [My child], you weren't born with brothers and sisters, were you?
- 1552 Aren't we a people of a community who don't remarry if (once) one becomes a widow and the *tāli* is removed?<sup>281</sup>
- 1553 O merchant, don't you have any sympathy?"
- 1554-55 When the Ceṭṭi saw the child, he hit his stomach<sup>282</sup> with his fist and ran away.
- 1556 He ran as far as the locality of Paḷakai Nakar.
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1557 Will this bad, wicked woman go away?
- 1558 Should I have come (here) to give up my life in vain?
- 1559 "Deceitful Icakki, you bad woman, have you come (here) for something else?"
- 1560 With a desolate look, he took his shoulder bag
- 1561 and, ignoring whomever he saw, he ran through the forest,
- 1562 crossed the stream and the sandy rivulet,
- 1563 and [finally] caught sight of the grove of trees of the village of Paḷakai.
- 1564 The Ceṭṭi became clear in his mind and concluded:
- 1565 "Now I can escape!"<sup>283</sup>
- 1566 He walked further, passing the *nāval*<sup>284</sup> trees and the adjoining (coconut) grove.
- 1567 When that good Ceṭṭi came along,
- 1568 Icakki followed him, blocking his way.
- 1569 She called out: "I won't let you go. Stop and then pass on!"
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1570 "Don't block my way! Bite the dust<sup>285</sup>!
- 1571 The husband who garlanded you must be looking for you."
- [Icakki:]
- 1572 "[My] husband, isn't it in search of you that I have come?
- 1573 Turn to me and speak a word!" she said.
- 1574 In the meantime the Ceṭṭi had walked off quickly,
- 1575-76 [but] deceitful Icakki followed her husband, quarrelling [with him].

<sup>280</sup> See line 1409.

<sup>281</sup> The opposite of அறுத்து கடும் சாதி.

<sup>282</sup> The word வயிறு (stomach) in Tamil is commonly used when expressing negative emotions.

<sup>283</sup> Literally: "Now life can cross [to] the [further] bank," i.e. salvation can be attained.

<sup>284</sup> The *nāval* tree is associated with Auvaiyār, a Tamil poetess of the Middle Ages. The story goes as follows: Murukaṇ, disguised as a shepherd, is sitting on a branch of a *nāval* tree when Auvaiyār passes by. Murukaṇ decides to test her knowledge. He offers Auvaiyār a *nāval* fruit. She agrees to take it. He asks her whether she would like to have it hot or cool (*cuṭṭa paḷamā cuṭṭāta paḷamā*). Auvaiyār asks laughingly, "Is there any hot or cool fruit on the tree?" When Murukaṇ shakes the branch, ripe fruits fall to the ground. Auvaiyār picks up one fruit from the dusty ground. Seeing her blow the dust away, Murukaṇ starts laughing at her. "O Auvaiyār, is it hot?" Auvaiyār is astonished. "Who are you to find fault with me? You are truly the god Murukaṇ." I would like to thank Ms. Sowmiya Madangopalan, Chennai for telling me this story. For a published narration of this story, see *Auvaiyār tanippāṭalkaḷ*, ed. Puliyūrk Kēcikaṇ 2000:97f.

<sup>285</sup> A curse. மண்ணவாய் போடி. Literally: "Become sand!"

- 1577-79 With jingling hollow anklets and tinkling anklets on her feet and the child on her arm, she followed her husband.
- 1580-81 Listen to the words the husband hastily spoke!
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1582-83 “Look, there is South Paḷakai, to the west!  
1584 Life won’t go to waste, you will see!”
- [Icakki:]
- 1585 “O merchant, listen to the words I speak!  
1586 Isn’t it a male child I have given birth to?  
1587-88 At the limits of South Paḷakai there are all sorts of things.  
1589 There are strings of small bells for the waist and feet, and a royal emblem.  
1590 [Text missing] types of jewels are there.  
1591 Let us have all that!”
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1592 “You have uttered useless words,  
1593 you vengeful, deceitful Icakki!”
- [Icakki:]
- 1594-95 “If you come alone to Paḷakai, you are bereft of all sense of honour.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1596 “Leave me in the middle of the path!  
1597 Go and live somewhere else!”
- [Icakki:]
- 1598 “You told me repeatedly to stop.  
1599 O Ceṭṭiyār, would I [ever] stop?  
1600-01 I have walked a long distance, and I have pain in the chest, you see!  
1602 Come, let’s take a (short) rest  
1603 and sit in the shadow of this luxuriant tree!  
1604-05 Everything I said before—doesn’t it enter your ears?  
1606-07 You see, our relationship by marriage is known to the god,”  
1608 As she wailed on and on,  
1609 he, panic-stricken, rushed away, stumbling [as he went].
- [Icakki:]
- 1610 “O Ceṭṭi, you knowingly broke off (our relationship),  
1611 you banished me, saying that I was not (your wife),  
1612 and you flew away from our village.<sup>286</sup>  
1613-14 [Now] right before entering renowned Paḷakai Nakar—  
1615 [before] you<sup>287</sup> grow weary (from the strain) and become very fatigued, [about to fall and die—I want you to let me happily enjoy the pleasures of love.]<sup>288</sup>

<sup>286</sup> This refers to the events of his previous life.

<sup>287</sup> In the other versions, this physical state clearly refers to the Ceṭṭi. See N10.115a-b, N8.39a உமக்கு எய்ப்பும் உண்டு இளைப்பும் உண்டு.

<sup>288</sup> I add two lines from N8.39a and N2.65d-66a, lines that are missing in N1 and N10.115a-b, but which are essential for understanding the preceding lines properly: (உமக்கு எய்ப்பும் உண்டு இளைப்பும் உண்டு) மறிந்து விழுந்திடும்முன் – என்னை மனமகிழ்ச்சியுடன் சேர்த்திடுவீர்.

- 1616-17 You have left me.  
 1617 You ignore the child born (to you).  
 1618 *Āccāccu pēccācu!*<sup>289</sup>  
 1619-20 Won't you be made the talk of all good family women here? I swear an oath to you, (you will)!
- 1621 You took an oath by touching gold and <silver><sup>290, 291</sup>  
 1622-23 You started a relationship with a beautiful dancing girl, and then you let intimacy wither.<sup>292</sup>  
 1624 Wouldn't my mind [naturally] suffer?  
 1625 If I suffer, wouldn't that [naturally] affect you?  
 1626-27 Wouldn't that have an effect? Would the cat release the mouse only because it's crying?<sup>293</sup>  
 [Repetition of lines 1417-1418]  
 1628 Is it Kālī?<sup>294</sup> Is it the Kali-yuga?<sup>295</sup>  
 1629 You are running in haste, <leaving me><sup>296</sup> [behind] in the forest.  
 1630 Am I for you a reckless person who leads a loose life?  
 1631-32 If it happens that the milk doesn't (boil and) spill over, will I not feel bad?  
 1633 Don't shunt me aside at the crossroads!  
 1634 I am a woman of wealth.  
 1635 I got married at the age of five.  
 1636 I am a woman with unachieved aims,  
 1637 who followed you, praising 'your strength'."
- 1638 She kept up with the Ceṭṭi.  
 1639-41 "Hey Ceṭṭiyār, as soon as you enter Paḷakai Nakar I am going to kill you, just like a tiger on the run."
- 1642 That young, parrot-voiced woman,  
 1643 that vengeful [woman] Icakki followed [him],  
 1644-49 while the merchant approached Paḷakai Nakar—came [on ahead]—leaving behind the beautiful banks of the river. Panic-stricken, he crossed a herd of cows belonging to the Karaiyāḷars, his bag striking against his shoulder.  
 1650 The women [of the village] standing there took pity on  
 1651 the merchant, who came [past] angrily.  
 1652-55:  
 1655 Along with those young women  
 1652 he, panic-stricken, ran  
 1655 into the village,  
 1653-54 like someone who has hanging over<sup>297</sup> him old legal cases.  
 1656 The merchant was exhausted

<sup>289</sup> This may mean: Shame on you! The blame he incurs is apparently for having ignored his child; see N10.115b, N8.39b.

<sup>290</sup> Em. <வெள்ளியும்>.

<sup>291</sup> A vow taken in this manner is customary among the merchant community.

<sup>292</sup> Here Icakki is seemingly referring to herself as Lakṣmī in her previous life. It is unlikely that she is speaking about a fictitious woman, as she does later in the presence of the Karaiyāḷars. When it comes to defending herself in the assembly of the Karaiyāḷars, her intention is obviously different, namely to manipulate them into believing that she and her child have been abandoned by her husband. In the forest scene, by contrast, she wants to be recognised by the Ceṭṭi, her lover in her previous life.

<sup>293</sup> A proverb. Literally: "If a mouse cries, would the cat that came to eat [it] let it go?"

<sup>294</sup> The deity presiding over the Iron Age.

<sup>295</sup> The current Iron Age, the last of the four ages of the world.

<sup>296</sup> Em. <என்னை> காட்டுக்குள்ளே <விட்டு>.

<sup>297</sup> Literally: "is pursued by."

- 1657 and fearful, his mind wavering.  
 1658-60:  
 1660 He met up with people of the village,  
 1659 [and cried out, “Let] me not be devoured by the beautiful woman with  
 1658 voluptuous breasts full as pots!”<sup>298</sup>  
 1661-65 With the headmen [participating], the great village assembly<sup>299</sup> discussed the affair. Beating  
 his thighs, the Ceṭṭi, panic-stricken, wailed, “Who will save my life?”  
 1666 Then he collapsed.  
 1667 The tip of his tongue retracted, along with his uvula.<sup>300</sup> He fainted.<sup>301</sup> As he dropped,<sup>302</sup> he  
 grasped his turban.  
 1668 It then loosened and fell off.  
 1669 The people standing around the collapsing Ceṭṭi clasped<sup>303</sup> him.  
 1670 Supporting him,  
 1671 they laid him down, and as he looked more dead than alive<sup>304</sup>,  
 1672 they slapped him lightly and watched [for a reaction].  
 1673 [Listen.] What will he tell us—[he] who [has hit himself and] cracked his head?
- 1674 Peering around again and again,  
 1675 he set aside his fear. What would he say?  
 1676 “[That’s] Icakki [there]!”<sup>305</sup> As soon as the merchant had shouted this,  
 1677 the Karaiyāḷars who were nearby became frightened and confused.  
 1678 They cleared their minds. The Karaiyāḷars who were present  
 1679 retied<sup>306</sup> their long dhotis around their hips and braced themselves.  
 1680-82 “Let her come before us! We must all gather with sticks and give her a thrashing until (the  
 sticks) break.”
- 1683 Icakkiammai took a different—an enticing—form.  
 1684 Listen to the kinds of ornaments the child on her hip (was embellished with)!  
 1685 She directed her thoughts towards the god.  
 1686 “It’s for you, (my child).<sup>307</sup> Śiva planned it [so] in those days.”  
 1687-88 A string shone on the waist of the boy she was carrying, and [from] his ankle [came] a  
 tinkling sound.  
 1689 Along with becoming golden earrings, a ring shone.  
 1690-91 All the jewellery, especially that worn by Icakkiammai, was glimmering and glittering in  
 the bright daylight.  
 1692 On top of [her] soft knot of hair she wore jasmine flowers with tender shoots.  
 1693 Her sari, with threads forming the border, was dangling above the ground.  
 1694 In [her] beautiful, nectar-like mouth a betel nut gleamed.  
 1695 (With a) goose-like (gait) she approached the Karaiyāḷars.

<sup>298</sup> The direct speech at this point is somewhat clearer in N8.40b: குடந்தான் கமந்தஸ்தனம் உள்ள கோதை நல்லாளென்னை தின்னவந்தான் இடந்தாரும் ஊரவரே. N10.117a reads as follows: குடம்தான் கமந்தனம் ஒரு கொங்கை நல்லாள் என்னை கொல்லவாறாள் இடம்தாரும் ஊரவரே என்று ஏங்கியவந்தான் விழுந்தான்.

<sup>299</sup> The public body that oversees village affairs.

<sup>300</sup> A common expression in rural areas to describe a person on the brink of death.

<sup>301</sup> Literally: “He was, as it were, being burnt (from within).”

<sup>302</sup> விழுந்திடவே.

<sup>303</sup> Literally: “They embraced and took him.”

<sup>304</sup> Literally: “having lost suppleness.”

<sup>305</sup> Note that in N8.40c and N2.68a his words are “Paḷakai Icakki.”

<sup>306</sup> An act one can observe in rural areas as a sign of resoluteness.

<sup>307</sup> The addressee here seems to be the child.

- [Icakki:]  
 1696 “Does it appear proper to you to call me Icakki?  
 1697-98 You are all anxious. You all wonder who sent her, and suspect that I am a devadāsī. You are driving me away, (saying) that I am spoilt. What a sin!”  
 1699 Hearing from the villagers that she was a “seductive lady,” the young woman became amazed.
- [Icakki:]  
 1700 “I am a modest woman! But this Ceṭṭi said, ‘She is a Kālī!’”
- 1701 As the villagers listened, they began to consider her a <modest woman><sup>308</sup>,  
 1702 and hearing more words from that friendly [woman] Icakki,  
 1703 the chaste women of Paḷakai and the judges were amazed.  
 1704 They began to inquire: “What is your (native) place? What is your country? To which family and community do you belong?  
 1705-06 Who are your father and mother? Who are your brothers and sisters?<sup>309</sup> Tell us in detail the whole background of events that made you both come here alone!”
- 1707 Handsome Āṇantaṅ prostrated at the feet [of the judges] and began to talk.  
 1708-10 “We Ceṭṭis [of a community of] ten thousand Ceṭṭis, [in status considered next to]<sup>310</sup> the eight thousand petty <kings>, give heaps of gold to those with stretched-out hands.<sup>311</sup>  
 1711-12 I am the son of <Māṇākaṅ><sup>312</sup>, he of steady mind, who belongs to that industrious, good community. Look, you can see [his son right in front of you]!  
 1713 Nākappiḷḷai, my father, is known to all.  
 1714 I ignored the advice he gave me before he passed away.  
 1715 This sugar-tongued woman, Nīli, this wicked, ugly woman,  
 1716 this Icakki, she has come to kill me. [Only] if there is (a person who gives me) shelter will I be saved.”
- 1717 When he, the Ceṭṭi, had spoken (in this manner), that honey-voiced Icakkiammai,  
 1718 beautiful Icakkiammai, placed the child under her arm (on her hip).  
 1719 Veiled, [and determined] not to lose her standing, but to behave in a proper way, not deviating from the rules of good conduct<sup>313, 314</sup>,  
 1720 and not blaming the Ceṭṭi, [but acting as the situation demanded], she opened her beautiful red lips.  
 1721 “O Elder brothers, please listen! I am a slave of my distressing birth.  
 1722-24 When I think of all I have suffered, born as a woman on earth, within the human world, I [feel like] telling the whole story. Listen to it, Elder brothers!  
 1725 You see, he is the son of Nāka Ceṭṭi.  
 1726 I am the daughter of Karppaka Ceṭṭi.  
 1727-30 It was his father who came with good intentions to our house in order to talk about a marriage alliance.  
 [After looking into the suitability of the two [of us], a woman and a man, and the suitability

<sup>308</sup> Em. <கற்புள்ள திறியை >.

<sup>309</sup> Even today the standard way of inquiring about a person’s identity.

<sup>310</sup> Added according to N8.41a இளந்தாரி மன்னர் பின்னர் குலத்துதித்த மாநாகன்றன் மகன்நானே.

<sup>311</sup> In *Cil.*, Chap. 1, Ceṭṭis are described as princely merchants. In this literary work, the wealth and splendour of this community is described at length.

<sup>312</sup> Em. <மானாகன்>.

<sup>313</sup> For a Tamil woman this is equivalent to safeguarding her chastity.

<sup>314</sup> Two lines containing a description of Icakki’s beauty are missing in N1.

- of names, my dear father came to the conclusion that this man didn't suit me.]<sup>315</sup>
- 1731 'He doesn't know how to do business.'<sup>316</sup>
- 1732 He is a rogue and a thief.
- 1733 He doesn't know how to test silver by using a touchstone.
- 1734 He doesn't know the quality of bronze.
- 1735-36 In fact, he is not [even] accustomed to weighing [precious metals] by balancing the scale and to cutting off (pieces).
- 1737 He doesn't know the price of lead.
- 1738 He doesn't know about iron and brass.
- 1739 He is not accustomed to use a steelyard.
- 1740 He doesn't know the business of selling at all.'  
[‘I am not going to give my daughter in marriage to him,’ my father said.]<sup>317</sup>
- 1741-42 He didn't want to come and stay at my home and lead a family life with me.
- 1743 On the wedding day<sup>318</sup> itself
- 1744 he turned into a rogue.
- 1745-46 The people of this world know for a fact that we got married.
- 1747 He would go next-door to a stranger's house!
- 1748 The woman there is a great sinner<sup>319</sup>.
- 1749-50:
- 1750 That *dāsī* gave (him) a love-potion
- 1749 so that he wouldn't come home.<sup>320</sup>
- 1751 During the days before she administered the love-potion,
- 1752 my husband and I
- 1753 were happy and
- 1754 I gave birth to this boy.
- 1755-56 My mother—the great sinner, that richly-bejewelled, hard-hearted woman—degraded and cheated me (by spinning) a lot of yarns. (Because of her) he garlanded me, [even though my father had said no].<sup>321</sup>
- 1757 [Later] he came running, fully mad because of the love-potion given (him) by the harlot.  
[In order to protect my *tāli*, I came running after him.]<sup>322</sup>
- 1758 Unable to cope, I rushed (after him), (my steps) leading me to Paḷakai.
- 1759-60 O Elder brothers, render your judgement so that your name will be known in all four

<sup>315</sup> At this point I add a phrase missing in N1 but found in other versions (N10, N8., N2): பெண்பொருத்தம் ஆண்பொருத்தம் பேர்பொருத்தம்தான் பார்த்து அடக்கிஎந்தன் அப்பச்சர்தான் ஆகாது இவரெனவே. This probably was left out by the bow-song bard because we have been told already at an earlier stage (in the forest dialogue) that Icakki's mother had died before she could determine the compatibility of the two horoscopes. On the other hand, why should Icakki not tell different things to different persons? – The lines that follow are, according to the other versions, *reported speech*, i.e. what Icakki's father said.

<sup>316</sup> Literally: “He hasn't got a mind for sitting in a shop.”

<sup>317</sup> This phrase is not found in N1. For clarity, I add it here. It is according to N10.121b and other versions that the father's words are related up to this point: கொடுப்பதில்லை பெண்ணிவர்க்கு கூறிவிட்டார் எங்களப்பர். Cf. also N8.41d, where the text deviates only very slightly from version N1.

<sup>318</sup> A marriage is associated with expectations of happiness, prosperity, and protection.

<sup>319</sup> Although I do not emend this passage, I prefer the reading in N10.122a (அயல்வீட்டில் போயிருப்பான) அவன் ஒருதி வேசியவன் [...] that woman is a harlot). In N10 this is clearly Icakki speaking.

<sup>320</sup> The *Kurukūrpallu*, belonging to the *pallu* genre, contains a similar accusation by the senior *palli* against her husband's younger, second wife. See A.V. Subramanian 1993:284.

<sup>321</sup> This entire phrase is displaced and should have appeared after line 1740. – It is noteworthy that here a woman frankly blames her parents (specifically, the mother) for being responsible for her unhappy marriage. The *katai* thus may serve to voice social criticism.

<sup>322</sup> To make Icakki's statements more explicit, I add a phrase missing in N1 but found in N10.122c-d and N8.42b எந்தாலிபிளைக்கவென்று இவர்பிறகேழுடிவந்தேன்.

- quarters [of space] and send us back happily!<sup>323</sup>  
 1761 O Elder brothers, O Elder brothers, O Karaiyāḷars of Paḷakai Nakar,  
 1762 listen to the reason for the trouble [caused to me] by this handsome man!”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1763 “Don’t listen to that bad woman’s words!  
 1764 She bewitches you with her cleverness.”
- [Icakki:]  
 1765 “In spite of my ‘cleverness’ and learning, I was foolish enough to garland<sup>324</sup> him, wasn’t  
 I?<sup>325</sup>  
 1766 I allowed this sinner to take my hand.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1767 “She says that she married me, O Elder brothers.  
 1768 The time she came to the forest she infuriated me,  
 1769 didn’t she? Did you [Karaiyāḷars] see the birth of the child?”
- [Icakki:]  
 1770 “You see, this is natural for all the people in this earthly realm.  
 1771 When you call me a spendthrift I<sup>326</sup> feel a sense of shame.  
 1772-73 O farmers, Karaiyāḷars, please listen carefully, listen!” deceitful Icakki said.
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1774 “Don’t yield to her, thinking that she is a smart woman!”
- [Icakki:]  
 1775 “Have you touched and married me in order to leave me without yielding to me?”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1776 “You vengeful Icakki, you were born a pitiable, spoilt whore.  
 1777 I never saw you before, [you] criminal woman!”
- [Icakki:]  
 1778-79 “You speak inconsistently. Don’t you know that we lived harmoniously together? In Paḷakai  
 shall we swear by the sword?  
 1780 O people of Paḷakai, please speak to those who are righteous!  
 1781 You will [then] understand completely everything that has been said; you will understand,  
 O people of Paḷakai!
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1782 “O worthy people of Paḷakai, look at this rare Nīli!  
 1783 O people of Paḷakai, don’t push me (believing it is for my benefit,) into the hands of this  
 destructive woman!”

<sup>323</sup> Lines 1761-94 are not found in the other versions.

<sup>324</sup> Literally: “to get into and give.”

<sup>325</sup> Cf. the proverb used among Tamil women: பெண்புத்தி பின்புத்தி (a woman’s thoughts are after-thoughts); see Lazarus 1991/[1894]:518, 7345. The meaning of the proverb is: “Women unnecessarily get into trouble due to their inexperience.”

<sup>326</sup> Literally: “my body.”

- [Icakki:]  
 1784 “What does he mean by ‘pushing (him into my hands)’? (Does he) have no compassion for (his) child<sup>327</sup>, O Elder brothers?  
 1785 O people of Paḷakai, look, he is my husband, who married me by tying on the *tāli*.  
 1786 See my husband, who petted and garlanded me at the age of five.  
 1787 [Now] he leaves me, saying I am not suitable, O people of Paḷakai!”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1788 “We never had a wedding, we never married, O Elder brothers!  
 1789 Look at her! She is Icakki who came to devour me in the middle of the forest!  
 1790 O Elder brothers, she speaks nonsense.”
- [Icakki:]  
 1791 “He squandered<sup>328</sup> all the property and everything [else] upon the harlot, O Elder brothers!”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1792 “I have never seen her before, O Elder brothers!  
 1793 If you give me into this wicked woman’s hands,  
 1794 my life will be lost, O Elder brothers.  
 1795 O people of Paḷakai, O judges,  
 1796 O [generously minded,] fortunate people!  
 1797 You are well-to-do and good people, aren’t you? Speak [so that] people’s goodness may prosper!  
 1798 This young woman who is seducing you is none other than Icakki.”
- [Icakki:]  
 1799-1800 “If there were fraud and cunning [from my side], O judges, [in the end] what [good] would it be? After you had investigated carefully<sup>329</sup>—and all of you were to see the deceit—wouldn’t your support [for me] be gone forever?  
 1801 This Ceṭṭi, who doesn’t know what a promise is, speaks <mischief><sup>330</sup> in order to discard me.  
 1802 He doesn’t know what compliance is. I have been thinking that getting him for a husband must have been the result of past acts.  
 1803 He flies into fits of anger and says what shouldn’t be said.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1804 “She speaks cunningly. Please don’t believe<sup>331</sup> her words!  
 1805 I don’t know about this relationship [with her], and I don’t know her native place either.  
 1806 O Elder brothers, she is a tricky woman with eyes (that are) black (and) long as spears.  
 1807 Imprison her; [otherwise] this vast land will be destroyed, O Elder brothers!”
- [Icakki:]  
 1808 “If you put me in prison, wouldn’t the (people of this) country jeer at you?”

<sup>327</sup> பிள்ளை இரங்காதே. Unclear. Alternatively: “Don’t pity this [Ceṭṭi-]Piḷḷai!”; “Piḷḷai” is also found elsewhere as part of the name.

<sup>328</sup> Literally: “He pumped out.”

<sup>329</sup> Literally: “discovered and understood thoroughly.”

<sup>330</sup> Em. <வம்புகள்>.

<sup>331</sup> Literally: “Please don’t listen to.”



- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1809 “When I see your magic, what I hadn’t thought of before I start thinking now.  
 1810 Don’t throw your head back and look up at me! It makes me tremble.  
 1811 Hey, bite the dust! Won’t your husband search for you?”
- [Icakki:]  
 1812 “Haven’t I been searching (for you)? I followed you with my sacred *tāli* shining.  
 1813 Having crossed over land and riverbanks, am I [now to be scolded as] a *kaḷḷi*, a wicked woman<sup>332?</sup>  
 1814 I have suffered a lot. You robbed me of all sense of honour.  
 1815 You don’t seem to know the good life we had together.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1816 “Isn’t this a sin to the core? Isn’t <she><sup>333</sup> deceiving when she says things that are not true again and again?  
 1817 Don’t hand me over to that bad woman!  
 1818-20 In the forest full of stones, this *kaḷḷi*, this wicked woman, turned the *kaḷḷi* plant into a child on her arm and followed me in order to kill me.  
 1821 Save me from being killed!”
- [Icakki:]  
 1822-23 “Have compassion, O Elder brothers! Don’t fail to protect my *karpur*<sup>334</sup>!  
 1824 If my husband, who has accepted me as his wife, speaks like this, where am I to go now?  
 1825 I was born into a [good] family, [but] my qualities have been ruined by him.  
 1826 Is it possible to change what Mahādeva has fixed upon?”
- [Ceṭṭi:]  
 1827 <sup>335</sup>“Woman of [great] self-respect, don’t you have any other <person similar><sup>336</sup> to you?  
 1828 Would the son of Māṇākaṇ Ceṭṭi [really] wear an ornament around (the wrist of) his hand <for your sake>? [Do you really consider Māṇākaṇ Ceṭṭi’s son to be a suitable husband?]”<sup>337</sup>  
 1829 O shameless woman, don’t you have another husband?”  
 1830 Don’t make me suffer<sup>338</sup>! When I look at you, my heart<sup>339</sup> starts quivering.”
- [Icakki:]  
 1831 “Even though you have rejected me over and over again, because of caste rules of conduct I followed you.  
 1832 I wonder whether it is destined by fate. (Yes,) it is fate!” she said.

<sup>332</sup> The word *kaḷḷi* can refer to either the milkweed-like plant or a woman, the latter either in a friendly way, connoting something like “You are a clever female!,” or to assert the woman’s wickedness.

<sup>333</sup> Em. அவனே.

<sup>334</sup> This is not merely a woman’s modesty, but her deeper spiritual being as well. I would like to thank Prof. D. Shulman for this clarification.

<sup>335</sup> Note that at this point in the variants N8/N2, in an earlier line that is missing in our version N1, we find an allusion to Mātavi, the famous courtesan of Puhār and lover of Kōvalaṇ (*Cil.*). The text reads as follows: மாதவி போலவிங்கே – என்னுடன் மல்லுப் பிடியாதே (Don’t compel me the way Mātavi did [Kōvalaṇ]!) (N8.44c, N2.73b). The parallel line in N10.127 appears as: மாதேவி போலே வந்து – வளக்கிட்டு மல்லுபிடியாதே. The names Mātēvi and Mātavi are apparently interchangeable; see Obeyesekere (1984:459), for instance, expressly referring to the courtesan Mātavi of the *Cilappatikāram* as Mātēvi. This phrase is not found in the base version N1.

<sup>336</sup> Em. <சரிபோர்ந்தார்>.

<sup>337</sup> See N8.45b, which reads most convincingly at this point.

<sup>338</sup> Literally: “Don’t make me physically suffer.”

<sup>339</sup> Literally: “my mind.”

- 1833-35 Having heard these words spoken by Icakki, the woman with the (graceful) gait of a goose, all the Karaiyāḷars were satisfied and [indeed] pleased.
- [Karaiyāḷars:]
- 1836 “The foolish Ceṭṭi earlier displayed much lamentation.
- 1837 Didn’t you see? There is nothing wrong in the statements of that woman of noble character.”
- 1838 When the woman heard what<sup>340</sup> the Karaiyāḷars had spoken,
- 1839 Icakkiammai wiped away the tears that were dropping onto her breast.
- 1840 When they saw her wiping away [the tears], the Karaiyāḷars [who were] present began to speak:
- 1841 “This lady, who is like a peacock feather, is seductive,<sup>341</sup> [just] like Icakki. There is something of mystery surrounding her,” <they><sup>342</sup> said (wonderingly).
- [Icakki:]
- 1842 “There is nothing mysterious other than what my own mother did to me [by giving me in marriage to this Ceṭṭi]—that woman doomed to bite the dust!<sup>343</sup>
- 1843 I was weeping because of all the <worries><sup>344</sup> in my mind. Who will resolve my distress?
- 1844 The husband who married me distresses me, speaking badly in this assembly<sup>345</sup> in such a way,
- 1845 [and this all] because of the magical(?) love-potion given him by that tarnished, criminal woman<sup>346</sup>.
- 1846 Is there any doctor in this world who can remove this black magic medicine [with an antidote]?
- 1847 I would give (such precious gems as) rubies, pearls, and emeralds to that doctor.”
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1848 “You bad woman, bite the dust! Where did you acquire this horrid knowledge?
- 1849 O Icakki, for employing fraudulent means you will receive (the punishment of begging with) a coconut shell<sup>347</sup>,” he said.
- [Icakki:]
- 1850 “Obtaining coconut shells<sup>348</sup> is for those who do business (with them)!
- 1850-51 Isn’t it common for many respectable women of wealth and social status like me to join well-educated men [in marriage]?”
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1852 “O great Icakki, you slut, don’t talk, don’t wink at me (seductively) like that!”
- 1853 When [she heard her] husband, the merchant, talking in this way, she burst into tears.

<sup>340</sup> Literally: “heard that they said, ‘Didn’t you see?’”

<sup>341</sup> At this point I closely follow the other versions, which read மாயசூபம் (see N10.132c).

<sup>342</sup> Em. தென்றா<ர்>.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. N10.132c மாயமும் வேறில்லை எனை காண்ட மணவாளன்செய்தகுற்றம். N8 and N2 read the same as N1.

<sup>344</sup> Em. <கவலை>.

<sup>345</sup> Cf. N10.132d மணவாளன் சபைததனில் எனை கோட்டிகொள்ளுகிறான். N8.46a-b reads the same as N10.

<sup>346</sup> This refers to the fictive prostitute the Ceṭṭi is accused of having stayed with.

<sup>347</sup> Such shells are commonly used as begging bowls.

<sup>348</sup> Note the play on the word சிரட்டை.

- [Icakki:]
- 1854-55 “You said in the Karaiyāḷars’ presence that I am a slut.  
1856-57 Do you [really] think it is possible in this world that my body could take a different shape?  
[I am not a tricky woman!]”
- 1858 Icakki, all the while weeping,  
1859 came to the front of the open assembly place.  
1860 “You’re just chattering, telling cock-and-bull stories!  
1861 You’re just chattering, telling cock-and-bull stories!  
1862 You rebuke me, saying it is not like that.  
1863 Ceṭṭiyār, you’ll be destroyed without fail!”
- [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1864 “Have you made [your] claim according to the law?”
- 1865-66 All the respectable Karaiyāḷars from the agricultural community said, “Let’s find out!  
1867-70 We can detect a swindle by seeing whose lap the innocent boy goes to. The child will reveal  
the trickery, so we can find out.”
- 1871-72 The Karaiyāḷars asked the young child to be put on the floor.  
1873-74 The great woman whose fame is known throughout the world allowed her son to crawl.  
1875-78 Icakkiammai, the mother, put down the child, that beautiful boy, from her hip onto the  
floor.
- 1879 The child, being allowed to crawl,  
1880 looked into the faces of the villagers,  
1881 and pondering whom to choose,  
1882 began to weep.  
1883 With a stream of tears,  
1884 and the string of small metal bells [jingling] in joyful zeal on its hollow anklet,  
1885-86 Nīli’s child climbed straightaway onto the lap of the Ceṭṭi.  
1887-88 Climbing onto his lap, Icakki’s child smiled happily.  
1889 He called him papa  
1890 and looked at him with joy.
- [Karaiyāḷars:]
- 1891 “Because you performed severe austerities  
1892 the child addresses you as father.”
- 1893-95 When they heard the child speaking properly, all the assembled Karaiyāḷars commented:  
1896 “This is the Kali-yuga indeed.”<sup>349</sup>
- 1897-98 And while the Karaiyāḷars of renowned Paḷakai Nakar listened,  
1899 Icakki’s child climbed onto (its father’s) lap,  
1900 and sat there smiling and delighted.  
1901-02 In the presence of the Karaiyāḷars who gathered there he, the harsh (father), tried to push it  
away—  
1903 kept on pushing it away.  
1904 Instead of going (back) to its mother,  
1905 the child, having been chased away,  
1906 rubbed its eyes and wept.  
1907-08 The beautiful woman went quickly to take up her crying child.  
1909 “Never mind, my son!  
1910 You mustn’t tremble! You mustn’t cry!”

<sup>349</sup> Apparently a comment on the on-going quarrel between the parents. Kali-yuga is considered the worst of the four Yugas.

- 1911-12 Observing (all this), the Karaiyāḷars became angry. What did they say?  
 1913 “If the wife becomes unwanted,  
 1914 does (then) her own child (also) become a great enemy? [Repetition of lines 1481-1482]  
 1915-16 Isn’t it now a pity?  
 1916 We never saw [such things] anywhere.  
 1917 He pushed [her] aside and made her wander about restlessly.  
 1918 Look at this woman of a Ceṭṭi (family)! [She is a great woman. She is a Lakṣmī]<sup>350</sup>,” they said.  
 1919-20 He is a Mūtēvi<sup>351</sup> who brings misfortune. Even if he [only] looks at you, that will have a bad effect.  
 1921-22 Does the god couple a bad person with a person who is good?<sup>352</sup>  
 1923-24 That husband <is not suitable><sup>353</sup> for the woman with beautifully thick hair.  
 1925-26 If this woman had become ours, we never would have left her.  
 1927-28 Would it [ever] enter our minds to separate from and desert a woman of golden-like fair complexion?”  
 [At sunset all the Karaiyāḷars carefully gave their faultless judgement and together came to a conclusion:]<sup>354</sup>  
 1929-30 “Let’s put [the two tonight] hospitably into the *ilankam*<sup>355</sup>, the building with ornate pillars<sup>356</sup>!” they said.  
 1931 “First of all, put them into the *ilankam*!” the elders said too.  
 1932 “Only by locking the two up can we come to know an unequivocal yes or no.”  
 1933 When they ordered to put them in and shut (the door), Icakki, the beautifully bejewelled woman, began to speak:  
 1934 “If I should fall victim to this vengeful man, you (Karaiyāḷars) will never be rid of the blame of murder.”  
 [Karaiyāḷars:]  
 1935 “If one should fall a victim to the other out of vengeance, all of us together will repay with our lives for the blame,” they said.  
 [Icakki:]  
 1936 “You said that you would repay with your lives for the blame! Who in this earthly realm has ever heard of that?  
 1937 You must give me a token, O Elder brothers!”  
 [Karaiyāḷars:]  
 1938-39 “All right!” said the Karaiyāḷars, (agreeing,) and put a real *paral*-token<sup>357</sup> into the woman’s hand. She was quick to take it.

<sup>350</sup> For clarity, I add at this point text missing from N1.1918 but found in N10.137b and N8.47c: சீதேவிப் பெண்பெருமாள் (செட்டியப்பெண் காணுமென்பார்.

<sup>351</sup> A word of rebuke; also the goddess of misfortune, considered to be the sister of Lakṣmī.

<sup>352</sup> I translate this in the form of a question, following N10.137b-c.

<sup>353</sup> Em. <போராது>. See also line 1960.

<sup>354</sup> This passage is taken from other versions, namely N10.137c and N8.48a: பொழுதுகுட திசைவரையில் புகுந்தடையும் நேரமதில் பழுதறவே கரையாளர் பார்த்துரைப்பாரெல்லோரும் ஒன்றுபோல மனமிசைந்து [...].

<sup>355</sup> See Sect. 5.3, footnote to line 1929.

<sup>356</sup> See N10.137c, N8.48a-b.

<sup>357</sup> See Sect. 5.3, footnote to line 1940.

- 1940 The Karaiyāḷars gave her the *paral* while promising her twice that they would take the responsibility at the cost of their lives.
- 1941 After they had handed over the *paral* and had finalised (everything), the panic-stricken merchant,
- 1942 that Ceṭṭi, was thrown into a dither, like bits of straw on the waves of the sea<sup>358</sup>.
- 1943-44 Shaken, he tumbled down<sup>359</sup> onto the ground and said:
- 1945 “Now we’ll become prey [for her].
- 1946 Icakki is not going to leave me [in peace].”
- [Ceṭṭi to Icakki:]
- 1947 “O strong-breasted woman,
- 1948 with great strength you followed me.
- 1949-50 O good woman, all I said to you was totally wrong.
- 1951 Kill me quickly!
- 1952 Don’t show [your] (cruel) grimace!”
- [While Icakki began to speak again, the Karaiyāḷars asked them to enter the *ilaṅkam*.]<sup>360</sup>
- 1953-56:
- 1955 In giving the *paral*
- 1953 to Icakkiyammai, [a woman] slender and supple as the branch of a plant—
- 1954 [in giving it] to the lady who had shown her dissatisfaction and turned sad—
- 1956 the Karaiyāḷars were embracing the ill consequences of their fate.
- 1957-59 With the object of going to the *ilaṅkam*, all the seventy Karaiyāḷars proceeded to [it, saying],
- 1960 “That husband <doesn’t suit><sup>361</sup> the young woman.
- 1961 We want to know a straight reply of yes or no.”
- [The Ceṭṭi reflects out loud:]
- 1962 “Nili<sup>362</sup> silenced the Karaiyāḷars by putting on a show.
- 1963 I was entrapped by the wicked woman’s infant. It’s a crime!
- 1964 Paḷakai Nakar will never flourish!”
- 1965-66 When Icakkiyammai, the mother, heard this, cunningly she wept, slapping her face.
- 1967 “O my son, you, my son, mustn’t sob and weep!
- 1968-69 Is it the consequence of fate, written on my forehead, that we shall be locked up and kept in a room of the *ilaṅkam* to see what happens?” she thought out loud.
- 1970-73: [Ceṭṭi:]
- 1972 “I have been wondering whether all of you, O Elder brothers, demanded
- 1970-71 that (I), the Ceṭṭi, be locked up—[and] even both of us—in the *ilaṅkam*.”
- 1973 Āṇantaṅ asked.
- 1974-76:
- 1974 After entering the *ilaṅkam*,
- 1976 that lady Icakkiyammai

<sup>358</sup> Cf. the proverb in Jensen 1993:371, No. 3351.

<sup>359</sup> Less likely: “he rolled around on the ground.”

<sup>360</sup> N10.139b எல்லாமினிநல்லதுதான் இலங்கத்தில் போகவாருமென்றாரே. See also N8.48d.

<sup>361</sup> Em. <போராது>. See also the footnote to line 1924.

<sup>362</sup> Note the name Nili here. Ever since the heroine made her appearance in the forest of Paḷakai she has only been called Icakkiyammai; in the *vacanaṃs* of N10 she is even called *eṇ tāyār* (our/my mother).

- 1975 started to speak sweetly<sup>363</sup>.  
 1977 “O people of this place, have you heard  
 1978 [his] message? It will become famous.  
 1979-80 Will the words spoken by my husband, [the Ceṭṭi], be acceptable to the people of this land,  
 I wonder?  
 1981-82 You don’t know about all those insane events in the forest, do you?  
 1983-86:  
 1985 Just like a house neglected  
 1986 for many days, so that some things get ruined,  
 1984 [in just the same way], born into this world, I  
 1983 am one who has become a vicious woman.”
- [Karaiyāḷars:]  
 1987 “Don’t lament at the entrance!  
 1988 Fate, as the great dispenser, has written it on your forehead!”  
 1989-90 All the assembled Karaiyāḷars had listened to the words which had been spoken.  
 1991 “O griefless Āṇantaṇ,  
 1992 your wife and you,  
 1993-94 both of you, please lie down to sleep tonight in this *ilaṅkam!*”  
 1995 the Karaiyāḷars said.  
 1996-99:  
 1997 “O woman whose voice is as sweet as candy,  
 1998 don’t feel disturbed! Stay (here)!” they said,  
 1996 as they bolted the door of the *ilaṅkam*.  
 1999 Then the Karaiyāḷars  
 2000 went home in high spirits.  
 2001-02 Sixty-nine Karaiyāḷars went to their homes.  
 2003-04 Only one of the Karaiyāḷars [stayed back] and kept watch.
- [Icakki:]  
 2005-06 “I am wondering whether I should trick him, too.” In this way the beautiful woman  
 reflected on her tactics.  
 2007 “Last night  
 2008 you and I enjoyed the pleasures of love.  
 2009-10 We talked about property, loans, and so forth.  
 2011-12 Oh, <you><sup>364</sup> made [everything] (just like) tamarind dissolving in a river.<sup>365</sup>  
 [You avert your face in displeasure, saying that you don’t want (me any more).]<sup>366</sup>  
 2013-14 Even so, look! There is a delicious variety of sweet rice ball that has been brought!<sup>367</sup>  
 2015 Please eat them and drink some water,  
 2016 O great man of the Ceṭṭi community!  
 2017 After you have finished eating and drinking  
 2018 [your] hunger will be gone<sup>368</sup>,” [she mocked].<sup>369</sup>

<sup>363</sup> கண்டனய மொளிமடவார். Literally: “sugar candy–voiced woman.” கண்டனய – கண்டு/கற்கண்டு (sugar candy; *TL*).

<sup>364</sup> Em. ஆக்கிவிட்டானே. Literally: “Oh, you are the one who made.”

<sup>365</sup> Tamarind is bitter in taste.

<sup>366</sup> For a better understanding of the previous line, I add text that is lacking in N1 but found in N10.142d (after the line identical with N1.2011), and N8.50b, N2.82c (between N1.2010 and N1.2011): வேற்றுமுகப் பட்டரோ வேண்டாமென்றெனைவெறுத்து.

<sup>367</sup> The food is perhaps a metaphor, eating often having sexual connotations.

<sup>368</sup> Literally: “the closure of the ears (which is caused by hunger) will have ceased.”

<sup>369</sup> According to N10.143a and N8.50b, it is Icakki who has been speaking up to this point.

- [Cetti:]  
 2019 “Kill (me) quickly!  
 2020 Don’t mock me!”<sup>370</sup> [Repetition of lines 1951-1952]
- [Icakki:]  
 2021-22 <sup>371</sup>“Because of the love-potion of that Mūtēvi, that misfortune-bringing (other) woman—only because of that did (my) previous fury not disappear.  
 2023 Here is no rice for preparing gruel,  
 2024 no provisions for side dishes,  
 2025 no double-layered cotton mat,<sup>372</sup>  
 2026 and also no house to sleep in.  
 2027 I have become like a ball at a crossroads<sup>373</sup>.  
 2028 I have become like a widow, who has lost [her] wedding strings.  
 2029-30 Among the women of my status I obtained the name<sup>374</sup> “Ēkki”<sup>375</sup>.  
 2031 Instead of experiencing a house and its courtyard  
 2032 I encounter the roadside.  
 2033 Instead of experiencing a place for enjoyment<sup>376</sup>  
 2034 I become the object of public ridicule<sup>377</sup>.  
 2035 Don’t married women  
 2036 lead a family life in this earthly realm? But me!  
 2037-38 If he who married me by tying the *tāli* ruins [our] married state, who else will give me that status<sup>378</sup>?  
 2039-40 If he had built a house with a (spacious) central hall, I wouldn’t have been exposed to the sun’s heat, [but would have had a shelter].  
 2041-44 Was this all that I could expect in my life? Is it [to be] the *ilankam* of the Karaiyāḷars, who chop down forests and cultivate [the cleared land], where [my] life [will] leave its nest?”  
 2045 Speaking in this manner, Icakkiammai  
 2046 picked up the child.
- 2047-48 Icakkiammai, tender as a vine, began to sing lullabies to her son:  
 2049 Are you the son of the milkweed-like plant(?) that stood [in the forest]?

<sup>370</sup> These two lines are not found at this point in the other versions.

<sup>371</sup> The next lines, up to 2048, are out of their actual order. Cf. N10.143a+b. In N8.48a+b, Icakki conveys the same message of lamentation, but with different wording, to the assembled Karaiyāḷars, before they locked the doors of the *ilankam*.

<sup>372</sup> A mat for placing on a mattress; its upper part is finer than its lower.

<sup>373</sup> Meaning: I got kicked around. On crossroads as inauspicious locations, see Flood 1996:186.

<sup>374</sup> Literally: “I obtained the body of Ēkki.”

<sup>375</sup> Another name for Icakki, common in the southernmost districts of Tamilnadu. Note version N7 (lines 57ff.), which touches on the same point but with a different reading: அன்னதாட்சியே நீ விவாகம் செய்துகொண்ட நாள் முதலாய் புருஷனிடத்தில் சேராதவளாதலால் உன்முகத்தில் முதேவி வாசம் பண்ணுகின்றா ளென்றபோது அன்னதாட்சியும் மனதில் கிலேமுடையவளாய் ... பிராமணப்பெண்கள் சொன்ன முதேவி ... பார்ப்போமென்று நிலக்கண்ணாடியிற்போய் தன்னுடைய முகத்தை பார்த்து நின்றனள். ... தன்னுடைய புருஷனாய் ஆதிசேஷனென்னும் மறையவன் பூரணச்சந்திரனைப் போல் கண்ணாடியில் தோற்ற அன்னதாட்சியுங் கண்டு ஆவென்று... பிடிக்கப்போகையில் மாயமாய் மறைந்து... உமிநீரை முழுங்கினள். அதுவே யவளுக்கு கெர்ப்பமான... (“O Anṇatāṭci! As you are not in union with your husband, Mūtēvi [the goddess of misfortune] has been residing on your face since the very day of your wedding.” When Anṇatāṭci heard this she became distressed. To witness Mūtēvi as the Brahmin ladies had described, she went to look at her face in a mirror. [But what] Anṇatāṭci saw in the mirror was her husband. Āticēṣaṇ, the Brahmin, appeared like a full moon. She drew nearer to catch his figure, but it disappeared. When she swallowed the saliva (உமிநீர்) secreted in her mouth, she was impregnated by it.). For a synopsis of this version, see Sect. 2.4, N7 above.

<sup>376</sup> Meaning: The woman has been disempowered by the loss of both sexuality and status.

<sup>377</sup> Literally: “I face the state of being known to the public.”

<sup>378</sup> Literally: “Who will come to [my] aid?”

- 2050 Are you the offspring born to the great Nīli<sup>379</sup>?  
 2051 You aren't the darling born in the dense forest to that *kallī*, that clever woman, are you?  
 2052 Are you a [true] son,<sup>380</sup> as (beautiful) as a statue, or are you offspring born to the *kallī* plant?  
 2053 Do you have a body full of thorns?  
 2054 Are you a sapling sprouting from the full-grown *kallī* plant?  
 2055 Are you green? Does your body drip milk?  
 2056 I wonder, if one cut you again and again, would you grow again luxuriantly?  
 2057 You aren't a boy with roots, are you?  
 2058-59 You stood as a new guard for humanity in this world.  
 2060-61 You aren't the darling who stands by protectively so that unattended growing crops are not eaten, are you?  
 2062 I wonder, are you a protective fence against the sand?  
 2063 Aren't you the one who clears up all confusion?  
 2064-65 You aren't the flower of victory, blossoming while standing in the hot sun, are you?  
 2066-67 Are you a boy who stands in disciplined straightness (in a row), blossoming like a flower at [its] tip? [No, you aren't].  
 2068 You have milk, you have cooked rice<sup>381</sup>,  
 2069 (but) <do><sup>382</sup> you feel hungry? [No, you are never hungry!]  
 2070 <Do> you have roots and branches of the roots  
 2071 to make you stand [upright] in the hot sun?  
 2072 Don't go after a mess of gruel!  
 2073 Sleep, my darling boy!  
 2074 You mustn't cry in fear!  
 2075 O Appā,<sup>383</sup> you don't have brothers and sisters! [Repetition of line 1551]  
 2076 And I became a spendthrift!"  
 2077 Going on in this manner, Icakkiammai,  
 2078 that beautiful woman, sang the lullaby.
- 2079-80 The one Karaiyāḷar who had stayed back, [secretly listening]—[listen,] what is he going to say?  
 2081-83 "All our women<sup>384</sup> in this land have good qualities, but I have never witnessed anyone as modest and beautiful as her. This young woman belongs to the merchant. [Obviously they are husband and wife.]<sup>385</sup>  
 2084 If we possessed this lady, we wouldn't leave her."  
 2085 Thus spoke the Karaiyāḷar,  
 2086 and went home highly delighted.
- 2087-88 The moment the woman saw that the Karaiyāḷar had left, [she], Icakki, said to herself: "This is the moment to take revenge."  
 2089 The moment the guilty merchant fell asleep,

<sup>379</sup> The lullaby contains a number of double entendres.

<sup>380</sup> Literally: "an offshoot."

<sup>381</sup> These two lines (2068-9), like the previous one, present the audience with a double view. Here, too, *ḷḷ* (milk) can be used with reference to both the milkweed-like plant and the child.

<sup>382</sup> Though the text does not read as a question, I consider it to be one, based on the preceding lines. I treat line 2070 in the same way.

<sup>383</sup> A term used by elders and superiors to address youngsters.

<sup>384</sup> Cf. N10.144d and N8. 51a, where the number of women is specified as being seventy. Apparently, the reference is to the wives of the seventy Karaiyāḷars.

<sup>385</sup> My own addition for clarity.



- 2090 the margosa leaf glided out of his hand<sup>386</sup> and fell [to the ground].  
 2091 The margosa leaf glided and fell [to the ground], and he slept (on) soundly.  
 2092 *Ānantaṅ* had been lulled to sleep.  
 2093 [Under the influence] of *Mūtēvi*, the goddess of misfortune, who had approached [him], he  
 slept soundly and did not wake up.  
 2094 [In the meantime] <she><sup>387</sup> (i.e. *Icakki*) came, circumambulating him. <She><sup>388</sup> asked for  
 the support of the sun god.  
 2095 “O god, you are my confirmation; O goddess *Umā*, you are my eyewitness!  
 2096 O god *Paramaśiva*, [you] who wears the crescent moon, you are my eyewitness!” she said.  
 2097-98 “I take my revenge. You are all eyewitnesses!” she said.  
 2099 She uttered a loud *kuravai* sound.  
 2100 [Then] *Icakkiammai*, that woman as beautiful as a garland,  
 2101 jumped onto his chest,<sup>389</sup>  
 2102 which [soon] ran with boundless blood.  
 2103 She cut his throat.  
 2104 Blood spurted out.  
 2105 “I turned [you] into my son  
 2106 by breaking off a branch of the precious *kaḷḷi* plant.  
 2107 Weren’t you previously an impartial witness on my behalf?  
 2108-09 Today, [too,] you are an impartial judge, inserted as an eyewitness into the chest [of the  
*Ceṭṭi*].”<sup>390</sup>  
 [Then *Icakkiammai* called for her elder brother *Nīlarājan* to come, and he and]<sup>391</sup>  
 2110-12 beautiful, thick-tressed *Icakkiammai* flew through the ridge of the roof away into the  
 sky.<sup>392</sup>  
 2113-14 *Icakkiammai* had planned as [her] strategy that the whole village should come to an end.<sup>393</sup>

<sup>386</sup> Cf. N8.51b, where the hand is specified as being the right one.

<sup>387</sup> Em. வந்தா<ள்>.

<sup>388</sup> Em. என்றா<ள்>.

<sup>389</sup> The chest is closely associated with a state of anguish. In Tamil proverbs the chest is “beaten as an expression of anguish” (Beck 1979:31). – In other versions it is said that she plucked out the heart, a body part that, according to Beck (ibid.:32), in Tamil proverbs is described as: “[...] the center of suffering. [...] Falseness and deception also issue from this important organ. [...] It is also a secret place.”

<sup>390</sup> *Icakki*’s revenge mirrors her own former suffering. She takes revenge tit for tat: the initial victimisation of the heroine is matched by the retaliatory action finally taken against the wrongdoer. Such patterns are also found in Tamil moral tales; see Blackburn 2001:284. Blackburn argues, with A.K. Ramanujan, that karma is not the moral principle that governs Indian folk tales. The principal difference between the karma system and the folk-tale system of morality, he states, lies in how the retribution is exacted. Whereas in the karma system it is impersonal and automatic, in the folk-tale system it is an act of human will, often carried out by the victim. He concludes that karma is part of the vocabulary, but not of the moral grammar, of Indian folk tales. It seems that this holds true for the *katai* (story) of *Icakki* as well. Leaving gender considerations aside, the *katai* views an ethics of justice and care (seemingly the most important principles) as the final end of moral development. This becomes clear not only at this point in the story, but also from the king’s abandonment of his beloved children and the suicide of the seventy *Karaiyāḷars*.

<sup>391</sup> For a better understanding of the relationship between the twins, I add a portion of text that is found in N10.147c (தமயன்என்றநீலர்வர தங்கைஎன்றஇசக்கி, [...] இசக்கியம்மையும் என் அப்பனநீலராஜரும் ஆகாசதேரில் ஏறினாரே), and again, slightly different, in N8.51c and N2.84d/85a, of which the latter reads: காட்டில்நின்ற அண்ணையும் கட்டழகி தானழைத்து. [...] அமைப்புடனே இலங்கம்விட்டு ஆவியெனத் தான்பறந்து (*Nili* called to her brother, who was in the forest, [...] and she and her brother, in the form of spirits, flew away from the *ilaikam*). This scene bears some resemblance to a scene in the *Cilappatikāram*, in which *Kōvalaṅ*, having been murdered, takes his grief-stricken wife *Kaṇṇaki*, after she had set fire to the town of *Maturai*, away in a chariot to Mt. *Kailāsa*.

<sup>392</sup> In N10, N8, and N2 it is added that they went to worship *Śiva* on Mt. *Kailāsa*.

<sup>393</sup> Interestingly enough, version N10.149c, in a line found nowhere else, speaks of the “extinction of the whole community” of *Karaiyāḷars*: முடிவுசெய்திடுவேன்பழகைமுதல்க்கரை / யாளர்களை / குடிசெடுத்துகுலம்அறுப்பேன் என்று [...]. For *Icakki*, this makes sense. If she leaves the children and wives alive, they will reproduce. The desire to hinder reproduction is what drives *Icakki* to extinguish the entire *ūr* (village).

- 2115-22 In order to kill in quick return all those (respected) Karaiyāḷars, she approached in the form of Āṇantaṅ's mother—as a very grey-haired old woman—the street of the Karaiyāḷars, with a stout walking stick (for support) firmly planted in her hand, [and] coughing [all the while]. Like an old woman who beats raw cotton, she came.
- 2123 She, Icakki, approached that street in Paḷakai Nakar, made a humble bow,  
2124 and joined—neatly dressed and well mannered—[the Karaiyāḷars] in the street.
- 2125-26 [Listen to] what matters that bold, grey-haired old woman, wizened, over a hundred years old, has to tell! – <Bold!>
- 2127 “In my<sup>394</sup> harsh life, how much sordid affliction have I met?  
2128 Did you bring me to this stage, O my son?”<sup>395</sup>
- [Emended order]
- 2210-12 <sup>396</sup>[In the meantime] all the assembled Karaiyāḷars, sixty-nine [in number], went to the *ilankam*, [where the Ceṭṭi had been staying],  
2213 and unlocked the door of the building.  
2214 When they all peered in,  
2215 it looked like a field of slaughter.
- 2216-18:  
2217 They saw the Ceṭṭi  
2216 lying there in his own blood,  
2218 [but] they did not find the woman with the golden bracelets.  
2219 “Shall we now lay down our lives?  
2220-22 Will that criminal old woman, that accuser,<sup>397</sup> leave us and go back to her own place?  
2223-24 Let's beat up that old woman and drive her away!  
2225-26 [But even then] can we escape the *paral*-token put into Icakki's hand?”<sup>398</sup>  
2227 <The woman><sup>399</sup> who has come [disguised] as a mother  
2228 beats her head and asks:  
2229-30 “Where shall I go to catch sight of (you), O my son Āṇantaṅ?<sup>400</sup>  
2231-32 I shall die.” She beats her belly and weeps.  
2233 She raps her knuckles (on her head). She hits herself.  
2234 She slaps her face.  
2235-36 And while the bangles on her fair hands jingle, she tumbles over in the street and cries.<sup>401</sup>

<sup>394</sup> Literally: “our.”

<sup>395</sup> After line 2128, the order of the text in N1 is highly corrupt. From line 2129 until the end (line 2484), the order has been emended by me. Line 2128 is followed directly by line 2210. Line 2129 appears at a later point.

<sup>396</sup> This scene (lines 2210-47) deviates slightly in other versions, both in terms of content and order of lines. In other versions, the lament of Icakki disguised as Āṇantaṅ's mother (which includes the lines similar to N1.2227-40) follows directly after N1.2128. I quote N8.52.1774ff., which reads in my translation as follows: “‘O my son, where are you? Are you alive or dead?’ She beats her face, she falls on the ground, she cries, she gets up. She says to the Karaiyāḷars, ‘You took hold of my son and left him in the hands of Icakki. O people of Paḷakai Nakar, because of the crime done to my son, this village will be destroyed. [...] I shall commit suicide by tying the sari around my neck.’ Lamenting in this manner, she [...] rolled in the dust. [...] ‘You made a misjudgement [...], you won't escape from this blame, you must suffer because of what you have done to my son. [...] [Do you think] I'll let you escape? You have given my son to a so-called modest woman.’ The Karaiyāḷars answer, ‘Can we force aside the lady who was given in marriage and has a child by him? [...] Isn't she a woman who deserves to be a wife to your son? Is that not good fortune for your son? [...] Your son and daughter-in-law are in the *ilankam*. Let us take [out] your son with [your] daughter-in-law and [their] child.’ When they had spoken in this way, Icakki smiled and said, ‘All right, all right’” (N8.54a.1835). In the versions other than N1, Icakki at this point disguises herself as the daughter of the Karaiyāḷar who had kept watch over the couple during the night.

<sup>397</sup> பாவி, here “accuser” rather than “wicked woman”; see *TL* s.v.

<sup>398</sup> Literally: “The token put into Icakki's hand has not been found. (But does that imply that) we can escape?”

<sup>399</sup> Em. <வந்தவள் >.

<sup>400</sup> N10.150a.3712 and N8.52c.1774 read: எங்கே இருக்கிறாய் என்ககனே ஆனந்தனே (Where are you, my son Āṇantaṅ?); and continue: இருக்கிறாயோ இறந்தாயோ மகனே (Son, are you alive or have you died?).

<sup>401</sup> The text is here oblivious of Tamil custom. An old woman would never wear bangles.

- 2237 Weeping endlessly, that old woman  
 2238 said that she would avenge her son.  
 2239-40 “I’ll destroy without fail this fine village of Paḷakai—all of it!”
- [Karaiyāḷars:]  
 2241 “Don’t be agitated, old lady!  
 2242 We will repay for [what happened to] your son!  
 2243 We will give our lives, [will] make up for the blame!”  
 2244 Fully afraid [to do so] and tempted to run away,  
 2245-46 the foolish Karaiyāḷars [nevertheless] died by their own hands: some with a sword, some by  
 using an axe;  
 2247 some died by consuming poison, [while] others died by hanging themselves.  
 2248 All sixty-nine persons of that place died.<sup>402</sup>  
 2249-50 The one last Karaiyāḷar, who had gone to plough, Icakkiammai also planned to kill.  
 2251-57:  
 2255 [Therefore]<sup>403</sup> Icakki  
 2257 took the form  
 2251 of his daughter.  
 2252 In order to carry gruel [to him],  
 2253-54 just as his daughter [would]—as if cast in the mould  
 2256 of his adolescent child—  
 2258-60 that vengeful Icakki of a vine-like waist took the shape of his adolescent child.  
 2261-62 Her coiled hair was <adorned><sup>404</sup> with tender flowers of jasmine.  
 2263 The *pāṭakam*-anklet, a hollow anklet, and a tinkling anklet were jingling.  
 2264-65:  
 2265 Fine gold, gems, and pearls on a *tāvaṭam*-ornament were shining.  
 2264 On the vengeful Icakki—together with a golden bracelet—  
 2266 were glittering a pendent set with precious stones suspended from a necklace and—(also) on  
 her neck—a *cavaṭi*-ornament with gold cords.  
 2267 At the edge of her eyelashes she applied collyrium, on her forehead  
 2268 she put a [black] dot, and on her neck turmeric paste mixed with oil.  
 2269 Just as the daughter of the death-bringing Karaiyāḷar would,  
 2270 the young woman draped her silk sari,  
 2271 her teeth as white as pearls,  
 2272 her lips coral-red like the petals of a *murukku* flower,  
 2273 [her] body sparkling.<sup>405</sup>  
 2442 Carrying the gruel, the young woman comes in search of the Karaiyāḷar.  
 2443 Spying her, the Karaiyāḷar says to himself: “My dear daughter is coming.”  
 2444 He lifts up his head and watches her.  
 2445 “O my emerald! O my darling!”  
 2446 [Hear] what the Karaiyāḷar has to say!  
 2447 “Why have you come here, my daughter?”  
 2448-49 O my [unmarried] daughter, who hasn’t (yet) entered another (i.e. a husband’s) house!”

<sup>402</sup> Note that in contrast to other versions, in N1 (and in N10, N8, N2—all the versions from Kaṇṇiyākumari district), the guilty Karaiyāḷars commit suicide in quite individual ways, but none by entering the fire.

<sup>403</sup> In N10.156 the second ஒருவனையும் கொல்லவென்று goes well with N1.2251, and must be read as: “In order to kill that one, too, she disguises herself as his daughter.”

<sup>404</sup> Em. <குட்டி>.

<sup>405</sup> N1.2273 is followed directly by N1.2442; see N10.157.

- 2450 The daughter of the Karaiyālar said:  
2451 “The people on this earth don’t know.”
- [Karaiyālar:]  
2452-53 “You have come <to the paddy field><sup>406</sup>. What has happened, O my girl of bright forehead?  
2454 Are there some problems in the village?  
2455 Tell me, O bright girl adorned with bracelets!  
2456 Let us talk about [it]!”
- [Daughter:]  
2457 “Eat the gruel, father!  
2458 It’s gruel. Let us eat it!”
- [Karaiyālar:]  
2459 “My dear (daughter), tell me!”
- [Daughter:]  
2460-61 “What difference does it make if I tell you or don’t tell you?  
2462-63 Is it right to tell, unfortunate person that I am, that I was born to you?”
- [Karaiyālar:]  
2464-65 “[But] since the time you were born you have brought me gruel. (Doesn’t that require) a certain kind of determination?”
- [Daughter:]  
2466-67 “Even before I start to speak, I have completely forgotten [what I wanted to say].  
2468-69 You reported a ‘correct’ judgement to the people<sup>407</sup>, according to what you <came to know><sup>408</sup> [in the *ilaṅkam*].<sup>409</sup>
- 2292-93 You delivered seventy Karaiyālar into Icakki’s hands.  
2294 By that criminal Icakki,  
2295 Paḷakai Nakar has been destroyed.  
2296-97 You put her in a position to cause trouble [to us] for her own deceptive enjoyment.  
2298-2301:  
2301 You put the *paral*-token that brought vengeance  
2300 into the hand of that wicked, worthless Icakki.  
2299 Thus you caused the loss of the lives  
2298 of those foolish Karaiyālar.<sup>410</sup>  
2302-03 Giving her (the *paral*) has resulted in no good. Because it was given, that criminal woman killed [Āṇantan]<sup>411</sup>.  
2304 After she killed him, she flew away through the air.  
2305 That criminal woman killed [him], and we have suffered under wretched conditions [ever since].  
[Today in the morning an old woman came, beating on her belly and weeping, saying that she was the mother of the famous merchant. Going to each and every villager’s house, she

<sup>406</sup> Em. <உளவுதலம்தன்னில்>.

<sup>407</sup> Literally: “to the people of the land.”

<sup>408</sup> Em. <அறிந்து> இருந்தீர்களே.

<sup>409</sup> N1.2292 follows directly upon N1.2469; see N10.158f.

<sup>410</sup> N10.158d, N8.55.c, N2.91b read slightly differently: ஆகத்தக்க பேர்களெல்லாம் அழிந்துஉயிர் போவதற்காய்.

<sup>411</sup> See N10.159a, N8.55c, N2.91b கொடுத்ததினா லானந்தனை கொன்றாளே பாதகத்தி.

- complained to the Karaiyāḷars.]<sup>412</sup>
- 2306 As the weeping voice (of the old woman) was unbearable, they went to the *ilankam*.
- 2307 When they unlocked the door of the *ilankam*
- 2308 and all looked [in],
- 2309 the steady-minded Karaiyāḷars saw a scene of slaughter.
- 2310-11 The old woman saw the battlefield and began to weep, beating her breast<sup>413</sup> in front of their feet. She did not permit the culprits to come closer.
- 2312 Unable to bear her weeping voice, each and everyone died.  
[Except (you) yourself who have come here to plough.]<sup>414</sup>
- [As soon as the Karaiyāḷar heard that all had died, he trembled, as if his life would fly away and be gone.]<sup>415</sup>
- 2313 “If I die, it is a loss to the family.
- 2314 But if I [remain] alive, wouldn’t that be an insult (to our community’s code)?
- 2315 I don’t know how to die,
- 2316 O my respectable(?) daughter!
- 2317-18 In this uninhabited(?) tract of land, who is going to pick up a stone and attack me?
- [Daughter:]
- 2319-20 “If one is angry, one can die even with the sharpened end of a ploughshare.”
- [Karaiyāḷar:]
- 2321 “There is no chance, my daughter!”
- [Daughter:]
- 2322 “Nobody is in this lonely field<sup>416</sup> [now].
- 2323 [But] if anybody else comes,
- 2324 you will feel distress, Father!
- 2325-26 At a fortunate time<sup>417</sup> I came here with gruel (for you), earning a good name.  
[There is nobody to advise you how to die in this lonely field.]<sup>418</sup>
- 2327-28 Don’t tremble (in fear), Father! In a dangerous situation no [ill] consequences accrue from blameful deeds!
- 2329 If anything happens to your life
- 2330 our people will necessarily come to know (it).
- 2331-32 Since I am here why should you tremble, greatly frightened, O Father?”
- 2333 With bangles jingling on her red(-painted) hands,
- 2334 she went and took the plough.
- 2335-36 The Karaiyāḷar lunged against the ploughshare and died.

<sup>412</sup> For clarity, at this point I add text that is missing in N1 but found in N10.159a, N8. 55c, and N2.91c: இன்றுதயம் ஆனதிலே இயல்வணிகன்தாயெனவே / வந்து ஒருகிழவியவன் வயற்றிலடித்தே அழுது / உழவர்புதிதோறும் முறைஉரைத்திடவேகரையாளர்.

<sup>413</sup> A woman’s way of venting her overpowering grief for the recently departed.

<sup>414</sup> The line added at this point is missing in N1 and N10: உழவந்த நீரொருவர் உயிரோடே இருப்பதல்லால் (N8.55d).

<sup>415</sup> The line added at this point is missing in N1 and N10: இறந்துவிட்டார் எல்லோரும் என்றவுடன் கரையாளன் / பறந்து உயிர்போவதுபோல் பதைபதைத்து (N8.55d).

<sup>416</sup> வயல்+காட்டில் (field + *pālai* tract of land).

<sup>417</sup> Cf. N10.160.3976-7 நல்வளமாய்; N8.56.1902 நல்வளம்.

<sup>418</sup> I add a line that is missing in N1 but found in N10.160bc and N8.56a: இல்லையிந்தவயற்காட்டில்இறக்கமதி சொல்வாரில்லை.

- 2337 After the (last) Karaiyāḷar was dead,  
 2338 Icakki—that lady,  
 2339 peacock-like, with a slender waist resembling a *tuṭi* drum—  
 2340 came [back] to the renowned village of Paḷakai.  
 2341 Once the beautiful Icakkiammai had come into the village,  
 2342 she sang praises. Listen to what she said!
- [Icakki:]  
 2343-44 “All the Karaiyāḷars<sup>419</sup> in this village are dead.” In this way she spoke, while listening to the sounds of mourning<sup>420</sup>.  
 2345 “Ayyo!<sup>421</sup> Karaiyāḷars, all of you have died.”  
 2346 She<sup>422</sup> showed great compassion.<sup>423</sup>  
 2347 “It is very good to see that all the Karaiyāḷars are dead.  
 2348 Now I must make a plan.  
 [If not, Icakki herself will be accused of having engaged in killing.]<sup>424</sup>  
 2351 However, even if Icakki has earned the reputation of being capable of killing,<sup>425</sup>  
 2349 one thing has come to an end; everything<sup>426</sup> must be brought to an end<sup>427</sup>!  
 2350 If a single [person] survives, then necessarily (all) will survive!”<sup>428</sup>  
 2352-57:  
 2357 And [so] Icakkiammai planned  
 2352 to kill all the people in the village:  
 2353 mothers, fathers, kith and kin.  
 2354 [She was] without hesitation, steady and strong;  
 2356-55 absolutely everyone she wanted to destroy in the village.  
 2358 “How shall I do it?”  
 2359 [The plan] occupied her thoughts  
 2360 as she came to a place adjacent to the deep forest.<sup>429</sup>

<sup>419</sup> Em. இறந்தாள்.

<sup>420</sup> The public mourning for the dead.

<sup>421</sup> An exclamation of pity.

<sup>422</sup> Literally: “her mind.”

<sup>423</sup> Lines 2345-6 are not found in the other texts.

<sup>424</sup> I add a line that I consider relevant to the themes of fate and blame. The line is missing in N1 but found in all other relevant versions, namely N10.162a, N8.56c, N2.93b: அல்லவே இயக்கி கொன்றாளென்னப்பே ரெடுக்கவென்றால் (N8.56c). At this point Icakki makes it clear that she had no intention of committing murder herself, but rather wanted the Karaiyāḷars to commit suicide. As it was not her own life but her brother’s that had been destroyed by the Karaiyāḷars—and that also only indirectly, as a result of their felling of the margosa tree—Icakki apparently does not want to take the blame for killing them. Her means of revenge in the case of the Karaiyāḷars is characteristically Indian, namely that of apportioning *blame and shame*. – Note that this line is taken out of its actual order in N1 (see N1.2351), where it conveys a message completely silent about the theme of fate and blame. In N1 Icakki does not mind dirtying her own hands with blood.

<sup>425</sup> The line has been taken out of its actual order and context. Cf. the different meaning conveyed in N10.162a, N8.56c, N2.93b அல்லவே இயக்கிகொன்றாளென்னப்பே ரெடுக்கவென்றால் (If not, I shall earn the reputation that Icakki herself has engaged in killing.) (N8.56c).

<sup>426</sup> உகம். Literally: “the world.”

<sup>427</sup> As at the end of a yuga.

<sup>428</sup> This sentence is interesting in that it reflects Icakki’s main intention, namely to hinder the village from procreating.

<sup>429</sup> The placement and actual order of the text up to this line is certain. Inserting the following passage, N1.2129-50, at this particular point is, however, somewhat arbitrary, if only for lack of a better place. The sense of the passage is in agreement with parallel texts in N10, N8, and N2; however, the wording is not exactly the same. There is no evidence that the displaced passage was ever located between N1.2360 and N1.2361, since N10.162c, the text parallel to N1.2360-1, has no gap either. Only N8.56d in any measure allows for this placement. N8, lines 1925 and 1928 (text that parallels N1.2360-1), does contain a gap, with the following passage: ஈஸ்வரரை அடிதொழுது இயக்கியம்மை பால்வகைகள் ஏதேது எடுக்கு-கிறாளப்போ (N8.56d.1926). Note that the placement of N1.2135 is supported by the reference given in the footnote to that line.

<2129-34.<sup>430</sup>

- <2134/30 That lady, Icakkiammai, coming  
 <2133 to the place adjacent to the forest  
 <2132 in order to kill  
 <2131 the wives and children of the seventy persons,  
 <2129-30 after the seventy Karaiyāḷars had died,  
 <2135 meditated on the god Śiva.<sup>431</sup>>

- 2361-62 By hand, Icakki drew two *nāli*-measures and four *nāli*-measures of milk from the *kaḷḷi* plant.  
 2363-64 Contemplating how to draw four *nāli*-measures of cardamom milk, she [somehow managed to] draw it.<sup>432</sup>  
 2365 “Who will give now the cow milk, O god Śiva?”  
 2366 While thinking in this way, [she somehow got it] milked and done (with).<sup>433</sup>  
 <2136 She drew milk and prepared it as cardamom milk,  
 <2137 with one-eighth [of a measure]<sup>434</sup> of the milk from the *kaḷḷi* plant,  
 <2138 one-eighth of milk containing strychnine.  
 <2139 one-eighth of cardamon milk,  
 <2140 and one-eighth of *erukkalam*<sup>435</sup> milk.><sup>436</sup>  
 2367 O Paramaśiva, (give me)<sup>437</sup> the poison of the *paccaināvi* shrub.  
 2368 I am going to take revenge,” she said.<sup>438</sup>  
 2369 She put everything into a single vessel.  
 2370 Icakki, in the guise of a beautiful woman,  
 2371 put [everything] together into a single vessel and prepared buttermilk<sup>439</sup>.  
 2372 Satisfied, she took a *kuṭukkai*<sup>440</sup>-vessel for buttermilk.  
 2373 Putting on a disguise, Icakki, that lady,  
 2374 appeared in the form of a beautiful cowherd woman.<sup>441</sup>  
 <2141-42 Taking the shape of a woman of the herdsmen—with a waist like a vine—

<sup>430</sup> The following text is out of its actual and logical order. Cf. N10.150a.3711, N8.52c.1773. Apparently, the scribe of the paper manuscript mixed up the pages of the palm leaves. In brief, the narrative sequence prior to the supplying of the buttermilk is as follows: Anantaṅ’s mother accuses the Karaiyāḷars of placing her innocent son in the hands of Icakki. When the Karaiyāḷars, convinced that the couple and the child are in the *ilaṅkam*, want to show her that all is well, Icakki laughs for having attained her aim. She appears disguised as the daughter of the Karaiyāḷar who had guarded the couple during the night and had told the other Karaiyāḷars that everything was fine. She goes to meet him in the field, reporting that the sixty-nine Karaiyāḷars have committed suicide in reaction to the Ceṭṭi’s death. She convinces him to do the same. Having carried out her second plan, she returns to the village, lamenting the death of her father in the field. She then consoles the women of the dead Karaiyāḷars and offers them milk.

<sup>431</sup> Cf. N8.56d யீச்பரரை அடிதொழுது.

<sup>432</sup> The milking was done with the help of Śiva. See also the *vacanam* of N10.164.

<sup>433</sup> She petitioned the god, and he granted her a favour. Cf. N10.162d ஆவின் பால் ஆர் தருவார் அரநாரேதாருமென்றாள் / அவள்நினைத்தபடி ஆவின்பால் சுறந்தாள் (“Who will give me cow milk? O Śiva, give (some to me)!” she said, and somehow drew the milk of a cow.).

<sup>434</sup> It is noteworthy that we find here a different unit of measure (ஆளாக்கு – ஆழாக்கு) being used than the *nāli*-measure. This suggests that this displaced passage is not part of the circulating text of the *IK*, but rather an addition by the performing artist.

<sup>435</sup> A plant.

<sup>436</sup> The placement of the inserted text is based on N10.162d.4037-9, where a passage containing the same meaning is found, though with different wording. It occurs in N10 between the parallel lines N1.2366 and 2367.

<sup>437</sup> My translation closely follows N10.162d.

<sup>438</sup> On the belief that *yakṣas* malevolently poison food, see Misra 1981:154.

<sup>439</sup> Buttermilk is much liked by Tamils for its refreshing taste.

<sup>440</sup> The dry and hollow shell of some gourds, used as a vessel (Cre-A).

<sup>441</sup> The belief in the supernatural is a component of popular religion in general, and reflected in the *yakṣi* concept in particular. *Yakṣas* can change their appearance at will (Misra 1981:147); also *Jātaka* (No. 545), Vol. 6, p. 326 (tr. Cowell 1901 [Vol. 6]:146).

- <2143 [and] carrying a pot of buttermilk on her head,  
 <2144 she, of the beautiful, thick tresses, came walking along the path.><sup>442</sup>  
 2375-76 In order to sell buttermilk in Paḷakai, she appeared like a cowherd woman, like a cowherd woman familiar [to us] from olden days.  
 2377 Her eyes bathed in tears,  
 2378 Icakki carried the buttermilk in a bamboo vessel.  
 <2145-48:  
 <2148 Wailing all along, the woman stood weeping  
 <2145 in the streets of Paḷakai,  
 <2147 at each house of  
 <2146 those blameworthy Karaiyāḷars.> [Listen to what she said!]<sup>443</sup>  
 <2149 “I have been eating your cooked food.”<sup>444</sup>  
 <2150 [Now] I realise that fate has taken its course.><sup>445</sup>  
 2379 [Up to now] I have survived by eating your cooked food.<sup>446</sup>  
 2380 Isn’t fate most powerful?”<sup>447</sup>  
 2381-82 That cowherd woman came street by street, like a proper woman,<sup>448</sup> to the famous(?) street of the Karaiyāḷars.  
 2383-84 <She><sup>449</sup> came to the renowned [part of] Paḷakai Nakar where the seventy persons<sup>450</sup> resided.  
 2385 Hesitating, she stood at the crossing for a long time.<sup>451</sup>  
 2386 “Unless I weep, will anybody pay attention?  
 2387 If I go along the middle of the street,  
 2388 nobody will come and respond. [Why?]”  
 2389 Coming into the street of the Karaiyāḷars,  
 2390 Icakki, that young woman,  
 2391-96:  
 2395 called out:  
 2391 “Hey, Aṇantāyi, Veyilukantā!<sup>452</sup>  
 2392 Hey, Ammaimuttu! Buttermilk [for sale]! [Come here]!  
 2393 Hey, Mārukaṇṇi, Putumāṭi,  
 2394 Mandirakaṇṇi! [Here is] buttermilk [for sale]!

<sup>442</sup> The reconstructed placement of this portion of the text is a mere conjecture.

<sup>443</sup> The placement of this displaced portion of text follows the other versions. The sense is the same, if not the wording. Cf. N10.163c.4056-7, N8.57b.1940-1 [கடையாவின் பால்தூக்கிக்கொண்டு] கதறி கதறி அழுது கரையாளர் தெருவில் நின்று / கன்னியரும் ஏது மொழிசொல்வாள்.

<sup>444</sup> I render சோறு as “food.”

<sup>445</sup> Note that the two lines 2149-50, which are out of their actual order in the hand-written manuscript of N1, have almost the same wording as lines 2379-80, a fact that suggests that these displaced lines do not belong to the circulating bow-song text but are rather due to a lapse on the part of the singer.

<sup>446</sup> Cf. N10.163c கரையன்மார் சோறு உண்டு வாழ்ந்தேனே இதுவரைக்கும். – It is unclear whether this should be seen in terms of a subsistence economy, the Karaiyāḷars and the cowherds exchanging buttermilk for cooked food. – Literally: “boiled rice and curry.”

<sup>447</sup> Literally: “Is there anything other than fate?”

<sup>448</sup> கிழவி here “lady/mistress” rather than “old woman.”

<sup>449</sup> Em. வந்தாள்<ள்>.

<sup>450</sup> Referring to the seventy Karaiyāḷars.

<sup>451</sup> It is interesting to see the different ways the various versions draw upon the fairly complete text of the *IK* as found in N10.163c-165a. While N8.57b-c incorporates only the first part (N10.163c-d), namely Icakki’s inner speech before she acts, N1.2383ff. taps the second part (N10.164d-165a), which has the same contents but describes the action rather than reporting Icakki’s foregoing thoughts.

<sup>452</sup> A list of proper names follows. Other than the first two names, the lists vary from version to version. Cf. N10.165a-166b, N8.57d.



- <2178 Hey, Piccappiḷlai! [Come here!] Buttermilk [for sale]!<sup>453</sup>  
 <2179 Hey, Piṇamālai! Buttermilk [for sale]! [Come here!]  
 <2180 Hey, gossiping woman of the Paṇṭāram community<sup>454</sup>!  
 <2181 Hey, cowherd women! Buttermilk [for sale]!  
 <2182-83 Hey, termagant, [you] who speaks with significant gestures! Buttermilk [for sale]!  
 <2184-85 Hey, Pēkṣi Ammā, [you] who plunders children's minds! Buttermilk [for sale]!  
 <2186 Hey, Ciṇṇaṇāñci!  
 <2187 Hey, Sivakāmi!  
 <2188-89 Hey, Apirāmi, [you] who acts as messenger for others!  
 <2190 Hey, Piccappiḷlai, Piccamuttu,  
 <2191 [women] of Paḷakai! Buttermilk [for sale]! [Come here!]  
 <2192 Hey, Muttāci!  
 <2193 Hey, Mōkaṇappiḷlai!  
 <2194 Hey, Aṇāñcippiḷlai!  
 <2195 Hey, Apirāmi!  
 <2196 Hey, Ciṇṇaṇāñci!  
 <2197 Hey, Sivakāmi!  
 <2198 Hey, Muttāci!  
 <2199 Hey, Cittāci!  
 <2200 Hey, Aṇāñcippiḷlai!  
 <2201 Hey, Ammaimuttu! Buttermilk [for sale]!<sup>455</sup>>

2395 Calling the names in this manner,  
 2396 the cowherd woman came into the street.  
 2397 None of those who heard this came and responded.

2398 “No one welcomes and invites (me) [in].  
 2399 I must join the ladies and mourn (with them),”  
 2400 deceitful Icakki decided.  
 [“I must go to each house and mourn with each of them.” [...] She came to the northern street of Paḷakai and wept, telling everyone of her suffering. She dried the tears of the weeping wives of the Karaiyāḷars. Listen to what she has to say!]<sup>456</sup>

2401-05:

2402 “Those men have brought (on) hardship after their pitiable deaths.  
 2403 They will attain the final state of heavenly bliss, O Mother.  
 2404 Weeping won't help. It won't revive<sup>457</sup> anybody.  
 2405 Please calm down!” Thus she spoke, embracing [each of] them  
 2401 at the time when all had weepingly gathered.  
 2406 “You dear mothers, the loss won't come back!  
 2407 Women, you have wept enough!”  
 2408 The cowherd woman herself wept on and on.  
 2409 She consoled them:  
 2410 “Don't tremble! Don't tremble!  
 2411 O pitiable women, let go [of them]!”

<sup>453</sup> Calls used by vendors to sell goods on the street.

<sup>454</sup> A community of non-Brahmin Śaivas who sell flower garlands.

<sup>455</sup> There is no significance in the repetition of proper names, as here Ammaimuttu again in N1.2392, and Śivakāmi and Muttāci (N1.2187/N1.2197 and N1.2192/N1.2198). Therefore I do not find it necessary to link N1.2201 and N1.2392. Repetitions of the same names after some lines is also found in N10.165b.4101 and N10.165d.4109.

<sup>456</sup> For clarity I add seven lines from N10.167a. For the Tamil text, see lines 4139-45 of N10 in Appendix C.

<sup>457</sup> Literally: “won't open the eyes of.”

- 2412-13 Let go [of them]! They will attain full *mōkṣa* hereafter without fail.  
 2414 If you wail, will [the dead] come back?  
 [If you wail and weep, the dead will remain in the intermediate realm.]<sup>458</sup>
- 2415-17:  
 2416 Even if seventy persons are dead,  
 2417 there are (still) women and children.  
 2415 It will be a mean and sinful act [not to take care of them]!”
- <2151 “O vine-like woman, you mustn’t cry!  
 <2152-53 If you weep, will the one who has died come back again?<sup>459</sup> He is released from *saṃsāra*.  
 <2154 Don’t be foolish!”>
- [The wives of the Karaiyāḷars, completely at a loss, said: “How can we manage in the future, O my cowherd woman?”]<sup>460</sup>
- 2418 “Come, O cowherd woman,  
 2419 O young woman, advise [us]!”
- [Icakki replied: “Don’t be agitated!”]<sup>461</sup>
- <2155 Please come drink (some) buttermilk!  
 <2156 Hey, wouldn’t you like to get together in one house?>  
 2420-21 Let’s drink the buttermilk and satisfy your hunger<sup>462</sup>, (and then) we can talk, O women with thick braids!”  
 2422-23 The women assembled in the house of Muttaraci<sup>463</sup>
- <2202-03 “Hey, wouldn’t you all like to get together and assemble in her (house)?”  
 <2204 So said vengeful Icakki,  
 <2205 and they gathered in that agreeable house.>
- <2157 “Place the small children to one side,  
 <2158 and gather together, O women with beautiful ornaments!”  
 <2159-60 Thus beautiful Icakkiammai instructed all of them.  
 <2161 “Take<sup>464</sup> cups and small milk-vessels with narrow necks,  
 <2162 and pass [around] the small bowls!  
 <2163 Take small cup-like *keṇṭi*-vessels with spouts!”  
 <2164 Icakkiammai requested (them to take these things).  
 <2165 When they had gathered with delight,  
 <2166-67 [she called out to them] “Hey, you ladies with thick braids, please come, all of you, to drink buttermilk!”  
 <2169 And the ladies assembled  
 <2168 in the house of Aṅantaraci>.

<sup>458</sup> This view is not expressed in N1. I add it based on the following line in N10.168c: ஏங்கி நீங்கள் அழுததுண்டால் இறந்தவர் இடவழியில் நின்றுடுவார்; also found in N8.58c.

<sup>459</sup> Mourning, a complex phenomenon, can be seen as a rite of transition for the survivors (147). “During mourning, the living mourners [...] constitute a special group, situated between the world of the living and the world of the dead. [...] During mourning, social life is suspended for all those affected by it. [...] If the dead man was a chief, the suspension affects the entire society” (Gennep 1960:147f.). This is seen happening at the death of the seventy Karaiyāḷars.

<sup>460</sup> Added according to the text in N10.169a, c.

<sup>461</sup> Added according to the text in N10.169a, c.

<sup>462</sup> Literally: “close the hunger.”

<sup>463</sup> A proper name. Literarily: “Queen of Pearls.”

<sup>464</sup> யெடுப்பாடும். I read an imperative rather than the future tense.

- 2424 They [all] take cups and vessels.  
 2425 They take small, cup-like *keṇṭi*-vessels with spouts (for the children) and small metallic *cempu*-vessels with narrow necks,  
 2426 *tāraitṭāl*-vessels, metallic *tavalai*-pots with wide mouths, *cempu*-vessels,  
 2427 and for the shallow, wide-mouthed vessel, small bowls and cups.  
 2428-29 Icakkiammai, beautiful as a painting, poured out absolutely everything, till the last drop.  
 <2170 Not knowing their fate to come,  
 <2171 the women drank the buttermilk.>  
 2430 Not knowing that she was Icakki in person,  
 2431 everyone drank the buttermilk.  
 <2206 Together with the young ladies,  
 <2207 all of them drank the buttermilk.  
 <2208 Just like very small children,  
 <2209 those (beautiful,) fair-complexioned women were drinking the buttermilk.>  
 2432 As soon as they drank the buttermilk,  
 2433 they felt an unbearable shivering (as if from the cold).  
 2434 As it infused the body,  
 2435 their legs and hands began suffering fits;  
 2436 their tongues and (whole) body, too.  
 2437 “Calmly drink the milk,”<sup>465</sup> [the cowherd woman advised].  
 2438 Their legs collapsed, their whole body twitched,  
 2439 [and] finally [the wives of the seventy Karaiyāḷars]<sup>466</sup> died.<sup>467</sup>
- <2172 Before the consumed buttermilk can settle [in their stomachs],  
 <2173 she begins her murderous work.  
 <2174 “O pitiable women, O pregnant women!”  
 <2175-77 She killed all the little babies by cutting them into pieces and impaling them on pointed stakes.><sup>468</sup>
- 2440-41/  
 2470 The beautiful woman, her head veiled and with arms swinging, walked quickly towards their children, making jokes and amusing them,<sup>469</sup>  
 2470 [intending now] to kill [the children of the seventy Karaiyāḷars too.]<sup>470</sup>  
 2471-74 Icakkiammai—the criminal, cruel Nīli—mixed lime with boiled rice, supplied it (to the children) and (so) killed (them).  
 2475 When they all are dead  
 [she performs the *kuravai* sound].<sup>471</sup>  
 2476 [Then] that (cunning) fox ran away<sup>472</sup>

<sup>465</sup> Here the text of N1 takes on the wording of the other versions, where it is பால் (milk) rather than மோர் (buttermilk) that is supplied by Icakki.

<sup>466</sup> Cf. N10.171a இறந்தனரே கரையாளர் எழுபதுபேர்பெண்டுகளும்.

<sup>467</sup> Literally: “their life was over.”

<sup>468</sup> This line, like many others in this section, is out of order and not found in the versions N10, N8, or N2.

<sup>469</sup> Line N1.2441 is directly followed by N1.2470; see N10.171.

<sup>470</sup> Cf. N10.171b.4243 and 172.4272 *vacanam*: “she went into the street of the Brahmin community.” This is not found in N1.

<sup>471</sup> I add a line missing in N1 but found in N10.171d, N8.59a, and N2.97d to demonstrate the significance of the *kuravai* sound. Note that in the *IK* this sound is produced following either the birth of a child or a revenge murder. In my fieldwork conducted in March-May 2002, I heard the sound being uttered by women at the Icakki temples of Muppantal and Paḷavur at the points in the ritual ceremonies and in the pūjās when the goddess was most present.

<sup>472</sup> Line 2476 is out of its actual order. In N10.171d it appears logically, after Paḷakai has been set on fire. A parallel line is missing in N8.59a and N2.97d.

- 2477-78 <[after]><sup>473</sup> <she><sup>474</sup> had set Paḷakai on fire<sup>475</sup>.  
 [With finally three hundred people having had to die to avenge her elder brother and the margosa tree, she left.]<sup>476</sup>
- 2479 Believing that Śiva was their guide,  
 2484 the two went  
 2480 to the supreme guru's<sup>477</sup> abode on Mt. Kailāsa—  
 2481 to Mt. Kailāsa,  
 2482 to the side of the god with the dark-coloured throat;  
 2483 to Śiva's abode [they went].  
 [After they had worshipped Śiva and had received the god's favour, Icakki and Nīlaṅ left for the southern parts of the land to live as deities who destroy evil men and who protect people who love them. They resided under a margosa tree (and were) worshipped by the people].<sup>478</sup>

Here ends the story of Icakki, who resembles Bhagavati<sup>479</sup>.

<sup>473</sup> In order to construct a logical sequence with the previous line 2476, I add a conjunction.

<sup>474</sup> Em. விட்டா<ள்>.

<sup>475</sup> Note that all the other relevant texts (N10.171d, N8.59a, N2.97d) also mention this fact: எல்லதிலே திக்/தீகொழுத்தி இயல் பழகை ஊரைவிட்டு (N8/N2); பளகநகர் தெருவதிலே பகலதீகொடுத்தி வைத்தாள் (N10.171d). Note, too, the parallel here to Kaṇṇaki's incendiary act in the *kāppiyam* work *Cilappatikāram*.

<sup>476</sup> I add a line missing in N1 but found in N10.172a, N8.59ab, and N2.97d to demonstrate the importance of the sister–brother relationship and the gravity of felling trees that are the abode of spirits: அண்ணருட பழியுடனே அருள்வேம்பின் பழியுங்கொண்டு முன்னெடுத்த பழியதற்காய் முன்னூறு பழியுங்கொண்டு (N8.59ab). – For a further discussion of the sister–brother bond and the theme of retaliation, see Sect. 6.3 below.

<sup>477</sup> Em. <குருபரனார்>.

<sup>478</sup> I add lines from N8 that are not found in N1. These describe Nīli and Nīlaṅ's journey to the southern land, where they watch over justice in the world: ...சென்றுநின்று தான்தொழுது / எம்பெருமான் துணையெனவே இயக்கியுடன நீலனுமாய் / நம்பிக்கையாய் துதிபுரித்து நாடிவரம் பலதுப் பெற்று / ...தெட்சணத்தில் வந்துஇரு தெய்வமென வேவாழ்ந்து / பட்சமுள்ளோர் தமைக்காத்து பாவினை சிட்சைசெய்து / வேப்பமர மூடதிலே வேனுதலான் நீலியுடன் / காப்பான நீலனுமாய் கட்டுடனே பூசையுண்டார். (N8.59b-c.2006-13).

<sup>479</sup> This line is clearly a sign of the process of adaptation and integration. On the transformation of Iyakki/Icakki shrines into places of Bhagavati worship, see my conclusion to Sect. 7.3.1 and Vēṭācalam 1989:103. – On Nīli as a multiform of Bhagavati, see *Cēntāntivākaram* 1958:7f. – Bhagavati is the predominant Hindu deity of Kerala. To cite Cardwell (1999:59, n. 1): “The term ‘Bhagavati’ generally refers in Kerala to the generic Devi. It can indicate a benevolent form of the goddess, and may even refer to Pārvati, Sarasvati, or other pleasing incarnations. The name Bhadrakāḷi, on the other hand, refers unequivocally to the goddess in her violent form. [...] The names Bhagavati, Kāḷi, Dēvi, and Bhadrakāḷi [are] used interchangeably [...]” Elsewhere (ibid:10) Cardwell states: “As Bhagavati, the goddess is conceived of as primarily benevolent and powerful, simultaneously a chaste virgin and a caring mother. She is seldom portrayed either in mythology or iconography as being the consort of any male deity, but stands on her own. [...] Bhagavati is important to Malayalis not only as a legendary protectress, but as a deity of the land. Thousands of temples dedicated to Bhagavati grace the landscape of Kerala [...]. For communities dwelling in the hills, she is the spirit of the mountains; for lowland agriculturists, she is the paddy and the earth from which it grows; for toddy-tappers, the graceful coconut palm is her form.” Caldwell (ibid.) considers the “concept of Bhagavati as permeating all living things through the energies of the soil,” and concludes that Bhagavati “is essentially life itself.”



## **Part Two: Interpreting the Text**



## 6 Notes on Major Themes in the *Icakkiamman Katai*

### 6.1 Preliminary Remarks

The major theme of the *Icakkiamman Katai* (*IK*) is the tensions between men and women and how these tensions affect their solidarity with one another. Another dominant focus of the story is the sister–brother bond, as I have attempted to show briefly in Section 4.7. It may be suggested that these two themes are reflected in the *kalḷi* and margosa plants, for a meaningful pattern can be seen to emerge from their roles in the narrative.

The dual sexuality of Icakki(-Nīli) within the bow-song tradition has been extensively discussed by Blackburn. He introduces Icakki(-Nīli) to the reader primarily as a “femme fatale” (1980:208), a type of female who uses her seductive sexuality to destroy the male, in response to prior violence by that sex against her:<sup>1</sup>

The Nīli story (as Icakki Amman) is the most widely spread of the type B goddess narratives in which a woman becomes an avenging Amman. She has come to represent the epitome of the female whose sexuality kills, and her name is used all over the Tamil country as a generic label for an [*sic*] mistrusted woman: Nīli means a “bad” woman. This femme fatale image of the goddess, however, is not restricted to Nīli: it is found in many type B narratives. In fact, it is so prominent that it is a common topic of discussion even within the tradition itself. (Blackburn 1980:208)

However, if I am to show that the issue at hand is the blocking of female fertility, we need to move away from the exclusive emphasis on sexuality and look at other elements, ones largely absent from Blackburn’s analysis cited above.<sup>2</sup> I shall deal with this in Section 6.2.

My main interest in the *IK* has been stirred by a theme that others have treated as insignificant: the bond between Icakki and her twin brother,<sup>3</sup> the importance of which has so far largely gone unrecognised.<sup>4</sup> However, I would argue that this bond is highly significant in the *IK*, for it leads to the death of the seventy Vēḷāḷas, and more importantly, to the extermination of their entire community, all hope of their biological continuity being wiped out.

Another point that I would like to highlight, again one that others have so far overlooked,<sup>5</sup> is the fact that no variants—neither those of the north (Tiruvālaṅkāṭu) nor of the south (*villuppāṭṭu*)—portray Icakki(-Nīli) as bearing a child that has been generated from a man’s seed. The contrary is the case. In all variants she is rendered with either the ontologically ambiguous *kalḷi*-turned-child (e.g. N1), or with

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<sup>1</sup> On this pattern, see also Brubaker 1978:139.

<sup>2</sup> I assume that Blackburn’s use of the term *sexuality* is based on modern Western notions. Whether Tamil culture subsumes the same set of ideas under this term is questionable.

<sup>3</sup> See also Sect. 4.7 above.

<sup>4</sup> Zvelebil (1989:300) is one exception. In a brief note, he refers to the importance of the elder brother. By contrast Blackburn (1980) treats the brother as only of marginal interest; see his synopsis of the (bow-song) story (ibid.:206–8).

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Shulman 1980:194–5. In his synopsis of the northern variant (Tiruvālaṅkāṭu) of the Nīli story, he lets the fact that the child in the womb has been generated by Nīli herself go unnoticed: “[H]e coaxed her to come with him from her parent’s home to Kanci, and on the way killed her and the child in her womb [...]” In fact, the reason for her murder was her husband’s belief that she had been unfaithful, and his consequent fear of humiliation by the community.



a child produced through self-impregnation (e.g. N7, cf. N4). This self-induced engendering leads us on to other themes, including barrenness, adultery, and the anxiety of co-wives.

It should have become clear by now that my reading of the story is based on the entire collection of the *Nīli/Icakkiamman Katalai* texts (N1-N10), which together provide the interpretive potential for the single version of the *IK* that I present here, in an edition and translation. I regard the cross-referencing between different versions as necessary for this kind of text, since the possible interpretations of themes only become fully apparent when all versions of the story have been considered in relation to each other. The distinctive meaning of certain themes, moreover, can only be tapped in the context of the ritual—for instance, the crucial themes of female fertility and biological continuity.

## 6.2 A World of Oaths and Honour, and the Anguish of Barren Women

Icakki responds directly to a wrong that has been inflicted upon her and her brother. But her claims go far beyond just this injury, a murder. The dominant feature of this reading is Icakki as a female avenger, ruled by a masculine impulse to recover, by means of her own, her personal honour and the honour of countless Tamil women. Hers is a demand for a social principle, an ethics of care. The *Icakkiamman Katalai* is a story that conveys a sympathetic attitude towards women's domestic concerns. It portrays the anguish of barren<sup>6</sup> women and their anxiety of being shunted aside by co-wives.<sup>7</sup> Icakki takes up the cause of those women whose husbands have deserted them for another.<sup>8</sup> In a cultural context where women's rights have seldom been upheld by legal sanction, and where until 1955 it was acceptable for men to marry more than one wife, stories like this have a special poignancy for women unable to control their domestic fate.

Let us now turn to the events of the story. To succeed in accusing the Ceṭṭi of adultery and neglect, Icakki has chosen a daring disguise: that of an enticing Ceṭṭi wife. She masquerades thus, and the Karaiyāḷars/Vēḷāḷas, the elders of the village, despite their wisdom, are duped. Icakki ensnares them with many cunning words, her speech being full of calculated deceit. She has her curse and the *kaḷḷi* plant-turned-baby going for her. She claims to be the Ceṭṭi's legitimate wife and persuades the

<sup>6</sup> O'Flaherty (1973:178) terms *barrenness* “the female counterpart of [...] castration [...]”

<sup>7</sup> I use the term *polygyny* to denote the privilege enjoyed by men of marrying more than one wife. One classic portrayal of polygyny in Tamil literature is the *Civakacintāmaṇi*, a *kāppiyam* (tenth century?; see Zvelebil 1995:169) that tells the life of Cīvakaṇ, who married eight women. Kohli (2000:185) remarks that “Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 12.11 is the first authoritative reference to polygamy [i.e. polygyny].” Though polygyny is now prohibited by law, in Tamilnadu it is still practised. – While I agree with Madhavan 2002 that “women's experiences with polygyny can only be understood within particular sociocultural and personal contexts” (ibid.:69), a cross-cultural perspective can be confirmative of what Kohli (2000:189) cites relating to India, namely that “[p]olygamy [...] leads to constant frictions.” For cases of the disapproval felt by co-wives for having to share resources, see Meekers and Franklin 1995, where polygyny is examined from the woman's viewpoint in an African context. Interestingly, their data show that “women who had been in polygynous unions and those who had never been in a polygynous union have similar opinions regarding polygyny” (ibid.:319). Yet there seems to be a group of women who consider polygyny to be a gain, for “it allow[s] them to share the burden of an unsatisfactory marriage with another woman” (ibid.:321) or else to share their work load. According to Madhavan 2002:70, “[t]he relative force of competition or collaboration among co-wives depends on factors such as cultural attitudes about self-assertion versus consensus, sexual jealousy, reproductive competition, individual personalities, and life circumstances.” Madhavan who, like Meekers and Franklin, was doing research in an African context (where childbearing is equally as important for a woman's status as in India), confirms that co-wives “become competitive once there is talk of childbirth, desires for children, and one's sex life” (2002:72). According to M. Farell (“Measuring Maternity,” in V. Miner and H.E. Longino [eds.], *Competition: A Feminist Taboo?* New York, 1987, 141–51), as cited by Madhavan (2002:72), “the conflict that arises between women is rooted in a competition for maternal recognition.”

<sup>8</sup> See N1.2021-2: “Because of the love-potion of that Mūtevi, that misfortune-bringing (other) woman—only because of that did (my) previous fury not disappear.” – The theme of polygyny and the problems it generates for the multiple wives is taken up in various genres, among them in *kāppiyam* literature (see *Cilappatikāram* and *Civakacintāmaṇi*), and also in *pirapantam* literature, e.g. in the *Kurukūrpallu* (alias *Parāṅkucappallu*) of Caṭākōpappulavar (ca. 1700; see Zvelebil 1995:385), a work belonging to the *pallu* genre, in which the senior *palli* accuses “her co-wife of having administered a potion prepared according to the rules of black magic to keep the *paḷḷaṅ* under her thumb” (A.V. Subramanian 1993:284). For an example of the treatment of polygyny in Nevar rice plantation songs in Nepal, see Lienhard's (1984:56f., No. 59) collection of such songs.

Karaiyāḷars that her identity has been destroyed and that she has been deprived of honour.<sup>9</sup> She plays the part of a suffering wife so convincingly that the Karaiyāḷars take up her case. When we listen to Icakki defending herself in front of the Karaiyāḷars, we hear only non-sexual motives. She defines the injury that has angered her not in terms of an unfulfilled sexual life, but rather of the Ceṭṭi having broken his oath of alliance,<sup>10</sup> an oath involving an ethics of care. Marriage, it may be suggested, does not matter here for reasons of pleasure, but because of the resulting maternity, which endows a woman with the status of the lady of the house.<sup>11</sup> The point is not that the husband enjoys another woman, but that by taking a co-wife, he simultaneously enters a new kin group, within which new heirs will be spawned. This would seem to hold equally for adultery, since adultery leads to the wife being deserted. It ends cohabitation, and so reduces the chances of bearing a child to null.<sup>12</sup> The husband, then, does not allow his wife to be a woman who is “fully female.”<sup>13</sup> This is Icakki’s version of her anger. However, this accusation goes somewhat further. It denounces the husband for being not only an enemy of his wife and of their common household, but an enemy of the Tamil social order as well.

The taking of oaths, it may be suggested, is fundamental to the maintenance of order, yet breaking them carries no secular penalty, because such promises are religious acts, not legal ones. Oaths thus are of cosmic concern. In Tamil society, respecting oaths is considered primarily a manly virtue. The seventy Karaiyāḷars/Vēḷāḷas (landowning peasant-farmers) who kept their word stand for this virtue.<sup>14</sup> They stand in stark contrast to the Ceṭṭi (merchant), who is accused of having wilfully betrayed his oath to honour his wife by making her the mother of his children. Breaking this oath moves the woman who wished to become a mother to extreme rage, with devastating consequences.

Icakki could simply have killed the Ceṭṭi, but her real desire is for carefully designed revenge. The Ceṭṭi asked her to kill him quickly, but she prefers a slow, refined death. She creates an atmosphere of intimacy by singing a lullaby full of double entendre, thus lulling the Ceṭṭi into a deep sleep. In her subsequent murder of the Ceṭṭi and her planting of the *kaḷḷi* plant (the punitive agent, which set in motion the forest’s curse) into his chest,<sup>15</sup> she enacts, I propose, an inverse sexual union, an act “opposite [to] normal, life-producing, sexual intercourse,”<sup>16</sup> and performs a ceremonial esoteric exchange: the *kaḷḷi* plant (with all its connotations)<sup>17</sup> for the child that was denied to her. Against this backdrop it is not surprising that a woman in Tamil society should be forced to take measures to engender offspring herself, fertilise herself by a miraculous transfer process (explicit in N4), and impregnate herself by magical means, as in the case of Aṅṅatāṭci in N7 (see Section 2.4). The dilemma for a Tamil woman, to whom fertility and mothering is of paramount importance,<sup>18</sup> becomes very clear. It is thus not surprising that in some versions Icakki, after killing the Ceṭṭi, flies away with her brother to escape from a society that tolerates polygynists and adulterers, men who deny their wives’ legitimate

<sup>9</sup> See N1.2034: “I become the object of public ridicule.”

<sup>10</sup> For the connection between oaths and the right hand, and Icakki’s iconographically depicted erect right hand as challenging those who have wilfully betrayed their oaths, see Sect. 7.6.

<sup>11</sup> See N1.2037-8: “If he who married me by tying the *tāli* ruins [our] married state, who else will give me that status?”

<sup>12</sup> On adultery and the desertion of wives in the Indian context, see Kohli 2000. The author, referring to a ruling by the Supreme Court, points out that abandonment signifies “the intention to bring cohabitation permanently to an end” (ibid.:406).

<sup>13</sup> The expression, coined on the basis of Tamil beliefs, is Blackburn’s (1980:213). Cf. Hart (1999:165), who points out this conception in early Caṅkam poetry: “[T]he fulfillment of the wife comes when she is impregnated and conceives.”

<sup>14</sup> I propose a link between the Vēḷāḷas’ moral obligation (righteousness), seemingly a superior male virtue among the peasantry, and the superior female virtue of modesty (*kaṟpu*). Honour and faithfulness to oaths fall under the Tamil concept of *nāṇ* (sense of honour), which includes a person’s “self-control, dignified behaviour, firmness of mind, fulfilling commitments, living up to social expectations” (Hardy 1988:130). On this norm, see also Kailasapathy 1968:87–93.

<sup>15</sup> On the equation of the chest with the heart, see Beck (1979:32), who points to the heart as “[...] the center of suffering. [...] Falseness and deception also issue from this important organ. [...] It is also a secret place.”

<sup>16</sup> The expression is Marglin’s (1985:237), descriptive of the goddess Kālī.

<sup>17</sup> The *kaḷḷi* plant is the ontologically ambiguous child, the embodiment of a curse, the witness to a murder, and, in brief, the exteriorised expression of an angry and violent relationship.

<sup>18</sup> Note that it is customary for Tamil landowning communities to associate women “with the fertility of the soil” (Rao 1986:143).

claims of fertility, this being an aspect of womanhood that a Tamil woman must lay claim to if she is to enjoy her rightful status and recognition. Indeed, it is not a husband whom the disguised Icakki is seeking, but a man who will bring a woman the honour and status of maternity, and who will appreciate her for this.

It is in the light of these themes that we also must gauge the extent of the loss of her brother. The brother's role has been protection, empathy, and caring. These things have been denied by the husband who has deserted his wife. Their absence provides the stimulus for further action carried out in rage: she now wants to kill the Karaiyāḷars, too, for they are responsible for her brother's death. This theme will be taken up in the following section.

### 6.3 The Sister–Brother Bond and the Case of Retaliation

The importance of the sister–brother bond in the southern Indian kinship and marriage system<sup>19</sup> has been explored by various scholars, prominent among them being Peterson (1988),<sup>20</sup> Trawick (1990a:170ff.),<sup>21</sup> and, with respect to sister–brother incest in Tamil folk tales, also more recently Blackburn<sup>22</sup> (2001).

The significance of the bond between sister and brother in the *IK* has not yet received the attention it deserves.<sup>23</sup> In this section I make good this omission. I shall demonstrate that this bond is indeed a crucial one, for it sets in motion events that lead to the death of the seventy Vēḷāḷas, and even more relevantly, to the extinction of their entire community. I consider questionable the prevailing scholarly opinion of the Vēḷāḷas' death as being simply the aftereffect of their misjudgement, which led to the Ceṭṭi's death. Interpretations like this, in my opinion, could only apply to versions that depict the brother as unimportant, such as those of the northern line. There the forest scene is missing (see Section 2.4, N7)—and hence the logical inner link between the death of the *pēy* Nīlaṅ resulting from the Vēḷāḷas' felling a tree and his twin sister's (Nīli's) decision to pay back the Vēḷāḷas for this deed. Only against the backdrop of this missing scene, in my opinion, does the resurrection of the Vēḷāḷas by Śiva after they have entered the fire, and Śiva's pronouncement that Nīli(-Icakki)'s action against the Vēḷāḷas was not justified, become comprehensible.

Whereas the sister–brother bond is not a theme in the northern versions, the prominence it receives in the southern ones is made all the more explicit by the introduction of the devadāsī figure. This new character embodies two concepts: the devadāsī system on the one hand and the matrilineal marriage system (*marumakkattāyam*)<sup>24</sup> on the other. The sister–brother bond is of great significance in both systems. A study of the main characteristics of these two systems, then, is a worthwhile inquiry.

<sup>19</sup> See also Sect. 7.2.1.

<sup>20</sup> Blackburn (2001:290) refers to Peterson 1988:25–52, in *South Asian Social Scientist* 4 (1), an issue of the journal I unfortunately was unable to access.

<sup>21</sup> Trawick (1990a), in the chapter titled “The Bond between Brother and Sister Is Strong But Must Be Denied,” concurs with Peterson: “As Peterson observes, the brother–sister bond is ‘the central focus of the south Indian kinship system and marriage and no doubt influences the sister’s self-image and the brother’s image of the sister at all levels of the psyche’” (173).

<sup>22</sup> Blackburn (2001:289) is in agreement with Trawick (1990a) and Karin Kapadia (*Siva and her Sisters: Gender, Caste, and Class in Rural South India*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1995) that “cross-cousin marriage is a continuation of the powerful brother-sister bond in Tamil culture.” Some of his collected folk tales (such as the version of AT 450) support this argument.

<sup>23</sup> The strong sister–brother relationship in the *IK* comes to the fore in the episodes where 1) the brother dies in anguish over his sister's murder by the Brahmin lover, 2) the siblings are reborn as the twins Nīli and Nīlaṅ, 3) the sister and brother ascend to heaven in the brother's chariot after the sister has killed her lover of the previous birth. – Cf. the *pūtam* (Skt. *bhūta*) pairs of Tulunadu (in southern Kanara district) whose “relationship is that of elder brother – younger sister” (Nichter 1977:141). Nichter remarks that “[t]his relationship expresses an ideal of closeness which must be understood in light of the matrilineal kinship system prevalent in the district [...]” (ibid.:141).

<sup>24</sup> *Marumakkattāyam* is a “system of inheritance by which a man's sister's sons become heirs to his property instead of his sons” (TL:3095, s.v.). In other words, under this system sons inherit property from their mother's brothers rather than from their fathers. Neither the passing on of property directly from mother to daughter nor a female head of the household is necessarily implied by the matrilineal system.

Drawing on details provided by several scholars, I shall briefly describe their most basic elements.

I first quote Marglin (1990:215f.) with reference to the devadāsī system in Puri (Orissa), which differs from the devadāsīs' customs portrayed in the *IK* only insofar as it seems not to harbour any notion that devadāsīs are meant to conceive children:

[Devadāsīs are ...] married to the deity [...]. They should never marry a mortal man and raise a family, as other women do. [...] The *devadasis* are also known as courtesans or prostitutes [...], reflecting the fact that the *devadasis* are not chaste. [...] [T]hey were supported by land grants to the temple and lived in their own homes along with their mothers, sisters, brothers, brother's wives, and children, and their own adopted daughters [...]. They also were not supposed to have children [...] and they adopted their brothers' daughters [...].

Within the devadāsī system, then, brothers and daughters<sup>25</sup> are considered to be the primary persons in the kin nucleus.

How is the sister–brother relationship shaped in the matrilineal system? Referring to this system in the Kerala context, Caldwell (1999:196) writes:

This social system led to unusually strong ties between brothers and sisters, who resided together and made many joint decisions: husbands meanwhile lived in the households of their own sisters. The role of the father[/husband] was negligible from a social standpoint; in every respect except procreation, her brother was the more important partner in a woman's life.

Brothers are, however, not only important in the two systems described above. They rate high for Tamil women in general. This is clearly mirrored in women's rituals. Valli, a woman of the Veḷāḷa community in Pāḷaiyamkōṭṭai, in whose house I stayed, told me about the Auvaiyār *nōṅpu*, a protection ritual performed by women for their brothers, in secret, with no men present. Sons and husbands are not allowed to hear the story that is told in connection with it. Trawick (1990a:174) mentions this story. I cite her synopsis and comments:

Auvaiyār was an unmarried woman poet of the Sangam era, celebrated for her didactic verse. In the story, Auvaiyār teaches a younger woman to bring posterity to her seven brothers "by ritually eating substances and objects symbolic of death and evil omen. She helps the brothers get married and herself marries a king. When the brothers are once again struck by poverty because of their wives' negligent behavior, the sister intervenes, teaches the *nōṅpu* to her sisters-in-law, and restores them to their prosperous condition." Here the priority of the brother-sister bond over the husband-wife bond is clear. Also evident is a tension between [...] sisters-in-law, sister and wife of the same man.

This story offers some insight into the sense of protection and tenderness inherent in the sister–brother bond.

Beck (1986:98) underscores these same characteristics of the sister–brother bond in her study of folk tales:

Forty percent of these [folk] stories (144 of 360) give prominence to sister–brother bonds [...]. Tender concern and protection is a major component of brother/sister relationships in these folktales.

It is thus clear that the sister–brother relationship is a highly relevant piece of the social fabric.<sup>26</sup> In a system where sisters and brothers are never separated and are considered to be the family nucleus, intimacy between them is great.<sup>27</sup> They share property and food, and spend a great deal of time together.

<sup>25</sup> The value of a female child within the devadāsī system is well demonstrated at the beginning of the N1 version of the *IK*, where the childless Sivakāmi asks for a daughter in order to have an heir. See also my note in the translation of N1.188-9 (Sect. 5.4).

<sup>26</sup> The importance of brothers can be seen in other cultures as well: Index No. P253.3: "Brother chosen rather than husband or son. Only one can be saved; he [the brother] alone is irreplaceable" (Thompson 1975, Vol 5:159); Aly 1921:109; see also Vielhauer 1979:19 regarding Sophocles's Greek tragedy *Antigone* and Herodot.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Trawick (1990a), who points out the "intense attachment between brother and sister" (172) and that "the first erotic partnership is formed with a sibling" (170); also *ibid.*:187: "[B]rother and sister share a womb, and share a home"; "the sibling bond is primordial. It comes before any bond with an outsider."

But regardless of the level of intimacy, brothers and sisters are not thrust into the intimate sexual contact required by a marriage. There are ways for them to maintain their distance, and to reduce vulnerability and intrusion. Thus it is not surprising that emphasis is put on the bond between brother and sister at the expense of the husband–wife relationship, which is seen from the beginning as a conflict-laden bond<sup>28</sup> based on money (see *IK*, N9.61<sup>29</sup>).<sup>30</sup>

After this brief excursus I turn to the events of the story. I shall seek to underpin my main argument that the brother is a major part of the entire retaliatory process, an argument supported by the fact that the story ends with the reunion of the twin siblings<sup>31</sup> (see Section 4.7). I strongly argue that the *IK* primarily focuses upon the retaliation for the twin brother’s murder. The murder of the Ceṭṭi must, in the first place, be considered to be an instrumental part of a strategy for taking vengeance on the Vēlāḷas/Karaiyāḷars who were responsible for the twin brother’s death (see N10.172a, N8.59ab, N2.97d). Only in the second place should the Ceṭṭi’s death be regarded as a retaliatory act for Nīli-Icakki’s own violent death. Ziegenbalg’s retelling (1711) of the *Nīli Nāṭakam* offers explicit support for my thesis:

Alsdann nimmt sie ihre vorige Teufelsgestalt an, und spricht: Ich habe nicht in willens gehabt, dich zu tödten, du bist ein schöner und schicklicher Mensch, aber ümb meines Bruders Todt an den 70 *Wellaren* zu rächen, tödte ich dich anietzo. Darauf tödtet sie ihn und verschwindet. (See above, Chapter 3, No. 17).

Then she takes her previous form of a *pēy* (demoness) and says, “I had no intention of killing you. You are a beautiful and handsome person. But in order to take revenge on the seventy Vēlāḷas who caused my brother’s death, I now shall kill you.” Then she kills him and disappears. (My translation)

I shall go into this important utterance of Nīli-Icakki in somewhat greater detail by providing a brief interpretation of the relationship of sister and brother in their second birth. In their second birth the sister and brother share one and the same identity, as reflected by the names Nīli (f) and Nīlaṅ (m).<sup>32</sup> There is an underlying peculiarity in the *IK*: the two beings of the first birth become one in their second birth, and this presumably single being again splits into two. It is with the felling of the margosa tree, the twin siblings’ abode, that the intimate interweaving of female and male identity—mirroring the complementary aspects of the cosmos—is destroyed. A brother and sister, who were an integral part of each other are brutally separated. It stands to reason that this must have grave consequences.

Writing of a South American context, Alès (2000:136) states: “The objective goal of revenge is to inflict at least an equivalent pain or amount of suffering [...] on the adversary. This is a principle that applies equally to all types of retaliatory situations [...]” The *IK* is true to this principle. Icakki is enraged because her brother has been killed. To ease her loss, she takes action that is proportionate to the offence. She continues with her retribution until she feels that she is free of rage. One may gauge the degree of social bondedness between persons by the means and severity of retaliation used in such situations. In the case of the devadāsī murder, it is an equivalent tit for tat; the murder of Icakki’s twin brother, however, is avenged by the death of seventy Vēlāḷas/Karaiyāḷars, including women and children. Only in this way can the sister’s fury be stilled. Tamils can be described as a very affectionate and sensitive people, deeply attached to those who are close to them.<sup>33</sup> In a society that encourages

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Trawick 1990a:178ff.

<sup>29</sup> Version N9.61 states: “Only money is a husband.”

<sup>30</sup> The husband–wife relationship among Tamils is fraught with emotional uncertainty, for marriages are arranged and require a dowry; see also Trawick 1990a:182.

<sup>31</sup> For similar concepts in cross-cultural contexts, see Diduk 2001. Of African Kedjom society Diduk writes: “The surviving sibling longs to be with his or her departed twin” (ibid.:33).

<sup>32</sup> A similar shared identity between twin sister and brother is that between Yamī and Yama; see Ṛgveda 10.10.7, 9, 11 (Grassmann 1877:297). Concerning demons, Reiniche (1975 [Purusharta 2]:183) notes that they often have a female counterpart; in the case of Madan it is Madatti. What is striking is that this counterpart is not a wife but a sister. For further remarks on sister–brother *pūtām* (demon) pairs, see Nichter (1977:141).

<sup>33</sup> See Trawick 1990a and 1990b.

strong passions and feelings, an excess of *aṅṅu* (love) and *pācam* (attachment) is necessarily inseparable from the diametrically opposite excess of rage and violence that ensues when one's kinfolk are assaulted. Herein lies the explanation for the severity of retaliation involved.<sup>34</sup>

The retaliatory pattern can be viewed from still another angle, namely the significance that numbers have in India. In certain religious popular beliefs of the southern Indian Irulars, the number seven does not express single individual entities, but a totality.<sup>35</sup> By looking at the *IK* in terms of such religious beliefs, the number seventy, the number of *Vēḷāḷas*/*Karaiyāḷars* who die, becomes meaningful. One may infer that the number seventy expresses not so much single individuals, but rather the totality of a social group. Following up my earlier line of argumentation, this strongly suggests that the retaliatory action taken against the seventy *Karaiyāḷars* is indeed proportionate to the destruction of the “mystical two-in-one quality”<sup>36</sup> of the sister–brother bond. Each, the seventy *Karaiyāḷars* and the sister–brother twins, is perceived as a single unit.

## 6.4 Humans and Plants

The special significance of plants in the life of Tamils, documented as far back as the *Caṅkam* age, has been pointed out by Hart (1999) and Vacek and Knotková-Čapková (1999). Not unexpectedly, then, plants are assigned a similarly distinctive role in the *IK* and in the *koṭai* ritual we are discussing here. Indeed, in the *IK* we find a close identification being made between humans and plants. Plants are anthropomorphised. The margosa tree, for instance, is portrayed as the home<sup>37</sup> of *Nīli* and *Nīlaṅ*, the *pēy* twins. When the tree is felled, *Nīlaṅ* in effect loses his home<sup>38</sup> (N1, N2, N8, N10), and in some versions, even worse, is bodily injured<sup>39</sup> (N5, N6, N9). Evidence relating to this and similar ideas is provided by Coomaraswamy (1993) in his work on *yakṣas*. Referring to ancient thought, the author remarks:

[A]ny designated tree [can] be regarded as the visible form of its indwelling *yakṣa*, who may or may not upon occasion also assume another and human form within or beside the Tree itself. [...] The Tree itself [...] is the likeness of the *yakṣa*, and honour paid to it is honour paid to the *yakṣa* (11) [...] God and men alike are trees (12).

<sup>34</sup> Her response is similar to that of *Kaṅṅaki* in the *Cilappatikāram*.

<sup>35</sup> See Kulke 1970:56, n. 61: “Bolle kommt in einer Arbeit: ‘Die Göttin und die Ritualbewegung’, in: Antaios, 1962, S. 272ff., in der er sich auf ethnologisches Material von den südindischen Irulars stützt, zu dem Schluß: ‘Die Zahl sieben drückt dabei [bei den ‘Saptakanyās’ genannten Göttinnen] nicht so sehr einzeln unterscheidbare Persönlichkeiten aus, als vielmehr die Gesamtheit göttlicher Präsenz’” (the brackets are the author’s).

<sup>36</sup> This expression is Masquelier’s (2001:47). Cf. Nichter (1977:141), who points out the “androgynous status” of *pūtam*/*bhūtas* in Tulu Nadu (southern Kanara district).

<sup>37</sup> The belief that *vēmpu* (margosa; Hi. *nīm*) trees are inhabited by deities can already be found in the *Caṅkam* period, as attested in *Akanānūru* 309.4; see Dvořák 1999:55. In the *IK*, the margosa tree assumes the features of a self-sufficient cosmos that nourishes its inhabitants well (cf. Section 6.3, p. 226, where I characterise the tree as a cosmos with both female and male aspects to it).

<sup>38</sup> The versions which offer this particular view of the tree as being rather an abode (than a body) are nevertheless very clear in regarding the felling of the tree as the primary cause of the death of the *pēy*. It is ostensibly because the *pēy* is deprived of his home that he angrily attacks the first person he comes across, who unfortunately is the *pūjārī* of the forest deity *Cāstā*. The latter, coming to the *pūjārī*’s aid, orders the attacker to be killed by *Kuṅṅōtarāṅ*. See Appendix B, Topic 2. – Note that the tree spirits depicted in these versions dwell in trees, but are not confined to trees.

<sup>39</sup> In the versions in which *Nīlaṅ*’s leg is severed when the tree is felled (see Appendix B, Topic 2), the relationship between *Nīlaṅ* and the tree is apparently very close; indeed the tree can be viewed as the *pēy*’s body. Compare the tale of *Brahmadatta*, king of Banaras, which relates the felling of a tree. When the tree’s deity hears about this plan, he remarks that he will be destroyed when his home is destroyed; see *Bhaddasāla Jātaka* (No. 465) in *Jātaka*, Vol. 4, 144ff., especially 153ff. (tr. Cowell 1901 [Vol. 4]:91ff., especially 97). In these *Jātaka gāthās* (note that the *Jātaka* verses were generally adopted from non-Buddhist sources; see Hinüber 1998:190f.) the tree deity calls the tree his body (Schmithausen 1991:15). On trees as having all five senses: *śrotra*, *ghrāṇa*, *rasa*, *sparśa*, *dṛṣṭi*, “hearing, smell, taste, touch, look,” see the *Mokṣadharmā*, *Mahābhārata* (12.177.10-17 in the Poona critical edition, 1971ff.; tr. Deussen 1922:151f.); also *Manusmṛiti* 1.49 (ed. Olivelle 2006:391; tr. 89): *antaḥsamjñā bhavantyete sukhaduḥkhasamanvitāḥ*, “[the seed plants] come into being with inner awareness, able to feel pleasure and pain.”

I offer a second example from the *IK* that expresses this crucially important close identification even more clearly: the *kaḷḷi* plant. The *kaḷḷi* plant (*Euphorbia tirucalli*),<sup>40</sup> a thorny milkweed-like plant related to the spurges,<sup>41</sup> is supernaturally turned into a child by Icakki as part of her strategy of revenge. In the lullaby sung by Icakki prior to her murder of the Ceṭṭi, the *kaḷḷi* plant is imagined as a baby boy (N1.2052ff.):

Are you a [true] son, as (beautiful) as a statue, or are you offspring born to the *kaḷḷi* plant? (2052)  
 Are you green? Does your body drip milk? (2055)  
 You aren't a boy with roots, are you? (2057)  
 You have milk, you have cooked rice (2068).  
 Sleep, my darling boy! (2073)

These lines, full of double meaning, are illustrative, I think, of a basic cultural understanding of the relation between plants, humans, and supernatural beings, namely one in which each is continuously transforming into the other.

In the Caṅkam work titled *Puraṇānūru*, a *kaḷḷi* plant is inhabited by a deity (*kaḷḷi nīḷar kaṭavuḷ vāḷtti*; *Pura* 260.5; ed. U.V.C., p. 434) and referred to as growing in the dry *pālai* wasteland and on cremation grounds (*Pura* 245.3; 356.1). This close connection of the *kaḷḷi* (milkweed-like) plant with infertility and death is expressed in the Nīli story as well. N7, the version of the northern branch in which the murdered woman is a pregnant wife, is most explicit in its depiction of the *kaḷḷi* plant as an abode for unborn life. N7.274-5; 279-81 tells of how the brother, upon finding his murdered pregnant sister (in the *kāṭu* wilderness), tears open her womb and throws the unborn child onto a nearby *kaḷḷi* plant, which becomes its temporary dwelling up until the time of revenge.<sup>42</sup>

The fact that the *kaḷḷi* plant becomes a weapon of revenge suggests that this bristly plant is not only intimately connected with children and pregnant (N7) or virginal women (N1) (who died untimely deaths), but also with women's socio-juridical concerns. How these concerns are revealed to us in the structure of the text may be set forth as follows:

1. The *kaḷḷi* plant in the forest: a passive witness<sup>43</sup> to a murder – socio-juridical concerns (*puram*)
2. The *kaḷḷi*-turned-child in Icakki's arms: an emblem of motherhood and a means of revenge – domestic concerns (*akam*)
3. The *kaḷḷi*-turned-child climbs onto the lap of the Ceṭṭi: a confirmation of fatherhood – domestic concerns (*akam*)
4. The *kaḷḷi* on the chest of the killed Ceṭṭi: an emblem of justice done – socio-juridical concerns (*puram*)

The figurative significance of plants, to be sure, is not confined within the borders of India. This applies in particular to the milkweed-like plant, which occupies an important place, for instance, in the ritual practices of the Ndembu of Zambia, as reported in Hicks 1999:183. It is interesting that the concepts embedded in the *IK* find ample support in cross-cultural contexts and that Victor Turner's analysis<sup>44</sup> manages to capture one important aspect of the meaning similarly inherent in the *kaḷḷi* plant of the *IK*, namely its connection with motherhood.

<sup>40</sup> On the *kaḷḷi* plant in early Tamil poetry, see Dubianski 2000:141, 173.

<sup>41</sup> A *kaḷḷi* plant grows both in arid and wet regions.

<sup>42</sup> See also Sect. 5.4, footnote to N1.1429. – *Kāṭu* and *pālai* are often used interchangeably to designate the same type of wilderness.

<sup>43</sup> Shrubs and trees in literature to serve as witnesses is not uncommon; see, for instance, Zvelebil 1995:700, *Tiruvilaiyāṭarapurāṇam* s.v., where, with reference to the sixty-fourth sport of Śiva, a tree is said to do just that.

<sup>44</sup> See Hicks (1999) who quotes V.W. Turner: “[A] milky white sap oozes out [from the *mudyi* tree]. For the Ndembu [of Zambia], this sap is the tree's most important physical property, and on it they base an everwidening network of symbols. [...] The sap's immediate referent is human milk, which itself symbolizes the female breast from which the milk flows. The breast in turn symbolizes the suckling of infants, which symbolizes the mother-child bond. The mother-child bond symbolizes the family, a social group basic to Ndembu society, and the family, finally, symbolizes the whole of Ndembu society” (183).

To conclude this section I delineate the *IK*'s structure of plants and humans. Two categories, (a) human beings (male and female) and (b) plants (margosa and *kaḷḷi*), interact, each figuring as a pole in a series of binary oppositions. The analogies are as follows:

Men : Women :: Plants : Plants

Ceṭṭi : Icakki :: margosa leaf (cooling)<sup>45</sup> : *kaḷḷi* plant (bristly)

Men : Plants :: Women : Plants

Ceṭṭi : margosa (protective weapon)<sup>46</sup> :: Icakki : *kaḷḷi* (passive witness, child [instrument of revenge], emblem of justice)

The story with the Ceṭṭi ends as follows:

Men : Plants :: Women : Men

The dead Ceṭṭi : *kaḷḷi* :: Icakki : her brother

What do these dichotomies mean? It seems that a social and juridical principle is being adumbrated. An ethics of care (the “promise of non-violence,”<sup>47</sup> nourishment) and justice<sup>48</sup> for women and children is being formulated around the margosa and *kaḷḷi* plants, respectively. The *kaḷḷi* as a metonymic embodiment of infertility, abandonment, and injustice is probably best expressed in a line of the lullaby found in N1.2058-9: “You [*kaḷḷi*] stood as a new guard for humanity in this world.” As seen in the parallel reading of version N8, the demand for justice is a major theme. There Icakki complains that the king (*araṇmaṇaiyār*) did not investigate her real-life murder case (N8.29a.943)—seemingly a failure of the sovereign, the holder of the *daṇḍa*. The final word, however, is reserved for Pārvatī, who with an all-seeing eye decides, in the northern N7 version: “Nobody took care of Anṇatāṭci [Nīli]. I shall take revenge for her.”

To summarise the role of plants in the *IK*: I argue that the two plants, the *vēmpu* (margosa) and *kaḷḷi* (milkweed-like plant), are intimately associated with the overall tragic mood of the story and the human cosmos it describes. Both plants become the dwelling place of those who have died a premature, violent death: the angry and hungry spirits.<sup>49</sup> They would seem to temper these spirits' hot character<sup>50</sup> (protecting them from themselves) and to nourish their existence. More particularly, the *kaḷḷi* plant appears to be reserved for the unborn (as a marker of infertility and the tension between men and women), while the margosa tree's intimate interweaving of female and male identity (a wholeness of self and cosmos) brings the tree-like fertility of the brother and sister into sharp focus.

<sup>45</sup> Hildebeitel 1991:72.

<sup>46</sup> For the effect of margosa leaves, see Syed 1990:374: “Die [Margosa-]Blätter werden in einem Zauber verwendet, um Feinden zu schaden. [...] Gleichzeitig haben [die ...] Blätter magische Abwehrkraft.” See also Sect. 5.4, N1.957-8 above.

<sup>47</sup> I quote Tambiah (1990:100) who refers to Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice*.

<sup>48</sup> For an interesting discussion of this issue, see P.A. Meyers, “The ‘Ethics of Care’ and the Problem of Power,” *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 6(2): 142–70, 1998; L. Cannold et al., “What Is the Justice-Care Debate Really About?,” *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* 20: 357–77, 1995; O. Flanagan and K. Jackson, “Justice, Care, and Gender: The Kohlberg-Gilligan Debate Revisited,” *Ethics* 97: 622–37, 1987; S.M. Okin, “Reason and Feeling in Thinking about Justice,” *Ethics* 99: 229–49, 1989.

<sup>49</sup> The margosa tree is the abode of hungry spirits who have died an untimely death, in general, and the home of Icakki's brother, in particular. The *kaḷḷi* plant is the abode of the unborn child and the witness to the murder of (depending on the version) a pregnant woman or a virgin.

<sup>50</sup> The demons' attraction to the margosa tree may be explained by the cooling effect it has on their hot character. For the effect of margosa leaves, see Syed 1990: “Im alten Indien galt der *nimba* [margosa] zum einen als zu meidender Baum, dessen Holz etc. man im Opfer nicht verwenden durfte, zum anderen galt er als heilkräftig und negative Kräfte bannend” (377).



## 6.5 The Question of Fate

The role that fate plays in the *IK* needs to be briefly addressed. The story makes it clear that the Ceṭṭi runs blindly towards his preordained end. He has sought his own death. Not only he but also all other men in the *IK* bring about their own destruction. Āṇantaṅ Ceṭṭi has an appointment, as it were, with Icakki, his death. There have been enough signs and bad omens warning the Ceṭṭi not to go to the forest of Paḷakai, but his own fate and the demands of the story lead him there. However, the story allows him the freedom of choice till the very end. His lack of knowledge of his past crime is his true tragedy. The Ceṭṭi, as seen in all the left-hand caste stories, is completely passive,<sup>51</sup> probably because he senses that his fate awaits him and will impel him (N8.794/N6.336-7) onto a path of no return. When he begins his ‘final’ journey, Āṇantaṅ Ceṭṭi has already been told by the gecko that Nīli awaits his arrival in order to exact her revenge. Āṇantaṅ Ceṭṭi is prepared:

“[...] the astrologer predicted that you would be killed by a very bad female demon. Don’t ever ignore the powerful margosa leaves on [your] mountain-strong, gem-studded chest! (N1.951, 954-8) The result of an evil deed [done] by sorcery awaits you. Icakki is waiting to kill you. You will be killed,” (the gecko) is saying. “She will claim with certainty that you are her (dear) husband.” (N1.1027-30)

Yet, as stated in N2.746/N6.336-7/N8.794, “[his] previous ill fate put its hand on the back of his neck and pushed him.” He is driven from within to meet the fate that comes from without. Murder will out.<sup>52</sup> There is a price to pay for his past, yet he is burdened with a loss of memory. He is helplessly exposed to the allegations of Icakki(-Nīli). In N12 he pleads with her, “Speak out at this critical moment the serious lapse I am guilty of!”<sup>53</sup> He obviously desires to know the past, but is incapable of remembering it (“you stand [there], having forgotten all of the past,” Icakki says; N10.83c). His inability to remember his previous self is mirrored in his failure to recognise Icakki when she appears in divine form in front of him in her first *alaṅkāram* (N1.1039, 1096ff.).<sup>54</sup> Insistently, she asks him twice, “When you see (me)—don’t you recognise this woman?” (N1.1128-9). He fails to do so, and therefore has to die. The question remains open whether the Ceṭṭi could have escaped death had he entered into a true dialogue with Icakki and come to recognise her. Since such a turn of events would have circumvented the role of fate, which so clearly is a central driving force behind the Ceṭṭi’s reaction, the answer is probably negative.

Here we touch on a second aspect of the question of fate: the Ceṭṭi’s refusal to accept responsibility. When the *kallī*-turned-child—the eyewitness to his crime—climbs onto his lap, he pushes it away as if to push his past away. He does not ask himself whether some forgotten facet of himself exists within him.<sup>55</sup> Instead, he clings to his lost memory.<sup>56</sup> He shuts the past out of his life—ignores and negates it. In order to escape from it, he plunges into a fit in front of the Karaiyāḷars. In a panic, he rolls on the ground in search of a mental refuge, but is unable to find any. This illustrates nicely what O’Flaherty in her work *Dreams, Illusion and Other Realities* has pointed out, namely:

[I]f one cannot feel responsibility for what one has done in a previous life because one cannot remember that life [...], one cannot feel the justice in being punished for a crime that someone else did (the [...] previous self, lost to one’s present memory). One can be *told* about it [...], but that is something else [...].<sup>57</sup>

<sup>51</sup> On men’s passiveness in left-hand epics, see Sect. 7.2, last paragraph, below.

<sup>52</sup> On this ballad theme (N271, “Murder will out”), see Atkinson 1999:1.

<sup>53</sup> Subramaniam (English/Tamil edition of the *Nīli Yaṭcākāṇam*) 1996:154, first two lines.

<sup>54</sup> For a deeper treatment of recognition, memory, and forgetting, see Shulman 1998:309ff.

<sup>55</sup> For a deeper treatment of self-recognition and the fragmented self, see Shulman 2001:146f.

<sup>56</sup> It seems that here “[f]orgetfulness is [...] an act,” to borrow Merleau-Ponty’s (1962:162) expression.

<sup>57</sup> O’Flaherty 1984:224.

## **Part Three: The Living Ritual Context**



## 7 A Living Tradition: An Introduction to the Context of the *Icakkiamman Katai*

### 7.1 The Goddess's *nāṭu*

Kaṇṇiyākumari and Tirunelvēli districts are the main centres of the cult of the goddess Icakkiamman, with Tūṭṭukuṭi (Tuticorin) district a third one of less significance. Although these are where the cult of Icakkiamman is practised, the origins of the *IK*, as far as historical topography can reveal, must have been in Tiruvālaṅkāṭu near Arkkōṇam in the north of Tamilnadu, the only place with concrete architectural evidence.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that the *villuppāṭṭu* or bow-song tradition of the southernmost districts of Tamilnadu (Kaṇṇiyākumari and Tirunelvēli) took the story and endowed it with an integrity of its own as a sequel to the *Peṇṇaraciyar Katai*, the elder sister's story<sup>2</sup>—making it the central text of Icakkiamman worship, which is found only in these districts. If the claim of Paḷavūr<sup>3</sup> (a small village in an area on the border between Tirunelvēli and K.K.Dt.) that it is the original site of the worship and identical with South Paḷakai<sup>4</sup>, were accepted by other centres, this would greatly enhance the position of Paḷavūr within the hierarchy of Icakki cult centres. However, we should not ignore the fact that the worship of the goddess has become the focus of social and political interests, inasmuch as different communities and their temples compete with one another, namely the Vēḷāḷa (or Veḷḷāḷa)<sup>5</sup> and Nāṭār<sup>6</sup> communities,<sup>7</sup> each of which insists upon a different place of origin. But no matter where the worship first arose, the story of Icakki is alive and well, thanks to the cult of the goddess within the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition. This is what I shall be attempting to show.

In order to understand the context of the Icakki cult and its relation to the bow-song tradition, it is helpful to consider more closely the district where the goddess is most dominant and where the interwoven relationship between text and ritual has, in my opinion, best been preserved. I am referring

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<sup>1</sup> See Sect. 2.5 above.

<sup>2</sup> See the discussion and Figure 1 in Sect. 2.4, N4 above.

<sup>3</sup> I must stress that nothing has been definitely proved. Members of the temple in Paḷavūr, of course, insist on its primacy (personal communications with the treasurer of the Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki temple, Paḷaniyā Piḷḷai of Paḷavūr [27 March 2002], and Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai [19 January 2003]). Others, such as Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai of Paḷavūr (27 March 2002), are neutral, conceding that nothing has been proved.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the site mentioned in the *IK*, N1.79.

<sup>5</sup> Both forms are in usage. However, the former is considered to be the older of the two. This influential social group can be assumed to have been the dominant upholders of the ritual tradition surrounding the *IK*. For the history of this landowning peasant community, see n. 11 below.

<sup>6</sup> This social group has traditionally been associated with the bow-song performance of the goddess's legend. The Nāṭārs are generally better known under their earlier community name Shanar. On the community's petition in the nineteenth century to change their official name in all public records to Nāṭār, see Ludden 1989:194. For the history of this community, see n. 10 below.

<sup>7</sup> I am referring to the conflicting parties in Muppantal.

to Kanniyaḱumari district. It is the district where the female deity has not yet undergone a complete shift from a wilderness or crossroads outside an inhabited location to a roadside inside one.<sup>8</sup> In Kanniyaḱumari district, she is still an outside-inside goddess. Indeed it is remarkable that the two main centres of Icakkiammaṅ worship, at Mēlāṅkōṭu and Muppantal, are located close to the borders of the district, the one in the west being under Malayali influence, and the other in the east under Tamil influence.

Kanniyaḱumari district comprises four administrative units (taluks): Tōvalai, Akastīcuvaram, Kalkuḷam, and Viḷavaṅkōṭu. According to the *Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer* (1995:136f.) the district has an area of 6,184 square kilometres and a population of approximately 1,500,000. It is considered to have the highest rate of literacy in Tamilnadu. The district is bounded by Kerala state in the west, the Western Ghats in the north, Tirunelvēli district in the north-east, and three bodies of water (the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean, and the Arabian Sea).

Kanniyaḱumari district shared a common history with Kerala until 1956, and was known as Nāñcilnāṭu (lit. “the land of the ploughshare”; and also as the land of wet agriculture).<sup>9</sup> As the *Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer* (1995:137) states, “[t]he main occupation of the people of the area is agriculture. However, considerable population is also engaged in small scale industries like cashew nut industry, weaving, rubber plantation, etc. [...]” The main communities are the Dalits (former Harijans), Nāṭārs,<sup>10</sup> Vēḷāḷas,<sup>11</sup> Muslims, and Nairs. However, the predominant community in three administrative units is the Nāṭār community. Only in the taluk of Tōvalai are the Vēḷāḷas in the majority. However, they form—if not in terms of population, then of social-economic dominance—a major community in the district.<sup>12</sup>

There are today three major religions: Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam. According to the

<sup>8</sup> The latter is the case with the sixty-year-old Muppantal Śrī Icakki Ampāl Ālayam temple on Āṅpāl Street and the Vempati-Icakki temple at Tirunelvēli Road, both in Tūṭṭukuṭi (Tuticorin), and Putukuḷam-Icakki temple in Pālaiyamkōṭṭai (Tirunelvēli district).

<sup>9</sup> For further details, see Blackburn 1980, Chap. 2.

<sup>10</sup> For a historical survey, see Hardgrave (1969: Preface, x), who locates the “homeland” of the Nāṭārs in the Tiruchendur area; see also Ludden (1989:46ff.), who points out the fact that they historically constituted one of the “largest migrant peasant groups” (46), and “moved far from their villages to trade” (48) “[...] In the mixed [wet-dry; B.S.] zone, both north and south of the Tambraparni, they found a more varied set of opportunities, including palmyra cultivation, gardens, and trade.” However, according to the same historian, “[...] in the mixed zone, they were not the only new arrivals to come in search of land” (49). Nāṭār settlements also tended to be concentrated in the southern dry zones of the Tirunelvēli region (ibid.:67). As Ludden remarks: “[...] people in the dry zone [...] lived in a hard world of stiff competition and locally tight sub-jati solidarity” (84). It is of some interest for our further discussion that the cultivators of dry land could produce dry crops and cotton independently of water assets—a form of wealth historically in the hands of the elite (Ludden 1989:95)—since produce of the dry zone (for instance, cotton) resists drought and grows with little rainfall (ibid.:161). According to Ludden, the agrarian economy of the dry zone experienced a great boom in the cotton trade during the nineteenth century (159), favoured by the construction of the cotton road in the 1840s (ibid.:160). The reason for the boom was the high demand in industrial Britain (137). The Nāṭār community profited greatly from this.

<sup>11</sup> For the history of the landowning peasant community of the Vēḷāḷas, see Ludden 1989, particularly pp. 67, 85ff., where it is stated that “[i]n the Tamil country, irrigated agriculture developed under the Vellala-Brahman alliance, through which high-caste landowners brought under their control land, labor, and water; established their status in the agrarian system as a whole (85). [T]his community order [...] dominated the whole of the wet zone and scattered throughout the mixed zone (87) [near the Ghats (67)]. [...] In command of water from the Ghats, Brahmans and Vellalas were in a strong position to establish themselves as non-laboring landed elites” (91). It must be mentioned that in Tamil culture a crucial distinction is made with regard to the peasantry. Ludden remarks hereto: “In stark contrast with the dry zone, the wet zone was not a land of rustic warrior-peasants, but of two distinct peasant strata: one owned land but did not labor; the other labored without owning even, in many cases, rights to its own labor power” (93). The first stratum, the “peasant elite [...] lived [...] in farming communities, yet had become long before the 1700s refined, educated, and socially mobile. From these families came many of the region’s most powerful, learned, and able people in the arts, literature, business, and government” (94). As Ludden goes on to point out, the “Vellala mirasidars tended to work land with their own hands more often in the mixed than in the wet zone” (95). One may add that in contrast to the wet zone (devoted to paddy, i.e. unhusked rice) it was cotton, oil seeds, and betel nuts that were the major crops in the mixed agricultural zones (i.e. Naṅkuṅēri); see Ludden’s chart (1989:133) reflecting the early nineteenth century. – According to the *Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer* (1995:117), the Nāñcilnāṭu Vēḷāḷas are said to have come from Maturai in the first century C.E.

<sup>12</sup> See Blackburn 1980:59.

*Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer (1995:137)*

[d]ifferent people of the same caste group are found both in Hinduism and Christianity. For example nearly 50 per cent of the Nadar caste professes Christianity whereas the other half owe their allegiance to Hinduism. Both these religious groups are found in almost all the villages and towns in the district. Likewise there are Christians and Hindus in castes like Vellalas and Harijan[s/Dalits]. The number of Christians in the Vellala and Harijan groups are low in per centage when compared to that of [the] Nadar caste.

It is obvious that Christianity competes with Hinduism. There have been riots in the recent past between Hindus and Christians (for example, in 1987 in Maṅṭaikāṭu in the Kalkuḷam taluk).<sup>13</sup> As remarked in Blackburn 1980:

This continual process of converting a large section of the local population to a foreign religion has created a conflict that has been a persistent and volatile aspect of Nancil Nadu society since 1800. [...] This Hindu-Christian conflict, however, is a manifestation of a more fundamental economic conflict between the most populous castes in Nancil Nadu, the Piḷḷai [Vēḷāḷas] and the Nadar (Nāṭār) [56]. [B]y 1850 the reaction of the orthodox Piḷḷais and Nāyars culminated in a wave of violence and destruction of Christian settlements and missionary quarters, particularly in and around Nagercoil [63].<sup>14</sup>

Though Buddhism and Jainism are religions that no longer thrive in the Tamil region, they both acquired considerable influence in their heyday<sup>15</sup> through the establishment of great centres of religious practice around Kāñcipuram,<sup>16</sup> Kāviriḷpūmpaṭṭiṇam,<sup>17</sup> Maturai,<sup>18</sup> and Nagercoil.<sup>19</sup> As Orr (1999) points out, “[a]lthough many medieval Jain institutions gradually fell into disuse, or were replaced by Hindu temples, Jainism was not [...] a marginal religious phenomenon [...] but was, instead, well-rooted throughout the Tamil countryside” (256).<sup>20</sup> More generally, there were historical contacts among “Jains, Buddhists, and others [Brahmins, non-Brahmins] speaking, writing, singing, and performing rituals in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali, and Tamil, with cultic foci on the Jina, the Buddha, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Murugaṅ, the goddess, and other deities” (Cort 2002:85). Whatever points of interaction there were between them was perhaps what led to a complex multiform culture<sup>21</sup> in this southern area, which doubtless displayed

<sup>13</sup> The Maṅṭaikāṭu riot forced my main informant, the bow-song bard T.M.P., to leave the place and settle with his family in Svayambhūliṅgapuram, closer to Nagercoil. Interestingly enough, this trauma led people to construct a large number of new Icakki temples. This clearly shows that new temples spread fastest precisely where “competition and resistance [are] most intense,” an observation made by Ludden (1989:98) with respect to another, earlier political conflict in the second half of the eighteenth century. It moreover reflects the belief in Icakkiammaṅ as a protectress.

<sup>14</sup> Ludden (1989:188f.) takes note of a conflict in Tirunelvēli town in 1858, involving native Christians. The conflict broke out over demands for street access.

<sup>15</sup> As for Tamil Buddhism, Schalk (1994:197) dates the arrival of Buddhism in Tamiḷakam to the fourth century C.E., thereby countering the common assumption that it was established during Aśoka’s time (third century B.C.E.). – In deviation from Obeyesekere (1984:517), who places the dominance of the Jain and Buddhist religion in southern India in the period from the fifth to the eighth century C.E. (similarly, Clothey 1982:51), Orr (1999) finds inscriptional evidence to counter their assumption of the displacement of Jainism “in consequence of the Hindu ‘revival’ of the sixth to ninth centuries” (253) and postulates that “Jainism continued to flourish after the rise of Hindu devotionism” (ibid.). She finds evidence for this in the great number of Jain inscriptions up until the thirteenth century (265), and in particular in the references to Jain goddesses (*yakṣīs*) from the eighth to the eleventh century C.E. (266).

<sup>16</sup> Obeyesekere (1984:516f.) argues, citing Ramachandran 1960, that “‘Buddhaghosa of Magadha, poet, philosopher and commentator and Thera Buddhadatta were patronized by Samghapala, a king of Kanchipuram. The evidence from his works and those of Thera Buddhadatta clearly points out that Kanchipuram, Kaveripattinam and Madurai were three great centers of Pali Buddhism in the fifth century A.D.’”

<sup>17</sup> The oldest Buddhist sanctuary in Tamiḷakam, according to Schalk (1994:197), is in Kāviriḷpūmpaṭṭiṇam; it has been assigned by the Archaeological Survey of India to the fourth century C.E. (Pallava times).

<sup>18</sup> Schalk (1994:200) remarks that “Jainas enjoyed royal patronage in a limited area in the surroundings of Maturai in pre-Pallava times.” Cf. Vēluppiḷḷai 1997:62.

<sup>19</sup> See Obeyesekere 1984:519, where reference is made to “the Buddhist Śrī Mūlavāsam temple and the Jaina shrines of Chitalar [Citarāl] and Kallil in the extreme south of India in the Kanyākumārī district.”

<sup>20</sup> Orr bases herself on inscriptional evidence.

<sup>21</sup> Cort (2002:85), for instance, argues thus in the case of the various forms of *bhakti* practised in Tamilnadu in earlier times, viewing as he does “bhakti as lying along a continuum from sober veneration to frenzied possession [...within which

religious patterns that were different in different times and places, yet at times also similar across the various traditions.<sup>22</sup> But even though all religions of India have thrived in this district, Hinduism is the only one that has remained alive since the early period.<sup>23</sup>

A remarkable feature of the sacred geography<sup>24</sup> of Kaṇṇiyākumari district is that it is guarded by female power, under different names, in the four quarters of the district: in Kaṇṇiyākumari town in the south-east, as the goddess Kaṇṇiyākumari-Bhagavatī;<sup>25</sup> in Āralvāymoḷi (neighbouring Muppantal) in the north-east, as Mīṇākṣī; in Maṇṭaikāṭu in the south-west, as Bhagavatī; and finally in Koḷḷaiṅkōṭu in the north-west, as Mēkalai (see *Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer* 1995:172). These goddesses are considered to be of independent status, that is, without consorts. This is true in particular of Mīṇākṣī, who, being identical with the Great Goddess in Maturai, there has Śiva Cokkanāṭaṅ (“the gentle, handsome one”) for a partner.<sup>26</sup> As regards Bhagavatī in Kaṇṇiyākumari town, she, too, is associated with Śiva, but is not married to him.

## 7.2 The Communities Who Patronise the Icakki Cult

The communities most closely associated with Icakki worship—and therefore necessarily most familiar with the Icakki bow-song story—are the Vēḷāḷas (nowadays known as Piḷḷais<sup>27</sup>), the Nāṭārs, and the Kaṇṇiyārs.<sup>28</sup>

Kaṇṇiyārs are landless labourers<sup>29</sup> who in the past used to follow the matrilineal system of descent (*marumakkattāyam*).<sup>30</sup> Probably because of their geographical and social marginality,<sup>31</sup> they are believed to worship malevolent spirits. However, one of their deities is Cāstā,<sup>32</sup> a forest god and tutelary

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continuum] the Jains and Buddhists [...] lay at one end and the Nāyaṅārs and Āḷvārs (as well as cults based on possession by deities such as Murugaṅ and the goddess) lay at the other end” (ibid.).

<sup>22</sup> I base myself on Carrithers (2000:833), who advocates viewing the nature of religious life in medieval South India as eclectic and flexible. Cort (2002:85) similarly calls for a “fluid and less sectarian model for what was happening in ancient Tamilnadu”; also Orr (1999:267), referring to the Tamil medieval period, writes: “[...] the boundary between what is ‘Jain’ and what is ‘Hindu’ in the religion of Tamilnadu is not always so easy to locate.”

<sup>23</sup> Obeyesekere (1984:518, 520) identifies the late fourteenth century as the historical point of Buddhism’s near-total demise in southern India and Jainism’s decline to insignificance. On Tamil Jains today, see Singh 1997:1437.

<sup>24</sup> For further details of the sacred geography of Nāncilnāṭu in general, see Blackburn 1980:72.

<sup>25</sup> The goddess is known under both names. Blackburn (1980:72) writes: “The Kanya Kumari temple [...] is a blend of Tamil and Malayali cultures, exemplified by the twin appellations of the goddess [...]” The goddess’s myth tells of her victory by reason of her virginity. By the power of her chastity she destroys the demon who has been troubling the gods and desires her. See also the remarks in Blackburn 1980:74, where the myths of the Kaṇṇiyākumari and Cucintiram temples are compared, and the conclusion drawn that “both are powerful, but the goddess is chaste, while the god [in Cucintiram] is fallible.”

<sup>26</sup> Interestingly enough, even though the goddess in Maturai is considered to be of married status, her partner is quite passive by nature.

<sup>27</sup> According to Singh 1998 (N-Z):3642, the Vēḷāḷas of the districts of Madras, Chingleput, and North Arcot, and to some extent of South Arcot, go by the name Mutaliyār, while those in Tanjore, Tiruchirapalli, Maturai, and Tirunelvēli are called Piḷḷais. On the Vēḷāḷa community, which is represented in every district of Tamilnadu and Kerala, see Singh 1998 (N-Z):3629ff. (based on Thurston 1909), who distinguishes 26 groups, among which are the “Tonda[i]mandalam Saiva Vellala[s]” (North Arcot and Chingleput), “Pandya Vellala[s]” (Maturai, Ramnad, Tirunelvēli), and “Nanchinad Vellala[s]” (scattered throughout Kaṇṇiyākumari district; also called Piḷḷais). The information provided by Singh suggests that this community migrated mainly from north to south—for instance, some groups from Toṅṭaimaṅṭalam to Ramnad (ibid.:3631), or from Chidambaram to Tiruchirapalli (3638), and still others from Kumbakonam to Travancore, or from Tenkasi (Tirunelvēli district) to Travancore (3631).

<sup>28</sup> According to Singh (1997:621), “[Kaṇṇiyārs] live in the foothills of the mountains of the northeast part of the Kanniyakumari District adjacent to the towns of Nagercoil, Kuzhitturai and Padmanabhapuram.”

<sup>29</sup> Traditionally they were hunters.

<sup>30</sup> See Singh 1997:622. For a definition of *marumakkattāyam*, see Sect. 6.3, p. 224, n. 24 above.

<sup>31</sup> Blackburn 1980:58: “[...] the Kāṇikars/[Kaṇṇiyārs] are a part of the local social system precisely because they are outside it.”

<sup>32</sup> Also known as Aiyāṅār, Skt. Śāstr̥. For the Kaṇṇiyārs’ ties with Cāstā, see Clothey 1982:54. Interestingly, the hill shrines of Cāstā are loci “where spirits of the dead are worshipped” (ibid.:55).

Hindu deity of villages in Tamilnadu.<sup>33</sup> Kaṇiyārs also have a link to Icakki. The Icakki story of the Kaṇiyārs is shorter in length, 1093 lines (personal communication from Dr S.M. Mahāleṭcumi on 29 January 2003). The story is performed within their *koṭai* festival, and called the *Muppantal Icakkiammaṇ Kaṇiyān Pāṭṭu*.<sup>34</sup> There is a belief that there are powerful magicians among the Kaṇiyārs.<sup>35</sup> Their image as a “hill tribe”<sup>36</sup> includes the conviction that they help people who want Icakki to wreak vengeance on individuals or a village. Moreover, it is said that people consult them in their role as exorcists (*Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer* 1995:120f., and Perumāḷ 1990:126, appendix n. 10).

Still another social group that patronises the Icakki cult are the Nāṭārs, who have traditionally engaged in agricultural labour and tapping toddy.<sup>37</sup> Their exploitation in the eighteenth century is reflected in a story cited in the *Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer* (1995:183). Often told in informal settings, it concerns the year 1745 when Nāṭārs received no wages from the Travancore government for digging work during the time of the Nāñcilnāṭu Pattaneru project.<sup>38</sup> Today they are a well-to-do community of landowners in K.K.Dt., their influence extending to the north, to Ramnad and Maturai districts (*Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer* 1995:117),<sup>39</sup> where they compete with Tēvars<sup>40</sup> and the landed Vēḷāḷas.<sup>41</sup> The Nāṭārs have “develop[ed] a subculture that is both insular and traditional.”<sup>42</sup> Most of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Icakkiammaṇ* story are in their hands and have been well preserved.<sup>43</sup> Though they may not have had control of the ritual tradition surrounding the *IK* text, I think that little by little they adopted it from the Vēḷāḷas. It is not surprising that the wealth of this populous community, as it progressed both socially and economically, should have enabled them to support their own singers and establish their own worship centres.

The third community associated with Icakki are the Vēḷāḷas,<sup>44</sup> who “[u]ntil the establishment of British power in 1800 [...] controlled a local ruling council of Nancil Nadu, the Nāṭṭār”<sup>45</sup> (lit. “those who belong to the land, those of the nāṭu”). Whereas the Nāṭārs are “strongly Tamil, patrilineal, low status, partially Christian, and laborers,” the Vēḷāḷas are “Malayali-influenced, partially matrilineal, high

<sup>33</sup> Note that, according to Singh 1997:624, it is Bhadrakālī whom they venerate as their *kulateyvam*.

<sup>34</sup> For a study of the *Muppantal Icakkiammaṇ Kaṇiyān Pāṭṭu*, see Mahāleṭcumi 2003.

<sup>35</sup> See Singh 1997:624.

<sup>36</sup> They were designated as such by the Forest Regulation Act of 1893 (clause e, Section 60); see Clothey 1982:54.

<sup>37</sup> For further details, see Sect. 7.1, p. 233, n. 6 above.

<sup>38</sup> For an account of their suffering under “tremendous social and economic oppression in the 19th and early 20th centuries,” when the Vēḷāḷas were often the oppressing social group, see Blackburn 1980:62. One reaction to this social inequality was felt in the early 1800s (ibid.:63), when a wave of conversions to Christianity took place.

<sup>39</sup> For the social mobility of the Nāṭārs, see Hardgrave 1969.

<sup>40</sup> Tēvars belong to the Maṇava social group. On the confrontations between Maṇavas and Nāṭārs that led in the second half of the nineteenth century in some parts of the Tamil territory to serious riots, see Ludden 1989:194f., whose descriptions, which focus on the Tirunelvēli region, provide insight into the problems: “[...the] Shanar attack on customary rules of access to sacred precincts in traditional Maṇava domains [met fierce resistance, particularly from Maṇavas]. At stake were the honors and status that Maṇava warriors had invested in dominion for centuries by building and patronizing temples. Conflicts centered around towns where Shanar businessmen prospered most visibly, and around villages where Maṇava and Shanar fortunes had moved in opposite directions for decades.” The outbreak of the conflict was favoured at the end of the nineteenth century by “a season of severe agricultural distress in Tirunelveli and famine throughout Madras Presidency” (194). “Riots broke out in cotton towns at least once again before 1920, pitting Shanar shopkeepers against Maṇava laborers during food shortages, in 1918.” (195).

<sup>41</sup> The conflict with the Vēḷāḷas, according Blackburn 1980:61f., is based on the fact that “within Nancil Nadu, the Nadars are settled in the less fertile portion of the agriculture zone, i.e., from its center to the coastal strip,” in contrast to the “Piḷḷais who control the contiguous area from the center of that zone to the mountains” (i.e. the most fertile portion).

<sup>42</sup> Blackburn 1980:65.

<sup>43</sup> The group has always been professionally linked to palm trees, and therefore has had easy access to this writing material; see Ludden 1989:46f.

<sup>44</sup> Perumāḷ (1990:126) notes that for some families among the Vēḷāḷas of Nāñcilnāṭu Icakki is the *kulateyvam* (family deity). She is said to appear in their dreams as a Malayali woman.

<sup>45</sup> Blackburn 1980:59.



status, Hindu, and landowners.”<sup>46</sup> Among them are the Vēḷāḷa Ceṭṭiyār community,<sup>47</sup> a social group of a somewhat hybrid make-up, being a fusion of peasant-farmers and merchants who “retain their economic control of agriculture at the cultivation level and have moved into various town-based businesses.”<sup>48</sup> The same mixed community appears in the Tamil *kāppiyam Cilappatikāram* (450 C.E.?), Chapter 22 (“Aḷarpaṭu kātai”), its hallmark being a *nāñcil* (plough) and a *tulā/tulām* (pair of scales):<sup>49</sup>

61 அரைச பூதத் தருந்திறற் கடவுளும்

[...]

65 வாணிக மரபி னிணில மோம்பி

66 நாஞ்சிலுந் துலாமு மேந்திய கையினன்

[...]

83 (மலையவுங் கடலவு மரும்பலங் கொணரந்து

84 விலைய வாக வேண்டுநர்க் களித்தாங்)

85 குழவுதொழி லுதவும் பழுதில் வாழ்க்கைக்

86 கிழவ னென்போன்...

(*Cil.* [ed. U.V.C. 1978:492], Chapter 22, “Aḷarpaṭu kātai,” 61, 65-6, 84-6)

61 And there has been the demon (*pūtam*) of the kingly class, a victorious god,

[...]

65 protecting the vast land of the merchant community.

66 He holds in his hand a plough and a pair of scales [emblematic of agriculture, which is in his charge, as is trade]

[...]

84 (He supplies to those who want as commodities

83 [the] rare products he has brought from the mountains and by sea.)<sup>50</sup>

85 He appears as a chieftain who lives a healthy and harmless life by working the soil as another [source of] income.<sup>51</sup>

Indeed, this community seems to be classifiable somewhere between a right-hand (*valankai*) and left-hand (*iṭṭankai*) community.

The division of communities into right-hand and left-hand has long been integral to Tamil society.<sup>52</sup> Right-hand communities are agriculturalist and landowning communities. They include the Vēḷāḷas and Nāṭārs.<sup>53</sup> In contrast, left-hand communities are trading and artisan communities. The Ceṭṭiyārs belong to this social group of traders, a profession that affords them a certain degree of social space.

As V.N. Rao (1986) observes, the two divisions largely correlate with the two notions of male- or female-centredness. The right-hand communities are male-centred; the left-hand communities are female-centred. This distinction is apparent in the epics of both, inasmuch as there is a particular quality to each: The epics of the right-hand castes tell of heroic warriors who “[...] keep their women under strict control [...]” (ibid.:147), confining them to domestic life. Interestingly enough, as Handelman (1995) observes, “these also are the social groups who often worship unattached, disease-bringing goddesses of the peripheries whose ethos is distinct from goddesses of the centre” (332). This shows

<sup>46</sup> Blackburn 1980:62.

<sup>47</sup> According to Singh (1997:317f.), the Śaiva Ceṭṭiyārs “equate themselves with [...] Vellalar communities” (317). They “are mainly a land-owning community. Their traditional occupations are cultivation and business” (319). Singh (ibid.:317) notes that “[t]hey are mainly distributed in the southern districts of Tamil Nadu, such as Nellore Kattabomman [...] and Kanniyakumari.” They follow the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

<sup>48</sup> Blackburn 1980:60.

<sup>49</sup> This hybrid make-up of the social group (simultaneously merchants and farmers) is likewise found, notably, in the *paṭṭinappālai* poem (vv. 186ff.) of the classical work *Paṭṭupāṭṭu* (The Ten Songs), which according to Zvelebil 1995:540 dates from 190–200 C.E.

<sup>50</sup> The parentheses mark an interpolation.

<sup>51</sup> This means that he retains economic control of agriculture as a cultivator, but has shifted his main activity to business.

<sup>52</sup> On the emic division of *valankai* and *iṭṭankai*, see Beck 1970 and 1972, Hardgrave 1969:23. See also Stein (1985:469f.), who, elsewhere dating this dual division to the eleventh century, by comparing its character in the Cōḷa and the later Vijayanagara periods (the major ingress of the latter authority into the Tamil land occurring around the fifteenth century; ibid.:485), underscores its continuity, and points out that “the divisions were differentially linked to two commanding institutions of the age: temples and royal figures” (470).

<sup>53</sup> See Hardgrave 1969:23.

clearly, as the same scholar goes on to point out, the contrasts between “the warrior husband’s control” over his wife—and—“the violence of the peripheral woman” (332). The left-hand epics read differently. Here “the female heroically defends the integrity of the social group against an alien, aggressive power” (332). Thus among the left-hand communities “[...] women represent an inner strength, and the men remain largely passive” (Rao 1986:147). This suggests that the *IK* epic we are focusing on is a fusion of both notions.

### 7.2.1 The Marriage System

Marriage is at the heart of Tamil concerns. The marriage systems of the Vēļāļas and Nāṭārs, the two predominant communities of the district, are of some significance to our discussion of the *IK* we are concerned with here. In the following I draw upon the *Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer* (1995:125f.).

The marital system of polygyny<sup>54</sup> was long a fixed feature of Tamil society; only in 1955 did it become prohibited under law. Originally the Nāñcilnāṭu Vēļāļas were patrilineal (*makkaṭṭāyam*), with the inheritance passing to the son. Then around 1100 C.E. they deliberately changed to a matrilineal system (*marumakkaṭṭāyam*) in order to conform to Malayali custom.<sup>55</sup> Once they had come under the sway of a Malayali royal house that followed the matrilineal system, kin relations and the inheritance rights became centred on the female line. Their community structure and laws of inheritance developed, in the course of time, into an interesting repository of Tamil and Malayali social characteristics. However, in conformance with the Nāñcilnāṭu Vēļāļā Act of 1926, passed following a campaign led by educated Vēļāļas/Piļļais,<sup>56</sup> the Vēļāļas shifted back to a patrilineal system. In contrast, Nāṭārs had always been strictly patrilineal (*makkaṭṭāyam*), following the *Mitākṣarā* of Hindu law.

## 7.3 The Goddess’s Name

1. Generally the goddess is referred to as Icakki, Iyakki, or Ēkki. *Icakki/iyakki*<sup>57</sup> in its primary sense is related to the Sanskrit word *yakṣī* (see *TL* 271, s.v. *icakki*), denoting “semi-divine beings, generally regarded as beings of a benevolent and inoffensive disposition, occasionally classed with malignant spirits, and sometimes said to cause demonical possession” (Monier-Williams, s.v.).<sup>58</sup> I shall return to this term in Section 7.3.1 below. The *TL* (271, s.v. *icakkiyamman*) further identifies Icakki as “a name of a form of Durgā, worshipped in S[outh] India.”

U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar in his edition of the fifth-century(?) *kāppiyam* text *Cilappatikāram* refers in a footnote to *Cil.* 15.115-9 (line 116) to Iyakki as a *yakṣī*, a deity worshipped in Kañṇiyākumari.<sup>59</sup> It is in this work of literature that the Tamil equivalent *iyakki* of Skt. *yakṣī* probably occurs for the first time.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>54</sup> On the institution of polygyny, see Sect. 6.2, p. 222, n. 7 above.

<sup>55</sup> On the dating of the adoption of the *marumakkaṭṭāyam* system, see Blackburn 1980:59. The Malayali system was adopted following a Vēļāļā caste resolution. For further details on the split into matri- and patrilineal groups within the Tamil Vēļāļas, see Blackburn 1980:50f. – Evidence of the existence of both groups, and clashes between them in K.K.Dt. when the former sought a marriage alliance with the latter, is found in the *Veñkalarājan Katai* and *Tottukkariyamman Katai*, two sociohistorical ballads only documented in the southern part of Kañṇiyākumari district (Vanamamalai 1969:112). – For a comprehensive study of the matrilineal system in Kerala and its abolishment in 1976, see Arunima 2003. Her work focuses primarily on the Nayars, a matrilineal community of the landed elite.

<sup>56</sup> For details concerning the reason for the campaign, initiated by Trivandrum-based patrilineal Vēļāļas, see Blackburn 1980:51, 59.

<sup>57</sup> The two words, in fact, are interchangeable, the difference being due to a dialectal feature that replaces the syllable *ca* with *ya*.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Grönbold (1984:499): “[Die Yakṣī-]Konzeption ist nicht einheitlich.”

<sup>59</sup> *iyakki - yakṣitēvatai; [...] ippeyr kañṇiyākumarip pakka ūrkaḷil icakkiyena valaṅkum (Cil. [ed. U.V.C. 1978:405, n. 1] to lines 115-9, Chap. 15, “Aṭaikkalak kṭai”).*

<sup>60</sup> Prior to this, the word appears in the masculine gender as *iyakkaṅ* in the Caṅkam literature of the *Puranāñūru*, as the personal

In the same edition U.V.C. further notes in the index (p. 617, s.v. *iyakki*): *iyakki* – *oru peṇ teyvam*; *pāṇṭi nāṭṭil icakkiyeṇa itu vaḷaṅkukiṇṇratu*, relating the word to “one goddess, Icakki by name, who is found in Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu.”<sup>61</sup> Turai Irācārām in his edition of another Tamil *kāppiyam*, the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, vv. 596<sup>62</sup> and 1015<sup>63</sup>, similarly glosses the term *iyakki* in the commentary as *yakṣī*. Again, the *Maturait Tamilp Pēr Akarāti (Dictionary)*, part 1, p. 258, particularises the term *iyakki* as “a small deity, Icakki by name,”<sup>64</sup> while Fabricius’s *Dictionary* (1972:73) explains the word in one of its secondary meanings, in more general terms, as a “goddess of benevolence.”

2. The third name applied to the goddess is Ēkki, a Malayalam word in use among the Nāṭār community of Kaṇṇiyākumari district. I consider the term a corruption of the dialectal form *iyakki*/Skt. *yakṣī*,<sup>65</sup> though there may be echoes in it of a secondary meaning, *ēkkam* (eager desire; *TL*), *ēkkarṛu* – *virumpi* (having desired).

3. Whereas Icakki, Iyakki, and Ēkki are the names the goddess is referred to by in the context of worship, in her story (i.e. the *IK*) she is called either Icakki or Nīli. *Nīli*, as a generic name,<sup>66</sup> carries the primary meaning “female demon” and “wicked woman (colloq.)”; however, it is also “a name for the fierce goddess generally”<sup>67</sup> (see *Cil.* 12.21.3)—a name with overtones of violence.

To judge by the index created by S.V. Subramanian (1965:197), in several parts of the *Cilappatikāram* there are indications of a special connection between the goddess Durgā and Nīli (see *Cil.* 12.1.68, 12.21.3). Such indications exist elsewhere. The *Cēntantivākaram*, *teyvappeyrttokuti*, pp. 7f. (s.v. *pakavati*), mentions the name Nīli along with others (Koṇṇavai, Aiyai Durgā, Cūli etc.) as a multiform of Bhagavatī. Again, *Piṅkala Nikaṇṭu* (850–900 C.E.)<sup>68</sup> refers to Nīli along with other names (such as Catti, Caṅkari, Aiyai, Antari [106], Cūli, Vallaṅaṅku, Aiyai etc. [119], Aiyai, Cūli etc. [124]; identification as found in *Cil.* 12.68; 12.21.3) as a multiform of Uma-Mākāḷi-Durgā (106, pp. 23f.; 119, pp. 27f.; 124, p. 28).<sup>69</sup>

However, in the index of U.V.C.’s edition of the *Cilappatikāram* (p. 704), we find the entry for Nīli describing her as the “wife of Caṅkamaṇ” (*caṅkamaṇuṭaiyamanaivi*).<sup>70</sup>

When it comes to the *TL*, it has under *nīli*: “black coloured (*karu niṇam*); Pārvatī; a female devil; wicked woman (colloq.),” while in Cre-A (a dictionary of modern Tamil) the meaning is reduced to “a wicked woman who feigns innocence.” *Nīlik kaṇṇīr* (crocodile tears) is a set phrase widely used among the Nāṭār community in connection with a woman who spawns mistrust.

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name of a chieftain: *veṅciṇa viyakkaṇu muḷappaṭap piṇarum* (*Puraṇāṅṇuru* [ed. U.V.C. 1971:169], 71.14); *veṅciṇa viyakkaṇu – veyya ciṇattaiyuṭaiya viyakkaṇu meṇa ivaruṭpaṭap piṇarum* (ibid. 1971:170).

<sup>61</sup> I assume that Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu here means southern Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu, i.e. present-day Tirunelvēli district. – See also the index (s.v. *iyakki*) in S.V. Subramanian 1965:35, where *iyakki* is translated as *peṇ teyvam* (goddess). I may remark in passing that the term *iyakki* in *Cil.* 14.74 (ed. U.V.C., Chap. “Ūrkāṅ kātai”) (in connection with boats [*nīrmāṭam, nāvāy*]) also appears as the non-finite verbal participle *iyakki*, “having made to move” of the transitive verb *iyakku-tal*, “to cause to go, travel” (*TL*) (see the index in Subramanian 1965:35, s.v. *iyakki*); note also *iyakkam* (movement).

<sup>62</sup> See *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi*, ed. T. Irācārām (2000), p. 50.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 246.

<sup>64</sup> The dictionary is not available to me; I have taken the reference from Perumāḷ 1990:44.

<sup>65</sup> Note that Coomaraswamy (1993:9) gives *ecca* as the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit word *yakṣa*.

<sup>66</sup> See Blackburn 1980:218, chart 9.

<sup>67</sup> Shulman (1980:196, n. 18) emphasises this association.

<sup>68</sup> On the dating of this medieval lexicon, see Zvelebil 1995:562. Clothey (1982:42) dates it “somewhere between the *Tivākaram* (8th or 9th century) and the *Naṅṅūl* (13th century).”

<sup>69</sup> In the *Piṅkala Nikaṇṭu*, further, in entry 3734, p. 456, *nīli* is said to refer to “a tree, Durgā, the colour black, and the indigo plant (*avuri*),” *nīliyoru maramum pālaik kiḷattiyuṅk* (lit. “the mistress of the *pālai* wilderness”) *karumai niṇamu mavuriyumākum*.

<sup>70</sup> With references to pp. 23, 314, 319, 328, 505 in the same edition; see also the index in Subramanian 1965:197, which in this connection mentions *Cil.* 23.159.

The reader may also be referred to Chapter 3 above, where the name Nīli is traced throughout the history of Tamil literature.

The term *ammaṇ* (mother/breast goddess<sup>71</sup>) is used in association with the generic name Icakki, in the context both of the *katai* and of worship. It is not applied to the name Nīli.<sup>72</sup> As an epithet, *ammaṇ* implies “motherhood,” a role that in a sense does not fit the goddess, standing as it does in sharp contrast to the activities of Nīli-Icakki, at least within the framework of the story. Within the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition, we must probably read *ammaṇ* simply as an accepted appellation for the goddess; moreover, as marking her out as a “female” deity in contrast to *māṭaṇ*, the category for “male” deities.<sup>73</sup>

### 7.3.1 *Yakṣī*

Let us return to Ta. *icakki/iyakki* in its primary meaning of Skt. *yakṣī* (or *yakṣiṇī*), Pali *yakkhī*, Prakrit *jakkhīṇī*.<sup>74</sup> The antiquity and popularity of *yakṣas* in India has been pointed out by different scholars, particularly A.K. Coomaraswamy<sup>75</sup> and R.N. Misra.<sup>76</sup> For the study of *yakṣī* worship in Tamilnadu, Ve. Vēṭācalam 1989 is the most important source. Drawing on the details provided by these three scholars, I shall present a brief note on the characteristics of *yakṣīs*, the female counterpart of *yakṣas*, a term whose etymology and meaning in earlier literature has been much disputed. However, there is a consensus among a majority of scholars to derive the word from the Sanskrit root *yakṣ*, “Med.: ‘erscheinen, sich zeigen’” and “Akt.: ‘zeigen, zur Schau stellen’” with prefix *pra* in RV 1,132,5; 2,5,1 (Gotō 1987:253);<sup>77</sup> whence the noun *yakṣa*, “Wundererscheinung, Blendwerk, [...] Phänomen” (Mayrhofer 1996:391).<sup>78</sup> Coomaraswamy (1993) offers for *yakṣa*—as in his view probably the best translation—“spirit” or “daimon” (ibid.:16).<sup>79</sup>

The *yakṣa*,<sup>80</sup> an ancient deity obviously bound up with animistic belief,<sup>81</sup> is associated with different Indian religious traditions. In attempting to show the presence of *yakṣī* characteristics in the goddess Icakkiammaṇ, as today worshipped in the southernmost area of India, we must be satisfied with a few brief hints suggestive of the diverse features that have been attributed to *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* in various socioreligious contexts over time.<sup>82</sup> The ones listed below are no more than a selective—and to some extent impressionistic—survey of features, which is intended to be helpful for discovering the identity of the goddess whose worship and story (the *IK* and local story) we are concerned with.

<sup>71</sup> According to Blackburn (1980:213) A.K. Ramanujan translates Ammaṇ as “breast-goddess.” (The paper presented by A.K. Ramanujan in 1980 is not available to me.)

<sup>72</sup> This fact will support my later argumentation that the two deities Nīli and Icakki were conjoined; see Sect. 7.3.2.

<sup>73</sup> On *ammaṇ* and *māṭaṇ* as categories of *villuppāṭṭu* deities, see Blackburn 1980:150.

<sup>74</sup> Note also Sinhalese *yakī*. Cf. Grönbold 1984:499.

<sup>75</sup> His work first appeared in two volumes in 1928–31.

<sup>76</sup> See also Sutherland (1992), who has sought to take up and elaborate upon A.K. Coomaraswamy’s study on *yakṣas*.

<sup>77</sup> See also Werba 1997:435, s.v., and Mayrhofer 1996:391, s.v. – In tracing the term through Sanskrit literature, Coomaraswamy (1993:9) also gives due consideration to the Sanskrit root *yaj*, “to worship with offerings, or honor.” But compare the argumentation of Gotō (1987:253), who diverges from Coomaraswamy on this point: “Obwohl die Möglichkeit besteht, *yakṣanta* als s-Aor. Konj. von *yaj* ‘opfern’ [...] zu erklären, muß man in Anbetracht des Nomens *yakṣa*- ‘Phänomen, Wundererscheinung, Monstrum’ eine selbständige Wz. *yakṣ* ansetzen.”

<sup>78</sup> But cf. Graßmann 1996:1069, s.v.: “*yakṣ* erscheint aus \**yah* [...]. Der Grundbegriff scheint der einer sehr schnellen Bewegung und zwar einerseits in dem Sinne ‘jagen, verfolgen’, insbesondere ‘rächend verfolgen’, oder ‘durch Unrecht, Gewaltthat verfolgen’, und andererseits in dem Sinne eines schnell hervorbrechenden Lichtscheins, der meteorartig vorübergeht.”

<sup>79</sup> For a further discussion of the etymology, see Misra 1981:9f.

<sup>80</sup> On *yakṣas*, see also Härtel 1993:425f.

<sup>81</sup> See Misra 1981:165. By animism I mean the belief in spirit beings including ones who live, for instance, in trees and plants.

<sup>82</sup> Note that I have chosen a *synchronic* approach.

1. Misra (1981), in tracing the semantic development of the term *yakṣa*, remarks the ambivalent twin qualities of benevolence and malevolence ascribed to the earlier Vedic *yakṣa* type (14,<sup>83</sup> 15), and goes on to show “the transformation of Yaksha into a demonic being” (13) in the Sūtras.<sup>84</sup> He also notes the proximity of the later concept of *yakṣa* to other kindred semi-divine beings (Gandharvas, Rākṣasas, and the like) in their Vedic conception, and points to traits *yakṣas* may have obtained from them, as, for instance, from Gandharvas the characteristic of “lik[ing...] fragrance, possess[ing...] women, [...] control[ling...] [...] offspring [...and of being of] great beauty” (3), and from Rākṣasas delighting in “destroying offspring” (3).<sup>85</sup>

2. Coomaraswamy (1993:97) makes it an object of his work to define the term *yakṣa* in the Hindu religion when he writes: “[T]he general character of the *yakṣa* type [...] includes universal deities like Kubera, Kāmadeva, and Śrī, tutelary deities of kingdoms or clans,<sup>86</sup> [...] and also still more localised and generally unnamed male tree spirits<sup>87</sup> and dryads [i.e. goddesses in trees] whose power does not extend [far ....] [*Y*akṣas, great or small, are vegetation or progenitive spirits directly controlling, and bestowing upon their *bhaktas*, fertility and wealth, or to use a single word, abundance.”

3. These nature spirits serve as emblems of fertility in Buddhist sculpture and mythology. The *yakṣī*, the goddess in the tree, was believed to grant offspring to women. The tree goddess was portrayed in sculptures with children, who are either standing beside the tree mother or held firmly on her hip. Through its association with the birth of Buddha, the *yakṣiṇī* motif became indelibly inscribed with the potent power of growth, and women prayed to it for the bounty of children.<sup>88</sup>

4. Coomaraswamy (1993:78) makes a point of some significance when he draws a link between *yakṣas* and adultery in his discussion of the eleventh-century Sanskrit work *Kathāsaritsāgara*, stating that “[t]he anecdote [of a powerful *yakṣa* named Maṇibhadra] turns upon the interesting fact that the *yakṣa* temple was regularly used as a temporary jail for adulterers.”<sup>89</sup>

5. Furthermore, regarding the rituals for attracting *yakṣīs*, as described in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,<sup>90</sup> Coomaraswamy (1993:79) emphasises that “[t]hese rites are performed in cemeteries, and are evidently

<sup>83</sup> Misra 1981:14: “[...] the Vedic Yaksha [...] carried both good and evil connotations.” He refers (ibid., n. 4), for instance, to *Atharvaveda* 10.7.38, *Ṛgveda* 10.85.5, *Atharvaveda* 8.10.28, and *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.1ff., where *yakṣa* designates something good. Contrarily, he finds in *Ṛgveda* 4.3.13 and 5.70.4 negative qualities (ibid., n. 5).

<sup>84</sup> Misra (1981:13) refers to *Kauśika Sūtra* 9.3.3. Here, he opines, the “attitude of fear and dislike” (14, n. 5) is dominant.

<sup>85</sup> Misra 1981:4 writes: “These similarities between the foresaid demi-gods in their Vedic conception and the Yakshas in their later conception confirm the view that Yaksha was a compound of different [...], disparate ideas and that Yakshas obtained different attributes of the various demi-gods to evolve their own ultimate and mature personality.” – See also Grönbold 1984:499.

<sup>86</sup> For the latter see also Coomaraswamy 1993:54, where Sylvain Lévi’s remark is cited: “The Yakṣa is essentially a divine personage, closely associated by tradition with local memories [...].” Coomaraswamy himself adds: “In many cases these *yakṣas* have been human beings attached to the service of a community or individual, and, reborn as a deity, continue to watch over those [...].” – The protective attitude of the *yakṣa* is also mentioned in *Atharvaveda* 11.6.10, as remarked by Misra (1981:19).

<sup>87</sup> Tree worship was highly popular in pre-Vedic and Vedic times; cf. Misra 1981:4.

<sup>88</sup> See, for example, the discussion of the *dohada* motif in Coomaraswamy 1993:86f.: “The word *dohada* means a pregnancy longing, and the tree is represented as feeling, like a woman, such a longing, nor can its flowers open until it is satisfied.” For the significance of the “woman and tree” in general, see ibid.:83ff., and Roth 1957.

<sup>89</sup> Coomaraswamy refers to *Kathāsaritsāgara* 2.5.165ff. (see ed. J. Mallinson 2007). The link between *yakṣas* and adultery is also well substantiated in a Jain *yakṣa* tale provided by the twelfth-century text *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (II, the eighth story) of Hemacandra (ed. Hermann Jacobi, *Sthaviravalicharita* or *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1883). In this tale, to cite Sutherland (1992:129), “an adulterous woman offers to establish her truthfulness by stepping under the legs of a *yakṣa*.”

<sup>90</sup> *Kathāsaritsāgara* 8.49.160ff. (ed. Durgaprasad and Parab 1889, 1930); tr. Tawney 1924–28, Vol. 4, 96f.

Tantric.”<sup>91</sup> Misra (1981:26) maintains that “[t]his Tantric aspect of Yaksha seems to be directly connected with the early concept of Yaksha as ‘magical power’.”

6. *Yakṣīs* were also associated with the Jain religion.<sup>92</sup> U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar in a footnote to *Cil.*, Chapter 15, “Aṭaikkalak kātai,” 115-9 (line 116) notes:

இயக்கி - [...] 24-தீர்த்தங்  
யக்ஷியென்றும் இவ்விருவர் உள்ளாரென்று சைனநூல்கூறும்,<sup>93</sup>

As remarked by Paul Dundas (1992:182):

The origin of the practice of linking each of the formakers with a *yaksha* and *yakshi*, a divine male and female attendant respectively, is difficult to date. Some of these deities no doubt go back to Jainism’s beginnings [...] An image from Akota in western India dating from about 550 CE [...] represents the earliest iconic example [...], and textual and iconographic evidence points to the introduction of a full complement of twenty-four *yakshas* and *yakshis* by the end of the first half of the eighth century CE.

In Tamilnadu we have a steady stream of information about the association of *iyakkis* (*yakṣīs*) with the Jain religion roughly from the fifth until the fourteenth century.<sup>94</sup> During the thirteenth century the status of the *iyakki* was raised, and the term itself was incorporated into the name of a Jain formaker (*tīrthaṅkara*).<sup>95</sup> Interestingly, worship of a female deity called Icakkiamman is attested in some verses of the late-sixteenth-century Jain text *Appaṅṭainātar Ulā* of Aṅantavicayar, a text belonging to the *ulā* genre. Along with praise for the Jain *tīrthaṅkara* Pārcuvanātar (Pārśvanātha), also known as Appaṅṭainātar, enshrined at the Tirunaṅkoṅṭai temple,<sup>96</sup> and the naming of still other Jain formakers

<sup>91</sup> For the associations of Tantric practices with *yakṣīs/yakṣiṇīs*, see also Bühnemann 2000:118f. and the *Guhyasamājatantra* (Gāng 1988:207–21), in which the modes of controlling the different *yakṣiṇīs* are described.

<sup>92</sup> Coomaraswamy (1993:79) remarks: “It is clear that Jainism and *yakṣa* worship could be as closely interrelated as Buddhism and Hinduism have often been.” That *bhakti* in the Jain tradition is not as marginal as earlier scholarship has made us believe is demonstrated in various works, particularly ones by Orr (1999), Carrithers (2000), and Cort (2002). – There is an ongoing debate over who adopted the goddesses from whom. Orr (1999:267) and Zydenbos (2000:187) are among the scholars who reject the opinion that Jain goddesses (*yakṣīs*) were adopted from the Hindu religion. They instead argue that both Jainism and Śaivism show a parallel—though slightly staggered—development in goddess worship, produced by similar cultural needs. They see evidence that in Jainism this process began earlier. On the dynamics of developing religious features to appeal to the needs of the “consumers” of religion, see Carrithers’s study on Digambara Jains (2000:839f.). Among the representatives of the hypothesis that the *yakṣīs* were probably foreign and introduced into South India by the Jain religion are such scholars as Natarajan (1986), Ramaswami Ayyangar (1982), and Vēṭācalam (1989:111f.).

<sup>93</sup> “Jain literature says that to each of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* is linked a *yakṣaṅ* and *yakṣī* who have the right to serve them” (*Cil.*, ed. U.V.C. 1978:405, n. 1).

<sup>94</sup> See Vēṭācalam 1989:115: தமிழ்நாட்டில் சமணசமயத்திலேயே சிலப்பதிகாரகாலத்திலிருந்து நாயக்கர் காலம் வரை அவர்களது சமயத்து இயக்கியர் வழிபாடு பற்றித் தொடர்ச்சியான செய்திகள் கிடைக்கின்றன. ... கி.பி. 14-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிற்குப் பிறகு தமிழ்நாட்டில் சமணசமய இயக்கியரின் செல்வாக்கு குறைந்திருப்பதைக் கல்வெட்டுகளும் சிற்பங்களும் உணர்த்துகின்றன. – One early reference is to Pūṅkaṅ Iyakki in Puraṅciṅai Mūtūr, outside Maturai, who in *Cil.* 15.116 (fifth century C.E.?) is said to have had a shrine next to the residence of saints (probably Jain saints). – Furthermore, Chakravarti (1974:159, 199) refers to a record in Vaṭṭeḷuttu script of 870 C.E. that registers a donation to a Jain saint and his attendant *yakṣī* at Tiruvayirai, Aivarmalai, Palani taluk, Maturai district; and an eleventh-century record from Tirumalai, North Arcot district, of an image of a *yakṣī* having been made. Orr (1999:263) notes “that *yakṣīs* are prominent in Jain inscriptions [of Tamilnadu] in the eighth to tenth centuries.”

<sup>95</sup> The source of this information is Vēṭācalam (1989:49), who refers to the formaker Pakavati (Bhagavatī) Nāyakar in the Iḷaiyāṅkuṭi inscription, where Bhagavatī is used in place of Iyakki.

<sup>96</sup> According to N. Ramaswamy, EFEO (personal communication to Dr Eva Wilden) the foundations of the Jain temple at Tirunaṅkoṅṭai go back to the thirteenth century. There are inscriptions dating back to that time. The Jain temple, located on a hill, is well maintained at present, whereas the Śiva temple, at the foot of the hill, containing no inscription and probably younger, has been abandoned. Tirunaṅkoṅṭai is situated in the Uḷuntūrpet taluk, about 80 KM south-west of Pondicherry on the way to Tiruccirāppaḷi. I am very grateful to N. Ramaswamy for this information and to Dr Eva Wilden for conveying it to me. – I may remark in passing that Tirunaṅkoṅṭai is mentioned in the popular literary legend of Kampaṅ (see Shulman’s summary 2001:115) as a village of learned Jains where Kampaṅ (twelfth century) was sent by the Brahmins of Śrīraṅgam in order to get additional endorsement from the Jains so that the Brahmins would agree to a public reading of his *Irāmāvataram*.

(Nēminātar etc.), a prayer to Icakkiammaṅ is found in vv. 65-79.<sup>97</sup> However, it was the Jain *iyakki/yakṣī* Ampikā, associated with the twenty-second fordmaker Nēmi,<sup>98</sup> who enjoyed, in seventh-century Karnataka, a particularly independent and prominent status.<sup>99</sup> Ampikā<sup>100</sup> (lit. “Little Mother”)—apparently a deity widely worshipped in Tamilnadu in former times<sup>101</sup>—is generally depicted with two children and mangoes.<sup>102</sup> As a goddess, she is associated with childbirth and prosperity.<sup>103</sup>

7. What, then, was the character of the *iyakki/yakṣī* type in the Tamil *kāppiyams*?<sup>104</sup> In the eclectic *kāppiyam Cilappatikāram* (450–475 C.E.?), which unites elements drawn from various sources—such as oral elements, Tamil Caṅkam poetry, Sanskrit *kāvya*, Hindu myths, and the Jain tradition—we find deities that exhibit the traits of an *iyakki/yakṣī* at very particular spatial locations. I draw here mainly on Vētācalam’s study (1989) on *yakṣī* worship in Tamilnadu:

7.1. There is, for example, the *pāvai*<sup>105</sup> (already known in Caṅkam literature), a deity found at roadsides, who will remain totally silent when the king commits injustice, but on the other hand will shed tears and weep—a deity full of compassion.

135 அரைசுகோல் கோடினு மறங்கு றவையத்  
 136 துரை நூல் கோடி யொருதிறம் பற்றினும்  
 137 நாவொடு நவிலாது நவைநீ ருகுத்துப  
 138 பாவை நின் றழுமம் பாவை மன் றமும்  
 (Cil. [ed. U.V.C. 1978:145], Chapter 5, “Intiraviḷavūr eṭutta kātai,” 135-8)

138 There was also a locality with a statue [the fifth of the wonders of Puhār], an image  
 137 that would never speak,  
 138 but would weep,  
 137 shedding tears of sorrow  
 (My translation)  
 135 whenever swerved the king’s sceptre, and preference was shown in court,  
 136 by favouring one side against the rule of law.  
 (Parthasarathy 1993:341[Postscript])

7.2. While the *pāvai* remains silent, a *pūtam* (evil spirit; Skt. *bhūta*) that has taken up its abode at a

<sup>97</sup> For the reference, see *ETL* 2.252f.

<sup>98</sup> See a reproduction of the engraving of Nēminātar and Iyakki Ampikā at Kaḷukumalai (a hill in Kōyilpaṭṭi taluk, Tirunelvēli district), in Vētācalam 1989:25. – Interestingly, Dundas (1992:202) reports that there was an “early association of Krishna [...] with the fordmaker Nemi (the two came to be regarded as being related).” – On the Kaḷukumalai Jain site, see also Schalk and Vēluppiḷai 2002:189f.

<sup>99</sup> See Dundas 1992:183. For Tamilnadu, see Orr 1999:267. She sees in “the prominence of *yakṣīs* as independent objects of worship for Jains in early medieval Tamilnadu [something] distinctively ‘Tamil’.”

<sup>100</sup> The *yakṣī* Ampikā who served as the female attendant of Jain saints was endowed with semi-divine attributes. – There are similarities between the legend of the Jain *iyakki* Ampikā and the Śaiva saint-poetess Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅār. Both respected saints by serving them food, thereby causing great disturbance to their own family life; both left domestic life after performing miracles at home; both had husbands who were struck with awe for their wives; both were associated with mangoes; and both projected themselves as devotees: the one, of the fordmaker Nēmi, and the other, at the feet of Śiva. Ampikā, who committed suicide, became an *iyakki* (*yakṣī*), and Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅār a *pēy*. See the short account of Ampikā’s legend in Dundas 1992:183; see also Vētācalam 1989:89ff. For a comparison between Ampikā and Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅār, see Vētācalam 1989:97f.

<sup>101</sup> Vētācalam 1989:115.

<sup>102</sup> See illustrations in Vētācalam 1989:88 (in Citaṅāl [55 KM from Kaṅṅiyākumari Town] [figure and tree]; and in Yāṅaimalai, Maturai district), 89 (in Tirumalai, North Arcot district), 104 (in Viḷāttikuḷam, Citamparaṅār district), and 105 (in Ceṅkaṅikkuppam).

<sup>103</sup> Dundas 1992:183.

<sup>104</sup> This period of Tamil literature has not been chosen at random. The choice is justified by the fact that we witness in the *kāppiyam Cilappatikāram* both the figure of *yakṣīs* and the earliest occurrence of the name Nīli; see Chap. 3, No. 1.

<sup>105</sup> See Vētācalam 1989:40.

crossroads<sup>106</sup> is far less reserved in its judgement: it communicates and demonstrates that it has full punitive powers over adulterers<sup>107</sup> and cheats. It is a deity that renders justice.<sup>108</sup>

130 ... பிறர்மனை நயப்போர்  
131 பொய்க்கரி யாளர் புறங்கூற் றாளரென்  
132 கைக்கொள் பாசத்துக் கைப்படு வோரெனக்  
133 காத நான்குங் கடுங்குர லெடுப்பிப்  
134 பூதம் புடைத்துணும் பூத சதுக்கமும்  
(*Cil.* [ed. U.V.C. 1978:144], Chapter 5, “Intiravi]avūr eṭutta kātai,” 128-34)

134 Furthermore, there was a junction where four roads met. There a *pūtam* resided who,  
133 in a loud voice [audible at a distance] of four *kātams* [= 2.5 miles], proclaimed  
132 that it would catch with a rope, beat, and devour  
130 [...] any adulterer who enticed away another man’s wife,  
131 [and also] those who bore false witness or backbit.

7.3. There are yet other deities of the *yakṣī* type: *kāṇurai teyvam*.<sup>109</sup> Found in the forest, they appear before passers-by in an attempt to seduce them.<sup>110</sup> These deities are of an unsettling character. If there are three forest paths, they stand and wait along the middle path.

171 கானுறை தெய்வங் காதலிற் சென்று  
172 நயந்த காதலி னல்குவ னிவனென  
173 வயந்த மாலை வடிவிற் றோன்றி  
(*Cil.* [ed. U.V.C. 1978:296], Chapter 11, “Kāṭukāṇ kātai,” 171-3)

171 A [charming] *yakṣī* of the forest (*kāṇurai teyvam*), full of passion,  
173 assumed the shape of Vayantamālai, [the maid of the courtesan Mātavi,] and appeared [before Kōvalaṅ],  
172 [luring him] in the hope of obtaining his desirous love.  
[This happened on the path said by the Brahmin to be the middle path.]

7.4. While the deity just mentioned awaits the passers-by on the middle path, another charming *yakṣī* will await travellers on the forest path to the left. U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar suggests that the word *orutti* in *Cil.* 11.111 refers to a *yakṣī* (“*ōr iyakki*”).<sup>111</sup>

108 நிலம்பக விழந்த சிலம்பாற் றகன் றலைப்  
109 பொலங்கொடி மின்னிற் புயலைங் கூந்தற்  
110 கடிமல ரவிழந்த கன்னிகா ரத்துத்  
111 ... யொருத்தி தோன்றி  
(*Cil.* [ed. U.V.C. 1978:293], Chapter 11, “Kāṭukāṇ kātai,” 108-11)

108 At the broad bank of the river Cilampu, which flows parting the land,  
110 at a *kaṇṇikāram* tree blossoming with fragrant flowers  
111 appeared a lady, [a *yakṣiṇī*], [...]  
109 [fair like] a golden vine, [dazzling] like the lightning, with hair (*kūntal*) dark as a [rain] cloud.

7.5. Again, in the *Cilappatikāram*, there is a deity called Pūṅkaṇ Iyakki (“Iyakki with Flower-like Eyes”; *Cil.* 15.116). Iyakki is here part of the goddess’s proper name.<sup>112</sup> She stayed outside the fort of Maturai<sup>113</sup> in a place called Purañciṛai Mūtūr.

<sup>106</sup> On female deities residing at crossroads, see Kinsley 1987:155, with regard in particular to *mātykās*.

<sup>107</sup> On a link between *yakṣas* and adultery, see No. 4 above.

<sup>108</sup> On *yakṣas* as punishers of wrongdoers, see also Misra 1981:155.

<sup>109</sup> *vaṇa-sāriṇi*, *ārangarteyvam*.

<sup>110</sup> See Vētācalam 1989:41.

<sup>111</sup> *Cil.*, ed. U.V.C. 1978:304, footnote to 108-11.

<sup>112</sup> See Vētācalam 1989:42.

<sup>113</sup> Vētācalam (1989:50) points out early *yakṣī* worship in the areas of Maturai and Kāñcipuram. He writes: “The statues of an *iyakki* have been made as reliefs individually in the hills of Aṅantamaṅkalam near Kāñcipuram, and Pūlāṅkuṛicci in Mutturāmaliṅka district [south of Maturai]. These are the earliest statues of an *iyakki* found in Tamilnadu.”



Whether or not the Jain<sup>114</sup> saints who lived nearby worshipped her and believed that she protected them from any interference with their asceticism,<sup>115</sup> this deity—apparently after attaining a more prominent status<sup>116</sup>—was worshipped also by other social groups, for instance, by Mātari of the *āyar*-cowherd community.<sup>117</sup>

115 அறம்புரி நெஞ்சி னறவோர் பல்கிய  
116 புறஞ்சிறை முதுர்ப் பூங்க ணியக்கிக்குப்  
117 பான்மடை கொடுத்துப் பண்பிற் பெயர்வோள்  
118 ஆயர் முது மகண் மாதரி யென்போள்  
(*Cil.* [ed. U.V.C. 1978:393], Chapter 15, “Aṭaikkalak k̄tai,” 115-8)

118 The old cowherdess, Mātari by name,  
117 came back from giving her routine offering (*maṭai*) of milk  
116 to Puṛaṅciraṅai Mūtūrp Pūṅkaṅ Iyakkī [lit.: the *Yakṣī* with Flower-like Eyes Who Resided outside (*puṛam*) the Walls (*ciraṅai*) of the Ancient City (*mūtūr*) [of Maturai],<sup>118</sup>  
115 where numerous monks [advanced] on the path of dharma (*aṛam*).

8. Some further features ascribed to the *yakṣī/iyakki* type are revealed in the later (tenth century?)<sup>119</sup> Jain Tamil *kāppiyam Cīvakacintāmaṇi* of Tiruttakkatēvar.<sup>120</sup> The *yakṣī* is here depicted as a powerful deity that is able to grant any wish. Being benevolent, unmarried, and of ethereal beauty, it can display magic power,<sup>121</sup> and what is more, can transfer its magic skills. That one can work magic with the help of *yakṣīs* is an idea conveyed, for instance, in *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* 1600-1. Here an *iyakki/yakṣī* helps Pavatattaṅ,<sup>122</sup> who pines for his absent wife, to make his beloved appear.<sup>123</sup>

9. In the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* any extraordinary beauty is referred to as an *iyakki* figure:

596.1 காமர்களி றும்பிடயும் கன்றுங்கலை மானூர்  
தாமரைய வாவிக்கும் புள்ளுந்தகை நலத்தி  
னேமுறுவ பாவையினொ டியக்கிநிலை யெழுதி  
யாமொரையம் காண்பவர்க்கி தகம்புறமி தெனவே.  
(*Cīvakacintāmaṇi* [ed. Po.Vē. Cōmacuntaraṅār 1967], Chapter “Kāntaruvattaiyār ilampakam,” 596)

<sup>114</sup> Vēluppiḷlai (1997:57) views *yakṣī* worship by the Maturai Jains as having been quite possible.

<sup>115</sup> Vētācalam (1989:43) suggests that the Jain saints who resided nearby may have praised and worshipped Pūṅkaṅ Iyakkī in the belief that she protected their asceticism (...இதனை இப்பகுதியில் தங்கிவாழும் அறவோர்களாகிய முனிவர்கள் போற்றி வழிபட்டிருக்க வேண்டும்...தங்களது தவத்திற்கும் அறத்திற்கும் இத்தெய்வம் துணைநிற்கும் என்ற நம்பிக்கையின் அடிப்படையில் இதனைத் தங்களது வாழ்விடங்களில் வைத்து வழிபட்டிருக்க வேண்டும்).

<sup>116</sup> This can be deduced from the fact that the generic term *iyakki* is now part of the deity’s proper name.

<sup>117</sup> From these lines in the *Cilappatikāram*, Vētācalam (1989:43) draws the conclusion that Pūṅkaṅ Iyakkī was worshipped in the place mentioned near Maturai and that the deity was not just popular among the Jains: ஆயர் குலத்தை சாரந்த மாதரி போன்ற பெண்களும் வழிபட்டிருக்கின்றனர் (43)... இதனையே மதுரையில் அறவோர்கள் தங்கிய புறஞ்சிறை முதுரில் இருந்த பூங்கண் இயக்கி வழிபாடு காட்டுகின்றது (43).

<sup>118</sup> That it is near Maturai is clear from another passage in *Cil.* (ed. U.V.C. 1978:387), Chap. 15, “Aṭaikkalak k̄tai,” 6-8: மதுரை முதுரர் மாநகர் கண்டாங் / கறந்தரு நெஞ்சி னறவோர் பல்கிய / புறஞ்சிறை முதுர்ப் பொழிலிடம் புகுந்து, “After [Kōvalaṅ] had seen there the ancient and great city of Maturai, he entered a grove outside the walls of the ancient town, where numerous monks (*aṛavōr*) lived with a mind engaged on the path of dharma (*aṛam*).” – For the Jain saints’ choice of place of residence, see Ramaswami Ayyangar 1982:47.

<sup>119</sup> See Zvelebil 1995:169.

<sup>120</sup> We may see this work, following Ryan (1998:81), as a “skillfully poisonous parody.”

<sup>121</sup> These are all characteristics that had already been associated with *yakṣīs/yakṣas* in Vedic times. Misra (1981:16) makes this point when he writes: “[...] the idea of possession [by *yakṣas*] makes its first appearance in the *Ṛgveda* (VII.61.5).”

<sup>122</sup> இயக்கி கொணர்ந் தருளும் – இயக்கி கொணர்ந்து அருளும் (*Cīvakacintāmaṇi* [ed. Po.Vē. Cōmacuntaraṅār 1967], “Kaṅkamālaiyār ilampakam,” 1600.2).

<sup>123</sup> According to Perumāḷ (1990:44), Naccīṅārkkīṇiyar, the commentator of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, refers to *iyakki* as “a deity in the mountain that obeys to mantra and magic.” (Unfortunately I do not have access to U.Vē. Cāminātaiyār’s edition of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* with Naccīṅārkkīṇiyar’s commentary.) – For the popular belief that *yakṣas* have the extraordinary power to fly, see Misra 1981:151.

- 596.1 Beautiful bull- and cow-elephants, elephant calves, stags, deers,  
 2 pools with lotus-flowers, and birds  
 3 have been drawn, together with delightful young women in the posture of an *iyakki* (*yakṣī*),  
 2 at whose beauty  
 4 doubt arises in the on-looker's mind as to whether [these painted images are] real or not [lit.: "inside" the crystal wall or "outside"].

9.1. In verse 1015 of the same work we come across another example in which the term *iyakki* refers to a ravishingly beautiful, bewitching woman.<sup>124</sup> Here we witness a quarrel between Cīvakaṇ and his first wife Kāntarvatattai, who discovers, with resulting jealousy, Cīvakaṇ's love for Kuṇamālai through the portrait he has painted of his new beloved:

- 1015 இதுவென வருவென வியக்கி யென்றலும்  
 [...] மதுவிரி கோதையும் மாலை நின்மன  
 மதுமுறை யியக்கலி வியக்கி யாகுமே.  
 (*Cīvakacintāmaṇi* [ed. Po.Vē. Cōmacuntaraṇār 1967], Chapter "Kāntarvatattaiyār ilampakam," 1015)
- 1015.1 "Who is this figure [on the painting]?" [Kāntarvatattai asked.]  
 "It is an *iyakki/yakṣī*." [Cīvakaṇ answered.]  
 [...] 3 [Having understood whose portrait it is, Kāntarvatattai replies ironically:]  
 [She] wears a garland of flowers (*kōtai*) full of nectar.  
 4 Given that she touched  
 3 your heart  
 4 in such a manner, she must of course be an *iyakki/yakṣī*!

9.2. It is the accentuation of feminine physiology that causes bewilderment and an overwhelming passion—the same emotional nuances that are seemingly produced by *yakṣīs*. Verse 1326 of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* bears this out. Here Cīvakaṇ, upon seeing Patumai's enticing beauty, wonders:

உரையின் சாய வியக்கிகொல் யார்கொல  
 (*Cīvakacintāmaṇi* [ed. Po.Vē. Cōmacuntaraṇār 1967], Chapter "Patumaiyār ilampakam," 1326.3).

Is she an *iyakki*? Who is she?

9.3. To quote two more verses of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, 1570.4 and 1658.4, that equate captivating beauty with an *iyakki*:

[...]யியக்கிகொ லிவண்மற் றென்றான்.<sup>125</sup>  
 (*Cīvakacintāmaṇi* [ed. Po.Vē. Cōmacuntaraṇār 1967], Chapter "Kaṇakamālai ilampakam," 1570.4)

She might be an *iyakki*, [Cīvakaṇ thought].

[...]இயக்கி யிருந்த வெழிலொத்தான்.<sup>126</sup>  
 (*Cīvakacintāmaṇi* [ed. Po.Vē. Cōmacuntaraṇār 1967], Chapter "Kaṇakamālai ilampakam," 1658.4)

[... in this] she resembled an *iyakki* in beauty.

To sum up, this section has acquainted us with various aspects of *yakṣīs*, namely their benevolence, protectiveness,<sup>127</sup> seductive beauty, magical power, and ability to bestow fertility, as reflected in tree worship, Buddhist sculptures, and various texts of the different Indian religions, including the Jain-

<sup>124</sup> Ryan (1998) and Davis (1998) offer a convincing argument for the centrality of eroticism in this Jain work. Davis (1998:218) writes: "Tiruttakatēvar deploys his 'secular' erotic material strategically, to develop and enhance his Jaina message by subverting the erotic and pointing the way towards austerities."

<sup>125</sup> [...] இயக்கிகொல் இவன் மற்று என்றான்.

<sup>126</sup> [...] இயக்கி இருந்த எழில் ஒத்தான்.

<sup>127</sup> As we have seen, this includes protection against adultery.

influenced Tamil *kāppiyam* literature. This *yakṣī* type—I call it hereafter type A—seems to correlate with locations that are outside of settlements: at roadsides/crossroads or in the forest<sup>128</sup>/wilderness. Yet a *yakṣī* also may display features that sharply contrast with the sensibilities manifested in this *yakṣī* type.

10. We find one such *yakṣī* in the popular Buddhist figure Hārītī.<sup>129</sup> Her story, which Misra (1981:75) characterises as “a standardised version of a stock-belief in such popular deities,” tells of her addiction to stealing and devouring children until she was converted by the Buddha and thereby turned into a goddess of protection and childbirth.<sup>130</sup> Interestingly enough, Hārītī’s drive to kill children is a result of her having been a pregnant woman and having had a miscarriage in her former life.<sup>131</sup>

11. The child-devouring deity is a constantly recurring figure, Hārītī being only the most prominent one.<sup>132</sup> The theme of a *yakṣī* who devours children—I call this *yakṣī* type B—is again found in the *Ayoghara Jātaka* (No. 510),<sup>133</sup> where the barren wife of the king of Benares jealously prays to be able to devour the later queen’s child. When she is reborn as a *yakṣī* she is able to fulfil this desire.<sup>134</sup>

This *yakṣī* type could be easily equated with another group of goddesses, the *māṭṛkās* (mothers).<sup>135</sup> The impression is difficult to avoid, if one observes carefully enough, that one will find both groups, the *yakṣī* type B and the *māṭṛkās*, inhering in one common representative. The *māṭṛkās*, appearing collectively from the *Mahābhārata* epic on (Kinsley 1987:151, 160),<sup>136</sup> show traits that are strikingly identical with the Hārītī-like *yakṣī* type B: they are primarily “characterized as stealing children” (152), dangerous to newborn babies (153), and “inimical in nature and particularly dangerous to children” (160). Their teeth are large, and they inhabit trees and live at crossroads<sup>137</sup> (153). Kinsley (1987:154) in

<sup>128</sup> On the forest as an equivocal location (fearsome, but at the same time a place of fertility and renewal), see Sontheimer and Kulke 1989:203.

<sup>129</sup> It is Vētācalam’s (1989) study to which we owe the insight of the parallel features shared by Hārītī and Nīli-Icakkīyamman. On Hārītī’s status as a *yakṣī*, see Grönbold 1984:367: “Hārītī [...]. Ihre Beinamen Yakṣeśvarī (SM Bd. 1, S. 82) oder Mahāyakṣiṇī (S. 103) zeigen, daß sie eine Yakṣiṇī [...] ist.” – Hārītī’s husband is Pāñcika, a general in the retinue of Kubera, the king of *yakṣas*. Hārītī is found in cave 2 at Ajanta (600–642 C.E.); see Zimmer 1955:plate 155. Hārītī was also known of in Java during the late eighth century C.E.; see Zimmer 1955:plate 473. See also *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* (1992:411–3), Zin (2003:236), and Akanuma (1994:220f.), Hārītī, s.v.

<sup>130</sup> See Peri 1917:16–21. As Grönbold (1984:367f.) remarks: “Ihre Legende wird in mehreren Versionen berichtet (s. Getty GNB S. 84ff., Bhattasali IBBS S. 63–67). Sie lebte mit ihren 500 Kindern in der Nähe der Stadt Rājagṛha, stahl Kinder und fraß sie. Die Bevölkerung bat [...] Gautama Buddha um Hilfe. Dieser versteckte Piṅgala, den jüngsten Sohn H.s in seiner Bettelschale und gab ihn der Mutter erst zurück, als sie versprach seiner Lehre zu folgen. [...] Abschließend muß nochmal betont werden, daß — die sehr populäre — H. im buddh. Pantheon eine Sonderstellung einnimmt. Sie ist eine der ersten [...] Göttinnen überhaupt. In ihrer Entstehung, die verhältnismäßig gut zu eruieren ist, geht sie auf ein sehr konkretes Ereignis zurück [...]” For further bibliographical references, see Grönbold 1984:368. – R.S. Gupte (1972:119) points out that Hārītī, who occupied a prominent position in Buddhist literature, became popular not only in India, but also in Nepal, Tibet, China, Java, and Turkistan. For Hārītī and her cult in Nepal, see Merz 1996.

<sup>131</sup> See Peri 1917:12: “[I]ls rencontrèrent la femme de ce bouvier, enceinte, portant un pot de lait caillé. Tout lui dirent: ‘Sœur, viens danser et te réjouir avec nous.’ La femme [...] se mit à danser avec eux; il en résulta qu’elle se fatigua et finalement avorta.” ([The celebrating people] met on the way the herdsman’s pregnant wife, who was carrying a pot of curd. They all said: ‘Sister, come and dance and have fun with us.’ [...] She began to dance with them. This resulted in tiredness and finally in a miscarriage.) See also Panglung (1981:196f.); I am grateful to Dr Martin Delhey (University of Hamburg) for having drawn my attention to this author.

<sup>132</sup> For counterparts found in works of other religious traditions, see Misra 1981:75.

<sup>133</sup> See *Jātaka*, Vol. 4, p. 491 (tr. Cowell 1901 [Vol. 4]:304f.).

<sup>134</sup> A similar child-devouring *yakṣī* is mentioned in *Jayaddisa Jātaka* (No. 513); see *Jātaka*, Vol. 5, p. 21 (tr. Cowell 1905 [Vol. 5]:11. Here a wife prays to be able to devour the child of the king’s co-wife.

<sup>135</sup> Flood 1996:180: “The Māṭṛkās are described as dark, living on the periphery of society, and bringing misfortune, particularly upon children who must be protected from their unwanted attentions.”

<sup>136</sup> Note that Kinsley (1987:160) tends to perceive the *māṭṛkās* as grounded in village-goddess cults, stating that “[i]t is quite likely that the Māṭṛkās [...] can be identified with those goddesses, who are so central to the religious life of most Hindu villagers.” Orr (1999:261), it seems, would argue against this identification.

<sup>137</sup> A crossroads is a common place to dispose of dangerous things. On crossroads as places inhabited by *māṭṛkās*, see Kinsley

his attempt to explain the phenomenon remarks:

Behind child-afflicting goddesses such as the *Mātṛkās* is probably the belief that women who die childless or in childbirth linger on as inimical spirits who are jealous of other women and their children and whose jealousy is appeased by stealing or harming their children.

If Kinsley is correct, we would have a salient point of convergence between the *mātṛkās* and *yakṣīs*, the latter as reflected in the popular beliefs of present-day Tamilnadu (see Sections 7.4 and 7.5). For in popular belief, too, *yakṣīs* are regarded as being the hungry, unsatisfied spirits of pregnant women who have died an untimely death.<sup>138</sup> It seems to me that the features of both the *yakṣī* type B and the *mātṛkās* are quite close to the Western medieval witch, who was either a healer or midwife, the latter often looked upon as an evil mother, who, in her supposed cruelty and enviousness, was held responsible for the deaths of mothers and children.

### CONCLUSION TO 7.3.1

As stated earlier, the brief excursus on *yakṣīs* has been aimed at determining the extent to which the goddess who goes by the name *Icakki*, *Iyakki*, or *Icakkiammaṇ*, and is worshipped today in the far south of Tamilnadu, matches the picture of *yakṣīs* portrayed in texts of the various Indian religious traditions. In the *Icakki* worship we are concerned with, it is tempting to combine the two *yakṣī* types, that of the benevolent, protective, magically powerful, and progeny-bestowing *yakṣī* (type A) and that of the avenging, jealous, child-devouring *yakṣī* (type B, the type exhibiting the *mātṛkās*' traits) into the figure of the goddess *Icakkiammaṇ*. This combination is iconographically depicted in the *Paḷavūr Icakki* with a child on her hip and a child in her mouth,<sup>139</sup> and, in a more restricted sense, described in the local *Icakki* story of *Paḷavūr*.<sup>140</sup> However, I do not wish to imply that the worship of the goddess *Icakkiammaṇ* found today in the southernmost parts of Tamilnadu is similar to the *yakṣī* worship of ancient or medieval times.<sup>141</sup> But I do argue that in the *Icakki koṭai* ritual under discussion a relation to *yakṣīs* can indeed be assumed (as indicated by the goddess's very name<sup>142</sup>), and that the features ascribed to this goddess in the context of worship bear certain similarities to earlier Vedic conceptions of *yakṣas*. Such Vedic conceptions are quite equivocal:<sup>143</sup> both benign and malign;<sup>144</sup> moreover, as having "magical power"<sup>145</sup> with the ability to possess other beings,<sup>146</sup> probably owing to their spirit nature. It would not be amiss to say that the goddess in her *koṭai* ritual, in agreement with her dual character, can primarily be seen in two ways, as devouring new life and granting new life. These two facets are similarly ascribed to *yakṣīs* (or *yakṣiṇīs*) in the Buddhist *Jātakas*, although they are rarely

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1987:155; referring to *Cārudatta* of Bhāsa and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka, the author notes the practice of making offerings to *mātṛkās* at crossroads.

<sup>138</sup> See my discussion in Sect. 7.4.1.

<sup>139</sup> See Sect. 8.7.

<sup>140</sup> Note that in this confusing landscape of *Icakki* stories we have constantly to distinguish between the local *Icakki* story (see Sects. 9.2.2, midnight session and 9.3.4.2) and the translocal epic *IK* (Sect. 5.4).

<sup>141</sup> Here I deviate clearly from Vētācalam's view (1989:111f.).

<sup>142</sup> Interestingly enough, according to Orr (1999:266), "the terms used to refer to female deities in Jain and Hindu inscriptions [of medieval Tamilnadu] are different from one another"; in particular, "[n]o Hindu goddesses are referred to as *yakṣīs*."

<sup>143</sup> On the ambiguous character of *yakṣas* in early beliefs and the element of fertility in their character displayed in later times, see Misra 1981:162: "As regards the popular mythology and folklore of the Yakshas in the modern period, it appears that they have found their place as fertility of [*sic*] protective deities in which their old ambivalent attitude persists." In their protective aspect, they are, according to the same scholar (ibid.:163), "similar to [...] deities such as *Ellammā*, *Mariammā* [...]."

<sup>144</sup> See Misra 1981:14, referred to above in Sect. 7.3.1, point 1.

<sup>145</sup> Misra 1981:26.

<sup>146</sup> See Sect. 7.3.1, point 8, p. 246, n. 121.

combined in a single *yakṣī*. In this respect, Icakki seems to be an exception.<sup>147</sup>

At this point attention should again be drawn to the prayer to a female deity called Icakkiamman in the late-sixteenth-century Jain text *Appāṇṭainātar Ulā*, a poem in praise of the *tīrthankara* Mahāvīra Pārśvanātha, also known as Appāṇṭainātar (see Section 7.3.1, point 6.). It may be a minor detail or a coincidence that our goddess's name has a counterpart in a sixteenth-century Jain context. But perhaps it is not. I confess I do not know what precise connection this goddess may have with the present-day Icakkiamman, who can be classified as non-vegetarian and Hindu. On the basis of the information currently available to me, any attempt to assume a historical connection would be far too speculative. However, it is worth considering that the transformation of the religious identity of Tamil Jain goddesses (*yakṣīs*) is attested.<sup>148</sup> As several scholars have pointed out, Jain goddess shrines were,<sup>149</sup> and still are being, altered into Hindu temples.<sup>150</sup> In any case, the namesake invites an inquiry—something that goes beyond the framework of the present study.

### 7.3.2 Icakki (*yakṣī*) and Nīli: Two Basically Autonomous Figures

In the preceding section I discussed the name Icakki as applied to the goddess in the context of worship. However, in the story (translocal *IK*) told of her within the *villuppāṭṭu* bow-song tradition she is called not only Icakki but also Nīli, the latter carrying largely different connotations, as I have shown in Section 7.3 and Chapter 3. This seems something of a contradiction and deserves careful scrutiny. In this chapter, I shall discuss the apparent contradiction and show its causes. I propose that the two names applied to the heroine in the translocal *IK* were originally used for two autonomous figures, who only converged when the story of Nīli became linked to the worship of Icakkiamman.

Let us start out with a few givens. First of all, we have the translocal *IK*. Its compositional core, the story of the human Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli, was well known in the seventh century C.E., and was in one way or

<sup>147</sup> The pan-Indian goddess Durgā, of course, also exhibits a dual character; however, we cannot really consider her traits as falling under the maternal–antimaternal dichotomy.

<sup>148</sup> This is perhaps not very surprising in view of the fact, as Orr (1999) points out, that Tamil Hindu and Tamil Jain worship are not, after all, entirely incompatible, and may even have emerged from a common background. Indeed, her examination of Jain and Hindu medieval inscriptions brings to light a “manner of worship, [which was] virtually identical [...] in terms of notions of devotion, service, and sensuous worship [...]” (ibid.:265). Interestingly enough, according to the same scholar (ibid.:256) “[t]he offering of flowers is the only type of worship that is commonly found referred to in Hindu inscriptions that is not in evidence in the surviving epigraphical accounts of Jain worship.”

<sup>149</sup> In Kerala, according to Obeyesekere (1984:518), the Jain temples were transformed into Bhagavatī shrines in the fourteenth century; cf. Clothey 1982: “A Jaina temple at Ciṭṭaral [Citaṭāl] and one at Kallil in Northern Travancore became temples to Bhagavathi, the former around the middle of the thirteenth century” (ibid.:50f.). A temple in Nagercoil was converted in 1522 from a Jain shrine to a temple to the “king of the snakes” (according to Clothey [1982:51], who refers to the *Travancore Information and Listener*, III, 9 [May 1943], p. 19). Mahāvīra Pārśvanātha and other *munis* are depicted within the temple compound. The transition from a Jain shrine to a temple of the snake-king is not very surprising in view of the assimilation of the *nāga* and *bhūta* cults by the Jain tradition (see Zydenbos 2000:187, with regard to the Jain cult of Patmāvatī). Interestingly enough, Icakki, as a minor deity, is connected with the Nāgarāja temple at Nagercoil; see Sect. 7.7.3 below. – It seems to me that the multiform culture of Tamilnadu has all along offered a platform for various potential conversions. Thus, similarly to transitions of divinities from a Jain context to a Hindu one, people's conversions from one to the other adherence are well substantiated, as the case of the famous poet-saint Appar shows: he was first a Jain mendicant before becoming a Śaiva; see Cort 2002:85f.

<sup>150</sup> Vēṭācalam 1989:103: தென்தமிழ்நாட்டிலும் அதையொட்டிய கேரளப்பகுதியிலும் இருந்த இயக்கி கோயில்கள் பிற்காலத்தில் பகவதிகோயிலாக மாறியுள்ளன. The *iyakki* shrine in Ciṅkikkūḷam in the area of Nāṅkuṅṅēri, Tirunelvēli district strikingly exemplifies this process: நாங்குநேரப் பகுதியிலுள்ள சிங்கிக்குளத்திலிருந்த இயக்கிகோயில் இன்று பகவதியம்மன் கோயில் என்ற பெயரில் விளங்குகின்றது (ibid.:103). Dr Lourdu (the eminent Tamil folklorist) and Peter A. Raj (the archivist of St. Xavier's College, Paḷaiyaṅkōṭṭai) remarked in personal communications in respectively May and December 2002 that in one particular location, Ciṅkikkūḷam, the *Iyakki* temple has had a storey added on for the worship of Bhagavatī. Unfortunately my schedule did not allow me to visit the site personally. According to Vēṭācalam (1989:103) there is also the case, in Kuḷattupūḷā in Kerala, of a Bhagavatī temple even today bearing both names, being called the *Iyakki Bhagavatī* temple: கேரளத்தில் குளத்துப்புழா என்ற இடத்திலுள்ள பகவதி இன்றும் இயக்கிபகவதி என்றே அழைக்கப்படுவது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

another affiliated with the fierce goddess Nīli-Kālī of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu in northern Tamilnadu.<sup>151</sup> It presents a story of the type violation–death–deification–revenge.<sup>152</sup> This story type, at the core of the bow-song tradition,<sup>153</sup> is a variation on the *Cilappatikāram* type of story (violation–revenge–death–deification).

Second, we have the Icakkiammaṅ worship. It is first attested with certainty in the second half of the seventeenth century in the far south of Tamilnadu.<sup>154</sup> A possible indication that it existed still much earlier, however, may be seen in the Muppiṭāri<sup>155</sup> Ammaṅ/Mukāmpari temple of Tālakkuṭi, a temple of the early fourteenth century<sup>156</sup> dedicated to Puruṣā Tēvi (later Icakki),<sup>157</sup> the same deified warrior-queen who resides in the Cukkuppārai (Nāṭār) temple near Kaṅṅiyākumari, founded in 1670<sup>158</sup>. There her story, the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai*, an account of the princess Puruṣā Tēvi (N4), was, and still is, the central text<sup>159</sup> of Icakkiammaṅ worship. This indigenous southern story of an autonomous homoerotic<sup>160</sup> virgin warrior-queen, presumably part of the Icakkiammaṅ cult prior to the *IK*,<sup>161</sup> presents a narrative centred on women (female leader–violent invasion–suicide–deification<sup>162</sup>) and falls in a broad sense under the *Alliyaracāṇimālai*<sup>163</sup> type of story. One has little reason to doubt former royal patronage of the Puruṣā Tēvi–Icakki cult tradition. The royal family of Mēlaṅkōṭu, which had Puruṣā Tēvi–Icakki installed,<sup>164</sup> considered her to be the family’s tutelary matrilineal ancestor and protectress.<sup>165</sup>

Third, it may be supposed that Icakkiammaṅ worship is a cult that developed out of a tradition of honouring powerful female spirits of the dead. The *cumaitāṅki kal* (load bearer in stone), a memorial for death during pregnancy or childbirth, figures prominently in it. The goddess Icakkiammaṅ would then be a composite spirit representing pregnant women and virgins who have died untimely deaths. She is hence a most feared figure, the limbo state she is in rendering her highly unsatisfied and thus vengeful (see Section 7.4.1 below).

Given these three aspects of the figure and the fact that not only Puruṣā Tēvi’s story but also that of Nīli (both figures later renamed Icakki) became tied to the Icakkiammaṅ cult,<sup>166</sup> the question arises why and how the *Paḷaiyaṅṅūr Nīli Katai* (a northern text that existed in a recast southern version by

<sup>151</sup> See Chap. 3, No. 4.

<sup>152</sup> See Sect. 4.2 above.

<sup>153</sup> See Sect. 4.2.

<sup>154</sup> For the dating of the Cukkuppārai Tēriṅṅai shrine of P. Taṅkarāj Nāṭār, see Sect. 7.7.2, K.K.Dt., No. 1 below.

<sup>155</sup> Orr (1999:262, 266) remarks that Jain and Hindu inscriptions in Tamilnadu dating from medieval times use the term *piṭāri* both for Jain *yakṣīs* and pan-Indian goddesses such as Kālī and Durgā.

<sup>156</sup> See p. 13, n. 30, in Sect. 2.4, N4. Tālakkuṭi is mentioned in the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai*.

<sup>157</sup> Very probably this temple is identical with the Puruṣā Tēvi–Icakki temple mentioned in the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai*, and said to have been built by the Karaiyāḷars (Vēḷāḷas) of Tālakkuṭi (see Sect. 2.4, N4, synopsis).

<sup>158</sup> See Jeyakumār and Pūminākanāṭaṅ 1995:xxviii.

<sup>159</sup> Note that in some Icakkiammaṅ shrines of Kaṅṅiyākumari district this text is indeed the one performed in the *koṭai* festival; see p. 268f., Sect. 7.7.2, K.K.Dt., Nos. 1, 9.

<sup>160</sup> For Puruṣā Tēvi and her all-female kingdom being impregnated by the south wind, see Sect. 2.4, N4.

<sup>161</sup> See Sect. 2.4, N4, Figure 1.

<sup>162</sup> Rao (1986:140) dubs this story type “sacrificial epic”; for further details, see Sect. 2.4, N4 above. I may remark in passing that the theme of revenge also figures in the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai*.

<sup>163</sup> The story of the princess Alli of Maturai. The story has links with the classical Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*.

<sup>164</sup> See Sect. 2.4, N4, synopsis.

<sup>165</sup> See Sect. 2.4, N4, p. 15, n. 35. Note that the middle-aged Nāṭār Tīru Kānti, the wealthy owner of Maṅikkattippoṭṭal Cāmiṅṅūkkōyil, told me in a personal communication that during the lifetime of his father the icon of Poṭṭal Icakki was confiscated by the royals of Patmanāpapuram, who claimed that the deity was too powerful; see Sect. 7.7.2, K.K.Dt., p. 269, No. 8. Since it has never been returned, an eternally lit oil lamp has replaced the deity.

<sup>166</sup> Support of this view comes from Blackburn (1980:204): “Puruṣā Tēvi then goes to Kailāsa, receives boons from Śiva, and returns to earth [...] and is [...] merged with the most fearful of all the avenging Ammaṅs, Icakki Ammaṅ,” and Paramasiṅṅa 2002: “In the southern districts, Paḷakainallur Nīli is now connected with Icakkiammaṅ.” See also Sect. 2.4, N4.

1775)<sup>167</sup> came to be associated with the Icakkiammaṅ worship prevailing in the southernmost *villuppāṭṭu* bow-song region.

Concerning the first question, I would argue that the story of Nīli, having forged an existence of its own, at some point set out in search of a cult.<sup>168</sup> This is not as far-fetched as it may seem, given that in northern Paḷaiyaṅūr-Tiruvālaṅkāṭu the heroine of the *katai* has never had a living cult.<sup>169</sup> What we probably witness is a late cultic deification of the Paḷaiyaṅūr Nīli character in the goddess Icakkiammaṅ of southern Tamilnadu. Any attempt to date the historical process that linked story and cult would, however, be highly speculative.<sup>170</sup> The same is true of the question of how the text migrated to the south. While these questions must be left pending, the question as to why the Nīli story should tie in precisely with the cult of Icakkiammaṅ is more easily answered. I think it clear that Icakkiammaṅ, who is considered to be the most feared goddess in the bow-song tradition,<sup>171</sup> was seen as a most suitable choice for a similarly threatening figure like Nīli to meld into.

This brings us back to the second question asked above of how the Nīli story became linked with the Icakki cult. Nīli's relation to Icakkiammaṅ worship is, I think, an indirect one, and can only be understood by the common theme they share: the violent death of a pregnant or virginal woman.<sup>172</sup> Only such an event can explain in full the complex manner in which Nīli and Icakki converged. However, in spite of this common theme there is an odd sense of disjuncture when we try to merge the two. Part of the problem with the complete identification of the goddess Icakkiammaṅ and Nīli is Icakkiammaṅ's maternal and antimaternal traits. These traits bring her naturally close to displaying a Hārītī-like *yakṣī* disposition. However, they do not fully suit the disposition of Nīli, whose name (see Sect. 7.3) is so closely connected with the ferocious warrior-like Nīli-Korṛavai and Durgā, “the murderous bride.”<sup>173</sup> Perhaps it was this sense of disjuncture that led to the devadāsī motif<sup>174</sup> being introduced into the

<sup>167</sup> See my discussion in Sect. 2.6.

<sup>168</sup> On this view, cf. Johansen 1971:104.

<sup>169</sup> See Subramaniam (*A Tale of Nemesis*, Tamil with Engl. transl. of *Nīli Yaṭcakāṇam*) 1996:xviii. See also Caṅmukacuntaram 1978:27: “From Toṅṭaimaṅṭala catakam [of Paṭikkācu Pulavar] it is known that there is no custom of building a temple and worshipping Nīli. It is only found in south Paṅṭiya country. There is a temple in Paḷavūr. There is a temple of Nīli, called Icakki at Muppantal otherwise named Muppandharam.” – In Paḷaiyaṅūr-Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, up to the present, it is only the Vēḷāḷas whose importance is acknowledged, as the lately opened memorial to the seventy Vēḷāḷas shows.

<sup>170</sup> It is said that at Paḷavūr, the main place of my research, the worship of Icakkiammaṅ, which includes the *IK*, was established around 300 years ago, that is, around 1700.

<sup>171</sup> After all, she challenges human's continuity of existence.

<sup>172</sup> Recall Anṇatāṭci-Nīli in the northern version N7, who died pregnant, and Lakṣmī of the southern bow-song version N1, who died as a virgin.

<sup>173</sup> Note that in the *IK* (see N1) Nīli-Icakki is identified in the last line of the text with Bhagavatī, a goddess associated with Kālī and Durgā. The Durgā of the South Indian Śaiva tradition is seen as a dangerous, “murderous bride” (Shulman 1980:176ff.) who “poses a fatal threat to those who approach her sexually” (Kinsley 1987:115). She is said to “present [...] a picture of determined, fierce independence, which is challenged only at great risk by her suitors” (ibid.:115) and is “described as a ferocious, invincible warrior” (ibid.:138). On the Bhagavatī-Kālī cult in Kerala, see Caldwell 1999. None of the descriptions captures any aspect of the maternal–antimaternal dichotomy in the identity of these goddesses. – Note also that in our story's variant N7 of the northern line Nīli is a form of Pārvatī; see Sect. 2.4, N7 above.

<sup>174</sup> One has little reason to doubt a link between devadāsīs and *yakṣīs*. This can be inferred not least from the fact that *yakṣīs* are worshipped by devadāsīs. Thurston and Rangachari (1909:142), referring to the worship practice of devadāsīs, write: “Minor deities, such as Bhadrakālī, Yakshi and Gandharva are worshipped by the figure of a trident or sword being drawn on the wall of the house, to which food and sweetmeats are offered on Fridays.” – Note that it is the devadāsī motif (a reconceptualisation of the story's protagonist) that provides the Nīli story with its local contextualisation in the south of Tamilnadu. – Along these same lines, it may be suggested that there is even a tripartite connection: *yakṣīs*, devadāsīs, and Vēḷāḷas, the latter a social group that is an integral part of the productive landowning classes of the wet zones, that is, those who are concerned with agrarian fertility and water assets. A remark in Thurston and Rangachari 1909:127 does seem to point to the assumed link, namely that “[from...] the two castes (Vellāla and Kaikōla [the latter being weavers; B.S.]) [...] most of the Dāsīs are recruited [...]”. Cf. Kersenboom-Story 1987:180, which echoes this: “[...] the *viṛali* and *pāṭiṇi* represents a most likely antecedent of the later devadāsī ‘proper’. However, the bardic literature offers us no clue as to the caste [...]. The medieval commentator Naccīṅārkkīṅiyar (ca. 14 century A.D.) expounds clear ideas about the caste of the *viṛali* [...] who belong to the caste[s] of [...] and *vellāla jāti* [...]. *Vellāla jāti* stands for a number of non-Brahmin castes of the South: Mudaliars, Piḷḷais, Kaikkolans [...]. These are indeed the social groups from which devadāsīs could be recruited.”

story.<sup>175</sup> Paradoxically, such highly auspicious<sup>176</sup> and sexualised women are, at the same time, not fully women at all, in that they generally do not bear children. It seems to me that this new motif of the devadāsī<sup>177</sup> is conducive to the convergence of the Nīli figure with Icakkiammaṅ, the more so as the latter, like a devadāsī, is seen to be to an equal degree both fertile and the very opposite of fertile in essence. However, again, the decisive factor in the convergence of the two figures is due to their similarity in dying childless. Their natures gave rise to analogous themes, but never fully overlapped. This conclusion is supported by the fact that in the context of the *koṭai* festival it is not the translocal *IK* (the southern version of the *Paḷaiyaṅṅ Nīli Katai*) that generates the moment of fusion of ritual and text (Section 9.2.2, midnight session), but rather the local Icakki story, a story that plainly reveals the main feature of the goddess Icakkiammaṅ—her blocking of bearing children.<sup>178</sup>

### CONCLUSION TO 7.3.2

In the preceding lines I have concluded that at a textual level two originally autonomous figures have converged: Nīli and Icakkiammaṅ. The presence of the name Icakki in the translocal *IK*, in my opinion, can only be explained when seen in the context of concrete cultic realities, realities to which the text gained only deferred entry (and that only in the southernmost part of Tamilnadu). It seems that the Nīli of the story and the Icakkiammaṅ of the cult became interlocked in virtue of both having died in a childless state. Recognising this puts the relation of these two figures into proper perspective. However, their traits do not correspond one-to-one. This leads us to the conclusion that they are indeed basically different figures: on the one hand, the once human Nīli, whose name in *Cil.* 12.21.3 (*palikōṭai*), is “apparently so closely linked with violence”<sup>179</sup> and associated with Korṟavai,<sup>180</sup> the

<sup>175</sup> This, of course, does not exclude other reasons for the introduction of the devadāsī motif into the story—for example, the possible cross-fertilisation of the *IK* text by other texts. It is not unlikely that, for instance, the elaborate erotic depictions of the devadāsīs, very visible in works such as the *Vaiśikatantram* and the *Uṅṅunīlisandēsam* (both Maṅipravālam works of the Sanskrit-proficient elite circles of Kerala, that is, works with a blend of Sanskrit lexico-grammatical incorporations in Malayalam speech), found their way across caste boundaries into wider circulation, and thereby indirectly into the bards’ textual practice. Such imitation is not unlikely with respect to the *IK*, which made eroticism and courtesan culture part of its world, within its southern setting. Similarly, from an anthropological point of view the depiction of the sexual charms of women and erotic behaviour in the southern version may reflect not only the cross-fertilisation of texts, but equally as well the tendency of an epoch to make the perceptions of body, and the relationship between money and erotic bodily experience a conscious focus of lived reality (cf. Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam 1998). (Perhaps such an influence on the story can be more easily acknowledged against the backdrop of sociopolitical change and the large-scale migrations beginning in the late fourteenth century and culminating in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; see Ludden 1985:50ff., 69–75.) We may also expect that individual episodes were elaborated as a reflex of socially or geographically formed influences. The two social groups of bow-song bards, the landed Vēḷāḷas and the oppressed Nāṭārs, each doubtless left its imprint on the story as a mirror of its own perceived realities. (Nāṭārs, for instance, always favoured Nīli, the ferocious abandoned woman—a fact both confirmed in my fieldwork and emphasised by Paramasivaṅ [2002].) Similarly, the southern version may have developed rudimentary scenes into what by comparison are full-blown episodes so as to suit the tastes of the new local audience, one used to a cultural blend of Malayali and Tamil. All this may explain not only how the heroine ultimately evolved her unique personality within the bow-song *IK* text, but also what happened to the text once it arrived in the south.

<sup>176</sup> On the devadāsī and auspiciousness, see Kersenboom (1991:137): “[...] the *devadāsī* exceeds even the *sumāṅgalī* [i.e. a married woman whose husband is still living and who has borne several children] in auspiciousness [...] and] is called ‘ever auspicious’ (*nityasumāṅgalī*).”

<sup>177</sup> This new motif is found in the context not only of expanded episodes of childbearing, but also of previously unknown scenes of killing wives and children. I refer to the scene in N1 where Nīli-Icakki kills all the children and their mothers, a murderous act that results in halting the reproductive continuity of a community (cf. the Hārītī figure). The scene follows the murder of the Ceṭṭi and the suicide of the seventy Vēḷāḷas—two parties that fall victim to what could be called a rational act of ‘justified’ revenge. This theme of child slaughter is found neither in the (self-impregnated wife)–sword–fire type (northern line) nor in the transitional version, the margosa leaf–fire type. We may state that both episodes, the childbearing and the hindering of reproduction, highlight the same dichotomy (fertile–infertile) as we are disposed to see in the devadāsī motif.

<sup>178</sup> I need not enter here into the details. I shall show at a later stage in the analysis of the midnight *koṭai* ritual (Sect. 9.3.4) that this can indeed be assumed.

<sup>179</sup> Shulman 1980:196.

<sup>180</sup> Reference is made to this goddess, a proto-Durgā, in the Tamil literature of the Caṅkam period and in the *kāppiyam* work



ancient war goddess, and on the other, Iyakki/Icakki, whose name reflects both the child-devouring (type B) and the protective and fertility-bestowing (type A) aspects of the *yakṣīs*. The latter name clearly defines the goddess's essential role in the cult.

While at the textual level there is an uneven convergence of two figures that have no exact parallels (a fact that can only be explained by the story's having become attached to a cult), at the ritual level, I would argue, the goddess is voided of the Nīli-Koṛṛavai-Durgā traits,<sup>181</sup> while retaining much of the dual life-giving and life-taking qualities of apotheosised women who died violently and childless.<sup>182</sup> We can go a step further in the argument by asserting that this duality, in fact, is reflected in what Blackburn (1980:211) has defined as the “split goddess”: Icakkiyamman worshipped in the role of two sisters, an elder and a younger one, who divide, according to indigenous notions, two psychological dispositions between themselves: the erotic–fertile and the unsatisfied–antimaternal.<sup>183</sup> Indeed, this dichotomy postulated by popular psychology underlies the cult of Icakkiyamman.<sup>184</sup>

### 7.4 Icakki and People's Beliefs

Though the worship of Icakki is mainly patronised by three social groups, those mentioned above, other communities do visit her shrines and participate in her *koṭai* festivals, the principal ones being the Ācāris, Iṭaiyars, Kollars, Cāmpavars, Tēvars, Pataiyācciyars, Paṛaiyars, and Vīracaivars.<sup>185</sup> What are we to make of their devotion, and what is their belief? Generally speaking, it is worth consulting Icakkiyamman for everything relating to fertility,<sup>186</sup> wealth, and progress in life. It is, however, domestic life in general and female fertility/infertility in particular that she is most closely associated with.

When Vētācalam (1989:110) talks of Icakki's charmingly seductive character as able to unnerve and entrap men, my fieldwork has shown that this is due above all to the fact that they in one way or another have become entangled in adultery. There is no doubt that adultery is a concern Icakkiyamman raises her voice at, thereby exhibiting continuity with the historical *yakṣas*.<sup>187</sup> One fact that came out of my interviews held with female devotees at the Muppantal Icakki temple and with the Nāṭār woman Pakialeṭcumi, an informant residing in Terkukkūṅṭal (K.K.Dt.), is just how much of a domestic problem adultery and polygyny is, for although the latter is now illegal, husbands' promiscuous lives cause women to suffer and propel them towards Icakki. While marital crises are kept under wraps, being treated as a taboo in Tamil society, they are a factor in the worship of the goddess Icakkiyamman, along with themes closely relating to the female body and its reproductive capacity or lack thereof. These

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*Cilappatikāram*. It is, however, an unsolved question whether Koṛṛavai originally displayed aspects of a fertility goddess. Kinsley (1987:176) holds that there is “no marked element of fertility in the character.” Tiwari (1985:233) agrees with him, but admits that an “original fertility character of this goddess is not unlikely.” For Tiwari's argumentation, see Chap. 3, No. 1.1, p. 28, n. 5 above. Support of Kinsley's view comes from the *Cilappatikāram*, a work which opens up early layers of popular religiosity to view. Here Koṛṛavai's identity can be inferred not least from the social group of Maṛava warriors who venerated her—that is to say, from their social identity and economic needs.

<sup>181</sup> Note that at the ritual level the goddess is never addressed as Nīli.

<sup>182</sup> Paramasivaṅ (2002) argues along the same lines when he writes: “[the ...] connection [of the *Paḷayaṅūr Nīli Kātai* and the goddess Icakkiyamman] is at the level of bow-song, but not at the level of worship.” This assertion has not been elaborated on and argued analytically by Paramasivaṅ. – On the emic distinction between goddesses born out of violence and village goddesses, see Mines 2002:241 (Issakkiyamman [*sic*]), 243.

<sup>183</sup> For a detailed discussion, see below, Sect. 7.6.

<sup>184</sup> This I attempt to show in Chap. 9.

<sup>185</sup> This list is taken from Perumāḷ 1990:59.

<sup>186</sup> For the belief that cattle diseases are also caused by Icakki, see Natarajan 1986:4. – Cf. Favret-Saada 1979, which examines the notion of a link between witchcraft and the death of cattle in France.

<sup>187</sup> See *Cil.*, Chap. 5 “Intiraviḷavu ūr eṭutta kātai,” 128-134; and *Kathāsaritsāgara* 2.5.165ff., referred to in my discussion in Sect. 7.3.1, point 4.

include menstrual problems, fear of labour pains and the physical ordeal of childbirth, pregnant women's belief in their psychic susceptibility to spirit possession, and above all to the problem of barrenness.<sup>188</sup> A visible sign both of women's requests and thanksgiving are the offerings of wooden dolls and cradles, on the one hand, and Iyakki terra-cotta figures offered as a *koṭai* (gift), on the other.<sup>189</sup> Still other terra-cotta figures, placed at fences and walls around Icakki shrines and bearing signs of amputated limbs,<sup>190</sup> are responses of gratitude to Icakki's health-restoring help.<sup>191</sup> Women may require other support as well, as seen in their offerings of black bangles.<sup>192</sup>

However, Icakkiammaṅ is not considered to be wholly benevolent. People's beliefs make abundant allowance for the two strands of her nature, the benevolent and malevolent,<sup>193</sup> as witnessed in the *cumaitāṅki kal*, which we shall discuss in the following section.

#### 7.4.1 Icakki the Composite Spirit<sup>194</sup> of Pregnant Women and Virgins<sup>195</sup> Who Have Died Untimely Deaths

##### 1. *Cumaitāṅki kal*<sup>196</sup> — a memorial for the death of a pregnant woman

Death in pregnancy or in childbirth means, according to Hindu belief, that a woman has left this world in a state of defilement, with adverse consequences for her next life. The woman who dies in this manner cannot perform her duty as a mother toward the child;<sup>197</sup> if the child dies with her, she has failed in her filial and uxorial duties to produce offspring that will continue the family line and perform ancestral rites. A memorial stone (called *cumaitāṅki*, "load bearer") is believed to relieve her of this burden.

This memorial stone installed along the side of a road in remembrance of the untimely death of a pregnant woman or a virgin turns in the course of time into a place of Icakki worship. A fine example is found in Cemponkarai, a site of Icakki worship, where the top stone of the *cumaitāṅki* has fallen off. Blackburn (1980:156) notes one generally held belief: "When the top stone falls off, the harmful effects [...] of the tragic death are thought to have been spent." As regards the connection between the *cumaitāṅki* and Icakki, the goddess we are discussing here, Perumāḷ's remarks are most valuable:

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Natarajan 1986:2 and Perumāḷ 1990:63. With respect to the problem of childlessness, the bow-song singer G. Muttuleṭcumi and her husband G. Gopikriṣṇaṅ, in an interview held on 8 May 2002, remarked: "Icakkiammaṅ is powerful enough to give the boon of a child to those who have had no child for more than ten or fifteen years" (K.-L.01.500).

<sup>189</sup> See the description of my field research in Chap. 9.

<sup>190</sup> These are particularly in evidence in Muppantal.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Natarajan 1986:2.

<sup>192</sup> Natarajan 1986:2.

<sup>193</sup> See my discussion of the goddess's name in Sects. 7.3.1 and 7.3.2.

<sup>194</sup> I borrow this term from Babb (1975:228), who refers to a similar figure in Chhattisgarhi belief: the demoness Churalin. Churalin, in Babb's words, "the most malevolent of all ghosts," is associated with "women who have died in childbirth."

<sup>195</sup> Cf. Natarajan 1986 and Perumāḷ 1990:63. — On the inauspiciousness and potential malevolence of women who die during pregnancy and childbirth, or who die unmarried and therefore childless, and their connection with the concept of *dr̥ṣṭi* (evil eye), see Kersenboom-Story 1987:207, n. 5. This author remarks that one who is childless and infertile "may impede the fertility of all spheres of reality," and that, analogously, a pregnant woman who dies "may impede the deliveries of pregnant women."

<sup>196</sup> An approximately 1.30-metre-high table-like stone formation consisting of two vertical stone slabs topped by a horizontal one. The *cumaitāṅki kal*, as its name implies, was previously made use of among travellers to set down a load on while resting. — The bow-song bard T.M.P., in an interview held on 21 January 2003, succinctly explains the link between the stone, installed as the result of the untimely death of a pregnant woman, and the people who use it as a convenient support: "They put their load on this stone and take some rest. When they take rest, their body and soul is relaxed. Psychologically, this has a positive effect on the troubled family [who installed the *cumaitāṅki*]." In other words, as Blackburn (1980:155f.) puts it, "[t]he soul of the dead woman who died 'bearing a load' is believed to reside in this structure which 'bears the load' of others."

<sup>197</sup> For examples of this problem, see the complaint of the daughter of Puruṣā Tēvi to Śiva in the synopsis of the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai*, Sect. 2.4, N4.

When a woman dies before delivery, she becomes a *pēy* (hungry spirit) who roams about with her child. She suffers due to the unbearable weight of the child, and takes revenge on her relations. This, people believe still today, so they neither cremate nor bury the dead body of a pregnant woman.

They put the dead body of a pregnant woman next to the pit of the cremation ground, wrap it in white clothes, and remove the dress of the dead body. As the body lies on the ground facing the sky, they split the stomach of the pregnant woman with a sharp horn of a bull. After cutting, they take the foetus from the womb. This is done by the woman belonging to the Harijan community who guards the cremation grounds. Afterward the relations either burn or bury the two bodies separately.

If a woman dies before her delivery, it is believed that she will harm people. If the dead woman appears in a dream with her child, or appears in their mind, the mature girls in the family will start menstruating. In remembrance of the dead pregnant woman, they [the family] will install a stone at the boundary of the village. This stone is worshipped by the relations who installed it. They serve offerings on the last Friday of the month of Kartikai (mid-Nov.-mid-Dec.). As soon as the news and the implied belief begin to spread, the stone becomes important. In due course it becomes *Icakkiammaṅ*. This stone, which once belonged to one family, afterward is common to all. After some years it turns into a place of *Nili-Ammaṅ* worship.

When field researchers asked about the development of the cult, the people replied that the temples that are found in *Kaṛkāṭu*, *Cāntāṅ Cettiviḷai*, and so forth were some 50 years earlier *cumaitāṅki* stones. (Perumāḷ 1990:129, appendix, n. 13)

## 2. *Icakki and the untimely death of virgins (kaṅṅis)*

The way virgins who meet an untimely death are believed to become *Icakkis* is well described in a story thought to be native to the former *Tiruvitāṅkūr Nāṭu* (Travancore State).

The plot involves an intrigue planned by two blood relations of King *Mārttāṅṭavarmā* of *Tiruvitāṅkūr* to assassinate the latter. *Patmanāpaṅ*, a great hero and supporter of *Mārttāṅṭavarmā*, was in charge of training the warriors of Travancore. His fame as an expert of the whirling sword (*curuḷ vāḷ*) spread everywhere, and beautiful women desired to marry him—including the two daughters of a Nambudiri Brahmin, a priest who performed the *pūjās* at the *Nīlakaṅṭacāmi* temple in *Patmanāpapuram*. They claimed they would die if they could not marry *Patmanāpaṅ*, the great hero who belonged to the *Nāṭār* community. When their father came to know that *Patmanāpaṅ* had promised to marry his two daughters, he pushed both into a well at *Mēlāṅkōṭu*, for he realised he could do nothing against *Patmanāpaṅ*, given the latter's influence not only with the king, but also among the people. The two *veṭṭuppaṭṭa vātais* ("cut-up spirits")<sup>198</sup> became *Iyakkis* with the names *Nīlā* and *Ceṅpakam*, and settled in *Mēlāṅkōṭu*.<sup>199</sup>

We can conclude that *Icakkiammaṅ* is not only closely associated with the spirits of women who died during pregnancy, but also to an equal extent with spirits of virgin women who met any sudden, unnatural, and violent death.

## 7.5 Different Local *Icakki* Stories

If we are to interpret the story of *Nīli/Icakkiammaṅ* in its context, we must make clear that at the *koṭai* festival it is not only the *IK* (also known as the *Paḷakainallur Nīli Katai*) that the *villuppāṭṭu* group is expected to perform. Although the *IK* is compulsory, the bow-song singer used to be qualified to sing, in addition, the story of *Icakki* specific to individual locations.<sup>200</sup> Each setting of the local story is unique and is considered to be the centrepiece of the *koṭai*, as I shall demonstrate at a later point in the discussion of the *koṭai* festival in which I participated. If we ignore these local stories, our

<sup>198</sup> For a discussion of the two categories "divine birth" and "cut-up spirit," see Blackburn 1980:151.

<sup>199</sup> My synopsis is based on Perumāḷ 1990:123f., appendix, n. 8. – For the two daughters' nocturnal activities as *Iyakkis*, see the musician's story in Sect. 7.6, p. 259, n. 208.

<sup>200</sup> These products of local memory we may consider as foundation legends, that is, as a reflection of a shrine's origin. A centre comes about in an act of self-proclamation by narrating its beginnings. For an insightful discussion on "topographies of memory," see Remensnyder 2002:193ff.

understanding of the goddess would be incomplete, for they have shaped parts of the history of the Icakki worship that has spread throughout the southernmost districts of Tamilnadu. G. Gopikriṣṇaṇ, the *kuṭam* (pot) player and husband of the lead singer, G. Muttuleṭcumi, pointed this out when he stated in an interview I held with him on 8 May 2002 during the *koṭai* festival of Paḷavūr:

She [...] takes revenge and afterwards she is present in each and every temple. If we sing in this temple, we finish like this: ‘She has come from that temple, and has settled in this temple.’ This is how we will finish our story. The basic story is only one. All sing the basic story. But each and every temple has its own story. In each temple there is a new and separate story. (K-L.01.070) If the deity comes to a village and settles there, this should be backed up by some evidence.

The stories I present below were collected and published in Tamil by Perumāḷ in his 1990 and 2002 editions.

#### □ The story of *Naṭukkāṭṭu Icakki* (Naṭukkāṭṭu near Nagercoil)<sup>201</sup>

A woman belonging to the shepherd community was married to a person from the town of Pañcalingapuram. The woman’s mother went there to bring back her pregnant daughter to her house. According to the community’s custom, after the *vaḷaikāppu* ceremony [when a seventh-month pregnant woman is honoured with bangles for her first pregnancy] is over, the pregnant woman is taken to her parents’ house. As they proceeded along the way, the pregnant woman said to her mother: “O Mother, I have acquired a little money without the knowledge of my husband. I’ll enter the house through the backyard and get it.” The mother, who was greedy for money, sent her [back] on her own.

The pregnant woman went [back] speedily. Naṭukkāṭṭu Icakki was standing along the same route. Icakki called to the pregnant woman. She did not turn back but kept on going. As the pregnant woman was returning, after taking the money, Icakki confronted her, laughed horribly, and showed her long nails to the pregnant woman. The woman was afraid, vomited blood as a result of her fear, and died.<sup>202</sup> Icakki tore open her stomach, took out the foetus and put it in her mouth, and then ran away, producing the *kuravai* sound [made by flapping the tongue against the palate].

The dead pregnant woman came [back] as a *pēy* (hungry spirit) on the following day. She committed atrocities in the village. She threw stones and sand at midnight. Her family members fervently promised to her [Icakki] that they would put out *paṭaiippu* (offerings). They installed a *piṭam* (platform) at the place where she was buried. They brought an animal sacrifice and prepared *ponkal* rice. Thereafter the fear that the people in the village had experienced disappeared. (Perumāḷ 1990:127, appendix, n. 11)<sup>203</sup>

#### □ The story of *Tenkanputūr Icakki* and the establishing of an Icakkiamman temple<sup>204</sup>

The story of the establishing of an Icakkiamman temple in the village of Tenkanputūr in Nāncilnāṭu [the present-day Kaṇṇiyākumari] is as follows:

There was a magician in a village by the name of Tenkanputūr who belonged to the Paṇṭāram community [responsible for minor temple work, such as preparing garlands]. He was a powerful magician (*caktivāynta anta mantravāti*) His wife was pregnant. As she had neither mother nor father, nor any other relations, she performed household chores alone. The magician went in search of a maidservant to assist his wife. He could not find anyone, so [by his magical skills] he turned Paḷaiyaṇūr Nīli into a 16-year-old young woman. In order to remove her demonic qualities, he drove a sliver from a *kānciram* stick into her head and brought her to his house.

Nīli, the maidservant, did work obediently, according to the orders of the magician’s wife. She hauled water from a deep well, made flour, and carried firewood. These difficult tasks she did very quickly. The magician ordered his wife to be

<sup>201</sup> The well-known bow-song singer S. Svayamburajan of Rājakkamaṅkalam told me in an interview on 8 May 2002 that a cassette recording of his *villuppāṭṭu* performance of the *IK* is available at this temple.

<sup>202</sup> Malay beliefs allow for a similar sequence of spirit attack followed by a startled reaction, see Laderman (1987:127).

<sup>203</sup> Perumāḷ (1990:127f.) adds to the synopsis the interesting information that “even today people serve offerings to that *piṭam*. Together with the offerings new saris are given to women who have given birth to a child. Additionally, the people give indigenous medical herbs that are mixed in hot water for bathing.” (This information has been left out of the reprint Perumāḷ 2002.)

<sup>204</sup> The story of Tenkanputūr Icakki has the same content as the local Icakki story of Paḷavūr; see Sect. 9.2.2 (midnight session) below. – It is unclear why Perumāḷ in his 2002 reprint removed the name of the village where the events occurred. In his 1990 edition the same scholar notes: “The same story is in currency in the villages of Kaṇṇiyākumari district. With some changes, moreover, it is found in the palm-leaf manuscripts of the Nīli story of Nellai district. In that story, Nīli herself goes to the house of the *mantravāti* in order to take revenge” (131). This information, too, has been left out of Perumāḷ’s new 2002 edition (132). On the Icakki temple in Tenkanputūr, see 7.7.2.

careful with the new maidservant. He told her not to talk much and not to touch her. In this way, the magician warned his wife. The pregnant wife neither spoke much to the new maidservant nor had many dealings with her. The magician thought that after his wife's delivery he would send the young woman away.

One day the young servant was engaged in carrying a bundle of firewood. She said that the firewood had pierced her head, and asked for it to be looked at. The pregnant woman looked at the head of Nīli, the servant. She saw that a sliver of *kāñciram* wood had pierced into the young woman's head. She tried to move the sliver. The young woman begged her: "O Ammā, please take it out!" The pregnant wife was captivated by the beautiful face of the young woman and pulled out the sliver from the top of Nīli's head.

As soon as the sliver was drawn out of her head, the young woman turned into Nīli. She took on a horrible shape, and produced the *kuravai* sound. Pushing the pregnant woman to the ground, she split open her stomach. She plucked out her intestines, and garlanded herself with it. She grasped the foetus between her teeth. She sprinkled the blood. At that time the magician entered and found matters beyond his control. He thought that if he left Nīli in this position, she would destroy the village, so he built a temple for her in that place. (Perumāḷ 1990:131, appendix, n. 14)

#### □ The story of *Kuttuppiṛai Icakkiammaṅ* of Nāṅkuṅēri

In order to install a flagstaff (*koṭimaram*) in the Tirumalai Nampirāyar (Śiva) temple of Tirukuṅkuṭi, people went to the forest and cut down a tree. The female *devatā* that had resided in the tree came along with them. When this came to be known, they placed a *pīṭam*<sup>205</sup> near the temple, at a spot where paddy was usually pounded (*kuttuppiṛai*), and worshipped her under the name Kuttuppiṛai Icakki. At night, after the doors of the main temple were closed, she served as a guardian deity. The pūjās in the temple were performed by Toḷukai Nampi Paṭṭar, who came from Kōkilammālpuram, a nearby village. One day when he came to Tirukuṅkuṭi with his five-year-old son, and before the night pūjās had been completed, the boy fell into a deep sleep. The temple priest, forgetting the presence of his son, locked the temple door and went home. Only when his wife, Rukmini Ācci, asked him, "Where is our child?" did he remember. The mother began to weep and cried, "I want my son immediately." The priest replied, "It is utterly out of the question to open the doors of the temple before morning. We shall see our son tomorrow morning." Though he tried to convince his wife, the mother did not acquiesce. He went back to the temple in Tirukuṅkuṭi. The priest knew very well that it would be dangerous to open the doors of the temple during the night, after they had been locked. Therefore he called for the guardian deity Icakki and asked her to bring the boy outside. The deity replied, "During the night the temple is under my control; come again in the morning and take your child." The temple priest knew he would be unable to bear his wife's accusations, and therefore demanded the boy immediately. "If you want the boy alive, you come in the morning," the deity replied. The priest insisted on receiving the boy immediately. The deity became angry, killed the child and flung it outside the temple. Seeing that his son was dead, the priest was shocked. He caught the deity and locked it up in a copper pot. He buried the pot under the earthen floor in a run-down empty house.

An Ācāri [a man of the artisan community] from Maṛukāl Kuṛicci cleared the run-down house of scattered things. Among the things he loaded on a cart was the pot in which the deity was locked. The Ācāri, thinking that it might be a treasure, took the pot to the bank of a man-made pond to the west of the village, placed it on a rock, and broke it. The deity inside the pot fled, making much noise. Up to the present the rock is known as Natukāṅ pārai. The deity followed the Ācāri to Maṛukāl Kuṛicci. There she created trouble for the people. As a result, they constructed a small temple for her in Maṛukāl Kuṛicci, named her Kuttuppiṛai Icakki, and began worshipping her.

At that time, four brothers belonging to the shepherd community were living in Nāṅkuṅēri. The eldest brother was Piccāiyā Kōṅār, the youngest Civaṅu Kōṅār, and the others Āṇṭi Kōṅār and Cappāṇi Kōṅār. Piccāiyā Kōṅār and Civaṅu Kōṅār fell out with each other over a transaction to purchase bulls for ploughing. The two brothers went to Maṛukāl Kuṛicci in order to take an oath in front of Kuttuppiṛai Icakki Ammaṅ, who was considered to be dangerous. Meanwhile Kuttuppiṛai Icakki demanded a separate place of worship, and therefore troubled the brothers. They tried to get a *kuṛi* (prediction). Meanwhile the wife of Veṛṛivēl Kōṅār, son of Civaṅu Kōṅār, became pregnant. One day she was possessed by the deity Icakki, and she began to predict: "If you all want to be saved, you have to build for Kuttuppiṛai Icakki Ampāḷ a *pīṭam* facing eastwards, at the junction of three roads, to the west of the village." Accordingly Veṛṛivēl Kōṅār constructed a *pīṭam* for Kuttuppiṛai Icakki in the year 1880, and they began to worship her. To her side, he also installed Muppantal Icakki and Pēcci, and outside the temple Caṅkali Pūtattār, Mācāṅa Muttu, Cutalaiyāṅṭavar, and Cappāṇi Māṭacāmi. For all of them he built *pīṭams*, and also worshipped them.<sup>206</sup> [My slightly shortened translation from the *sthalavaralāru* (n.d.) of the Nāṅkuṅēri Kuttuppiṛai Icakki temple]

<sup>205</sup> An aniconic representation of this minor deity.

<sup>206</sup> The temple continues to be looked after by the Kōṅār community. After the death of Veṛṛivēl Kōṅār, his son Cuppu Kōṅār conducted the daily pūjās. In 1934 Cuppu Kōṅār built a new building. Afterwards Kaṅṅapirāṅ became the hereditary trustee. Renovations were carried out in the years between 1976 and 1985. In 1996 marble stone flooring was installed—a new trend in the small temples.

## 7.6 The Split Goddess's Iconography

As has already been noted, the worship of Icakkiammaṅ is focused on the role of two sisters, an elder and a younger one,<sup>207</sup> who represent her split psychic disposition and physical condition,<sup>208</sup> each with an iconographic representation of its own. Blackburn (1980) states in this regard:

The older sister is said to be “calm”[...]. By contrast, the younger sister is said to be “fierce,” and her image has fangs (“warrior’s teeth”) [...]. In some temples the division between the sisters displays a maternal/anti-maternal split for the older sister holds a child in her lap, while the younger one crunches a child in her sharp teeth.<sup>209</sup> (Blackburn 1980:212)<sup>210</sup>

We may note that, although the elder sister conveys the higher values, the practice of worship makes it obvious that the active and fearsome younger sister is the more important deity,<sup>211</sup> perhaps because she is critically and alarmingly associated with children.

Let me underscore the fact that both sisters are regarded as virgin goddesses.<sup>212</sup> The bow-song tradition considers them as autonomous, and this is the ultimate reason for their having become an integral part of the tradition. A goddess only remains in the bow-song tradition as long as she is unmarried,<sup>213</sup> a fact that suggests that the tradition sees marriage as something that would undermine the

<sup>207</sup> The sisters may exist side by side in the same temple, but sometimes they are separated in different temples (Blackburn 1980:212). We thus see the younger and elder sister spatially sharing a single shrine in Cukkuppārai (south-west), Teṅkaṅputūr (Ōṭakkarai-Icakki; south-west), Paṇaṅkoṭṭāṅvīlai, Cemponkarai, and Ālamūtu (north-west), but separated in Mēlāṅkōṭu (an important centre of Icakki worship in the north-east), where two temples are found, albeit not very far from each other. While there is a spatial proximity, then, in these examples, in Muppantal and Paḷavūr the sisters are clearly separated: the elder sister resides along a busy highway, and the younger in the wilderness. Oddly enough, unlike in Mēlāṅkōṭu, where we find a meat offering for the younger sister and a vegetable pūjā for the elder one, Muppantal Icakki continues to receive a blood sacrifice, even though she is said to be the elder sister (personal communication with the bow-song bard T.M.P.).

<sup>208</sup> One story of the two Icakkis, collected by Perumāḷ (1990:124), and described by the same author as penetrated by Malayali themes, clearly delineates the psychological states of the elder and the younger sister: “Once upon a time Patmanāpapuram, which is now in Kalkuḷam taluk, was the capital city of Tiruvitāṅkūr. One day an artist of Nāncilnāṭu went to take part in a music concert performed in the palace of Patmanāpapuram. His song being appreciated, he was awarded by the king. It was night and a Friday when the artist returned, after taking part in a dinner given by the king. The moonlight was bright, and there was a sweet breeze [...]. The artist probably had left Patmanāpapuram about two miles behind when he became fearful of the silence all around. Thinking how foolish he was to be going alone, he nevertheless proceeded. At a turn in the Patmanāpapuram road two beautiful women were sitting on a *cumaitāṅki kal*, a stone to put down loads on while taking a rest. (Simultaneously, it is considered to be a memorial for the untimely deaths of virgins and pregnant women.) They were both dressed in the style of Malayali women. One was *tanikai Icakki* (the younger Icakki sister); the other was *akkā Icakki* (the elder Icakki sister). As the artist approached the ladies, the younger Icakki sister began to speak to him: ‘O musician, sing the song that you sang in the palace!’ The artist began to sweat out of fear, for he realised that it was the younger Icakki sister. Laughing horribly, Icakki cried: ‘I am Nīli. I wish to hear your music. Don’t delay! If you don’t sing, I’ll pluck out your intestines’. The musician was about to collapse. The elder Icakki sister, who until then was silent, rebuked her younger sister. She asked the artist to sing. ‘I am Ceṅpakavalli. You will not be harmed. Sing!’ The artist, freed from his fear, began to sing. The elder Icakki sister, who enjoyed the music of the artist, presented him her finger-ring, and said: ‘Nobody will disturb you. I am here. You can go!’ The artist worshipped Icakki and went on. The next day when the pūjārī of the Mēlāṅkōṭu Icakki temple went to perform pūjā, he was astonished not to find the ring on the finger of the elder sister. The matter was reported to the king. Icakki appeared that night in a dream of the king and related everything that had happened the previous day. Again the king called the artist and awarded him” (Perumāḷ 1990:124, appendix, n. 9).

<sup>209</sup> As the pūjārī of Ālamūtu Icakki temple in Muppantal put it in a personal communication (3 December 2002): “Without a child she would not be called Icakkiammaṅ.”

<sup>210</sup> Note that Perumāḷ (1990) in a Keralese context attempts to explain “the division of elder and younger sister by the impact of Bhagavatī worship” (58).

<sup>211</sup> See Perumāḷ 1990:62, which supports this assumption.

<sup>212</sup> The younger sister’s virginity as emblematic of an autonomous goddess’s sexuality and body is insisted upon by two bow-song bards I have interviewed. Both, T.M.P. and S. Svayamburajan, contend that though the Brahmin was Lakṣmī’s lover, she herself must be considered to be a virgin. Both raised the issue independently and in the same terms: “‘There was no physical relationship between the Brahmin and Lakṣmī,’ *vāyuravu alatu, kaiyuravu kaṅṅatillai* (456f.). [...] Some stories say that she was pregnant at the time of her murder (461). [...] In a sense Lakṣmī died unmarried. That is why I said above: *vāyuravu alatu, kaiyuravu kaṅṅatillai*” (K-L.02.A.485).

<sup>213</sup> See Blackburn 1980:153.

goddess's power and status.<sup>214</sup> The tradition's insistence upon virginity thus indicates its own greatest desire to profit from the undivided power vested in an unmarried goddess.

When we look more closely at her iconographic features, Icakki's appearance, as reflected in the almost human-like terra-cotta figure approximately 1.30 metres tall, is wholly in accordance with her psychological profile. What is most striking is an iconic representation in which the maternal and the antimaternal aspects are potentially present in one figure. This statue (*cilai*), with one baby boy<sup>215</sup> on the left hip, another baby clamped between her fangs, and at times still another between her feet, is the one one encounters at Paḷavūr<sup>216</sup> and Muppantal, and throughout Kaṇṇiyākumari (Cukkuppārai etc.)—whether inside shrines or (presented as *koṭais*, “gifts,” to the goddess) placed in close proximity to shrines. The clearly visible corner fangs are, in a sense, reminiscent of the *māṭṭkās*,<sup>217</sup> and particularly the goddess Cāmuṇḍā.<sup>218</sup> One may recall Nīli-Icakki's identification with Cāmuṇḍā in the N9 Nellai version.<sup>219</sup> Probably, then, we are faced here with iconographic contamination.

The figure designed by potter artists is in a standing position and has two arms.<sup>220</sup> It holds in its right hand, raised to head level, a weapon that is pointed at its opponent.<sup>221</sup> The weapon may be either a knife<sup>222</sup> or a trident (*cūlam*; probably the older form of her armament).<sup>223</sup> The *mudrā* gesture of the hand that aims the weapon at an opponent may vary: either half-opened,<sup>224</sup> with the trident<sup>225</sup> or knife resting on it, or balled up into a fist.<sup>226</sup> The iconographic differences are not irrelevant, for whereas the fist does not have anything of the erotic about it, the half-opened *mukula mudrā* gesture obviously does.<sup>227</sup>

Looking more closely at the meaning of the erect right hand, I would suggest that it is the locus of

<sup>214</sup> S. Svayamburajan's statement in an interview held on 8 May 2002 is informative: “If we worship a virgin deity in our house no demon will attack us (478). This was put to the test when I asked the *mantiravāti* (sorcerer) to send a spirit to a particular house. The sorcerer did what I requested, but afterward he told me that the spirit which I sent to the house had returned, saying that it could not enter the house owing to the virgin deity that resided there” (K-L.02.A.480). On the power of a virgin, see also Shulman (1980:253), who notes “the important folk motif of the brothers who keep their sister or sisters unmarried in order to profit from the power vested in the virgin.”

<sup>215</sup> The baby is without exception in all icons a boy.

<sup>216</sup> See Sect. 8.7.

<sup>217</sup> See Kinsley 1987:153.

<sup>218</sup> Cāmuṇḍā/Kālī is a ferocious goddess who demands blood sacrifice.

<sup>219</sup> The second line of version N9 identifies Cāmuṇḍā with Nīli: “From ancient days till today the people of this realm (who) speak with fear [line 1] / of the villainous Nīli, Cāmuṇḍī [...] [line 2].”

<sup>220</sup> By contrast, pan-Indian deities are represented with four arms.

<sup>221</sup> A noteworthy inversion of the common associations of the left and right sides here strikes one as something of a contradiction. Cf. Das (1990:119), who associates the right and left sides with the opposition between respectively life and death: “The analysis of the data on domestic rituals strongly suggests that the sacred in Hindu belief and ritual should be conceptualized as divided with reference to the opposition of life and death [...]. The right side dominates events associated with life, such as pregnancy, blessing of a new-born child, marriage and initiation [...].” Contrariwise, “[...] the left side dominates in cremation rituals [...].” Also listed by her under the latter are “rites of ghosts, demons, etc.,” ancestor rituals and rites relating to snakes.

<sup>222</sup> Blackburn (1980:212) states that Icakki often holds a club, but I did not find this to be the case in the region covered by my field research.

<sup>223</sup> Dr S. Alagesan (Tūttukuṭi), who is thoroughly familiar with the Icakki cult, remarked in a personal communication of 7 May 2002 that the trident represents the older iconography.

<sup>224</sup> The *mudrā* is very probably the *mukula mudrā*: the thumb and middle finger touching each other.

<sup>225</sup> The trident in the erect hand may additionally be decorated with red bangles, and a second trident with bangles may rest in the left hand; the terra-cotta statue in the family shrine of Dr S. Alagesan at Paḷavūr displays these features.

<sup>226</sup> The terra-cotta statue in the family shrine of Dr S. Alagesan furnishes an example. The *mudrā* there is very probably the *muṣṭi mudrā*. According to U.S.K. Rao (1990:39), the *muṣṭi mudrā*, the “gesture of a fist,” denotes “steadfastness [...], wrestlers fighting, [...] grasping a sword, holding a club or a spear.”

<sup>227</sup> The *mukula* hand gesture belongs to the expressive language of Bhāratnāṭyam dance, originally a temple dance. (One may recall that Icakki in her first birth is a devadāsī, a temple dancer.) According to Rao (1990:39) *mukula* is a *mudrā* denoting, among other things, “eating, [the] god of love [...], [the] navel, [...] [and also] flower buds.” This *mudrā* signifies creation and generative capacity, as exemplified in the images of the bud and navel.

the minatory force of a curse.<sup>228</sup> It carries the curse, which the goddess activates with the words: “You don’t know anything about this vow of Nīli” (see *IK*, N1.1397). In the case of Icakki, the right hand is doubly defined, for it both belongs to a woman who values her honour the way a man values his, and who at the same time is driven by a non-human demonic force.

However, we also come across Icakki statues—popularly said to be identical with the fearsome Paḷavūr Icakki—that look much more harmless in that they are holding the trident upright and have no baby gripped in their teeth.<sup>229</sup> One may wonder whether here the weapon (a trident or the like) iconographically refers to the devadāsī tradition. One custom found among temple-dancers, as shown by Kersenboom-Story (1987), suggests as much.<sup>230</sup>

Icakkiamman is prominently visualised in the shape of a terra-cotta figure, as described iconographically in the preceding lines, but the deity is represented in other, non-anthropomorphic forms as well, first and foremost as a rectangular blackened slab with a semicircular head-like top. Though this object of worship is generally identified with Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ, it may also represent Icakki as a subordinate deity.<sup>231</sup> Apart from it, we must also note the strong presence of Icakki in the worship of trees (margosa [*vēmpu*], banyan [*ālam*], and the *iluppai*<sup>232</sup>)<sup>233</sup> and the *cumaitāṅki kal* (load-bearing stone; see Section 7.4.1), also called “*cumai* Iyakki.”<sup>234</sup> All of these are economically easily accessible objects of worship that are smeared with turmeric (*mañcal*).<sup>235</sup>

## 7.7 A First Encounter with Icakki in the Field

### 7.7.1 Muppantal: Three Icakki Temples

My first field trip to Tirunelvēli and Kaṇṇiyākumari districts, at the beginning of March 2002, was timed to coincide with the main annual events: the festival season for Icakkiamman during the hottest time of the year, the agriculture off-season of rest and scarce water, and domestically the season of marriage and conceiving.<sup>236</sup> Icakki has an affinity with this dry season corresponding to her primary nature, that of being a goddess of heat.<sup>237</sup> Moreover, she is only worshipped on Tuesdays and Fridays,

<sup>228</sup> The right hand in Tamil culture is part of a complex of sacred signs. Indeed, the right hand, the solemn guarantor of one’s word, lays a curse upon itself when one is not true to that word.

<sup>229</sup> Examples are the Icakkis in Svayambhūliṅgapuram (Paḷavūr Icakki there serving as a subordinate deity) and Nāṅkuṅēri (Kuttuppiṛai Icakki as a primary deity). In Teṅkaṅputūr Oṭakkarai we find among the various stone statues of Icakki some with the trident upright and others with the trident pointed at an opponent, but in the latter case there are some with no child in her mouth.

<sup>230</sup> Kersenboom-Story (1987:181) notes: “Elderly ladies fetch a *kaṭṭāri* (sword, spear, trident) from the temple; install it in the house of the dancing-girl. [...] the girl is given the *kaṭṭāri* and a regular wedding-ceremony [with the weapon] is performed.” Thurston and Rangachari (1909:137f.) write similarly about the Basavis (young women formally married to a god or a sword) of Bellary district (Karnataka): “A sword [or other weapon, see p. 138] with a lime stuck on its point is placed upright beside the novice [Basavi], and held in her right hand. It represents the bridegroom, who, in the corresponding ceremony of Hindu marriage, sits on the bride’s right. [...] (137) [...] and an imaginary nuptial ceremony is performed” (138). The authors quote both Fawcett and the *Manual of the North Arcot District*. This initiation-cum-wedding ceremony was in practice among the Bōyas, Bēdarus, and certain other castes (Thurston and Rangachari 1909:129).

<sup>231</sup> Cf. Perumāḷ 1990:60.

<sup>232</sup> Latin *Bassia longifolia*.

<sup>233</sup> See Perumāḷ 1990:61.

<sup>234</sup> See Natarajan 1986:3.

<sup>235</sup> For the powerful effects of these objects of worship, especially of the long-living trees, see Perumāḷ 1990:61.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. Babb 1975:128.

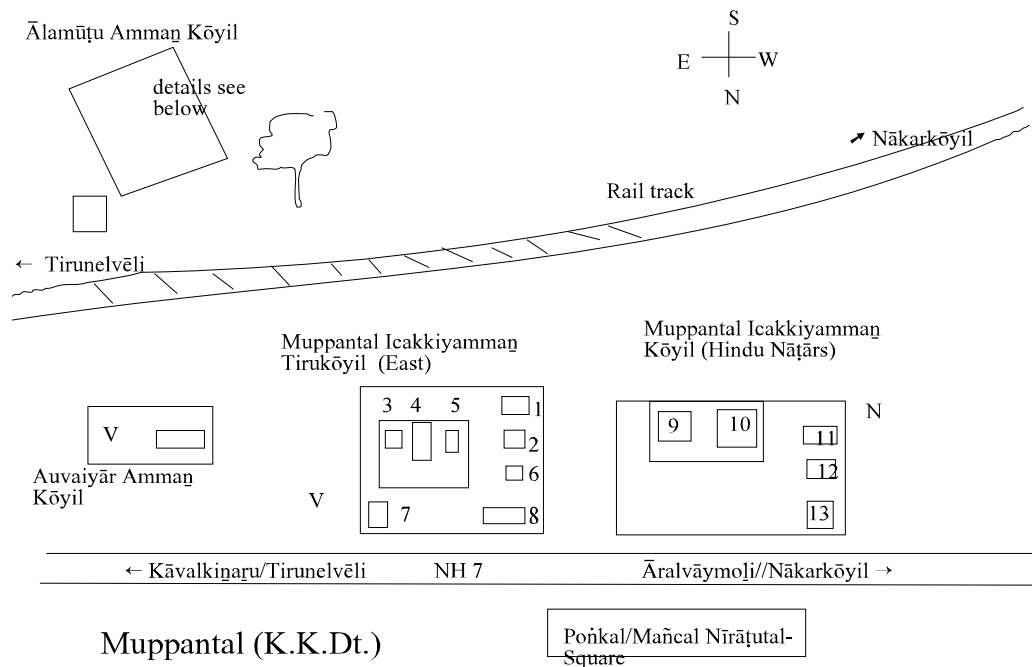
<sup>237</sup> Heat is regarded by Babb (1975:236) as a “multifaceted concept” (236), spanning a range of meaning: “human temperament,” “the malevolent impulse of witchcraft,” “the frenzy of ritual possession,” “vital force that kindles life,” “sexuality,” and “illness.” For the distinction between “hot” and “cool” deities, see Flood 1996:193. According to this author, local female deities are generally regarded as *hot* goddesses (193).



the former an *amangala* (inauspicious) day generally associated with the malevolent, life-taking persona of goddesses, and the needs of the unquiet hungry spirits of the dead,<sup>238</sup> and the latter a *mangala* (auspicious) day more “appropriate for the worship of a benevolent goddess.”<sup>239</sup>

I arrive with two research assistants on Tuesday, 12 March 2002 at Muppantal, a place that is considered central to the cult of Icakki and situated three to four kilometres south of Kāvalkiṇṇaru on the national highway Route 7 leading to Nagercoil. Nearby to the south lies the small town of Āralvāymoḷi.<sup>240</sup> Some kilometres further to the south, as Ludden (1989:19) describes it, “the peninsula narrows so that semi-arid and humid tropics lie in close proximity [...] divided by high jutting mountain peaks.” Two of the three local Icakki temples are located next to each other along this busy route,<sup>241</sup> one having been run by the Vēḷāḷa community until it came under governmental rule, and the other belonging to the Nāṭār community. Both have profited greatly from this location on a vehicular artery, including monetarily.<sup>242</sup> The third Icakki temple is situated in a calm setting in the close vicinity and is run by a trust headed by a member of the Ampaṭṭar community.

Map 1: The three Icakki temples at Muppantal



<sup>238</sup> See Babb 1975:111f., and Caldwell 1999:133.

<sup>239</sup> See Babb 1975:113. Cf. Caldwell 1999:133, who considers Friday as inauspicious. Caldwell’s account, relating to Kerala, contains the interesting remark of one toddy-tapper (in Tamilnadu the traditional occupation of the Nāṭārs) that Tuesdays and Fridays are the only proper days for “the massaging of the coconut bud and the cutting of the tip,” that is to say, for the “manipulations of procreative life-forces,” as Caldwell puts it.

<sup>240</sup> Approximately 65 KM south of Tirunelvēli. – There are some references to an ancient pass that led through Āralvāymoḷi, perhaps the one situated on the modern Route NH7 (leading to Nagercoil). Parthasarathy (1993:343), referring to an article by M. Raghava Aiyangar in J. Parthasarathi (tr.), *Some Aspects of Kerala and Tamil Literature*, Trivandrum: University of Kerala, 1973, 33–43, notes mention of it in Caṅkam poetry: *Akanāṇṇuru* 251.11-4 and 281 by Māmūlaṇṇār, *Akanāṇṇuru* 69 by Paraṅkorraṇṇār, and *Puraṇāṇṇuru* 175 by Kaḷḷil Attiraiyaṇṇār. The *Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer* (1995:174) calls into question the very idea of the establishment of Icakkiyamman worship along this ancient pass.

<sup>241</sup> On the same route between Muppantal and Tirunelvēli, a further place of worship is found at the Nāṅkuṇṇeri crossroads (Tirunelvēli district). There the goddess is called Kuttuppiṇṇai Icakki Ammaṅ (for her story, see Sect. 7.5). One of the statues inside the shrine, which is administered by the Kōṇṇar community, is Muppantal Icakki.

<sup>242</sup> Each and every bus and truck is stopped and packed holy ash is distributed for a small sum.

V	formerly Vējāḷa community / now under governmental rule
N	Nāṭār community

Muppantal Icakkiammaṇ temple (East)

1	Kaṇṇi Viṇāyakar
2	Murukaṇ
3-5	Inner sanctum ( <i>karuvurai</i> )
3	Kalyāṇi
4	Icakkiammaṇ
5	Tēvi
6	Auvaīyār
7	Paṭṭavarāyaṇ
8	Cuṭalaimāṭaṇ

Muppantal Icakkiammaṇ temple (Hindu Nāṭārs)

9	Child of Icakkiammaṇ
10	Icakkiammaṇ
11	Viṇāyakar
12	Nīlaperumāḷ (Nīlaṇ)
13	Cuṭalaimāṭaṇ (guardian deity)

□ *Muppantal Icakkiammaṇ Tirukōyil (East)*

Let us first turn to the Icakkiammaṇ temple East,<sup>243</sup> a temple that is said to be around 200 years old (AK-F, A, 087) and to have been established with soil taken from the village of Paḷavūr, where Icakki had come from (AK-F, A, 180). Icakki, facing north,<sup>244</sup> is worshipped as an autonomous goddess. It being a place at the roadside, the goddess desires guardianship by Cuṭalaimāṭaṇ (Map 1, 8) and Paṭṭavarāyaṇ (7). One notable feature of this place of transformation and ambiguity is the presence of the poetess Auvaīyār both within Icakki's temple (6) and outside, in a separate shrine of her own. According to local legend, Auvaīyār consoled the furious Icakki (who had come to Muppantal after avenging herself on her Brahmin murderer) and asked her to stay on in order to serve the people (AK-F, B, 062-074). This may be one of the reasons why the first pūjā is performed to Auvaīyār (AK-F, B, 191). It is also conceivable that another legend surrounding Auvaīyār has influenced the order of the pūjā. According to *Kanniyakumari District Gazetteer 1995:173* (cited verbatim),

[t]here is a version that [...] Muppandal was founded only because of Avvayar, when she wanted to compromise the grievances among the three rulers viz., Chera, Chola and Pandya towards Atiyaman, a chieftain she arranged a meeting of the three in that place for negotiations where they constructed three pandals [Ta. *mū pantal*].<sup>245</sup>

The Muppantal Icakki is represented in the form of three statues (3-5) which are addressed by different names: The name of the one in the middle (4) is Icakkiammaṇ (AK-F, A, 282). The one to her right, said to be worshipped by Brahmins (AK-F, A, 300), is called Kalyāṇi<sup>246</sup> (3), while to her left stands Tēvi (5), a mere ornamental figure that is only 15 years old, I was told (AK-F, A, 363). The main statue in the centre is iconographically depicted with a lolling tongue and fangs in the corner of her mouth. She is carrying a child in her arm,<sup>247</sup> but no child is crunched between her teeth.<sup>248</sup> Icakki, although

<sup>243</sup> My main informants were M. Paṇṭu Piḷḷai, for the past 15 years the main pūjārī, and Rama Subha, the executive officer of the temple. Both were interviewed (AK-F) on the temple premises on 12 December 2002.

<sup>244</sup> Some say the direction is due to constraints imposed by road conditions (K-E).

<sup>245</sup> It is interesting to see that the legend of the Muppantal Icakki temple takes the form of a hagiography, in which royals are associated with the remembered beginnings of the temple. It apparently turns a place located in a border area (i.e. in a politically periphery zone) into a self-proclaimed centre with its own created image of itself. For a discussion of "topographies of memory," see Remensnyder 2002:206f.

<sup>246</sup> *TL s.v. kaliyāṇi*: "a woman endowed with auspicious features and excellent traits, usually applied to goddesses like Lakṣmī and Pārvaṭī."

<sup>247</sup> M. Paṇṭu Piḷḷai (interview of 12 December 2002; AK-F, A, 269) remarked that the child carried by Icakki is an unmistakable sign that she has wreaked vengeance on her former Brahmin lover.

<sup>248</sup> The importance of the central statue addressed as Icakkiammaṇ is reflected in the order the pūjās are performed: first

potentially dangerous in her active presence, is benevolent within the Icakkiammaṅ temple that formerly belonged to the Vēḷāḷa community. The little wooden cradles at the two temple shops and a first interview<sup>249</sup> with a woman who was possessed by Icakki at the time her husband left her and their five-year-old child in favour of a co-wife left me with a first impression that this goddess is conceived of as an index of domestic welfare and misfortune.

*A first impression of a villuppāṭṭu performance in the context of a possession ritual on Paṅkuṇi Uttiram*<sup>250</sup>

On Paṅkuṇi Uttiram, the day when patrilineal families visit their *kulateyvam* (family deity), a *villuppāṭṭu* performance of the *IK* is presented by the group Nāñcil Jīvā Kuḷaviṅar of Pārvatipuram (K-J) at the Muppantal Icakkiammaṅ temple (East). The story of Icakki is sung in a modern *villuppāṭṭu* style. The *villuppāṭṭu* group, having taken up their places outdoors next to the roadside, in front of a shop that sells little wooden cradles, is a great distance from the indoor goddess—out of her sight and hearing. It is hardly conceivable that the goddess can listen to her own story, let alone respond to it. One is therefore tempted to regard the *villuppāṭṭu* performance of the goddess's life story at this temple as entertainment rather than as an integral part of the ongoing rituals. Around 1:00 P.M. (*ucci nēram*) the *villuppāṭṭu* singers stop. Drums are beaten, and devotees are invited to the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai* at Auvaiyār's temple, a ritual that is followed by another *tīpārāṭṭai* in front of the statue of Auvaiyār located in Icakki's temple. When it is Icakki's turn, the *kuravai* sound<sup>251</sup> is performed. Women enter a state of possession. Meanwhile a garlanded young man dressed in red and holding a *vēl* (spear) in his hand has become Icakki. Acting as a *cāmiyāṭi* (god-dancer), he slings a cock onto his back and rotates a bunch of areca flowers (*kamukampū*) in the air, thus, it is said, driving the evil forces away.<sup>252</sup> Fully emerging, the goddess receives the *pālabhiṣeka* (cermonial pouring of milk). A remarkable incident then takes place when the goddess, delivering a *cāmiyāṅku* (divine utterance), climbs the shrine of her guardian deity Cuḷalaimāṭṭaṅ. A man suddenly approaches the *cāmiyāṭi* and angrily scolds him/her: "Are you Cuḷalai or Ammaṅ? Tell me who you are." He pulls the *cāmiyāṭi* out of the shrine and takes up position there himself. After removing an upper cloth, he wraps himself in an ochre-coloured dhoti. He is garlanded, in recognition of his being possessed. All of a sudden he darts off down the road towards the northern limits of Muppantal, throws a coconut in his hand onto the street so that it bursts,<sup>253</sup> and runs back to the shrine. Exhausted, he sits down at the feet of an 85-year-old ritual specialist who himself used to be possessed by Cuḷalaimāṭṭaṅ, and places his head on the old man's lap to receive the blessing of one who is said to be a powerful *cāmiyāṭi* of Cuḷalaimāṭṭaṅ. When the main pūjārī is asked what all this was about, he explains as follows:

There is an expectation that the young man dressed in red will be possessed by Ammaṅ. Yet he is dancing in the Cuḷalaimāṭṭaṅ temple. It was somewhat confusing. The man who angrily inquires about this used to be possessed by Cuḷalaimāṭṭaṅ. [...] One cannot do the *cāmiyāṭṭam* [god-dance] for two different deities. [...] Therefore, when the young man acts for both [Icakki and Cuḷalaimāṭṭaṅ], that man [from Āralvāymoḷi] interferes and lectures him that it is improper

Auvaiyār, then Icakkiammaṅ followed by Kalyāṇi and Tēvi.

<sup>249</sup> Interview on 12 March 2002 (K-A).

<sup>250</sup> Friday, 29 March 2002 (1177, Paṅkuṇi 15th). Although in the year 2002 Paṅkuṇi Uttiram fell on 28 March 2002, a Thursday, at the Icakki temple at Muppantal it was celebrated only the day after, on Friday, traditionally a day of Icakki worship.

<sup>251</sup> Asked about the meaning of the *kuravai* ululation, M. Paṅṭu Piḷḷai (main pūjārī) and Rama Subha (temple executive officer), in an interview held on 12 December 2002, supplied the following information: "Ammaṅ is fond of the *kuravai* sound. If the *kuravai* ululation sounds, Icakki's power will increase and somebody will be possessed by her" (AK-F, B, 275f.).

<sup>252</sup> This was the explanation given by the main pūjārī, M. Paṅṭu Piḷḷai, on 12 December 2002 (AK-F, B, 371; 417), after observing the scene on my video recorded on 29 March 2002 (V01, 30:52; 31:09; 31:16; 32:25).

<sup>253</sup> Unlike Flood (1996:214), who assumes—in a similar ritual context—a "dissolution" of the ritual specialist into the deity, Icakki's pūjārī (who, to be sure, is not her *cāmiyāṭi*) sees in the smashing of the coconut a sacrificial act, with the coconut replacing an animal (AK-F, B, 520; 12 December 2002; see citation below). The two explanations of the pūjārī and Flood are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but may simply be different points of views.

to do so. [...] He throws him out of the Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ temple in great anger. [...] At this point the man is seized by Cuṭalai and by the deity's power he throws the young man out [...] and he himself performs the *āṭṭam* [dance] of Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ. Both men used to perform the *cāmiyāṭṭam* at important functions. [...] He [the *cāmiyāṭi* of Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ] then runs with a coconut to the limits of Muppantal in order to perform a sacrifice. [...] Only Cuṭalai is supposed to go there. He is the guardian deity. [...] There he sacrifices a coconut, a substitute for an animal sacrifice.<sup>254</sup>

Another *pālabhiṣeka* is performed for Icakki, who is still embodied by the young man. Children and babies are handed over to the *cāmiyāṭi* to be blessed.

□ *Muppantal Icakkiyamman Tirukōyil (Hindu Nāṭār<sup>255</sup> community)*

Let us now proceed to the neighbouring Nāṭār Icakki temple, which came into existence owing to a disagreement between the Vēḷāḷa and Hindu Nāṭār communities. I was told (K-E, A, 224f.) that a broken *cumaitāṅki kal*, a memorial stone for a pregnant woman or virgin who died unnaturally, can still be found behind the temple. Iconographically, the goddess inside the inner sanctum is depicted in a benign mode, with neither fangs nor a child in her mouth. She is considered to be a *kaṇṇi* (virgin). Her child, my Kampar informant noted, is the *kaḷḷi* branch that turned into a child (K-E, A, 300ff.). A statue of Nilaperumāḷ (Nīli's brother in the *katai*) is also found (K-E, A, 280, picture 28). The temple is visited by Keralites in great number, it is said.<sup>256</sup>

□ *Icakki at Muppantal Śrī Ālamūṭu Amman temple<sup>257</sup>*

The third of the Icakki temples at this site, is the Ālamūṭu (Ta. “at the bottom of the banyan tree”) temple, situated in Lakṣmiputukūḷam, in the vicinity of the Muppantal Icakkiyamman temple, beyond the railroad tracks. The worship of goddess Ālamūṭu Ampāḷ was established 17 years ago under a banyan tree (*ālam*). E. Aruṇācalam, a Tamil of the Ampaṭṭar (barber) community, who established this temple together with his Malayali wife, Kuṭṭi Ammāḷ, is the main pūjārī. He administers temple affairs and successfully raises funds. Between my two visits in April and December 2002, the temple witnessed a significant rise in the number of devotees. Ampāḷ is regarded as serving barren women and those who want to get married.

E. Aruṇācalam's wife established the cult of Icakki after recovering from a sickness for which she had been hospitalised. She had suffered from a swollen stomach, fits, and other forms of pain. In the hospital she met a woman who suffered from the same symptoms. This woman was suddenly possessed by the goddess Icakkiyamman. Icakki told Kuṭṭi Ammāḷ, through her medium, the entire history of her husband and suggested that they meet at a black rock near a footpath. Kuṭṭi Ammāḷ found the described spot and established a site of worship for Icakki at the rock itself, the same one now found under the sanctum of the Icakki shrine (AK-C, A:041-059, 072ff.). Among the donors who contributed to building the complex are persons from the Ācāri, Nāṭār, and Vēḷāḷa communities.

Icakki and Ucciṇimākālī<sup>258</sup> are described as respectively the younger and elder sisters of the Ālamūṭu temple. Icakki, who has a tiny one-room shrine (fronted by a roofed area only installed during times of extended pūjās), is here in the midst of a tranquil setting, unlike the shrines of Icakki at the Muppantal (East) and Muppantal (West) Nāṭār temples along the side of a busy, noisy road. All three shrines are outside inhabited areas, though they are in places where movement and transformation take place. Icakki at the Ālamūṭu Amman temple is perceived as benevolent. She has a trident in her right

<sup>254</sup> The interview was held on 12 December 2002 with the main pūjārī, M. Paṇṭu Piḷḷai (AK-F, B, 443-483; 512-528) on the basis of my video recording of 29 March 2002 (V01, 32:46-33:32; 35:35-35:55).

<sup>255</sup> The information was supplied by the temple servant (not the main pūjārī), a Kampar (traditionally drum and *nātasvaram* players who are also in charge of minor temple work, such as preparing flowers, oil etc. for pūjās).

<sup>256</sup> Asked why Keralites come here for worship, the temple servant retells the local legend of Icakki's vow to destroy the region of what is today Kerala, a plan whose execution is being prevented by Auvaiyār.

<sup>257</sup> See in this context, from the monthly magazine *Maṇitam*, the article “Ālamūṭu Ampāḷ,” September 2002:7-9.

<sup>258</sup> This deity was created from the blood of the great demon Hiranyakaśipu.

hand and a child in her left arm. “Without a child she would not be called Icakkiammaṅ,” E. Aruṅācalam, the main pūjārī, stated in an interview held on 3 December 2002 (AK-C, A:305). Her iconography is not that of Paḷavūr Icakki, with fangs and a child both in her mouth and between her feet. She resides in a black stone and gives her *aruḷ* in a standing posture. In her *alaṅkāram*, she appears daubed with sandal and turmeric paste and the flour of husked rice, and wearing a silver mask (*aṅki*). The temple is considered to be a *deva-kōyil*, and Icakki, according to the pūjārī E. Aruṅācalam, is a *cāntacorūpi*, a “peaceful” goddess, without her fierce look (AK-C:146).<sup>259</sup> Her elder sister has no shrine but sits on top of a termite hill under a tree. There are several subordinate deities. Pūjās are performed in the following order: 1. Vināyakar, 2. Murukaṅ, 3. Icakkiammaṅ (younger sister), 4. Ucciṇimākālī Ammaṅ (elder sister), 5. Akṇi Māṭaṅ, 6. Pulai Māṭaṅ, 7. Ūrkāṭṭu-Cuṭalai (a kind of *māṭaṅ*), and 8. Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ, he being the only non-vegetarian deity at this site.

Icakki and Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ, her guardian deity, have shrines. While Icakki faces west, Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ faces south-west (*kaṅṇi mūlai*, the orientation of temples corresponding to lunar months<sup>260</sup>), according to E. Aruṅācalam (AK-C, A:254). In my opinion he faces south, given that the temple is set at a 90-degree angle to Icakki’s shrine. Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ’s shrine was built first and is larger in size. At first Icakkiammaṅ alone had been worshipped. One day when the main pūjārī had performed a *kumbhābhiṣeka* after erecting the *maṅṭapam*, Icakkiammaṅ informed him that Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ was needed as a guardian deity. When possession (*āṭum pōtu*) occurred during the *kumbhābhiṣeka*, the possessed person took a lemon and put it at a certain spot, demanding that a *maṅṭapam* be erected there for Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ. (Architectural plans have been made to enlarge and renew the Icakki shrine and to put the elder sister under a roof too.)

In the elevated place where *pūkkulī* (fire walking) is performed during the *koṭai* festival, Akṇi Māṭaṅ stands as guardian deity together with Pulai Māṭaṅ. Next to Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ’s shrine there are nine *purruṣ* (termite hills / white ant hills). Nāgarammaṅ resides on them. Mud is taken from these nine *purruṣ* to shape the statue of Paṅṇi Māṭaṅ<sup>261</sup> (a male deity in the form of a pig).

During the annual *koṭai* festival, generally celebrated on a Monday and Tuesday in the second week of the Tamil month of Āṭi (mid-July to mid-August), such rituals as fire walking and the flower offering<sup>262</sup> / flowerbed are conducted, the latter featuring four flowerbeds for the deities: a) Icakki, b) Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ, c) Nāgartyvam, and the pair d) Akṇi Māṭaṅ and Paṅṇi Māṭaṅ. Asked why the flowerbed ritual is considered to be important, the main pūjārī replies that the flower offering / flowerbed provides an opportunity for Ammaṅ to play with great enjoyment (AK-C, A: 432, 454). He even insists that it is indispensable for Icakkiammaṅ. The flowerbed consists of different layers: 1. *tuḷaci* (Skt. *tulasī*) beneath, 2. *vēmpu* (margosa leaves) next above, 3. *tāmarai* (lotus), 4. *araḷi* (oleander), 5. yellow *ceṅpakam* (*champak*; Indian magnolia), 6. red *vāṭāmalli*, and 7. other flowers on top (AK-C, A:509-514). The layers are for the purpose of design, the pūjārī said. In 2003 the *koṭai* was celebrated on Tuesday (*cevvāykkiḷamai*), the 13th day of the month of Āṭi (29 July 2003), a new moon day. A video recording of the *koṭai* of 26 July 2000 produced by Peter A. Raj is kept in the Archives of the Folklore Resource and Research Centre at St. Xavier’s College in Pāḷaiyamkōṭṭai. The annual *puṣpa-abhiṣeka* festival used to take place on the second Tuesday of the Tamil month of Tai (mid-January to mid-February). Moreover, there is a full moon pūjā (*paurnami-pūjā*) every month, and a weekly pūjā on Tuesdays. The temple has no own palm-leaf manuscript of the *IK* (AK-C, A:408).

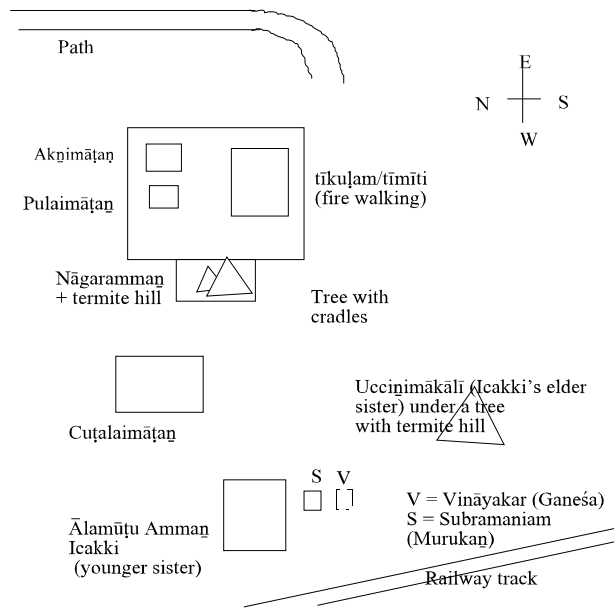
<sup>259</sup> We may see here a process in which the goddess’s *pēy* persona vanishes and the cult of Icakki transforms itself into the *bhakti* worship of a benevolent image of the goddess.

<sup>260</sup> See Caldwell 1999:139.

<sup>261</sup> According to Blackburn 1980:409, Appendix A, Paṅṇi Māṭaṅ is a type B *māṭaṅ*.

<sup>262</sup> Ta. *pūppaṭaiṅṅai*.

Map 2: Ālamūtu Ammaṇ shrine at Muppantal



*A brief description of an extended pūjā containing a possession ritual*<sup>263</sup>

The extended pūjās at the Muppantal Icakkiyamman temple (East) are over. The people now head in a procession towards the Ālamūtu temple. By the time we arrive the possession is already in full swing. It is 2:30 P.M. Icakkiyamman is enacted by Kiṭṭu Ammāl. She wears a red sari soaked in water. The men—Muthu, Balasubramanian, and Tirumalaikumar (possessed respectively by Cuṭalaimāṭaṇ, Akṇi Māṭaṇ, and Paṇṇi Māṭaṇ)—are wearing black dhotis and variously carrying a spear-like *vēl* and trident, a fiery torch, or some other implement. None of the spectators need fear harm, though the person possessed by Cuṭalaimāṭaṇ moves about fiercely, swinging his *vēl* and trident violently in the midst of the crowd in front of his shrine. The man enacting Akṇi Māṭaṇ keeps a huge conical fiery torch pressed under his arm, while Paṇṇi Māṭaṇ skitters around, wiggling his erect imitation pig ears with an air of merriment. Persons possessed by Nāgarammaṇ and Ucciṇimākālī Ammaṇ are also present.

Attention is focused on the acting of Icakki. Kiṭṭu Ammāl is possessed by Icakki: has become her. She stands outside on the steps leading up to her shrine. Her mouth is crammed full of margosa leaves. Her hair is dishevelled, reflecting her freedom from societal rules and behaviour. She is now in the world of human beings, with a will of her own that is not available to the women who worship her. Couples come before her one at a time, and she proceeds to throw coconuts into the air, which land on the ground and smash. Once the goddess emerges, her heat continuously increases.<sup>264</sup> To soothe it, she chews the margosa leaves. Water is poured over her as well in order to cool her. By the end she will have been doused with 200 litres of bucket water. With the margosa leaves still in her mouth, she slaps water onto the couple's faces, distributes red *kuṇikumam* to them, and blesses them. She is now in close contact with the devotee couple. The goddess and the husband and wife, it seems, establish intimacy with each other. The goddess's actions are accompanied by the melodious singing of a group of women: "Icakki vā vā (Icakki come! Icakki come!)."<sup>265</sup> Icakki's force is now fully aroused, thus allowing people

<sup>263</sup> The date was 12 March 2002.

<sup>264</sup> Babb (1975:233) points out that "possession [...] is understood as a kind of heat," the heat that accompanies the presence of a hot goddess.

<sup>265</sup> A recording (K-A) was made of the invocation sung by the group of women.

to benefit from her presence. The reciprocal emotional relationship between her and the people is probably what underlies her power to give.

Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ at times draws nearer to Icakkiammaṅ's shrine. He carries the raised *vēl* with a pierced lemon that absorbs the heat. His body has been blackened. Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ enjoys a most intense relationship with Icakki: Icakki takes Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ's head under her arm and presses it against her voluminous breast. It is said that Icakki and Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ are mother and son.<sup>266</sup>

While Icakki's blessing of the couples continues, the *cānivāṅku* begins at the Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ shrine. Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ calls me also over to give his blessing and *cānivāṅku*. Later, when I am shooting photos, I overhear his expression of surprise to another pūjārī at my fearlessness, even though he had acted violently and angrily. His remark perhaps shows that the possessed is fully aware of his surrounding and suffers no loss of memory.

The pūjā comes to a close before sunset, and people head back to the Muppantal Icakki temple (East), where activities continue until 9 P.M.

### 7.7.2 Icakki at Other Places

In the following I shall list other Icakki temples that I visited during field trips:

*Tirunelvēli district:*

1. Putukuḷam at Pālaiyamkōṭṭai
2. at the Nāṅkuṅēri crossroads, run by the Kōṅār community (Kuttuppirai Icakki Ammaṅ; Muppantal Icakki)

*Tūttukuṭi (Tuticorin) district:*<sup>267</sup>

1. Tūttukuṭi town, Āṅpāl Road (Muppantal Śrī Icakki Ampāl Ālayam temple)
2. Tūttukuṭi town, Tirunelvēli Road (Vempati Icakki)<sup>268</sup>

*Kaṅṇiyākumari district:*<sup>269</sup>

1. Cukkuppārai Tēriṅṅai, owned by P. Taṅkarāj Nāṭār (second half of the seventeenth century; Icakki as *akkā* [elder sister] and *taṅkai* [younger sister]; Koppukkōṭṭai Icakki, Āṭṭuk kāra Icakki [Cinṇa Icakki], Mēlāṅkōṭṭu Icakki; a palm-leaf manuscript of *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai* version N4 is available)
2. Teṅkukkūṅṅal
3. Teṅkaṅputūr, run by the Nāṭār community (Ōṭakkarai Icakki; Nīlacāmi [Icakki's brother]; no *katai* palm-leaf manuscript is available)<sup>270</sup>
4. Putukkuṭiyiruppu (close to Teṅkaṅputūr), run by the Cuṅṅāpparavaṅ Dalit community (Ālamūṭu Icakki / Cinṇa Icakki; Nīlacāmi; no *katai* palm-leaf manuscript is available)
5. Uttaraviḷai, run by the Nāṭār community; it is said to have been a centre of great magicians (Vallavar

<sup>266</sup> Another relationship is posited by Vaḷḷi, an informant of the Vēḷāḷa community of Tirunelvēli whose *kulateyvam* (family deity) is Icakki. She considers them to be husband and wife.

<sup>267</sup> I would like to thank the Tamil scholar Dr S. Alagesan (Tūttukuṭi), who showed me all the Icakki shrines in town.

<sup>268</sup> During the time I visited the site, on 22 May 2002, the temple was undergoing complete reconstruction and about to be greatly enlarged.

<sup>269</sup> T.M.P. draws a clear map of the geographical movements of the goddess Icakki when he remarks: "Almost all temples found in Kaṅṇiyākumari district have come from Pāṅṅināṭu [that is, Tirunelvēli district; the people of Kerala and K.K.Dt. address the people of Tirunelvēli as *pāṅṅināṭu makka!*]. Icakkiammai came with the people who migrated to this place (AK-I.02, B 015)." – The temple survey shows that by contrast Nīlacāmi, Icakki's brother, is accorded prominence only in K.K.Dt. – I am greatly indebted to the bard and bow-song singer T.M.P. for generously offering to share his knowledge with me on a sightseeing trip (Friday, 13 December 2002) to all the Icakki shrines listed below except Cukkuppārai and Teṅkukkūṅṅal.

<sup>270</sup> The shrine, covered by a thatched roof and situated at a water channel, houses several black stone statues. – Teṅkaṅputūr is mentioned in the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai* (the second epic narrative of the Icakki cult) as one of the places afflicted by Cinṇa Icakki's atrocities; see Sect. 2.4, N4. For the retelling of the local Icakki story of Teṅkaṅputūr, see Sect. 7.5 above.

Icakki; Nīlacāmi; no *katai* palm-leaf manuscript is available)

6. Paṇaṅkoṭṭāṇṇiṇṇai, run by Nāṭārs (Paṇaṅkoṭṭāṇṇi Icakki, who comes originally from an agricultural tract of Tēvakuḷam close to Kottāram-Kaṇṇiyākumari town; Nīlacāmi; a palm-leaf manuscript of version N10 is available)

7. Cemponkarai/-turai(?) (Naraiyaṇṇiṇṇai), originally run by Vēḷāḷas (at the roadside: the Cemponkarai *cumaitāṅki* memorial stone; in a grove: Poṇṇār Uṭaiyāḷ Icakkiammaṇ [a local Icakki story dealing with pregnancy is retold]; Auvaiyār; Nīlacāmi; nearby is a shrine of Poṇṇār Uṭaiyār Cāsta; a palm-leaf manuscript of the *katai* is available)

8. Maṇikkattippoṭṭal Cāmivīṭṭukōyil, owned by Tiru Kānti,<sup>271</sup> a wealthy Nāṭār (no statue;<sup>272</sup> Poṭṭal Icakki, who became a vegetarian, is represented as an eternally lit oil lamp; Nīlaṇ; a palm-leaf manuscript of the *katai* is available)

9. Mēlāṅkōṭu (Icakki: the younger sister Nīlappiḷḷai [non-vegetarian] and the elder sister Nīlāmpikai [vegetarian] in two separate temples; the Mēlāṅkōṭu Icakki story is identical with the *Peṇṇaraciyaṇ Katai*<sup>273</sup>)

### 7.7.3 Icakki as a Primary and Subordinate Deity

As I am concerned with Icakki as a primary deity, we must be satisfied with a few brief remarks about Icakki as a subordinate (or guardian) deity. According to Perumāḷ (1990:58f.), Icakkiammaṇ is a subordinate deity in various temples of Nāṅcilnāṭu. To begin with, she is present in the temples of Muttār Ammaṇ,<sup>274</sup> Cuṭalaimāṭaṇ, Manarāja, and Piccaikālaṇ,<sup>275</sup> and interestingly, as we learn from the *Census of India* (1961),<sup>276</sup> she is also connected with the Nāgarāja temple at Nagercoil. On the seventh day of the festival held at the latter temple in the month of Tai, the local goddess Icakki joins in the morning the palanquin procession of Gaṇeśa, Āṇantakṣṇa, and the latter's two consorts, Rukmiṇi and Sathyabhāmā.

When we approach Icakki as a primary deity, various deities are seen in turn to be subordinated to her. Perumāḷ (1990:59) mentions thirty such deities. Some of the more relevant ones for our research are Akṇi Māṭaṇ, Auvaiyār, Cāstā, Cuṭalaimāṭaṇ, Nāgarājaṇ, Nīlaṇ, Palaimāṭaṇ, Paṭṭavarāyaṇ, Pūtattār, Vaṇṇiyaṭi Maṇavaṇ, and Vātaikal-Vairavaṇ, along with such *vātais* (spirits) as Unvālvātai and Kaimurivālvātai.<sup>277</sup> Muttār Ammaṇ, the most prominent female deity in the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition,<sup>278</sup> is probably the only deity who is never subordinated to Icakkiammaṇ.

<sup>271</sup> His ancestors at some point shifted southward from Tirunelvēli district, bringing Icakki along with them (AK-I.02, B, 019; 160).

<sup>272</sup> The statue was confiscated by the king of Patmanāpapuram during the lifetime of the present owner's father (AK-I.02, B, 377).

<sup>273</sup> This information was supplied by the bow-song singer T.M.P. in an interview held on 21 January 2003 (AK-I.03, A, 117).

<sup>274</sup> Muttār Ammaṇ is of divine birth. "[She] is born from a bead of Pārvaṭi's sweat that drops in a sacrificial fire" (Blackburn 1980:153). – In Svayambhūliṅgapuram (near Nagercoil) and Paṇaṅkoṭṭāṇṇiṇṇai, Icakki was first a primary and then became a subordinate deity.

<sup>275</sup> For more details, see Perumāḷ 1990:58.

<sup>276</sup> See Vol. 9, part VII-B, "Fairs and Festivals," p. 43.

<sup>277</sup> For a complete listing, see Perumāḷ 1990:59.

<sup>278</sup> See Blackburn 1980:152.





## 8 Ethnographic Notes on the Ritual Context of the *koṭai* Festival of Paḷavūr Icakki

### 8.1 I Myself in the Field – Some Remarks

The experience in the field is different for each researcher, owing to individual personality and expectations. We are all aware of the subjectivity we as individuals bring to the experience of an event, and of the problem we as outsiders face when we arrive as a stranger in a community and have to negotiate the identity of an insider. I am no exception in this regard. Discovering, by great luck and more or less accidentally, that in Paḷavūr a *koṭai* festival<sup>1</sup> in honour of the goddess I was researching would soon be conducted, I immediately set off to visit one of the committee members, the treasurer Ca. Paḷaṇiyā Piḷḷai, a retired groundnut merchant of the Vēḷāḷa (or Piḷḷai) community, in the village. I was rewarded with a readiness to give me an on-the-spot interview and to provide me with a rough summary of the *Icakkiamman Katai* in the form known to me, and the local Icakki story of Paḷavūr as well. Regarding the latter, my host personally fetched Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai, who had one year earlier written a summary for the local newspaper *Tamilmuracu*.<sup>2</sup> At the end of my three-hour visit I was cordially invited to participate in the *koṭai* festival planned for a month later, and even to document it with all my equipment. Keeping in contact by letter and phone, Ca. Paḷaṇiyā Piḷḷai in one of our conversations disclosed his wish that a gift (*tanḱoṭai*) for the *koṭai* festival would be appreciated, a request I had already anticipated on my own. On the day of the *koṭai* festival I officially fulfilled it.

*Koṭai* festivals had, until then, been unfamiliar to me. When I arrived, I first faced the difficulty of placing myself, as a researcher conducting an ethnographic study of the *Icakkiamman koṭai*, into the new surroundings. I shall here devote some lines to my own experience, including my emotional responses. It was all very challenging, given my unfamiliarity with the overall context and with the particular village. I realised the difficulties of dealing with the individuals and groups interacting with me as a researcher. However, I tried not to create expectations for myself, but rather to be receptive to what I observed. Since I was familiar with the religion, had a grasp of family customs and kin relationships, and had known Tamilnadu and its village life for many years, I felt no sense of estrangement, but indeed felt quite at home within the religious atmosphere that enveloped me. Fortunately, then, no serious cause for unease was present to colour my observations and experiences. Nonetheless, two incidents occurred which took me aback. The first was when the treasurer of the committee, Ca. Paḷaṇiyā Piḷḷai, demurred at my wish to interview the eldest member of the pūjārī family, the embodiment of Icakki. The second was when the village elder decided that I should not film or make photographs of *Icakkiamman* during the peak rituals at 1:00 A.M., even though I had been

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<sup>1</sup> Hildebeitel 1999:32, n.54 states: “Icakki [...] has many temples in the Bow Song area, but seems to receive mainly private offerings rather than festivals (*koṭai*) that would include Bow Song performance, although there is a Bow Song for her [...]” On my inspection tour to several of the Icakki temples in Tūttukuṭi, Tirunelvēli, and Kaṇṇiyākumari, I learnt that the contrary was in fact the case. At almost every temple I was told that there is a *koṭai* festival that includes the performance of the Icakki story.

<sup>2</sup> The edition is that of 18 February 2000.

promised, in person, that I could record the entire ritual on video. The explanation for the latter stance was that I might reduce the deity's power—similar to what I had been told in Muppantal at the Icakkiamman Tirukōyil (East). It would have been quite natural to have taken a different attitude, but I accepted this as a chance to go native and immerse myself in an emic view. Observing without a camcorder, it turned out, drew me physically and emotionally deeply into the atmosphere of the ritual, allowing me to enjoy its artistic mode of non-verbal communication. The most striking experience in my fieldwork was the sense of intimacy felt during the *māppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* ritual—a sense of my own individuality and at the same time being a part of those around me. I had the impression that others experienced something similar. I was, then, both an insider and an outsider. For the rest of the night I left the ethnographic recording to the professional videographer I had engaged. By the time the *koṭai*'s second ritual cycle had finished, I was personally at peace and set at ease by the smooth flow of the ongoing events and the enchanting music of the *nātasvaram*,<sup>3</sup> as were others who had been tense during the day and into the night, but whose beautiful smiles now were expressive of satisfaction.<sup>4</sup> As a believer in *ahimsā*, I found myself uncomfortable only with the sacrificial ritual acts performed on animals, which were difficult for me to look at and film.

My technical preparations for the documentation were satisfactorily. I had two video cameras (one operated by a professional local cameraman and fitted out with bright lights that proved invaluable in illuminating scenes whose lighting was poor; the other a digital camera I myself operated). In addition, there was a separate audio recording, and a photo camera as well. My task was not easy. I knew only the rough programme, not the full scenario of ritual to be performed at the two shrines, those of Icakki and Pūtattār. The turning points of the rituals often came unexpectedly, stopping at one shrine and starting at the other, so that the camera had to be rushed from one place to the next across a congested temple square. Yet the simple fact of being present with the camera helped me to become familiar with the ritual process and to sort out the sequence of the two days of events. The first day was devoted to the performance of the *Icakkiamman Kōtai* and the local Icakki story (which ended around 1:00 A.M.), and to various rituals oriented towards peak ritual moments during the dawn watch (2:00 A.M. to 4:30 A.M., the third *yāma* watch, when demons are active at crucial points during these watches). The second day was a mixture: it included a *villuppāṭṭu* performance (largely stories of other deities, e.g. Cuṭalaimāṭan) and rituals, which concluded with both the *mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu* (the highlight of the day) and extended animal sacrifices.

## 8.2 Introductory Notes on the Approach: What Does Ritual Do and How Does It Do It?

The aim of this section is to outline a series of issues relevant to my discussion of the ritual practice in Chapter 9.

*First*, as remarked by Don Handelman, rituals are “practiced” and real.<sup>5</sup> Rituals, therefore, should not be seen as *symbolising* or *standing for* realities.<sup>6</sup> Bruce Kapferer (2000:28f., n. 2) in this context speaks of “[...] thoroughgoing realities which act on experience, reorienting it or transforming it. [...] External realities are introduced within the dynamic field of rite and changed or transformed.” In order to be able

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<sup>3</sup> A larger version of the oboe played at temples and on auspicious occasions.

<sup>4</sup> One of them was Ca. Paḷaṇiyā Piḷḷai, the treasurer of the temple committee. His satisfaction was most visible. As G. Gopikriṣṇaṇ and G. Muttuleṭcumi, the bow-song singer of the *koṭai* stated: “They will worry that the public might be dissatisfied and the pūjārī could become angry. Afterwards, if the festival earns a good name, the patron will be happy (204). The man who is most tense is the patron” (K-L.02.A.207).

<sup>5</sup> Handelman 1999:65.

<sup>6</sup> It is Victor Turner's enduring contribution to the analysis of ritual that he shifted the scholarly focus from ritual as representation to one of process.

to ascribe a comprehensive meaning to a ritual practice, an analysis of it must begin with this fact.

Kapferer's definition allows one to assume that rituals can change each time they are performed. Handelman supports and develops this approach further. In a recent publication, he has introduced the notion of a dynamic "Möbius framing,"<sup>7</sup> or "interweaving in which the content and elements of ritual constantly interact with the various socio-cultural environments involved."<sup>8</sup> In Handelman's view, the internal (content of the ritual) and external (social order) intertwine dynamically.<sup>9</sup> Handelman is critical of the lineal framing approach, since it is static. He argues: Whereas "[l]ineal framing [... is] premised on criteria of hierarchical ordering and of the clear-cut separation between outside and inside" (Handelman 2004a:19) the concept of dynamic framing has "no longer any hard-and-fast lineal separation between 'frame' and 'content' on the one hand, and between realities external to and internal to ritual, on the other" (15). Rather, "this framing is inherently dynamic, continuously relating exterior to interior, interior to exterior" (15). This notion of frame is "that of a mover, a shifter, a transformer between inside and outside and back" (15f.). Handelman's theoretical tools prove useful when analysing the *koṭai* ritual under discussion.<sup>10</sup>

Within this scope of inquiry, a series of questions will be posed. I shall ask: How is the ritual organised within itself and how does it relate to realities outside itself?<sup>11</sup> How does it work? What is its outcome, and how does it attain efficacy? It should be clear that I am not focusing on the question of what ritual is. Rather, I focus on the inner logic of the ritual and the ritual's practical results, and so ask what the ritual does and how it does what it does.

*Second*, I assume a modular organisation within ritual. Given the application of modules within ritual, it is reasonable to assume that these modules are selectively chosen and carefully arranged in order to create a certain kind of cosmos for specific purposes—a cosmos within which certain kinds of actions and relationships are activated, and others are not. The ritual practice on which I shall focus, therefore, is basically concerned neither with the absolute totality of the goddess's cosmos nor with the totality of what the goddess can be. Rather, the ritual seems designed to show one version of the goddess's cosmos—one that in some sense presents itself as a totality.<sup>12</sup>

*Third*, we generally presume that in ritual culture, teleological structuring is obligatory. In the case of the rituals performed at the Icakki *koṭai* festival, we have to ask whether there is a sequential hierarchy, and if so, to what extent it is crucial for the analysis. For such an investigation, one must look for markers that are indicative of a sequence. However, it is not inevitable that the climax comes at the end.

*Fourth*, from the point of view of function, two types of rituals are performed within the ritual practice we are discussing here: first, rituals that are arranged for those who seek the goddess's help (i.e. for childlessness; see below, the *māppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* ritual); and second, the ritual of thanksgiving, performed if the *koṭai* of the previous year has proven successful (see below, the *pūjā* for the newly

<sup>7</sup> Handelman (2004a:15) applies the scientific concept of the Möbius strip to rituals. Möbius topology has been exploited by scholars with diverse orientations and disciplinary backgrounds. For example, O'Flaherty (1984:240ff.) uses the Möbius metaphor to describe Indian dreams. Referring to Martin Gardner, "The World of the Möbius Strip: Endless, Edgeless, and One-Sided," *Scientific American* (December 1968): 112–5, she applies the concept to the Hindu universe, describing it as "finite, but unbounded" (241), "in which the inside is the outside" (242). She also refers (ibid.:258) to A.K. Ramanujan, "Indian Poetics," in *The Literature of India: An Introduction*, ed. Edward C. Dimock et al., Chicago, 1974, 115–43, where the Möbius strip serves to describe Indian poetics.

<sup>8</sup> This definition of Handelman's term is part of a more extended explanation of it found in Kreinath et al. 2004:3.

<sup>9</sup> Handelman (2004a:15) postulates: "Through such framing, the outside is taken inside, through the frame, and integrated with the ritual."

<sup>10</sup> I make particular use of his scheme inside-out/outside-in, in Sects. 9.3.2 and 9.3.5, where I analyse respectively the role of the *alaṅkāram* moment and the drinking of a *tuvaḷai* kid goat's blood.

<sup>11</sup> I am drawing here upon questions that Handelman (2004a:9) considers relevant.

<sup>12</sup> I am greatly indebted to Professor Don Handelman, who generously discussed this matter with me in a personal communication in 2002.

made Icakki statue). The two types are intimately interwoven, with the second serving as an initiating and accelerating force in the ritual process to encourage the goddess's help in the first.

*Fifth*, the ritual practice in question proves the existence of two underlying assumptions: (1) *pēys* (hungry spirits), known for being “attracted and drawn to everything that nourishes existence,”<sup>13</sup> have their place on the map of cultural explanations for disturbances in life;<sup>14</sup> and (2) ritual practice is a pragmatic agent for transformative processes.<sup>15</sup> I assume that the *koṭai* ritual is of a therapeutic nature (with a reordering and restructuring of psychic energy taking place when the sociopsychic world of the story<sup>16</sup> is reproduced and relived in sung form), and that this is what for the most part guarantees its efficacy.

*Sixth*, my discussion of ritual necessitates explaining the meaning of the notion of seduction, as I understand and use it. I assume, in accordance with Kapferer (2000:5), that a “rite engages seductive forces to break the destructive dynamic.”<sup>17</sup> In my work, seduction can be understood as a strategy employed by the ritual specialists to make the demonic goddess emerge and to allure her into another version of herself.<sup>18</sup> Continuing along these lines, it is instructive to consider demons, in our terminology *pēys*, to be “*par excellence* creatures of seduction, constantly open to being seduced and themselves seducers.”<sup>19</sup> For an understanding of the ritual practice in question, therefore the following additional statement of Kapferer (2000:5) is essential: “Erotic and seductive forces are vital in the healing rites [...], and the understanding of the alleviative power of these rites [...] is considerably diminished unless one explores the dynamics of their erotic and seductive energies.”<sup>20</sup>

*Seventh*, an emic concept of the existence of two different manifestations of the goddess<sup>21</sup> forms the basis in my discussion of the ritual. This view is intimately linked to conceptions of a self.<sup>22</sup> I understand “self” not as a kind of metaphysical entity, but along the lines defined by Thomas Csordas, Don Handelman, and A. Ferguson, “as a repertoire of capacities for orienting in and engaging the world” (Csordas 1996:100f.); as “interactive bundles or configurations of *qualities* of being”

<sup>13</sup> I draw here upon Kapferer's (2000:6) insightful definition of demons; see also point 6 below.

<sup>14</sup> When I speak of demonic hungry beings, I am thinking of passions or emotions. The two terms are two different cultural ways to name the same source of imbalance. Cf. Kapferer 1997:223.

<sup>15</sup> On transformation, see Kapferer 1984:158; for the significance of transformation in the contemporary discussion of ritual, see Köpping and Rao (2000:7ff.), who coin the German term *performative Wende* (p. 1) in their introduction.

<sup>16</sup> In our case, the loss of women's well-being owing to their inability to bear children. On the ritual treatment of inner disturbances in a woman's sexual being, causing disruption to her social position, cf. Kapferer (2000), who describes women-centred rituals in a Sri Lankan context.

<sup>17</sup> For seduction “suppos[ing] a ritual order,” see Baudrillard 1990:21. Baudrillard is a scholar who, according to Kapferer (2000:31, n. 18), is “strongly influenced by Kierkegaard and Nietzsche.” Though I have drawn upon Baudrillard's language and, to some extent, his definitions, I would like to make clear that in my work I do not adopt his theory of seduction, but merely extract views of his that are in accordance with the perspective I have gained in the course of my participation in the *koṭai* ritual being discussed here.

<sup>18</sup> I would like to stress that the view I present is a result of my work with the goddess's story and ritual. The concept of seduction is, in my opinion, not superimposed on the ritual, but is rather one that underlies the emic view of the ritual specialists. I hope that the statements in the extended interviews and the description of the series of ritual succeed in showing this.

<sup>19</sup> I cite Kapferer 2000:6.

<sup>20</sup> Note that Kapferer's area of focus is Sri Lanka, whose shared cultural heritage with the southernmost part of India is particularly close.

<sup>21</sup> See Sects. 7.6 “The Split Goddess's Iconography” and 8.2, point 2, above.

<sup>22</sup> On the notion of self, see Shulman and Stroumsa 2002:131, where Shulman states: “Dravidian lacks any such lexeme, unless we wish to resort to various permutations of reflexive forms or to adapted Sanskrit usages. And yet Indian literature of all periods abounds in cases of extreme and even multiple transformations of something we might call a ‘self’.” On ideas of selfhood in an Indian context, cf. Marriott 1976:111 (“dividual”), Daniel 1987 (“fluidity”), Freeman 1999:150 (“multiplex and partible in their constitution”). For an overview of approaches to this subject, see Freeman 1999:149f. Compare in the Melanesian context Strathern's theory (1988:13) that calls for “the singular person [...] [to] be imagined as a social microcosm.”

(Handelman 2002:249, n. 2); and as having “many aspects [...] some of which may be in conflict [...but each] developed by participating in specific social practices” (Ferguson)<sup>23</sup>. It needs to be emphasised that I do not draw a distinction between a psychological inner world and an outside social world, nor do I understand “self” entirely in social terms. But concentrating on the “sociality of the self”<sup>24</sup> and on the organisation of the self, I rather assume, following Handelman, “that the social exists in its own right within the constitution of psyche and selfness” (2002:237), and that in fact “the innerness of the person is probably no less social than is the social world” (ibid.:239).<sup>25</sup> However, I also treat the self—and here I follow A.J. Marsella (see Morris 1994:13)—as a process by which one comes to know oneself, a process that involves self-awareness and reflectivity.

Within these limits, a series of questions arise: How is the inner world of the goddess constituted and changed? How do the inner world and the outer world influence and affect one another?<sup>26</sup>

*Eighth*, until now little attention has been paid to the subject of *katai*<sup>27</sup> (narrative) in its relation to the *koṭai* ritual. In my reading, the translocal *IK* and the local *Icakki* story both provide a framework for the *koṭai* ritual practice, inasmuch as they portray a woman’s world. The two stories provide the key to all the acts featured during the possession ritual. There is only one figure in the story by whom the ritual actors are ecstatically possessed: *Icakki*, first a human and then deified.

*Ninth*, for understanding how text and ritual are intertwined within the framework of the *koṭai* festival, categories that I owe to Don Handelman (1999:70) are valuable. Handelman distinguishes between “spaced, unspaced, and respaced” time. He postulates that “all rituals are spatialized in the first instance” and “organized to bring people together in space and to synchronize their activities through time (i.e. through space)” (ibid.:69). According to Handelman’s definition, “spaced time” is a world that is “in time,” with a “sequential organization of [...] tense” (70). When he speaks of “unspaced time,” he is referring to “inner and concert time,” to a “nonmediated immediacy” (70) that “shape[s] the emergence of the divine self” (67). Handelman notes that from unspaced time “narrating experience is then a prime way of returning to the social world” (70)—to what he terms the “respaced” world of the story. It is with this interplay among these three modes that I am concerned when observing the *villuppāṭṭu* (bow-song) performance. In doing so, I find that at least three performance styles are employed: first, a linear narration, when the birth stories are being related; second, a style of emphatic performance, when the goddess is being lured into active presence; and third, a “non-linear, non-narrative overlapping singing”<sup>28</sup> of single lines and exclamations (cf. Section 5.1.1), a time when long dialogues replace the monologue narration and story-line, heightening the emotions which have become actualised in possession (cf. Sections 9.2.2 [fusion], 9.3.4.1). The reason for the lack of linear narration after the possession has taken place is, as outlined above, a different concept of time. Here the switch from one performance style to another expresses the emergence and presence of the divine force.

*Finally*, my approach to the ritual is to treat it as a metaphor, namely as the indigenous commentary on the narrative text, while my own anthropological inquiry is an interpretation of that commentary.<sup>29</sup> I shall be speaking of this ritual here, then, not only as a transformative practice,<sup>30</sup> but also as the exegesis

<sup>23</sup> A. Ferguson’s definition is taken from Morris 1994:188.

<sup>24</sup> The term is Handelman’s (2002:237).

<sup>25</sup> Don Handelman is chiefly responsible for having shifted the analytical focus on self from one in terms of psychological innerness and social outerness (which in his view stresses their separation, for all their interaction) to one in terms of the “interior sociality of self.”

<sup>26</sup> I have taken these questions from Handelman (2002:248), who holds that they are far from having been answered.

<sup>27</sup> I frequently use the term *katai*. In doing so, I have in mind narrative as opposed to *koṭai* ritual.

<sup>28</sup> I have taken this fitting expression from Honko 2000:229–30.

<sup>29</sup> Just as the ritual can be interpreted as a commentary on the narrative text, the narrative text can be seen as reflections on the social reality.

<sup>30</sup> See point 5 above.

of a narrative text.<sup>31</sup> Ultimately, it is the interpretative potential of the ritual that illuminates and communicates the essential message of the texts. From my research it has become clear that even if a text's ritual context is unknown, the text can be read in its own right, although, to be sure, only a limited interpretation will be possible.<sup>32</sup> Conversely, a ritual for which the text is not available remains for an outsider relatively unintelligible.<sup>33</sup> Thus my approach follows the maxim: Not the text, but “the ritual [...] is the structure.”<sup>34</sup>

With these tools in hand, I would like to look at the cult of Icakkiyamman as practised in the village of Paḷavūr. First I shall provide a brief sketch of Paḷavūr and its Icakki shrine in order to introduce the locality, the social roles of the various groups and their interrelations, and finally, the object of worship. Then I shall provide a detailed account of the particular complex ritual practice conducted in Paḷavūr,<sup>35</sup> as an example of the Icakki cult found in one centre. It is, to be sure, a unique<sup>36</sup> version, not immediately comparable to other sites of Icakki worship in the *villuppāṭṭu* area.

### 8.3 Icakki's Locations in Paḷavūr and Her Association with the Hottest Season and Dry Land

The places linked with Icakki in Paḷavūr are both inside and outside the village. Inside the village she is found twice. Outside the village, her place is what people call *naṭukāṭu* (in our context perhaps best translated as “forest of the middle space”<sup>37</sup>). There the goddess, in an anthropomorphic form, resides alone with her male guardian deities on a barren piece of land (*kiṭaṅku*),<sup>38</sup> a place (*nilam*) which correlates with the classical landscape of *pālai*<sup>39</sup>—“the most extreme embodiment of separation”<sup>40</sup>—where dryness (in a social sense) can be identified with infertility and sterility. It is a wilderness and wasteland associated with the hot season (*vēṇil*),<sup>41</sup> the season of desire, regarded as the goddess's favourite time (*kālam*) of year.

By way of comparison, inside the village she lives in a non-anthropomorphic form among nearly 2,500 inhabitants, 50% of whom are Vēḷāḷas (a community that is not only the most populous, but also

<sup>31</sup> This approach leads to the result of viewing ritual as commentary.

<sup>32</sup> Its meaning will vary depending on the context. Cf. Kapferer 2000:29, n. 5 on the link between myth and ritual in Sri Lanka. He remarks: “The meaning [of the myth] awaits [...] often a specific ritual context. In Sri Lanka the same myth will achieve distinctive meaning dependent on the ritual context in which it is used.”

<sup>33</sup> The perspective I have gained in my fieldwork accords with the view of the English myth and ritual school of S.H. Hook of the 1930s; see Waardenburg 1986:132.

<sup>34</sup> I have taken this expression from Kapferer 2000:29, n. 5. This scholar's ethnographic work in Sri Lanka leads to a similar result of viewing ritual.

<sup>35</sup> I am aware that no account of a ritual can avoid interpreting it to some extent. – Note that I consciously use an artificial ethnographic present tense to describe the ritual in Sect. 9.2 below. I shall dispense with this usage when referring to the interviews held with my sources.

<sup>36</sup> It seems that each temple performs its own unique version of the ritual. Compare the *koṭai* ritual practice at Muppantal Śrī Ālamūṭu Ammaṅ temple. A video documentation of one particular *koṭai* festival held at this temple is available at the FRRC. Whereas the flowerbed segment is an integral part of the *koṭai* in the Paḷavūr temple (overseen by a Vēḷāḷa-Ceṭṭiyar family) and in the Muppantal Śrī Ālamūṭu Ammaṅ temple (overseen by a barber's family), this specific module is, to my knowledge, absent in temples that are overseen by the Nāṭār community, with the exception of one in Muppantal.

<sup>37</sup> For the concept of “middleness,” see Handelman and Shulman 2004:43f.

<sup>38</sup> *Kiṭaṅku*, literally “a ditch-like low-lying area,” similar to a *paḷlam*.

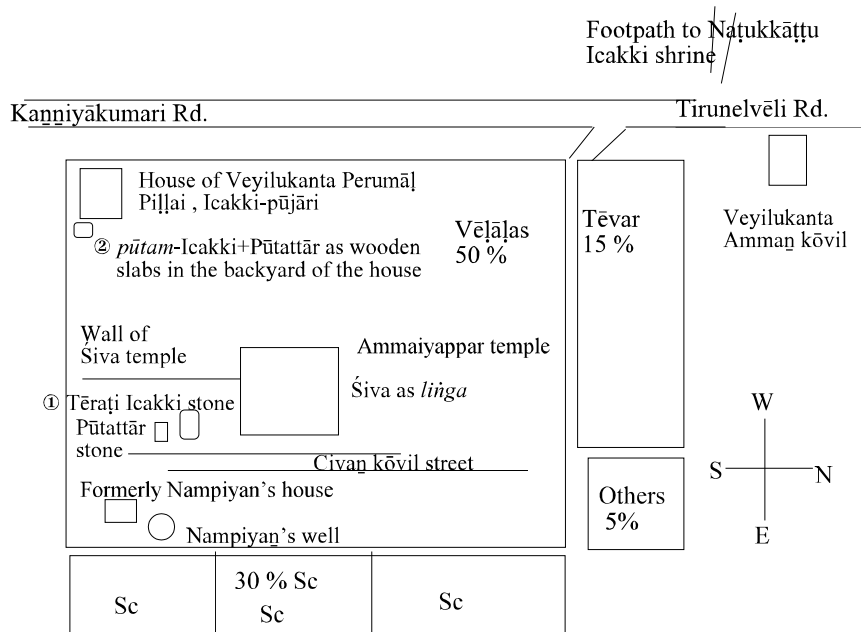
<sup>39</sup> On the “*pālai* region, also called [...] *kāṭu*,” see Dubianski 2000:16. The following *karu-p poruḷ* (natural and human features, lit. “things born/native”) are attributed to the *pālai tiṇai*: dryness, cactus plants, birds of prey (eagles etc.), and robbery/murder. According to Zvelebil (1973:99f.), the *Tolkāppiyam* says that no divinity is associated with the *pālai*, but others see Korṟavai (Bhagavatī/Durgā) as being so. Recall that in the *Piṅkala Nikaṇṭu* (p. 456.3734) Nīli is called the *pālaik kiḷatti*, “mistress of the *pālai* land” (see above, Sect. 7.3, point 3).

<sup>40</sup> As stated in Shulman 2001:333. On separation as the opposite of union, see Trawick 1978:87. Union and separation in early Caṅkam poetry are associated respectively with the landscapes of *kuṟiṅci* (hilly tract) and *pālai*.

<sup>41</sup> The hottest Tamil month is Cittirai, mid-April to mid-May.

socioeconomically the dominant one), 30% members of the Scheduled Castes (Sc), 15% Tēvars, and 5% others, including Nāṭārs, Ācāris, Kōṇārs, Reddiyars, Ceṭṭiyārs, and Brahmins (there is no *agrahāram*). Here she is to be found firstly at her *mūlasthāna* next to the Ammaiappar temple, and secondly within the courtyard of the house of Icakki's pūjārī.

Map 3: The village of Paḷavūr



#### 8.4 The Proprietor of the Naṭukāṭṭu Icakkiyamman Temple

Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukāṭṭu Icakkiyamman temple, an independent temple, belongs to and is maintained by a family group within the community of Śaiva Vēḷāḷa Ceṭṭiyārs.<sup>42</sup> As I earlier pointed out, the latter are a hybrid community of landed peasants (a right-hand caste) and merchants (a left-hand caste).

#### 8.5 The Goddess's Links with People: Who Are Her People?

Though everybody can participate in the *koṭai* festival,<sup>43</sup> the *koṭai* rituals are attended, whether coincidentally or not, exclusively by the social groups associated with the *Icakkiyamman Katali (IK)* and the local Icakki story. Among the members of the ritual gathering are:

1. A Brahmin, namely the single one affiliated to the Ammaiappar Śiva temple of the village (local story).
2. Kōṇārs, small landowners and traditionally herders who live by grazing and breeding livestock, and are therefore a mobile social group. One family of this community has hereditary rights relating to one of the most important rituals, for which services they are accorded preferential treatment. Moreover, in the year 2000 E. Vaṭivēl Kōṇār sponsored the renovation of the Icakki shrine.<sup>44</sup> This is the social group

<sup>42</sup> Personal communication with Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai of Paḷavūr on 27 March 2002. For the Śaiva Vēḷāḷa Ceṭṭiyārs, see n. 47 in Sect. 7.2, p. 238 above.

<sup>43</sup> Kōṇārs and Iṭaiyārs of the neighbouring villages also come to attend the festival (personal communication with Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai on 27 March 2002).

<sup>44</sup> Personal communication with the informant Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai on 27 March 2002. There is a signboard at the Icakki shrine



that in the *IK* suffered unprovoked atrocities at the hands of the demonic Nīli(-Icakki) and her twin brother, two hungry spirits who had been born as children of the Cōḷa king in their second, royal birth. 3. Tēvars/Maravars,<sup>45</sup> who traditionally were the guardians of villages.<sup>46</sup> This is the social group that appears as watchmen in the *IK* story, engaged by the king and the shepherds to track down those believed to have stolen cattle and sheep. They are the ones who take the culprits (Icakki and her twin brother) into the dense forest and leave them under a margosa tree. The Tēvar community is visibly present at the Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki temple in the role of Cuṭalaimāṭṭaṅ as a guardian deity. During the *koṭai* festival, their traditional function has been to behead sacrificial cocks and goats. It is the one social group that still follows a predominantly martial ideology, and therefore upholds martial virtues best. For the *koṭai* festival I researched, a female bow-song singer of the Tēvar community was hired to sing the story of Icakki.

4. Śaiva Ceṭṭiyārs.<sup>47</sup> This is the community from which come the ritual specialist (Icakki's pūjārī) and his extended family of high-ranking Vēḷāḷa/Piḷḷai Ceṭṭiyārs, who enjoy hereditary rights over the temple. In the context of the *IK* it is the social group to which Āṇantaṅ Ceṭṭi belongs—the merchant who murdered Icakki in his first birth, and who in turn was murdered by Icakki in a later birth.

5. Finally, the Vēḷāḷas, the high-ranking landed peasantry who in the *IK* appear as Karaiyāḷars. This again, is the community from which come the ritual specialists (Icakki's pūjārī and her embodiment in the ritual, Kantappiḷḷai). In the Icakki story, this group is entirely destroyed by Icakki in revenge for the death of her brother, a death that the Karaiyāḷars had caused by cutting down the margosa tree he resided in. This group are the main sponsors of the *koṭai* festival.

## 8.6 The Goddess's Links with Other Deities

The goddess's relationships with other deities are made abundantly clear in the *koṭai* festival. Icakki has ties to:

— the Ammaiappar Śiva temple in the village (Map 3), a link that has its roots in her own life story (the local story).

— Veyilukanta Ammaṅ at the northern outskirts of the village (Map 3). She is yet another female deity considered to be Icakki's elder sister,<sup>48</sup> but she does not appear in the story.

Furthermore, she mixes at her temple complex (Map 4) with:

— Pūtattār (Māṭṭaṅ), her primary guardian deity,<sup>49</sup> who is considered to be her father.<sup>50</sup> Pūtattār,

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commemorating the renovation. – The Kōṅārs' link with Icakki is also in evidence at the Naṅkuṅēri Icakki temple (see Sect. 7.7.2).

<sup>45</sup> On Maravas, see Ludden 1989:49f.: “Renowned from Sangam times as fierce hunters, highway robbers, and soldiers, the Maravas hail from Ramanathapuram, just northeast of Tirunelveli. Slowly they converted to settled agriculturists over the centuries, but they never lost their attachment to martial skills and virtues [...]. Maravas migrated into Tirunelveli with increasing regularity after 1300 [...] (49). But they also moved south [...] from this primary zone of concentration to become specialists in the sale of protection both locally and subregionally [...] they had most success in the southwest [...] at Nanguneri [...] where they could muster the power to protect something really big [i.e. the great Vaishnava temple] [...]and] became rich [...]. The bulk of the Marava population settled in [...] the [...] mixed [i.e. dry-wet] zone” (50). Succeeding in their search for land, water, and power, “the Marava peasant-warriors [...] commanded the dry zone and its resources” (ibid.:94). As Ludden (1989:157) goes on to remark, in the nineteenth century “[d]roughts and famines hit the mixed zone very hard. Many Maravas suffered serious economic problems under these circumstances.”

<sup>46</sup> See Ludden 1989:83: “Maravas everywhere monopolized the position of watchman, and built thereby caste networks as specialists in protection.”

<sup>47</sup> See Sect. 8.4 above.

<sup>48</sup> It is a convention to establish a kinship between local goddesses. Cf. Caldwell 1999:62, n. 45.

<sup>49</sup> Personal communication with Paḷaṅṅiyā Piḷḷai on 27 March 2002 in Paḷavūr.

<sup>50</sup> Pūtattār is found as a subordinate deity at many Icakki temples, among them the Icakki temple of Tāḷakkuṭi, where Muppiṭārī Ammaṅ resides. This latter is another name for the elder Icakki, Puruṣā Tēvi, the apotheosised heroine of the *Peṅṅaraciyaṅ Katali*. Here, interestingly enough, Pūtattār is identified with Icakki–Puruṣā Tēvi's former enemy, the neighbouring king

according to Blackburn's classification (1980:409, Appendix A) a "type A Madan," is a greatly respected deity of the Vēlāḷas.

— Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ,<sup>51</sup> yet another male attendant, who is known for having pursued Icakki in a cotton field.<sup>52</sup> It is not really clear what his relation to Icakki is. Some say that he is her brother; others, that he is her son. Unlike Icakki, he is of divine birth. Being a Śaiva figure, he is the ruler of cremation grounds. It is said in his *villuppāṭṭu* story that he asked Śiva for diverse boons (*varam*), including the right to kill and to conquer, and also to control the fate of pregnant women (mainly involving his punishment of women in the seventh month of pregnancy), young children, and barren women.<sup>53</sup> Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ's actions are excessive and transgressive: lust, rape, and other forms of extreme molestation and violation. Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ, as noted above, is a deity highly respected among the Maṛavar/Tēvar community. He is also worshipped by Dalits (former Harijans). His story is, alongside that of Muttār Ammaṅ, the most important one in the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition.

— Vairavaṅ alias Bhairava, another form of Śiva, who goes begging with the severed head of the creator god Brahmā, a god who did not want to recognise Śiva as the supreme god. As remarked by Blackburn (1980:149), Vairavaṅ of Nāñcilnāṭu is "a son and a protector of the vil pāṭṭu Ammaṅ."

— Cāstā (Skt. Śāstr) alias Aiyaṅār, a deity of mountains and forests,<sup>54</sup> and traditionally the family deity (*kulateyvam*) of the Vēlāḷas,<sup>55</sup> is said to be invisibly present at the Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki temple complex. Interestingly enough, in the *IK* he is in a strict sense the real murderer of Icakki's brother, Niḷaṅ, but being a god, he is, of course, never punished. It is imperative to perform the story of this deity born from the love-union of Śiva and Viṣṇu-Mohinī (a female form)<sup>56</sup> during the *koṭai* festival.<sup>57</sup>

— Nāga, the divine serpent in the termite hills, the coiled snake who represents fertility. The *nāgas* are regarded as the providers (or withholders) of rain.

— Finally, the margosa tree, decorated with cradles and considered to be the haunt of hungry spirits and *yakṣis*.

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Cempaṅmuṭi (see Jeyakumār et al. 1996:xxvi), with whom the princess Puruṣā Tēvi fought a battle and at whose feet she threw her nine-month-old foetus before committing suicide (see my synopsis of N4).

<sup>51</sup> Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ, along with his female counterpart Muttār Ammaṅ, is considered the most important deity of the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition, and in a sense defines its borders (no further north than present-day Ramnad district). For further details relating to the borders of the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition and the link to Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ, see Blackburn 1980:85f.

<sup>52</sup> See Sect. 5.4, footnote to N1.1429.

<sup>53</sup> The features of this deity seem to be paralleled in Sri Lanka in the figure of Kalukumāra; see Vogt Fryba 1991:224: "Kalukumāra ist der schwarze Prinz, ein Dämon, der junge Mädchen verführt und schwangere Frauen belästigt."

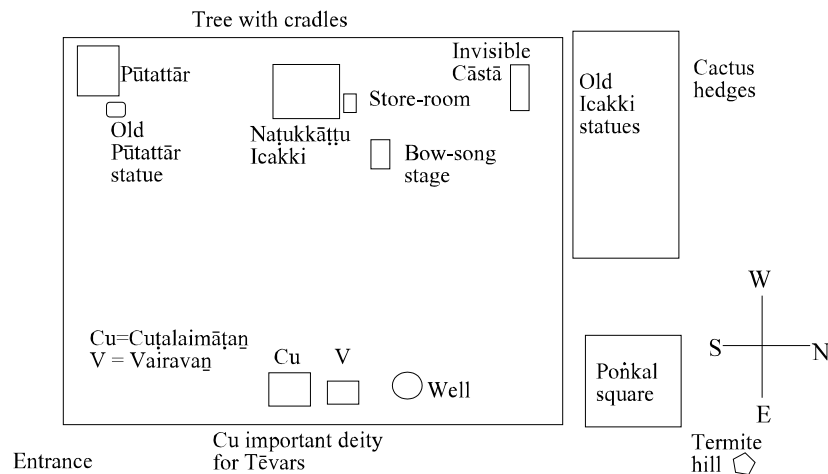
<sup>54</sup> Reiniche (1975:180) classifies Cāstā as a territorial god. See also Sect. 5.4, footnote to N1.828.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Sect. 5.4, N1.855-6.

<sup>56</sup> On Aiyaṅār, see Shulman 1980:307f. with references; also *ibid.*:421, n. 94. As noted by Clothey (1982:35ff.), this deity becomes more visible in the South "between the sixth and eighth centuries" (37) and "emerges to relative significance in the South during the seventh to tenth centuries, building [...] on a protohistory which seems to include Buddhist and Jaina motifs and remnants drawn from hunting societies. During the early part of his emergence, the god is presented as Śaiva; somewhat later—perhaps two or three centuries—he is linked with Vaiṣṇava motifs. In Kerala, he has persisted through the centuries as an embodiment of rapprochement between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, as a symbol of royal patronage and as a deity of many low and out caste groups. In Tamil Nadu he remained village guardian and family deity for land-holders of several castes" (35). Clothey (*ibid.*:36ff.) suggests that Cāstā-Aiyaṅār has historical ties to Cāṭṭaṅ, a name of a divinity that appears, as he remarks, in the Caṅkam literature in *Puranānūru* 395, in the epic *Cil.* 9.15, in *Periyapurāṇam* 4285, and in *Tēvāram* 4475 (alluded to by the Nāyaṅar saint Appar).

<sup>57</sup> For further remarks on the importance of performing Cāstā's story during *koṭai* festivals, see Blackburn 1980:154.

Map 4: Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukkāṭṭu Icakkiammaṅ shrine, Paḷavūr



### 8.7 The Iconic and Aniconic Representations of the Goddess in Paḷavūr<sup>58</sup>

The focus of worship in Paḷavūr is Icakki in the role of the younger sister, generally referred to as Paḷavūr Icakki. The younger sister, a sacrifice-demanding, meat-eating goddess, who prominently represents the psychological aspect of malevolence, is present in various forms. To begin with, she is present as a stone, at her *mūlasthāna* in the village. In a sense this lifeless form, in which the goddess is consigned to utter interiority, is of no harm. After all, it is situated at a public place in the middle of the village. By contrast, her presence in a slab of wood and silver bangles (*kaṭakams*) in the backyard of the house of the ritual specialist, Icakki's pūjārī, must be viewed differently. Though she is still within the limits of the village, she is considered to be a *pūtam* (Skt. *bhūta*)—ferocious, and even harmful. However, she is located in a place that is sealed off and accessible only to the family members who pamper her.

In order to meet the goddess in her anthropomorphic form we are forced to leave the village and proceed to the *pālai* wilderness, the place of separation that is imbued with desire.<sup>59</sup> Here is the only place we encounter her iconographically in the form of a blackened terra-cotta figure, as described previously, with two baby boys, one crunched in her fangs, and the other held in her left arm,<sup>60</sup> and additionally equipped with a knife resting in her erect bud-shaped<sup>61</sup> right hand—these two latter gestures apparently indicative of an interplay between two aspects of her, her dangerousness and eroticism.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> On Icakki's iconographical representation in general, see Sect. 7.6.

<sup>59</sup> See Sect. 8.3 above. – Note the transformative progression found here: from a stone (non-sentient) at a public place in the village, to a slab of wood (trees are sentient beings) in the pūjārī's backyard, to finally the anthropomorphous being present in a statue placed in the wilderness.

<sup>60</sup> For an interpretation of the babies, see the explanations of the main pūjārī (15 December 2002) in Sect. 9.2, p. 282.

<sup>61</sup> On this *mudrā* (gesture) of *mukula*, see Sect. 7.6 above. – The *muṣṭi mudrā* (gesture of a fist), which we also sometimes come across in representations of the goddess, stands in contrast to it.

<sup>62</sup> That violence and eroticism do not exclude one another in Tamil culture is seen in the testimonial descriptions of love-making. Tamil medieval literature (e.g. Kampaṅ's great twelfth-century epic, the *Irāmāvatāram*) teaches us that love-making, for a Tamil, calls for biting and scratching.

## 9 A Ritual System Observed

### 9.1 The Programme of the Ritual Practice

The ritual practice that occurs in tandem with the telling of the Icakki story represents a direct response to the murderous battle that is recounted in the narrative. It sets out with the intention of inverting the main thrust of a story which has violence as its core theme. Throughout it serves a goddess who is considered to be a split goddess—split, namely, into a highly dissatisfied, child-eating younger and a harmonised, fertile elder sister. The ritual attempts to heal this split. The goddess, who has turned to killing and blocking reproduction, will, it is hoped, be transformed and persuaded to emerge from within herself in a form that confers the gift of generativity and growth upon her devotees. The ritual specialists have chosen a creative and compelling strategy. They engage the goddess in a multiplicity of rituals which express appreciation and intimacy, while labouring to satisfy her needs. Thus they transform her all-destructive rage. The ritual is a composite of several initiatives that result in the suspension of the goddess's blocking of reproduction, and eventually in the fertility of the childless couples being restored or activated.

### 9.2 A Description of and Reflections on the Rituals of the *koṭai* Festival at *Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukāṭṭu Icakkiyamman Temple at Paḷavūr*<sup>1</sup>

Early in the morning of Tuesday the 24th of the Tamil month Cittirai (7 May 2002) I arrive with my assistant at the Naṭukāṭṭu temple of Paḷavūr, a place of Icakki worship that is said to be three to four generations old.<sup>2</sup> The view west of the temple is a beautiful panorama: a blue sky and white clouds that touch the hilly skyline of the Western Ghats, the huge mountain range dividing Kerala from Tamilnadu.<sup>3</sup> It is extremely hot, the hottest month of the year, and it is a Tuesday—along with Friday, one of the two days on which Icakkiyamman worship takes place. Everything looks dry, and there is no river or pond in sight. One remarkable feature of the area are tall white windmills scattered throughout the landscape. The landscape is much more barren and parched compared to what one is treated to after the rainy season, in the cool months of Kārttikai (November-December) and Mārkaḷi (December-January), the second period of the year associated with Icakki worship, albeit on a lower scale. Then the

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<sup>1</sup> This fieldwork was undertaken in 2002 and 2003 while I was a MINERVA Foundation (Max-Planck) doctoral fellow and visiting research fellow in the Department of Indian Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel.

<sup>2</sup> Personal communication with Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai of Paḷavūr on 27 March 2002 in the courtyard of Paḷaniyā Piḷḷai's house. The latter, treasurer of the Icakki Temple Trust, kindly called upon the elderly men to answer my questions.

<sup>3</sup> The border area of Tirunelvēli and K.K.Dt. to the east is semi-arid and not as alive with green as further west and southward. Still, it receives somewhat more than the meagre rainfall of the Tirunelvēli region, "one of the very driest parts of the peninsula" (Ludden 1989:19). Its soil is a dusty brown, supporting a natural flora of hardy scrub. In the hot season, people face a scarcity of water.

landscape is one of great abundance, freshness and loveliness—a landscape as described in the first lines of the *Icakkiammaṅ Katai (IK)*.

The shrine of Icakki is reached from the village of Paḷavūr after half an hour's walk along a small, difficult footpath, impassable when rain is falling. This is the Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki *kōyil* (“Shrine of Icakki-in-the-middle-of-the-forest/wilderness Adjacent to Barren Land”),<sup>4</sup> set on a small raised foundation of red soil (see Map 4, Section 8.6). The first tiny building on the left is the shrine of Pūtattār, the primary guardian deity.<sup>5</sup> The one adjacent to it on the right is the Icakki shrine, a modest one-room structure of the same size, fronted by a thatched-roofed area (elevated for the event). To its right is a storage building. The space in front of this third building, which is slightly set back and at a 90-degree angle to the Icakki shrine (which faces east), is the stage for the *villuppāṭṭu* group. Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ and Vairavaṅ are positioned on an elevated spot facing the Icakki shrine. This spot is roofed, pillared, and open on all sides. The two deities face west.

None of these gods have a role to play in the *IK*, but they do figure in one or the other story connected with Icakki, particularly Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ, who is said to have chased Icakki in a nearby area that once was cotton fields.<sup>6</sup> This story is a good example of how narratives implying Icakki's presence in a particular location multiply and grow independently, yet at certain points converge.

The temple site belongs to the Vēlāḷas, the dominant community in the village. Behind the Icakki shrine is a tree with small wooden cradles hanging on it. To the right, at the bottom of a fence, can be seen a spot soaked with fresh blood, and close to it, level with Icakki's shrine, there is a row of seven terra-cotta Icakki statues along a hedge of thorny cactuses.<sup>7</sup> Two of them are wrapped in silk saris. All are adorned with such ornaments as bangles, *meṭṭis* (foot-rings), *cilampus* (anklets), a *mēkalai* (waistbelt, a sign of long life), a *tāli*,<sup>8</sup> and earrings. A red dot marks the centre of their forehead. Their neck, arms and face look as if they were smeared with turmeric. They are of enticing femininity, irrespective of their widely opened collyrium-smeared eyes that flash menace. On their head is a colourfully striped crown, with the design of a trident front and centre. They are of a bewitching beauty such as one would expect from the portrayal of Icakki during the forest scene of the *IK*, when she comes face-to-face with the Ceṭṭi (see N1, lines 1040-96). Taken by their beauty, one would almost have overlooked their lolling blood-red tongues (a sign of their all-consuming nature), their fangs, the baby crunched between their pearly-white teeth, another child between their feet, and their right arm held head-high with a knife in hand. The iconography found on the terra-cotta statues presents a revealing and coherent picture of their close-knit relation to both the well-known translocal *IK* and the local Icakki story, as made explicit in the main pūjārī's interpretation of the iconic representation of the three babies:

When Icakki was ferocious she killed the pregnant wife of Nampiyār and plucked out her intestines, took the child from her womb, and clamped it between her teeth. That is why she has a child in her mouth. [...] In order to show her power, she did so, opposing the magic power of Nampiyār. [...] The child at her feet is that of a man who prepares magical paste (*mai*). It is the child of Karaiyāḷaṅ [and his wife...]. [Did Karaiyāḷaṅ come from Paḷavūr?] No. Karaiyāḷaṅ came from Ampalavaṅapuram. He only prepared the magical paste and sold it to Nampiyār. [...] The child at her feet is the child of Karaiyāḷaṅ of Ampalavaṅapuram. The child in her arm is her own creation.<sup>9</sup> (Interview with the main pūjārī held on 15 December 2002)

That the child in her mouth is that of Nampiyār and his wife, and that the child at her feet is that of the

<sup>4</sup> See also Sect. 8.3, p. 276 above.

<sup>5</sup> See Sect. 8.6, p. 278ff. above.

<sup>6</sup> See Sects. 8.6 and 5.4, p. 186, n. 256.

<sup>7</sup> See Photo 3 in Appendix A, p. 355.

<sup>8</sup> Note that the *tāli* is not necessarily a sign of marriage. According to Arunima (2003:24), in Malabar matrilineal society it was the custom to tie a *tāli* around the neck as a sign of sexual maturation. The same scholar writes (*ibid.*): “During the debates of the 1880s and 1890s, the reformers attacked this ritual as a symbolic initiation into prostitution, as it signified that the girl was ready for sexual relations.”

<sup>9</sup> That this child is the baby she created herself is confirmed by various people.

magician's assistant Karaiyāḷaṅ and his wife, are the iconographical features that can be linked to the local Icakki story (see synopsis, Section 9.2.2, p. 303f.),<sup>10</sup> and to Icakki's competitive relations with *mantiravāṭis* (magicians) as well.<sup>11</sup> However, the child in the arm can only be explained on the basis of the *IK*, and apparently must be identified with the *kaḷḷi* plant that turned into a child (see synopsis, Section 2.2.1, p. 10).<sup>12</sup>

The two statues clothed in saris have not yet been completely forgotten. In contrast, the others to their right have been left to their fate: there is a lonely torso that has come to rest in the shade of a tree, and there are legs and feet scattered about. If we circumambulate further around to the right, we reach the site of the *poṅkal*; at noon it will be filled with blackened pots standing in a row, the smell of firewood and rice boiling over, rising smoke, chattering women, playful children, and pitiable kid goats tied to a tree awaiting sacrifice. Adjacent to this site is a termite hill indicative of the presence of the coiled snake that represents fertility. Let us now turn to the events of the *koṭai* festival.

The complete series of ritual are performed in three cycles: the first cycle is divided into a morning and afternoon segment; the second cycle is divided into evening, midnight, and dawn segments; and the third cycle is a single segment on the second day. The three cycles together have a climax of their own, which occurs in the second cycle.

### 9.2.1 The First Ritual Cycle<sup>13</sup>

MORNING 7 MAY 2002

*The villuppāṭṭu*

It is 10:05 A.M. While the main pūjārī, 48-year-old Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, is awaiting the arrival of the first devotees at the steps of the Icakki shrine, the *villuppāṭṭu* group starts to perform. Its main members are the 40-year-old main female singer G. Muttuleṭcumi of Eṭṭaiyāpuram (Tūttukkuṭi district),<sup>14</sup> and her husband, G. Gopikriṣṇaṅ, the main *kuṭam*<sup>15</sup> player—both of them belonging to the Tēvar community. The first session, played in the classical Carnatic style (at times calling for a *vil*<sup>16</sup> and *tuṭi*<sup>17</sup>), is devoted to invocations. These are part of the *IK*.<sup>18</sup> Divine power is summoned by means of

<sup>10</sup> On another level, of course, as already suggested, these features mark her out as a *yakṣī* type B.

<sup>11</sup> The competition between Icakki and the *mantiravāṭis* is very apparent in the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai* as well. See my synopsis in Sect. 2.4, p. 13ff. – Magic arts like sorcery and divination (featured at a later point, in the *māppiḷḷai maṅcappiḷḷai* ritual) are integral to the Icakki cult, as they are, more generally, in the traditional popular religion of Kaṅṅiyākumari district and Kerala. We may at this point recall the words of the main pūjārī that Icakki knows the *vāṭais* (spirits, ghosts) and controls them. This seems to me reasonable, if we bear in mind her life story: her first birth ended in violent death, while her second began with her birth as a hungry spirit which came to reside in a margosa tree, a species Tamils believe—along with the banyan tree—to be the haunt of *pēys* (evil spirits) and *yakṣīs* (spirits of pregnant women and virgins who have died an untimely death).

<sup>12</sup> G. Muttuleṭcumi (the bow-song singer) and her husband G. Gopikriṣṇaṅ, in an interview on 8 May 2002, confirmed: “Then she broke the *kaḷḷi* plant and turned it into a child in order to present it as evidence. This is the reason why she has a child in her arm in all the temples” (K.-L.01.494). Likewise, Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai, Paḷavūr, stated in an interview of 27 March 2002: “Nīli's child in her arm is the *kaḷḷi* plant” (K-F).

<sup>13</sup> The first ritual cycle: morning and afternoon (the first *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṅai* and the flowerbed ritual).

<sup>14</sup> G. Muttuleṭcumi (born 1962), daughter of the Carnatic musician Kaṅṅucāmi, has an 8th-standard school education. Her father introduced her at the age of thirteen to the art of bow-song singing. He used to accompany her himself on the *kuṭam*. (K.-L.01.B.469ff.)

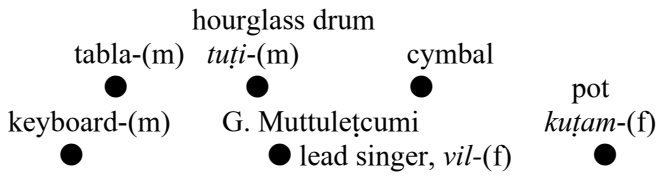
<sup>15</sup> The pot (*kuṭam*) used is especially made for bow-song performances. It is played by slapping its open mouth with a paddle.

<sup>16</sup> For a more detailed description of the bowed instrument, see Sect. 1.1, n. 4.

<sup>17</sup> The *tuṭi*, familiar to old Tamil literature, is the instrument held in the left hand of Śiva Naṭarājan. It is a small, hourglass-shaped drum that is played by striking the fingers of the right hand against it. *Tuṭi* and *uṭukku* are synonyms for one and the same instrument.

<sup>18</sup> For the invocations, see N1, the published text N8, and N10.

them, and a sacred map is drawn as the relevant temple, region, and so forth are called out by name. The invocations make it clear that the *katai* is deeply rooted in religious, social, and geographical traditions. The *iruppu* (position of the group members) is as follows at the beginning stage of the performance:



It is nearly 11:00 A.M. I am awaiting the arrival of the procession, which can be seen at some distance walking from the village towards the temple in the wilderness. Some devotees carry on their heads palmyra leaf baskets containing offerings covered with white pieces of cloth. Others bring animals, such as goats or cocks. Then the first boys and girls of the procession accompanying the newly made Icakki, arrive. Smearred with holy ash and garlanded with flowers, they carry brass pots on their heads. Some pots are wrapped in white or orange pieces of cloth, decorated with flower garlands, and filled to the brim (a sign of fertility). One person carries a silver plate containing holy ash. People begin to gather in front of the Icakki shrine. The brass pots are placed at the entrance of the shrine. Finally the Vēḷar (potter) arrives on the scene, preceded by drummers.<sup>19</sup> He is carrying the Icakki statue recently sculpted by him,<sup>20</sup> and now dressed in a white dhoti<sup>21</sup> and garlanded with flowers.

*A flashback to the village: The inaugural function of the koṭai festival, the pāl kuṭam (milk pot) ritual*

Although the *koṭai* seems to have not yet started at the Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki temple far from the village, the first rituals are already over, namely those that took place in the village, involving first the Icakki pūjārī of the Śaiva Vēḷāḷa Ceṭṭiyār community (at 8:25 A.M. in his house: special preparations), and secondly the Ammaiyappar (Śiva) temple (see Map 3, Section 8.3), where (at around 9:00 A.M.) a pot is filled with milk (*pāl kuṭam*). There is a reason for this. Icakki, as the local Icakki story tells, killed Nampiyār's wife, plucked out her intestines, and snatched away her child (see the synopsis in Section 9.2.2 midnight session below). After also killing Nampiyār (the Brahmin), Icakki takes up position at the foot of the temple chariot (*tēr*) opposite his house and adjacent to the Ammaiyappar temple. (She is still present there in the form of a stone,<sup>22</sup> in the shade of a tree next to the Ammaiyappar temple wall.) To her left is Pūtattār,<sup>23</sup> her guardian deity. Her own name, Tēraṭi Icakki ("Icakki-at-the-foot-of-the-temple-chariot"<sup>24</sup>) refers to her *mūlasthāna*, the spot where she stays first before being taken to the pūjārī's (Veyilukanta Perumāl Piḷḷai's) house.<sup>25</sup> Whereas at the *mūlasthāna* the stone in the shape of a *liṅga* (although not as tall as a normal one) is situated in an open space, in the pūjārī's backyard she has been given a small shelter with walls and a thatched roof. There 80-year-old Paramacivaṅ Piḷḷai (the former pūjārī and father of the present one) used to sit in meditative communication with the deity. At all three

<sup>19</sup> The drummers belong to the Kampar community.

<sup>20</sup> It is made of burnt clay.

<sup>21</sup> Her wearing a dhoti, a male dress, rather than a sari has a reason behind it, as the pūjārī explained to me: it is later removed and presented to the Vēḷar as a token of thanks.

<sup>22</sup> Handelman (1995:322) posits a link between stone and interiority: "The deity's turning into a rock on the human plane is an index of [...] great interiority and distance from human beings."

<sup>23</sup> On Pūtattār, see Sect. 8.6.

<sup>24</sup> Reiniche (1975:180) remarks that temple chariots are regarded as equal in status to temples; in other words, the chariot is a temple. It seems to be common for stones of *ammans* and *mātaṅs* to be installed near Śiva temples. Reiniche (ibid.) mentions such a stone placement relating to the demon Māṭaṅ, who stole Śiva's ritual rice. When Śiva perceived Māṭaṅ on the basis of the theft, a stone representing Māṭaṅ was placed near the Śiva temple. Interestingly enough, according to Reiniche's account the villagers believe that the connection between stone and temple was established by the god of the chariot.

<sup>25</sup> The pūjārī does pūjās for both Tēraṭi Icakki and the Icakki in the backyard of his house (personal communication on 19 January 2003).

locations (Naṭukāṭṭu temple, Tēraṭi near the Ammaiappar Śiva temple, and the pūjārī's backyard) Pūtattār is to her left. In the pūjārī's backyard, both take the form of blackened rectangular slabs of wood (*palakai*). There Icakki is considered to be of a ferocious nature, and this is the reason for not having given this *pūtam*<sup>26</sup> a human shape or name. It is believed that when she assumes an anthropomorphic form, her rage knows no limits, causing fright among the people. Moreover, her ability to bewilder others with her charm increases. Icakki is partly covered with red silk, and a jasmine garland is placed on the semicircular top of the slab of wood. In front of her are lying her *kaṭakams*,<sup>27</sup> bangles of pure silver. To her right stands the red bow-shaped *pirampu*, a stick that is said to ward off evil. To the left of Pūtattār another stick, this time a straight one, leans against the wall. It is considered to belong to Cuṭalaimāṇ. Whereas Icakki in the form of a slab never moves anywhere, her *pirampu* and *kaṭakams* are taken during the annual *koṭai* festival to the Naṭukāṭṭu shrine and are there worn by Kantappiḷḷai,<sup>28</sup> the bodily vessel of Icakki during the *cāmiyāṭṭam* (possession, lit. “god-dance”). They are returned to the pūjārī's house shrine as soon as the festival is over.

This brief excursion to Icakki's *mūlasthāna* in the village makes it obvious why there is interaction between the village and the Icakki who resides in the wilderness, that is to say, between the inside and the outside. As my further descriptions will show, the villagers enter into a reciprocal relationship with Icakki on the outside by bringing material objects from the village, and in return taking social, psychological, and spiritual enrichment back with them to the village. Everything begins in the village and ends in the village, and more precisely, at the pūjārī's house, where *pūtam*-Icakki resides.

According to convention, all religious functions in Paḷavūr start from the Ammaiappar temple, to which the village attaches special importance as being the temple dedicated to Śiva. The *pāl kuṭam* (milk pot) ritual, the inaugural function of the Icakki *koṭai* festival, is no exception. But as we shall see at a later point, there are two other rituals that highlight more directly the link between the two temples, the Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki shrine in the wilderness and the Ammaiappar temple in the village. I am referring to the *kumbhābhiseka*, performed at the Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki shrine by the Brahmin priest of the Ammaiappar temple, and the preparation<sup>29</sup> of *āppam* and *puṭṭu*, both vegetarian items made available by the Brahmin priest for the *poṅkal parippu paṭaiṭṭu* during the *arttacāmapūjai* (the final night pūjā) of the *koṭai*. It is important to recall that Nampiyār, murdered by Icakki, was a Brahmin and the priest of the Ammaiappar temple. The local Icakki story accounts for the link between the two temples and for why food offerings should indeed be given by the Ammaiappar temple to Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki.<sup>30</sup>

### *The first pūjā to the newly made Icakki statue at the Vēḷar's house*

Returning to the sequence of events: After the *pāl kuṭam* ritual is over at 9:00 A.M., the procession heads towards a house on the outskirts of Paḷavūr belonging to the member of the Vēḷar community (potters, also known colloquially as *kuyavars* or *kucavars*)<sup>31</sup> who has made the new image of Icakki.<sup>32</sup> The new

<sup>26</sup> The pūjārī talked about her in terms of a *pūtam* (a Sanskrit loanword: *bhūta*, “demon”); an interview on 19 January 2003.

<sup>27</sup> *Kaṭakam* (LT) - *kaṭayam* (ST).

<sup>28</sup> Kantappiḷḷai is the brother of Paramacivaṇ Piḷḷai, the former pūjārī.

<sup>29</sup> This preparation is done at the Ammaiappar temple.

<sup>30</sup> Interestingly enough, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai called the temple's contribution “the punishment for Nampiyār, the Brahmin.” It is significant that Nampiyār's role in the local Icakki story is conceived in Paḷavūr as an activity that continually calls for reparations on the part of the Brahmin priest (directly) and the Śiva temple (indirectly). It should be mentioned that Nampiyār, who moved to Paḷavūr from a northern area, laid the foundation for the Ammaiappar (Śiva) temple. His house, which no longer exists, was situated opposite the Śiva temple. All his relatives, so it is said, went away after the atrocities carried out by Icakki occurred. – In short, the Ammaiappar temple either indirectly or directly participates in two rituals linked with the Icakki temple: the *pāl kuṭam* and the preparation and offering of *āppam* and *puṭṭu*.

<sup>31</sup> For further details, see Singh 1998:3626f.

<sup>32</sup> The Vēḷar who was commissioned to make the image is not from Paḷavūr but has come especially for the ritual from his native place, Iraniyal, west of Nagercoil. (Interview with Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai on 19 January 2003) – I had no chance to interview the potter of this particular statue, but in February 2003 did interview, by letter correspondence, the potter A. Cupparamaniya Perumāḷ Vēḷāḷar of Ammāṅṭiṅṭiḷḷai (K.K.Dt.), a specialist in making the Icakki statue. I give a summary of his



statue, simply called Icakki Ammaṅ,<sup>33</sup> witnessed its first pūjā at the Vēḷar's house—performed by the Vēḷar with the permission of “*pūtam-Icakki*,”<sup>34</sup> whose seat is in the pūjārī's backyard. The offerings of a white dhoti, coconut, betel nut, fruits, a cock, and money<sup>35</sup> are made by Icakki's pūjārī, but come from the client who ordered the statue. This pūjā has more importance for the Vēḷar than for Icakki.<sup>36</sup> It is performed to thank the potter (by means of a dhoti, money etc.). There is no animal sacrifice in the Vēḷar's house. An egg sacrifice only takes place to appease the *vātais* (spirits, ghosts). Icakki is said to know the *vātais* and to control them.

*The ritual of opening the eyes (cilai kaṅ tirappu) of the newly made Icakki statue carried in procession*

After the pūjā is over the image is taken in procession to the Ūr Ammaṅ—that is, to the Veyilukanta Ammaṅ—temple at the northern outskirts of the village.<sup>37</sup> Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ and Vairavaṅ are also present. The new image of Icakki is carried by its Vēḷar maker.<sup>38</sup> The statue is placed in front of the Ūr Ammaṅ temple, where at 10:00 A.M. the opening of the statue's eyes (*cilai kaṅ tirappu*) takes place. Fruits are offered, and a coconut is split in two. The statue is dressed in the white dhoti given by the pūjārī, and a towel is tied around its waist. A cock is beheaded, and the blood is sprayed in all directions. Some blood is smeared as a tilak on the forehead of the statue to open her eyes. One egg is thrown towards the east, another one towards the north, and a third one towards the front of the temple, thus creating a fence (*vēli*) for protection. Asked why the eye-opening ritual must be done at the Ūr Ammaṅ temple outside the village and cannot occur at the Ammaiappar temple, the main pūjārī of Icakki replies:

The eyes are not opened inside the village because the people are frightened. [...] The Ammaiappar temple is inside the village. This statue doesn't go to the Ammaiappar temple. Ammaiappar is the devotee of Śiva. Icakki is a *pēy* [hungry spirit].

The eye-opening ritual takes half an hour, after which time the image of Icakki (still carried by the Vēḷar) sets off in procession to the Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki temple and finally reaches its destination. It is crucial that the new Icakki figure not touch the ground until it has approached the Icakki temple. It is believed that Icakki settles wherever the figure comes in contact with the ground.

*The arrival of the newly made Icakki in the wilderness and her placement face-to-face with the permanent Icakki-in-the-shrine*

It is 11:00 A.M. Drums (*mēḷam*) are beaten. The *nātasvaram* is played. The *villuppāṭṭu* stops. The *IK* proper has not started yet. The bow-song singer folds her hands respectfully. A few people gather. The new image of Icakki approaches the temple square. Resembling the iconic representation of the terra-cotta figures standing along the cactus hedges (see the description in Section 9.2), and dressed in the white dhoti, she is placed face-to-face at some distance from Icakki-in-the-shrine, whose iconographic

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reply: The Vēḷar has to observe a 41-day fasting from the time he starts to make the statue. This particular Vēḷar takes the clay from the pond of Tōvālai (a place nearer to Āralvāymoḷi), visits his client, circumambulates him, and starts his job. After he finishes it, the eye-opening ritual is conducted by him at the temple, with a cock being sacrificed and the dress being donned. Asked about the two holes, the one on the head and the other on the stomach of the baby placed at the foot of the Icakki statue, he replied: “The hole is made in order to make the wet clay dry fast. These holes are closed when it arrives at the temple.” That the holes made at the time the statue is formed are merely a technical expedient of the potter's was confirmed by Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, Icakki's pūjārī, in Paḷavūr on 19 January 2003.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with the main pūjārī on 15 December 2002.

<sup>34</sup> As mentioned above, she has no proper name. Merely in order to distinguish her, I shall continue to refer to her as such.

<sup>35</sup> If a person is prepared to order a statue, he has to pay Rs. 2,000 to the Vēḷar association, and in turn the Vēḷar association will pay the pūjārī of Icakki. The Vēḷar has no other function in the *koṭai* than making the statue and carrying it to the Naṭukāṭṭu temple, where he conducts the sacrifice of the cock given as an offering by the pūjārī.

<sup>36</sup> Personal communication with Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, the pūjārī, on 19 January 2003.

<sup>37</sup> See Map 3, Sect. 8.3; also Sect. 8.6.

<sup>38</sup> The Vēḷar is paid by his client, the donor of the statue, to carry the statue.

features (see Section 8.7) are identical, except for one baby missing at her feet.<sup>39</sup> There is significance in the arrival of the new Icakki donated by a young man from Āvaraikuḷam, whose offering to Icakki-in-the-shrine can be considered as an act of thanksgiving, since his request for a child had proved successful.<sup>40</sup> Every vow to a deity is required to be kept if the wish is granted. That people are convinced of Icakki's benevolence in bestowing children is also apparent in the offering of a cradle by a woman who approaches the pūjārī. Birth, the visible sign of women's reproductive power, is the essence of their identity in traditional Tamil culture. Is Icakki-in-the-shrine, whose stories tell of her blocking reproduction, aware of this? The differences between her and the newly arrived clay (*cuṭṭa maṇ*) figure are somewhat striking. The blackened terra-cotta statue of Icakki-in-the-shrine not only lacks the vital quality of beauty possessed by the colourful, *mañcaḷ*-skinned and garlanded new arrival, but also contrasts by reason of the colour of her dress. While the terra-cotta statue of Icakki-in-the-shrine wears a red sari, the figure outside is dressed in white, a sign of her non-active, benevolent nature,<sup>41</sup> which is rooted in the village, a place of assembly and stability.<sup>42</sup> With the statue standing outside going unnoticed, a great rush of people place even more brass pots and such cooling foods as bunches of plantain, sugarcane, and green coconuts on the steps of the shrine. The pūjārī serves the people who bring their offerings a paste of sacred ash, turmeric, and sandalwood. The *villuppāṭṭu* continues, though at times it is interrupted by disturbances.

### *The kumbhābhiṣeka*

#### *—The kumbhābhiṣeka for Pūtattār (also called Māṭaṅ)*

The turning point comes unexpectedly. The scene shifts suddenly to the Pūtattār shrine. Another name for this deity is Māṭaṅ. It is 11:30 A.M. Drums are beaten. The *villuppāṭṭu* stops. The *IK* proper has still not started. Men of high standing go to the front. A crowd gathers—mainly men. The *kumbhābhiṣeka* for Pūtattār takes place. To Pūtattār, as the primary guardian deity, goes the honour of receiving the first pūjā in the *koṭai*. An Aiyar Brahmin priest performs the ritual, while Icakki's pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, assists. Bells are rung. Possession takes place. An elderly woman's body begins to tremble. Kantappiḷḷai, who will later enact Icakki, and Icakki's pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, are seized by the emerging deity.

#### *—The kumbhābhiṣeka for Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki and, simultaneously, a first ritual exchange of views between Icakki inside and Icakki outside*

The scene shifts back. One ritual having come to an end at the Pūtattār shrine, another one starts now as a direct sequel at the Icakki shrine. The drummers move about. The heat increases. Women now show greater interest but remain seated. Men gather in front of the shrine. There are seven earthen pots of plenty (signifying fertility and fruitfulness) smeared with red *kuṅkumam* powder and sandalwood paste, to which adhere bits of coconut and assorted margosa leaves and jasmine flowers. Plantain fruits are also in evidence. It is 12:00 noon. Inside the shrine the sari is being removed from the blackened terra-cotta statue.<sup>43</sup> The figure has one baby in its mouth and one on its arm, bespeaking the ambivalent character of the goddess. There is no child at her feet. Her devotees have formed a row so as to give her a free view of her other self that has come directly from the village—representing something of the

<sup>39</sup> For the meaning of the baby at her feet, see the interview with the main pūjārī in Sect. 9.2, p. 282.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with the main pūjārī on 15 December 2002.

<sup>41</sup> The pūjārī explained: "If we dress the statue in red it will be ferocious. For this reason, she has got a white clothing" (interview on 19 January 2003).

<sup>42</sup> I identify this figure as the elder sister version of the goddess.

<sup>43</sup> "She is smeared with oil. *Mañcaṇai* and oil are used on the statue. This leaves the figure black. That statue in the Naṭukāṭṭu temple is anywhere from 80 to 100 years old. We should not allow anybody to go near the statue, to avoid its being broken. If it is broken it is very difficult to recast. We have to spend nearly one lakh of rupees to do so. And we have to observe fasting for it. It is made of clay and burnt" (interview with the main pūjārī at his house in Paḷavūr on 15 December 2002).

benevolence which, it is hoped, will be remembered and adopted by Icakki who is inside the shrine.<sup>44</sup> The timing is not accidental. Noontime is an important division of the day.<sup>45</sup> With respect to Icakki, midday is a dangerous time. Her temples, it is said at Muppantal, should not be passed by pregnant women at this particular time (the same applies at midnight), and if they do, they should have with them a protective margosa leaf. It is the Aiyar Brahmin priest again who performs the ritual, in a swift and highly elaborate manner, purifying the statue and other items with the milk taken in procession in the *pāl kuṭam* (milk pot) from the Ammaiyappar temple. Icakki's *pūjārī* assists. Bells are rung. At the time of the *tīpārāṭṭai* Kantappiḷḷai is entered by the goddess and made to partake of her substance. An assistant supports him. The *kumbhābhiṣeka* is over, and so are the morning rituals. What we have witnessed so far are the classical temple rituals.

—*The kumbhābhiṣeka rituals for Cuṭalaimāṭṭaṅ and Vairavaṅ*

#### REFLECTIONS ON THE MORNING SEGMENT

I would argue that certain aspects of the morning segment decode the ritual exchange of views between the two versions of the goddess, one inside and one outside, and that the placement and the showing of the outside image (harmonised/fertile) to the inside figure (unfulfilled/fertility blocking) is a sign set by the village from the outset. I interpret the sign as an invitation for the inside figure to initiate a transformative process towards the other version of herself, a lost variant she must possess, for otherwise the outside figure would not have come into existence and been offered to her in thanksgiving. I argue that these meanings are present for the participants of the *koṭai*. As we shall see in the course of the rituals, what is initiated at this point is accomplished in the final ritual of the second cycle at the end of the dawn watch.

#### AFTERNOON

##### *The villuppāṭṭu*

It is approximately 1:30/1:45 P.M. The *villuppāṭṭu* opens the afternoon session. People listen attentively. The entire temple square is covered with women sitting on the ground. The *pantals* (canopies),<sup>46</sup> constructed of banana stalks and palmyra thatch, transform the place into a shady, cool setting.

##### *The second pūjā for the newly made Icakki figure*

In the morning the ritual stage was set by the *villuppāṭṭu* in its invocation of the gods, but it is only between 1:30 and 1:45 in the afternoon, after an intervening break, that the *koṭai* festival proper starts,<sup>47</sup> with both the *villuppāṭṭu* group beginning its performance of the *IK* and the *pūjā* for the newly made Icakki image. Such acts give substance to the term *koṭai*, which means “gift”: here, the gift not only of the *katai* that retells the goddess's life, but even of Icakki's own self, or more precisely, a version of her split self in the form of the new terra-cotta figure. The *Vēḷar* (potter) will serve a final function. It is a significant moment. The nature of the statue is about to undergo change. The *Vēḷar* receives the white dhoti worn by his newly made image, while the terra-cotta figure is now dressed in a red silk sari,

<sup>44</sup> Making her remember her connection with the village is essential. Three elements represent the village: firstly, the newly made image of her offered by an individual indebted to the deity; secondly, the *pāl kuṭam* (milk pot) carried together with the statue in procession from the village; and thirdly, the Aiyar Brahmin priest of the Ammaiyappar temple who purifies her.

<sup>45</sup> See Obeyesekere 1984:109.

<sup>46</sup> For *pantal*, see Dubois 1906:154.

<sup>47</sup> Veyilukanta Perumāl Piḷḷai in a personal communication of 19 January 2003 made clear that in a strict sense this is the time the festival begins.

Icakki's favourite colour, a metaphor for heat, but also the colour associated with brides—clearly evoking auspicious fertility. She is garlanded with flowers. A plantain leaf is placed in front of her, and a halved coconut, betel, bananas, and incense sticks are put on it. As the *villuppāṭṭu* continues and preparations for the *poṅkal* are made at its assigned spot, the young man from Āvaraikuḷam who offered (*nēraṅta āl*) the statue sprinkles her with flowers. He is asked to hold his right hand on the statue's chest while facing towards Icakki-inside-the-shrine. He prays: "O Ammā, I have done my duty. Let me from now on be free from all suffering and disease. I swear thrice an oath that I have fulfilled my duty—*uṇmai cattiyam, uṇmai cattiyam, uṇmai cattiyam*." He circumambulates the statue clockwise. A cock is swung three times in a circling movement (similar to a *tīpārāṭṭai*) in front of her. It is sacrificed—beheaded<sup>48</sup>—and its blood daubed in the form of a *poṭṭu* (red tilak mark) on the statue's forehead, and then smeared on the child in her left arm. This is the task of the Vēḷar. The bell rings; camphor and light are swung. The young donor circumambulates the newly made image again three times. It is the moment when the donee, the permanent Icakki-in-the-shrine—though hidden behind a red curtain for changing into her *alaṅkāram* form<sup>49</sup>—accepts from the donor his offering (made in fulfilment of a vow, *nērccai*<sup>50</sup>) by giving a handful of jasmine flowers, which are sprinkled on the newly made statue.<sup>51</sup> The main pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, blesses the donor and the Vēḷar who conducted the pūjā with both rose water and holy ash. This is the main pūjārī's sole function in this segment. It is 2:00 P.M. The statue has now lost its importance.<sup>52</sup> It is removed and placed in a corner of the storeroom next to the shrine (see Map 4, Section 8.6).<sup>53</sup>

#### REFLECTIONS ON THE PŪJĀ FOR THE NEWLY MADE ICACKI FIGURE

Given that the newly made Icakki figure mirrors the hoped-for transformation of the goddess-in-the-shrine, I would argue that the outside figure is evidently meant to awaken the other one's interest in the split version of herself, that is, in her benevolent vitality. Indeed, initiating this process of self-awareness in the Icakki inside is the only function of the Icakki outside. That the outside figure eventually loses its importance is indicative of the fact that the goddess has accepted the gift.

I argue that the strategy of the ritual specialists, which began earlier with the "ritual exchange of views," proves effective. I argue more particularly, however, that the transformative impulse must come from outside.

#### *The villuppāṭṭu*

It is 2:00 P.M. (7 May 2002). The *villuppāṭṭu* group has started to perform the *IK* proper, singing of Śivapāppāṅ and Śiva-Āṭi, his barren wife, and singing also about the Ammaiappar temple and

<sup>48</sup> There are two ways of beheading a cock: to slit the throat and let the blood drain off, or to wring the neck. The Tēvar charged with the task at this *koṭai* follows the old way, of slitting the throat—the method considered proper in temples that are ancient (Perumāḷ 1990:62). The head has to be thrown away, according to the pūjārī.

<sup>49</sup> The blood-red curtain can be read as a foretoken of the goddess's maturation. – Note that the curtain is set up before the pūjā for the newly made Icakki-outside-the-shrine takes place, and is only taken down after she is removed and stored in the storeroom.

<sup>50</sup> *nērccai* < *nērttikkaṭṭai*. The term is used for offerings in fulfilment of a vow.

<sup>51</sup> The main pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, comes out with a handful of jasmine flowers to announce that the goddess has accepted the offering. This was confirmed to me in an interview with the main pūjārī held on 19 January 2003.

<sup>52</sup> Asked when the newly made Icakki statue is most powerful, whether after the eye-opening ceremony or after she has changed her dress from white to red and is placed face-to-face with the permanent Icakki, the pūjārī Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai answered as follows: "The power disappears immediately after the *tīpārāṭṭai* is over and the sacred ash has been distributed. There is no reason why this offered statue should still have power. [...] At the time of the eye-opening ceremony the statue acquires some power, but loses it after the *tīpārāṭṭai*, and henceforth is considered to be a mere statue of clay. [...] The power has gone to the Ammaṅ" (interview on 19 January 2003).

<sup>53</sup> Interview held on 15 December 2002: "It [the newly made statue] is kept in the room next to the Icakki shrine for some time. When the next statue comes, we replace this one with it. We put this one outside [near the cactus hedges]. [...] It doesn't go back to the village."

Śivakāmi, the temple dancer (*devadāsī*) who is longing for a child.

*Cooking the festival food (poṅkal)*

2:00 P.M. The making of *poṅkal* (rice and milk boiled and offered to the goddess) is in full swing, while simultaneously, behind a red curtain veiling the inner sanctum, Icakki is being decorated with flowers for the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai*. At the same time, the *villuppāṭṭu* continues to narrate her story.

*The villuppāṭṭu*

2:15 P.M. A middle-aged man standing on the steps of the goddess's shrine is suddenly entered by the goddess when the Icakki story reaches the point telling of Śivakāmi's longing for a baby girl, whom she expects to be her successor in the art of temple dance.<sup>54</sup>

*The alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai (ornamentation and the worship with a light)*

—1a) *The alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai at the Pūtattār shrine*

It is 2:45 P.M., the moment when the *IK* tells of Lakṣmī, who was born to Śivakāmi, the *devadāsī*, as her successor. We are told, among other things, how she teaches her the *devadāsī* temple dance, and how gifted and lovely Lakṣmī is. It is the moment we are asked, with the playing of the *nātasvaram* and the beating of drums, to proceed to the Pūtattār shrine for the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai*. The *villuppāṭṭu* stops. Again Pūtattār, the guardian deity, comes first. The image has undergone a change. Before merely a black stone slab, he now has a human look to him: he wears a silver mask (*veḷḷi aṅki*) and is swathed in a white dhoti, garlanded with flowers, and bears two whisks of areca. Cooling food like lemon, coconuts, and bananas have been placed at his feet. The *nātasvaram* intensifies its playing; the drums are beaten faster; the bells are rung. Kantappiḷḷai and the main pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, become possessed. Their garlanded upper body is smeared with white cooling paste. As Kantappiḷḷai's possession ebbs, the main pūjārī rocks swiftly back and forth, and loses his balance. Holding one of Pūtattār's accessories, he dances to the rhythm of the drums, and delivers *cānivākkū* to one highly honoured man. At the same time as the possession ritual is going on, arrangements for the flowerbed (*pūppaṭṭukkai*) are being made at the square in front of Icakki's shrine.

—1b) *The first alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai at the Icakki shrine*

The *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai* at the Icakki image follows as a direct sequel. *Alaṅkāram* means "embellishment." Icakki's blackened terra-cotta statue, having been purified in the *kumbhābhīṣeka*, is now fully covered with huge garlands of common flowers. The language of flowers in Tamil is always the language of maturation.<sup>55</sup> The act of flowering is a first attempt to make the goddess become fertile. A whisk of areca hangs from the top of her head. Her face has been made up. As her permanent image is anthropomorphic, unlike Pūtattār, her face is not covered by a mask (*aṅki*), but rather decorated with single pieces of silver, which accentuate her most striking features: her facial expression of dissatisfaction, unfulfilment, and disappointment—most clearly visible at the downward slanting corners of her mouth. Speaking in Tamil people's terms: "She has the *mūtēvi* in her face" (cf. 2.4, N7). There is a contradiction between her psychological interior and her physical exterior: on the one hand, the *mūtēvi* in her face (a sign of misfortune), and on the other, the abundance and fullness indicated by

<sup>54</sup> We learned from the popular bow-song singer S. Svayamburajan in an interview held in Paḷavūr on 8 May 2002: "At such points, when we are singing the invitation to Ammaī, [...] those who are involved in that part of the song among the audience will be possessed" (K-L.01.B057f.).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Trawick 1978:193: "First menstruation is blossoming (*pūttal*)"; and also Ramanujan 1995:34: "In Sanskrit, a menstruating woman is called a *puṣpavatī* (a woman in flower)." – Note that the goddess's maturation is presaged by the red curtain spanned in front of the inner sanctum.

the flower garlands, and by the offerings heaped up in front of her: coconuts, plantain, mangoes, and other cooling fruits.

One would have expected the story to narrate at this point the forest episode in her divine life, namely the appearance of Icakki in her first *alaṅkāram* to the Ceṭṭi (see N1), but it does not do so. As this ritual segment begins, the performance has only arrived at the encounter between Lakṣmī and the Brahmin in their first human birth.

While the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai*—the first *alaṅkāram* (two more will follow<sup>56</sup>)—is going on to the beating of drums and the ringing of bells, there is a response among the spectators: a woman sitting in the crowd becomes possessed.<sup>57</sup> With loosened hair she sways back and forth, pumping with her arms. Kantappiḷlai, too,<sup>58</sup> is affected by the goddess's emergence and the first moments of her full presence. His appearance has changed. He has been garlanded with flowers. He wears the *kaṭakams*,<sup>59</sup> bangles of pure silver taken from *pūtam*-Icakki in the *pūjārī*'s backyard. His entire upper body, including his face and hair, is smeared with blazing red *mañcaṇai*, a mixture of yellow turmeric, red *kuṅkumam* powder, and oil, as described in the *alaṅkāram* scene of the translocal story.<sup>60</sup> There is significance in this mixture.<sup>61</sup> He wears a white dhoti. The goddess has come alive, and is now ready to turn outwards to the flowerbed, which is currently being prepared. He, the possessed, is she, the possessor. She comes outside and stands at the entrance of her inner sanctum, facing the audience (all seated in an orderly fashion) with many silver bangles (*kaṭakams*) on her arm.

#### REFLECTIONS ON THE FIRST ALAṅKĀRA TĪPĀRĀṬAṆAI AT THE ICACKI SHRINE

The inquiry being pursued here is towards answering the question of how the goddess is aroused. The goddess has to come alive if she is to be made accessible to the villagers. I would argue within the context of this ritual that to have her present in a certain way necessitates both her recognition of herself and her recognition by others. I have shown that recognition of her maturation, creativity, and richness is accorded to her in her *alaṅkāram* (ornamentation)—this being yet another gift (*koṭai*)—and that it is through the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai* that the goddess first emerges. The aesthetic qualities of the *alaṅkāram* seem to be instrumental in generating change in the goddess's consciousness and self-perception. In

<sup>56</sup> Blackburn's study (1980:256f.) confirms that a *koṭai* used to consist of three *tīpārāṭaṇai*. On the ritual sequence in *koṭais* in broad outline, see Blackburn 1980:225ff. He remarks that the *koṭai* in general is structured around three *tīpārāṭaṇais* (228), which are "differentiated from the ordinary *pūjā* by their timing. They occur [...] either [...] at 12 noon or [...] at 12 midnight" (229f.). However, he admits that "although the *tīpārāṭaṇai* rarely transpire exactly at either zenith time, their synchronization is a deliberate goal and all activities are directed toward it."

<sup>57</sup> On the possession of "undesignated persons," see Blackburn 1980:254f.: "This possession [...] is somewhat unexpected [...]. Most of those affected in the audience have either danced once or twice before in this unofficial status or have suffered unwanted possession outside the *koṭai* context. If women in the crowd are possessed, they dance in a particular style. [...] These unexpected dances often evoke a greater interest in the audience than do the official dancers. Because the possessing deity of the undesignated dancer is unidentified, people watch closely for clues."

<sup>58</sup> It is most interesting that it is only in his immediate response to the possession of the woman in the crowd that Kantappiḷlai shows signs that he himself is possessed by the goddess.

<sup>59</sup> I counted at least twelve.

<sup>60</sup> See *IK*, N1.1078-9.

<sup>61</sup> The two substances mirror both the beauty and the flowering of women. Turmeric or sandal paste is commonly smeared during love-making. The most striking poetic description of the attraction of sandal paste smeared on a woman's body is probably Aśvaghōṣa's *Saundarānanda* 4.34-7, in which the prince (Nanda) reluctantly follows the call of his brother, the Buddha, while constantly thinking of his lover (Sundarī), who is smeared with sandal paste. He promises her that he will return before the sandal paste on her body has dried. See also *Cil.* 4.58ff., where passionate women feel sad, during the absence of their lovers, that their breasts cannot be rubbed with sandalwood paste (*malayam*) (62). *Kuṅkumaccāntu*, the scented mixture of red *kuṅkumam* and sandal (*cāntu*) paste, used by a husband to apply artistic designs to his wife's breast, figures in *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* 2479.3, where Cīvaṅkaṇ paints Ilakkaṇai's breasts (*ākam*) with sandal paste (*cāntam*): *cānta māka meluti [...]* (ed. Po.Vē. Cōmacuntaraṅar 1967, Chap. "Ilakkaṇaiyār ilampakam"). Sontheimer (1989:309) observes that turmeric is thought "to cause fertility in marriages." – The red paint probably signals an overheated flowering goddess. In essence, heat is associated with life and fertility (see Beck 1969:553).

particular, the *alaṅkāra tīpārātaṇai* is illustrative of the fact that the exterior is emotionally and cognitively operative upon the goddess's interior.<sup>62</sup>

A few words on the *villuppāṭṭu* performance are in order at this point. What has become clear so far is the fact that up to the end of the performance of the *IK*, that is to say, up to midnight, the *villuppāṭṭu* at no time advances in direct conjunction with the ritual action. It seems that it is not the *villuppāṭṭu* story that is crucial in luring the goddess into an active presence, but rather the *mēlam*—the drum and *nātasvaram*<sup>63</sup>—instruments that feature regularly in temple activities. Despite the fact, though, that an actual parallel is lacking, a parallel to the first *alaṅkāram* scene of the *IK* (see Section 4.7) may well be assumed at least in conceptual terms. In any case, ethnography confirms Kapferer's general assumption (2000:29, n. 5) that “the ritual [rather than the story] is the structure.”

#### *The first flowerbed (pūppaṭukkai)*<sup>64</sup>

The direct sequel to the *alaṅkāra tīpārātaṇai* that brings the goddess to life is a ritual of quite a different sort. No programme schedule could inform the spectator of what awaits him. The crowd is huge, the small temple square being entirely filled with devotees. Most of the women are sitting on the ground—in front, the female members of the pūjārī's extended family (clearly distinguished by their red and white patterned saris) and the women who will participate during the night session in the *māppiḷḷai maṅcappiḷḷai* ritual. The *Vēḷāḷas* are closest to the unfolding events, while the *Tēvars*, another distinct group, gather at some distance in front of *Cuṭalaimāṇ*'s image. Some women are standing in a row at the edge of the temple square. Those present remain mere spectators. They can identify with, but not participate in, the action that is about to occur.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> On this cross-cultural notion, cf. Köpping 2003:190 and the discussion there of the concept of the body in European medieval festive culture: Bodies are conceived as “[...] durchlässig und zu Veränderungen hin geschaffen [...] weil sie] das Äußere ins Innere aufnehmen können, während innere Zustände wie Produkte nach außen befördert werden können.”

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Blackburn 1980:268: “[T]he possession dance in [the initial] slot is closely linked to the *tīpārātaṇai* which takes place at some remove from the *vil pāṭṭu* performance. The medium becomes possessed with the accompaniment of the *mēlam* and not the *vil pāṭṭu* singing [...]”

<sup>64</sup> This is also called the flower offering (*pūppaṭaiṭṭu*). Both terms are in use. This was confirmed in several interviews (see the one with the main pūjārī on 15 December 2002, B-AK-H.01.144f.): “Both terms are common: *pūppaṭukkai* and *pūppaṭaiṭṭu*. [...] She will come and roll on it. Just as we have our quilts, she has her bed of flowers.” – Note that this ritual should not be confused with the term *pūkkuli*, which refers to “fire walking.” – The flowerbed, an offering (*paṭaiṭṭu*), is not confined to rituals involving *Icakkī*. It is also important, on other occasions, both for *Muttār Ammaṇ* (a benevolent goddess), and for *Pattirakāḷiyammaṇ* (a wrathful deity). The same offering is also made at the shrines of *Pēcciyammaṇ*. The songs about *Muttār Ammaṇ* relate that she was born from the *pūppaṭaiṭṭu*. She is thus also called *pūppaṭaiṭṭu-kāri*. In the songs about *Pēcciyammaṇ*, this goddess is said to “like the *pūppaṭaiṭṭu*” (*pūppaṭaiṭṭu ukantaval*) (personal communication with T.M.P.). – According to T.M.P. (interview on 20 January 2003, Svayambhūliṅgapuram) *pūppaṭukkai* rituals gained more popularity in the western side of K.K.Dt.—for instance, in Tuckalai. We may conclude that there is an underlying Malayali influence. It is striking that, in questionnaires distributed at various temples largely associated with the *Nāṭār* community, the answer to my inquiry about a *pūppaṭukkai* ritual was generally negative. On the flowerbed in a Sri Lankan context, see Kapferer 1997:356, glossary: *mal asna*, “flower bed/altar”; and Obeyesekere 1984:51: “Altars to god are called ‘flower-couch’. For the actual flowerbed, see Photo 4 in the appendix, p. 355. – It is customary among wealthy Tamils to prepare a couch strewn with flowers as the nuptial bed for couples in order to consummate their marriage on. I thank Professor T. Naṭarājan (Maturai Kamraj University) for this information.

<sup>65</sup> Though the flowerbed ritual is meant in the first place for the goddess, it additionally serves to initiate couples into matters of sexuality in order, in particular, to overcome infertility—above all, those who have failed to have any children. The flowerbed ritual can be read by women and men as a manual, with the first of the three rituals serving as an initial step towards understanding the sexual aspects of the body, areas of regenerative processes, heightened vulnerability, and the creation of erotic harmonies. Themes expanded on include individual needs, dislikes, disappointments, and rejection; moreover, repudiation of femininity, orgasm, sexuality, and so forth. In short, the flowerbed ritual serves to direct one's view onto problem areas of sexuality and, in cases of childlessness, can help to overcome psychological barriers. – On the theme of vulnerability in sexual union in an Indian context, see Trawick 1978:145, and Osella and Osella 1999:197; on the ambivalence of sexually mature young women at the moment of the “breaking of the vagina in defloration,” see Osella and Osella *ibid*. Analysis within this field of research can draw on numerous examples from contemporary Indian literature in general, and Tamil ballads in particular. A recently published novel titled *A Married Woman*, written in 2002 by Manju Kapur, a female novelist and professor at Delhi University, offers good insight into the sexual needs of Indian women. – On female frustrations,

Purifying smoke covers the sacred site. The *nātasvaram* plays mildly. The drummers and the *nātasvaram* player stand near the circular altar-like flowerbed / flower offering (*pūppaṭukkai/pūppaṭaiṭṭu*). The flowerbed is gorgeous in its three layers of plants and flowers: below *tulaci*<sup>66</sup> covered with cooling margosa leaves,<sup>67</sup> and above them, on the uppermost layer, a variety of flowers (including lotuses) and a banana leaf containing a *Pandanus odoratissimus* flower (*tālampū*), an areca flower (*kamukampū*), and various other substances.<sup>68</sup> The air is filled with expectation and excitement. People believe that the power of Icakki is felt only on the flowerbed. “Ammaṅ will come and play (*viḷaiyāṭal*)<sup>69</sup> on the flowerbed,” they say.

Then the goddess comes out of the inner sanctum and descends to the flowerbed, which is situated in the arena in front of the shrine. Kantappiḷlai, the man who offers the goddess his body, is smeared with *mañcaṇai* paint indicative of overheat and sexual maturity.<sup>70</sup> His body begins to rock to the rhythm of the *mēlam* to and fro. He looks at Icakki-in-the-shrine, gently smiling at her. Then he throws sacred ash onto the flowerbed, as a blessing. The drums start to beat faster, and become insistent. Soon Kantappiḷlai gets up from the ground, jumps onto the flowerbed, and in the blink of an eye grabs the cooling margosa leaves, and bites into and chews them. He is joyful. Like a royal personage, he lies down comfortably upon the flowerbed, his legs drawn up, with his head erect, facing Icakki-in-the-shrine. The surrounding men produce the *kuravai* sound.<sup>71</sup> Kantappiḷlai, the *camiyāṭi*, begins to roll clockwise on the flowerbed.<sup>72</sup> He is now extremely joyful. He throws flowers in the air. Then, resting on his knees, with his arms extended, hands pressed on the flowerbed, and back arched, he thrusts himself forward. His face touches the flowerbed. The sensuality of Kantappiḷlai’s / the goddess’s behaviour is suggestive of an ecstasy that, in tandem with the flowerbed’s response, is not unlike an orgasmic act.<sup>73</sup> An elderly woman in the audience smiles. Others in the front who will participate with their husbands in the ritual of *māppiḷlai mañcappiḷlai* for the boon of a child during the night session remain expressionless.<sup>74</sup>

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see Kakar (1990:21), who notes: “Most women portrayed even sexual intercourse as a furtive act in a cramped and crowded room, lasting barely a few minutes and with a marked absence of physical or emotional caressing. Most women found it painful or distasteful or both.” Concerning husband-wife relationships, Beck (1986:95) states that in Indian folk tales “husband/wife bonds are more often characterized by negative attitudes [...] than by [...] positive ones [...]. [T]he negative cases [...] often involve adultery, suspicion, or outright physical aggression.”

<sup>66</sup> Skt. *tulasī* (*Ocimum sanctum*, Linn.). Interview with the main pūjārī on 15 December 2002 (B-AK-H.01.140ff.): “*Tulaci* is put by us for the smell.” – See Narayan 1995:487: “The sacred basil shrub, tulsī[...] is regarded as a goddess, and is a special focus of women’s religious life.” See also Dubois 1906:649: “Brahmins consider it to be the wife of Vishnu.” For more on *tulaci* worship, see Chandola 1976; S.S. Gupta 1980:38–45; and S.M. Gupta 2001:54–60.

<sup>67</sup> Interview with the main pūjārī on 15 December 2002 (B-AK-H.01.140ff.): “The margosa leaves are meant for her to chew and eat. If there is no margosa leaf Icakkiammaṅ won’t come here (141). She is fond of the green margosa leaves.”

<sup>68</sup> See Figure 3 below.

<sup>69</sup> I may add that in Tamil *viḷaiyāṭal* (play, amusement), unlike in English, can convey the meaning *kātal viḷaiyāṭal* (love-play).

<sup>70</sup> The timing of the ritual during the hot afternoon suggests a high degree of bodily fervidness. In contrast, the flowerbed connotes cooling.

<sup>71</sup> Blackburn (1980:255) states: “[T]he kuravai ululation is not orchestrated [...]; it is emitted spontaneously [...] by people in the crowd. This [...] contribute[s] to the extreme ritual depth of the possession.”

<sup>72</sup> Asked about the meaning of the “rolling,” the main pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷlai replied in an interview held on 15 December 2002: “It is the *cāmi aruḷ* (the presence of the deity).”

<sup>73</sup> *Maithuna* rituals during festivals held in honour of village goddesses mainly sought out by childless women seem not to be uncommon; see Dubois 1906:595. The French missionary wrote in the nineteenth century: “At Mogur [...] a short distance from [...] Nanjangud [...] there is a small temple dedicated to Tipamma, a female divinity, in whose honour a great festival is celebrated every year. The goddess [...] is carried in procession [...]. In front of her there is another divinity, a male. These two idols, which are entirely nude, are placed in immodest postures, and by help of a piece of mechanism a disgusting movement is imparted to them as long as the procession continues. This disgusting spectacle [...] excites transports of mirth, manifested by shouts and bursts of laughter.” The foregoing shows that the sexual act is an inherently ritual act (cf. *maithuna* in a ritual setting in tantric practice), and sexual intercourse to be considered auspicious (*mangaḷa*).

<sup>74</sup> It seems to me that special attention is paid to the proper seating (an unobstructed view of the scene) of these women, who have paid one thousand rupees for the right to take part in the *māppiḷlai mañcappiḷlai* ritual, held in the third (dawn) watch of the night.



Kantappiḷlai takes a handful of flowers and throws them into his face. He is filled with joy. His mouth is crammed full of cooling margosa leaves. He starts rolling around again clockwise on the flowerbed. After rolling around once on the womb-like bed, he sits up on the ground and sinks his head into the flowers. Suddenly he turns towards Icakki-in-the-shrine, the upper part of his body lying back upon the flowerbed, his arms crossed behind his head, his lower body turned to one side, and his legs drawn up, winningly; with a charming smile he lies in this pose. Kantappiḷlai / the goddess has now a most erotic look. The heat is increasing. Once again he starts to roll. Behind him is a woman dressed in red, and with bangles on her arms, who is sitting among the spectators with her legs crossed and her upper body swaying back and forth. Her hair is dishevelled. Kantappiḷlai turns his body towards her and the gathering, in the same winning pose as before. His rolling recommences. Then he hides his face in the flowers, gently rubbing his nose against them. Someone gives him fresh coconut water to drink. It seems as if something has changed. Some power has been lost. He starts rolling a third time. Suddenly he gets up. With a gesture he signals that the goddess has begun to leave him. He asks the *nātasvaram* and drums to help out with a faster rhythm.<sup>75</sup> The speed is increased. The main *pūjārī* shouts: “*aṭi, aṭi, aṭi*” (beat, beat, beat [the drum]!).<sup>76</sup> Men again perform the *kuravai*.<sup>77</sup> In the blink of an eye the man whose body is possessed by Icakki finds and picks the square-shaped plantain leaf—placed in the centre—containing the *tālampū*. He who is the goddess<sup>78</sup> smiles happily. S/he has found and picked the *tālampū*.<sup>79</sup> In this lies the entire meaning of the flowerbed ritual.<sup>80</sup> It identifies Kantappiḷlai as Icakki, so it is said. He is filled with an excess of joy. He lays his head on the chest of a man of high standing.

<sup>75</sup> “Usually when the *mēlam* is not properly played while Kantappiḷlai rolls on the bed, possession won’t occur. Ammaṅ herself says that the *mēlam* is not sufficient” (interview with Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai held on 19 January 2003).

<sup>76</sup> The significance of the drum in the series of rituals is confirmed by Icakki’s former *pūjārī* (Paramacivaṅ Piḷḷai, the main *pūjārī*’s father). He made clear that it is not the *villuppāṭṭu* but rather the drum that induces possession. This makes sense, since the *villuppāṭṭu* stopped each time the possession ritual started, and played no role during the ensuing actions. The drum is thus instrumental in attracting the divine or inviting it to make its presence felt. On drumbeats inducing possession, see Hicks 1999:281, where Rodney Needham is quoted as stating: “[T]he brain responds to percepts differentially; for instance, [...] to percussion as distinct from more mellifluous sounds. [...]” Chesi (1997) declares that ritual music is an “emotional intensifier” (199) and argues “daß langandauernde Perkussionsmusik, besonders Trommelmusik, zu den weitest verbreiteten Induktionsmethoden zählt” (156). He concludes “daß die Musik mit erstaunlicher Konsequenz darauf angelegt ist, mittels intersubjektiv feststehenden Konstanten eine Spannung [...] aufzubauen, die in [...] Besessenheit kulminiert” (199). Furthermore, Laderman (1991:90) notes the production of “endorphins, endogenous morphinelike substances that act on the nervous system.” A growing number of scholars from various fields of research have speculated that these are the key to understanding the state of possession. Laderman, too, is tempted to explain the onset of possession by these “biochemical changes” taking place in response to the sensory world of a drumbeat, for instance. For more on the likely connection between percussion and transition, see Hicks 1999:339, who cites Needham.

<sup>77</sup> Note that the entire scene is in the hands of men.

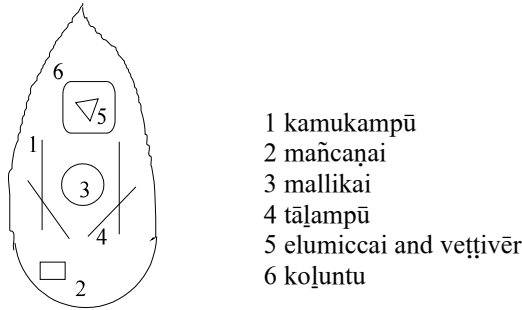
<sup>78</sup> Concerning the assumption of a total overlap between a person and the reality of a deity or demon during trance, see also Kapferer (1984:161, 165, and 170). – Regarding the embodiment of Icakki by a man, various interpretations are available: (1) “The person who is possessed (*cāmiyāṭi*) is a male when the concerned person belongs to an upper-caste community. But in all temples belonging to the social groups of the Paṛaiyar, Cāmpavar, Paḷḷar, Cakkiliyar, it is women who are possessed” (Perumāḷ 1990:74); (2) Another explanation can perhaps be provided on the basis of remarks by Baudrillard (1990:13) in his work on *seduction*: “Only the non-female can exercise an untainted fascination [on the female spectators], because he is more seductive than sexual.” A similar opinion is pronounced by Doniger (2002:69) in an Indian context, when she notes: “[M]en dress as women to seduce other men.” Should we think in our own ritual context in analogous terms: a *woman is disguised as a man to entice other women*? Perhaps the fact that one of the most important tasks of the *koṭai* ritual is to solve the problem of childlessness suggests as much. Given the goal of taking the enchantment of female participants to the limit, it would seem easier for a male than for a real woman, already legitimated by her sex, to move towards the appropriate signs. (3) Or should we, taking our cue from Handelman (1995:331) and Handelman and Shulman (2004:114), interpret the male body through which the goddess emerges as a sign of the integral male within herself (note the name Puruṣā Tēvi [N4], which can only be rendered as “male goddess”), in a sense suggestive of the “inside out” postulate put forward in Handelman and Shulman 1997?

<sup>79</sup> Interestingly enough, the flower formation in the centre containing the *tālampū* is found on all three flowerbeds; interview with the main *pūjārī* on 19 January 2003.

<sup>80</sup> My interpretation is confirmed by the main *pūjārī*’s own words: “That he picks the *tālampū* [from among a heap of flowers] is due to the power of the deity. It [i.e. the *tālampū*] is the symbol (*aṭaiyālam*) of the whole action” (interview with Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai held on 19 January 2003). – Note that this ritual could easily have been spoiled by a person from the crowd approaching the flowerbed in an attempt to snatch away the *tālampū*, and so deliberately to induce ritual failure.

Then he distributes the sacred ash, first to men of the family, and then to women and girls standing in a queue awaiting the goddess's blessing.

Figure 3: The arrangement of the *tālampū*, *kamukampū*, and other flowers on a plantain leaf



- 1 kamukampū
- 2 mañcaṇai
- 3 mallikai
- 4 tālampū
- 5 elumiccai and veṭṭivēr
- 6 koḷuntu

A plantain leaf serves as the base; (1) areca nut flowers (*kamukampū*) lie vertically across the leaf on both sides, topped obliquely by (4) pandanus flowers (*tālampū*); (2) *mañcaṇai* is smeared at the bottom; (3) two jasmies (*mallikai*) form a circle in the middle; (6) fragrant tender leaves (*koḷuntu*) surround (5) a lemon (*elumiccai*) and fragrant cuscus grass roots (*veṭṭivēr*); aromatic rose water will be sprinkled over the leaf.

#### REFLECTIONS ON THE FIRST FLOWERBED

The dominant mood in this key ritual is intimate, highly sensuous, and erotic. I would argue that if the goddess is to be present in the manner expected of her, she must experience the flowerbed, the goddess's sexually vital body,<sup>81</sup> physically and sensuously. The flowerbed as a locus of love-making and a source of cooling effects for the pangs of love is well known both in Tamil and Sanskrit classical literature.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>81</sup> For a further discussion of this point, see Sect. 9.3.3.

<sup>82</sup> The *kāppiyam* work *Cilappatikāram* supports the argument of the flowerbed being a metaphor for love-making: *Cil.* [ed. U.V.C. 1978:124], Chap. 4, “Antimālaic ciṟappucey kātai,” vv. 27-8: 27 தில்வனர் (for *tilvaḷar*, read *ilvaḷar*) முல்லையொடு மல்லிகை யவிழ்ந்த / 28 பல்பூஞ் சேக்கைப்... ([Mātavi's] couch [*cēkkai*] was covered with all sorts of blossoming flowers—domestic *mullai*, jasmine, and others); and in continuation of this verse (*ibid.*, 4.28-34): 28 ...பள்ளியுட் பொலிந்து / 29 செந்துகிர்க் கோவை சென்றேத் தல்குல் / 30 அந்துகின் மேகலை யசைந்தன வருந்த / 31 நிலவுப்பயன் கொள்ளு நெடுநிலா முற்றத்துக் / 32 கலவியும் புலவியும் காதலற் களித்தாங் / 33 கார்வ நெஞ்சமொடு கோவலற் கெதிரிக் / 34 கோலங் கொண்ட மாதவி யன்றியும் (In the love chamber she seemed unaware that her girdle [*mēkalai*] was undone and her thin garment slipping from her lovely hips. Lustful, she came out onto the terrace bathed in moonlight. All night only loving quarrels [*pulavi*] would interrupt the passionate embraces [*kalavi*] of Kōvalan [transl. by Daniélou 1967:16]). We encounter the same connotations with respect to the flowerbed in yet another verse, *Cil.* 4.65-71, describing women who, having been separated from their beloved, become melancholic at no longer being able to enjoy the cool, flowery couches (*pūñcēkkai*) where they used to engage in sulky love quarrels (*ūtal*) with their lovers. Another similar passage is *Cil.* 14.85. – For a further example of linking soft flower-strewn beds with the pleasures of love, see *Civakacintāmaṇi* 1081, where the atmosphere among courtesans is depicted. – Classical Tamil literature at the same time provides us with fine scenes where the love-stricken grief of the lonely woman who is separated from her lover is mediated through the picture of the flowerbed. In *Cil.* 8.117, Mātavi is portrayed as being love-stricken at heart, lying sleepless on the *pū malar amaḷi* (couch covered with blossoming flowers). – The *Kamparāmāyaṇam* (twelfth century) contains noteworthy examples of flower-strewn beds that provide a cooling effect for the pangs of love, one such being in Chap. 10, “Mītilaikkaṭcippaḷalam,” v. 46: *cītanuṅ tuḷimala ramaḷic cērttiṅār* (They placed Sita on the flowery bed [*malar amaḷi*], which was [as cooling] as little dewdrops). That the flowerbed is meant to cool the “fire of desire” is testified to in a further verse in Kampan's work, 10.49: *vempuru maṇattaṅal vetuppa meṇmalark / kompeṇa vamaḷiyiṅ kuḷaintu cāyntaṅal* (As the fire [*anal*] [of desire] in her heated mind flared, she sank onto the bed [*amaḷi*] made of tender flower branches [*meṇmalark kompu*]). Here Kampan portrays Sita left alone with pangs of love after Rāma's devouring eyes and hers had crossed and had entered each other's mind. – I am grateful to Professor Harunaga Isaacson, University of Hamburg, for providing the following references to flowerbeds in Sanskrit literature: (1) the flowerbed as a locus of love-making; e.g. in *Kathāsaritsāgara* 12.27.56 (between a king and the daughter of a sage), and in Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* 4.35 (see Smith 2005:146) (between Rati and Kāma);

Various markers signal the sexual overtones of the flowerbed: first the botanical markers,<sup>83</sup> second the burrowing into the flowers,<sup>84</sup> and third the sexually suggestive behaviour of the *cāmiyāṭi*. The botanical markers are the key elements that delineate the self-procreation of the goddess that the ritual seeks to ensure. In finding them, the goddess reveals herself in her procreated form.

The clearly defined spatial realm of the flowerbed raises the question whether the womb-like flowerbed is meant as an aniconic circular form, namely a “geometrical representation of a *yantra*,”<sup>85</sup> a microworld of the cosmos, delineating and embodying the divine presence in it.<sup>86</sup> As Bühnemann (2000:22) remarks, the ritual diagrams (*yantras/cakras*) are of “great importance especially in rituals performed for the attainment of specific objectives” (22), “such as securing offspring” (22). The assumption of tantric elements is perhaps valid, given both the *māṭṛs*’ and *yakṣīs*’<sup>87</sup> association with tantra in general,<sup>88</sup> and their role in the local Icakki story in particular (see the synopsis in Section 9.2.2, midnight session, below). In the latter, the Brahmin *mantiravāṭi*, Nampiyār, attracted by Icakki’s appearance, draws a *cakra* in order to control and confine her within the spatial bounds of a banyan tree.<sup>89</sup> All of this, of course, is only hypothetical, for the ritual specialists provide no exegesis, and I can only concur with Tiwari (1985:171), who argues in the context of the *māṭṛkās* that the seemingly tantric rituals should not be considered identical with the technically sophisticated rituals described in tantra texts. However, an analogy along the above lines is conceivable; that is, an intertwining of the rituals performed in the local cult of the goddess Icakki with tantric practices is likely.

#### *Another tīpārāṭanai resulting in the possession dance*

In a follow-up to the flowerbed ritual and the finding and picking of the *tālampū* by Kantappiḷḷai, Veyilukanta Perumāl Piḷḷai, Icakki’s main pūjārī, stands motionless in the crowd and fixes his eyes on the *alaṅkāram* statue inside the shrine. Someone puts the bangles of pure silver on his arms. He is garlanded three times. The *nātasvaram* and drums play faster. A second *tīpārāṭanai*, the swinging of the light in front of the *alaṅkāram* statue, is performed by one of the main pūjārī’s brothers. People respond with the *kuravai* sound. The drums beat more strongly; the *nātasvaram* is played with growing insistence. Then the main pūjārī, dressed in an orange dhoti, begins dancing. The goddess, it seems, does not want to return to the inner sanctum after the flowerbed ritual is over, for she takes possession of another body.<sup>90</sup> Encouraged by a second *tīpārāṭanai*, she continues to express herself through her body,

(2) the flowerbed as a cooling remedy; e.g. Śakuntala’s suffering from the fervour of love in Kālidāsa’s *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 3.70ff. (Act 3; see S. Vasudeva 2006:146f.). The flowerbed is thus a prime example of the way the Tamils use such elements to create culturally powerful expressions of their inherited (poetic literary) tradition.

<sup>83</sup> For a detailed discussion of the botanical markers, see Sect. 9.3.3.

<sup>84</sup> The scattering of flowers is a well-known metaphor for love-making employed in love scenes within classical Tamil literature—for instance, in the “Mitilaiikkāṭcippaṭalam” chapter of Kampan’s *Irāmāvatāram*. Such figurative phrases as “[t]he ruining of a garland in lovemaking” appear also in the Sanskrit epics; see Hart 1999:289. – The cultural meaning attached to budding flowers by Tamils is also explicated by Trawick (1978:141).

<sup>85</sup> The phrase is Bühnemann’s (2000:21).

<sup>86</sup> Remarks made by Tiwari (1985:172) in the context of the *māṭṛkās* would seem to support this view: “If we understand the word *maṅḍala* in a somewhat loose, literal sense of a circular configuration of icons or symbols of deities, and not in the technical sense of the Tantric *maṅḍalas*, it is not improbable that the Māṭṛs were propitiated in a *maṅḍala* form—at least in some magical rites involving them [...]”

<sup>87</sup> For Icakkiamman’s *yakṣī* traits, see the conclusion to Sect. 7.3.1, p. 249f.

<sup>88</sup> For the *yakṣī*’s association with tantra, see Bühnemann’s (2000:118f.) study on Hindu tantric deities; also Tiwari 1985:171ff. On tantric practices and *yakṣī* worship, see Misra 1981:100f. Particularly interesting in this context are his remarks on tantric practices based on the *Jayākhyā Samhitā* and *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*: “It is said that after the completion of rites, the Yakṣiṇīs appeared as mother, sister or wife and fulfilled the wishes of their devotees” (ibid.:100). Note, too, Flood’s (1996:190) remark that among right-hand tantric groups, which avoid transgressive practices, it is a common practice to use “offerings of flowers” as substitutes “for sex.”

<sup>89</sup> On *subjugation*, that is, “bringing a person under one’s control”; *attraction*, which “often precedes the act of subjugation,” and *immobilisation*, “stopping someone’s activity”—all of these are typical of tantric practices—see Bühnemann 2000:23.

<sup>90</sup> The multiplication of a god’s being in the world is explained in Freeman 1999:154 in the following terms: “[The] conscious

a medium that, deprived of speech, depends solely upon the power of gesture. Her body is caught up in a powerful rhythmic beat heightened by the force of the drum, and yet it is not a frenzied, menacing dance; nor is it a licentious one either. It has the look of a disciplined dance, involving a mentally controlled movement of body.<sup>91</sup> Then the main pūjārī's younger brother, Śaṅkara, joins in. His dancing appears to be more forceful. In total bodily abandonment he rolls on the ground, acting wildly. He attempts to break out of the circle but is held back. The dance seems to be confined within strict bounds. It is not allowed to extend beyond the prescribed borders but, like the flowerbed itself, is limited to a "cultivated" arena of dynamic stability.<sup>92</sup> With Śaṅkara having joined in, the dance of one has opened up into one of two. Has the goddess reduplicated herself again, or is Śaṅkara embodying some other deity?<sup>93</sup> Each dancer seems to be playing a known part.<sup>94</sup> The main pūjārī, equipped with a curved protective *pirampu*, dances powerfully, bearing witness to the goddess's presence and engagement in the human world. S/he is offered the cooling liquid of a green coconut to drink.<sup>95</sup> Stopping dancing, s/he distributes sacred ash, blesses the devotees, and then starts dancing again. Later s/he delivers *cānivāḅku*, the goddess's message, to her devotees. All in all, what Padel (1995:135) posits with regard to music can be applied to dance too, namely that "it can [...] be used ritually to cure violence."

### *The animal sacrifice*

One ritual glides into the next without interruption. A small brown goat is placed in the arena in front of the shrine. A short pūjā is performed on the animal, which is made to face the goddess in the shrine, and then it is beheaded. The sacrifice of a larger black goat (*vellāṅtu*) follows. Beforehand the black goat is adorned with jasmine flowers, sacred ash is put on its forehead, and water is poured over its neck and ears, making it shake.<sup>96</sup> The Tēvars, traditionally in charge of the killing of the animals at the *koṭai* festivals of this temple, in vain try to interest the goat in a plantain leaf to make it stretch its neck; it is only by offering a bitter but cooling margosa twig that they succeed in beheading it.<sup>97</sup> The blood is neither drunk by the *cāmiyāṅi* nor collected in a vessel.<sup>98</sup> A number of cocks follow. All animals including the black goat are given by individuals. No animal is donated by the whole village.<sup>99</sup>

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stuff of the deity's personality and will [...] is [...] the substance that flows into various media and that turns the possessed media into the expression of the god's personal being."

<sup>91</sup> As Padel (1995:136) states, with respect to the demonic dance in the Greek context: "[D]ance [...] incarnates order." This part of the discussion has greatly profited from Padel's chapter on demonic dance (ibid.:131ff.).

<sup>92</sup> This suggests that the dance mirrors an underlying social structure, but it does so with a logic of its own.

<sup>93</sup> The second alternative is bolstered by Blackburn's remark (1980:254) that in *koṭais* "[i]n addition [...] three other types of mediums may dance. [...] (1) mediums of other deities in the chief deity's story."

<sup>94</sup> The pūjārī obviously embodies Icakki, embellished as he is with her silver *kaṭakams*, and in virtue of his delivering *cānivāḅku* and distributing sacred ash.

<sup>95</sup> This suggests that Icakki has become overheated. The heat could be either a sign of her maturation or of her *pēy* nature, the latter implied by the curved *pirampu*.

<sup>96</sup> According to Masilamani-Meyer (2004:199), "the deity has to accept the animal by making it shake when water is sprinkled on it. If it does not shake itself another animal is offered, but some devotees are rather practical and sprinkle water on the same animal until it shakes itself."

<sup>97</sup> There is a religious obligation to ensure that the creature dies with merciful swiftness. "All animals are slaughtered by a man of the Maṅavar/Tēvar community. The goat heads are given to the man who does the slaughtering, while the body is given to the donor of the animal. Both head and body will be eaten by those who receive them" (a summary of answers in the interview given by the main pūjārī on 15 December 2002). Note that it is traditional for animals killed for food to be slain by a specialist in a ritual setting, so as to ensure a good death. Here, then, the body of the animal is turned into a meal, being eaten as a *prasāda*.

<sup>98</sup> This is in contrast to the kid goat sacrifice at a later point.

<sup>99</sup> I confirmed this detail with the pūjārī.

## REFLECTIONS ON THE ANIMAL SACRIFICE

There is consent among anthropologists that a general theory of sacrifice is impossible (Kapferer 1997:187). Each context affords its own interpretation. If we read the markers, we may assume that the blood sacrifice at this particular point articulates not only the dynamic of a gift (offered to win a favour from the goddess),<sup>100</sup> but also the goddess's bloodthirstiness that has to be satisfied.<sup>101</sup> Here, then, regenerative energies are expressed in violent forms.

*The possession dance*

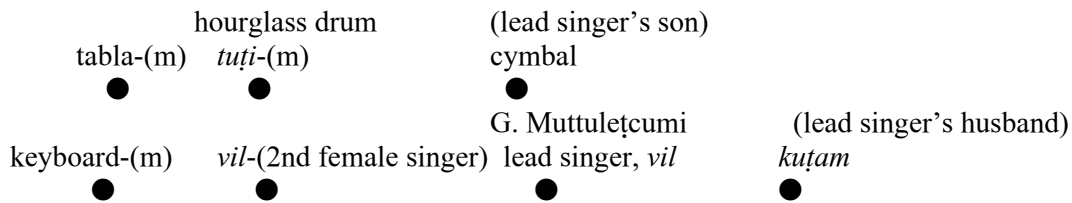
The animal sacrifice comes to an end and the main pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, accompanied by his younger brother Śāṅkara, begins dancing again, each holding a curved protective stick in his hand. The movement of the two has all appearances of being a veritable dance fête expressive of deep satisfaction. A little girl who had come in the morning carrying a brass pot in the procession from the village, approaches the *cāmiyāṭi*. She garlands him. Immediately the goddess visibly intensifies her presence. Once the *cāmiyāṭi* has delivered *cāmivāḱku* and blessed devotees with sacred ash, the afternoon session comes to a close. It is 3:30 P.M.

9.2.2 The Second Ritual Cycle<sup>102</sup>

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*The villuppāṭṭu*

The evening session opens with the *villuppāṭṭu* group performing. It is about 6:00 P.M., and darkness has set in. The temple square is illuminated by florescent lights. The group assignments (*iruppu*) have changed. Now the *kuṭam* (pot) is played by the lead singer's husband, S. Gopikriṣṇaṅ. He replaces the woman (who now beats the bow-string) and accompanies the lead singer in singing the text.



The performance gets under way with a duo from the *tuṭi* and *kuṭam*, followed by a long solo on the *vil*. Finally, the *IK* begins by telling of Śivakāmi and her two children, the elder brother Naṭṭuvaṅ and his

<sup>100</sup> For blood sacrifices and their meaning in Tamilnadu's popular religion, see Masilamani-Meyer 2004:195–210.

<sup>101</sup> The two goats, in particular, might be interpreted along these lines. Of course, we can only assume a conceptual parallel to the performed *IK*, which has fallen far behind and never does, in any case, synchronise with the ritual practice. However, all stories relating to Icakki reinforce the assumption of a connection between the goddess's bloodthirstiness (satisfied by the animal sacrifice) and men's aggression against women: N1 (Lakṣmī's being killed by her lover), the local Icakki story (the sorcerer's control of Icakki and his driving of a *kāñciram* peg into her head), N7 (the self-impregnated wife being killed by her husband), and N4 (the neighbouring king's invasion of and aggression against a queen's homosocial and homoerotic queendom).

<sup>102</sup> The second ritual cycle includes not only the evening rituals, but also the midnight session (which witnesses a fusion of *katai* and *koṭai*) and the central rituals (1:00 A.M. until dawn). Among the latter are, to begin with, the second *alañkāra ṭipārāṭṭai* (at 1:00 A.M.), which includes the torch ritual followed by dance and the flowerbed ritual (*pūppaṭaiṭṭu*) interspersed with dance; secondly, the *poñkal paṭṭippu paṭṭaiṭṭu* (food offering) combined with the *tuvaḷai* blood drinking; and finally, the *māppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* ritual, featuring the divinatory spinning of the coconut. Coinciding with the most dangerous time of the day (*camayama*), these are the crucial rituals of the second cycle, and indeed of the entire *koṭai*.

sister Lakṣmī, and passes on to the dialogue between Śivakāmi and the Brahmin of the Ammaiappar temple: *vānka, vānka, cāmi, uṭkāruṅka* (Please come and sit down!). The *villuppāṭṭu* performs a *lāvanippāṭṭu*, an exchange in the form of questions and responses full of jestful taunts between two singers. Śivakāmi calls upon her daughter Lakṣmī to serve Śivappaṅ. The bow-song singer is interrupted, as often occurs, in order to make an announcement requesting the drummers and *nātasvaram* players to come: *vētaṅ vācikka kalaiṅṅarṅkil inkē ... kēṭka kōḷkirārka! / mēlam vacikkiṅṅa arumaik kalaiṅṅarka!*. Then the *villuppāṭṭu* continues. Śivakāmi is about to send the Brahmin away, having found out that he has been reduced to poverty. The scene shifts to the forest: *talai ... tūṅku tūṅku* (sleep!). The story nears the point where the Brahmin kills Lakṣmī, who is lying with her head in his lap, when the *villuppāṭṭu* is interrupted: the drums have started to beat, and the *nātasvaram* to play. It is time for the *karukkal pūjā*.

We are still far behind in the story, which is often interrupted by announcements. Evidently, the main pūjārī is more concerned about the timing of the rituals than the story. Those who have announcements made pay no heed to the bow-song singer's difficulty in resuming the story after being forced to stop in the middle of it. The *villuppāṭṭu* apparently has yet to find its appropriate place in the ritual process. That we had to wait until midnight for it was a surprise. For the evening performance, the formation of the *villuppāṭṭu* group has changed. I am told that the role of the Brahmin character must be enacted by a male singer. Other bow-song singers even insist that no woman at all should be part of the group in the *villuppāṭṭu* performance of the *IK*. One might posit that the dialogues containing sexual innuendo explain the exclusion of female performers. Yet it is apparently acceptable for a married couple, such as the lead bow-song singer G. Muttuleṭcumi and the *kuṭam* player S. Gopikriṣṇaṅ, to enact the scenes. When it comes to Icakki's pressing her sexual demands upon the Ceṭṭi, however, a small (solely male) group among the audience consider G. Muttuleṭcumi's enactment obscene, and judge the performer to be unsuitable for this job.

### *The karukkal pūjās*<sup>103</sup>

#### —*The karukkal pūjā for Pūtattār*

The *villuppāṭṭu* group is requested to interrupt its playing. It is around 8:00 P.M., two hours behind schedule. The drums and *nātasvaram* have moved on to the Pūtattār shrine. The evening ritual starts. Again the first ritual is for Pūtattār. The *karukkal pūjā* is performed. It is the last pūjā of the day for the main guardian deity, who now wears a whisk of *kamukam* (areca) upright on his head.

#### —*The karukkal pūjā for Icakki*

The *karukkal pūjā* for Icakki apparently serves to reconnect her to the ritual gathering after a three-hour break. The goddess does not seem to be in her *alaṅkāram* form, since her black statue is not as richly covered as in the afternoon. Her upper body is unclothed radiating shades of white and red produced by the jasmine and red *araḷi*<sup>104</sup> flower garlands that adorn her. There must be something of relevance in highlighting her silver breasts by unveiling them.<sup>105</sup> Her broad *mēkalai* (long-life belt), a well-known marker associated with tree dryads of fertility, is also exposed.<sup>106</sup> There are no *tālampū* flowers.<sup>107</sup> The

<sup>103</sup> The *karukkal pūjā* (twilight pūjā) is the evening pūjā between 6 and 7 P.M.

<sup>104</sup> *Araḷi*, oleander; see *TL*.

<sup>105</sup> Asked what the exposing of Icakki's breasts and making them stand out with a silver design means, the main pūjārī replied: "The breasts' silver design (*kavacam*) is for beautification. [...] There are fewer flowers in the *karukkal pūjā*; that is the reason why the breasts are exposed. During the *camapūjai* they will be completely covered by flowers." [I insisted on being told the deeper meaning, but he replied again:] "The decoration is less here, and the decoration is more in the *camapūjai*" (interview held on 19 January 2003, with videos and photos shown). I sensed that the main pūjārī was being evasive on a delicate subject.

<sup>106</sup> On the waist belt, see Coomaraswamy 1993:83, referring to "Archaic Indian Terracotta" (n. 4), in *Ipek* 3 (1928):64–76, and *Atharva Veda* 6.133.5, the latter stating that it "was a long-life (*āyusya*) charm (cf. the 'girdle of Aditi,' *AV* IV.1.5)." Coomaraswamy (ibid.) writes further: "[F]emale figures associated with trees are voluptuous beauties, [...] always provided with the broad jewelled belt (*mekhala*) which appears already on the pre-Maurya terra-cotta figures of fertility goddesses [...]."

<sup>107</sup> For the connotations of this botanical marker, see Sect. 9.3.3.

whisk of *kamukam* flowers,<sup>108</sup> which in the initial *alañkāram* hangs down over her forehead, is now standing upright behind her head. This gives the goddess a more friendly appearance. Placing the *kamukam* flowers upright opens the silver crown to view. The statue is garlanded with a cooling chain of lemons. Though the goddess appears with the same designed facial expression as in the previous *alañkāram* pūjā, her face is now smeared with blazingly red *mañcaṇai* paste. The knife in her erect right hand, whose wrist is decked out with black bangles, is also visible, as is a silver cradle dangling from her left hand.

The pūjā is performed; the light is swung (Skt. *ārati*) inside the shrine and given by Śaṅkara, the younger brother of the main pūjārī, to the devotees sitting outside on the square. The *cāmiyāṭi*'s (Kantappiḷlai's) upper body is smeared with white ash. There is no sign of the auspicious *mañcaṇai* paste on him, nor is there any sign that a flowerbed will be laid out. It is a comparatively small pūjā, with only a very few offerings of coconuts and the like.

#### REFLECTIONS ON THE KARUKKAL PŪJĀ FOR ICAKKI

If we read the markers we may conclude that the *karukkal pūjā* is an attempt on the part of the ritual specialists to make the goddess aware of her most valuable asset, her fertility, signalled in the unveiling of her milk-giving breasts.<sup>109</sup> To expose them<sup>110</sup> is to project onto her the power of her own breasts.<sup>111</sup> I suggest interpreting the exposed breasts as a sign—more precisely, as an extra sign—that these breasts are *designed*. It can be read as an act of attracting her (by her own assets) and at the same time distracting her (from her rage).<sup>112</sup> The designed breasts blunt the destructive violence mirrored in her erect right hand holding a knife,<sup>113</sup> potentially allowing the knife's force to be shunted aside. The ritual specialists seek to overturn and exorcise the unwanted force of violence in favour of the milk-giving breasts, which accord with the *mēkalai* belt, the face smeared with the auspicious blazing red *mañcaṇai*, the whisk of areca (*kamukam*), and most significantly, the silver cradle in her hand.

I propose that there is a nexus between the *unveiling of the breasts*, the *rolling on the flowerbed*, and the divinatory *spinning of the coconut* (below). Interestingly enough, all three objects are round in shape, and each holds forth the possibility of childbirth; two of them, moreover, are potentially filled with fluids. I suggest that the display of the goddess's breasts is the people's own projection onto her of their wish for offspring.

#### *The first fiery torch (tīpantam) possession dance*<sup>114</sup>

In front of the shrine an elderly woman, one of the pūjārī's family members, is dancing with the curved red *pirampu* (protective stick) in her hand. Then bells are rung and the goddess, embodied in Kantappiḷlai, emerges from inside the shrine with *mañcaṇai* paste smeared all over her upper body and head. Her arms are adorned with the silver *kaṭakams*. S/he stands at the entrance facing the spectators. Having emerged in response to the *karukkal pūjā*, she does not, strikingly, descend to the flowerbed, as she did in the afternoon session, but moves on to the fire torch ritual. The reduced night temperature apparently does not offer her the heat she requires.

<sup>108</sup> For the meaning of this botanical marker, see Sect. 9.3.3.

<sup>109</sup> On the equation of “breast milk and the seed of the phallus [...] in many origin myths,” see Shulman 1980:209. On “breasts” as they are culturally understood, see Trawick 1978:146: “[N]ot their [i.e. the breasts'] decorative quality, [...] but the function of the breasts [...] is most admired. Milk is the highest, purest food.”

<sup>110</sup> On the exposure of a goddess's breasts, see Parthasarathy's (1993:332) cross-cultural reference to the Egyptian mother goddess Hathor, whose breasts were unveiled and displayed to her followers as her image was being carried in procession.

<sup>111</sup> As Trawick (1978) remarks, the breasts give milk; in that sense they are “receptacles of power” (ibid.:145), nourishing newborn life. See also Trawick's (ibid.:191) reference to breasts as “hav[ing] power of attraction.”

<sup>112</sup> Noteworthy, images of pairs of breasts are used as a means of attracting and distracting among practitioners of the *kaḷari* martial art tradition in Kerala, see Caldwell 1999:30.

<sup>113</sup> For the significance of the right hand in the iconography of IcaKKi, see Sect. 7.6, pp. 260f.

<sup>114</sup> See Photo 5 in Appendix A, p. 356.

The *cāmiyāṭi* places a flaming torch (*pantam*)<sup>115</sup> on his head, then on his shoulder, and then under his arm. He dances. His eyes are now fixed on Icakki-in-the-shrine. He is garlanded. He passes his hand over the flame. (It is said that Icakki likes heat.) Now the flaming torch is under his left arm, and the curved protective *pirampu*<sup>116</sup> upright in his right hand. Again he places the *pantam* on his head. Then he swings the torch back and forth thrice over his head, and gives it to the main pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, while both are in eye contact with Icakki-in-the-shrine. Once the main pūjārī has taken the torch, he begins to dance forcefully, yet, noteworthy enough, without the goddess's *kaṭakams*.<sup>117</sup> His younger brother Śaṅkara has also joined in the proceedings. Kantappiḷḷai removes the flower garland from his own neck and decorates the main pūjārī with it. Immediately the new *cāmiyāṭi* swings the fiery torch and puts it on his head. Others smear him with cooling *mañcaṇai* paste. The possession dance (*cāmiyāṭṭam*) appears to intensify. The space in the arena seems to shrink as the bodies of the people who demarcate it edge closer together. The *cāmiyāṭi* is decked out with several garlands from the image inside. Immediately s/he dances with great animation, throwing her head backward. The embellishment causes her face to brighten. She smiles charmingly, and proudly strokes her chest. More garlands are thrown over her head. She joyfully exchanges views with Icakki-in-the-shrine, and then begins to deliver *cāmiyākku* and bless devotees with sacred ash (*vipūti*). Once again the *cāmiyāṭi* explodes into dance. Suddenly his body loses strength; he seems to sink into unconsciousness.<sup>118</sup> The dance attains "ritual depth."<sup>119</sup> The monitoring assistants quickly intervene, since the *cāmiyāṭi* (still without the silver *kaṭakam* bangles) appears deeply unaware of the burning torch he is holding tightly under his arm.<sup>120</sup> They remove the *pantam*, placing it next to the entrance of the inner sanctum, and instead give him the curved red *pirampu* that is set upright next to the goddess's image.<sup>121</sup> The stick will protect him from demonic forces within himself and from without,<sup>122</sup> it is said.

<sup>115</sup> Blackburn (1980:251) describes the *pantam* used in possession dances as "a tightly packed bundle of cloth in a conical shape which is soaked with kerosene and then ignited."

<sup>116</sup> "If any evil spirit comes in front he will beat it with the *pirampu*. Immediately the evil force will run away. When a man possessed by an evil spirit comes in front of the possessed man (*cāmiyāṭi*), the latter will beat him with the stick and cure him" (interview with the main pūjārī on 9 May 2002).

<sup>117</sup> The goddess exchanges her body for a more powerful one. Does this indicate an oscillation between her two psychological states: fulfilled versus demoniacally unsatisfied? Demonic beings, too, are engulfed in heat. They like heat. Kantappiḷḷai wears the silver *kaṭakams*; the main pūjārī does not. Recall that Icakki as a *pūtam* (demon) in the courtyard of the pūjārī's house is not embellished with the silver *kaṭakams*; rather they lie on the ground. Or is the change of body due to the aged Kantappiḷḷai's exhaustion?

<sup>118</sup> Crapanzano (1987:14) remarks along these lines: "[P]ossession is neither continuous nor unchanging. The possessed person moves in and out of dissociation. There are [...] moments [...] when consciousness appears to have surrendered to the possessing spirit, and still other moments of complete unconsciousness." The latter may correspond to the pūjārī's experiencing weakness in his body. It is not unlikely that led on by the drumming and the dance rhythm (in Crapanzano's terms "techniques of bombardment" [ibid.:13]) the dancer's "consciousness is submerged" (ibid.:14). Unfortunately, I have no indigenous descriptions of this experience, for the dancers themselves keep it secret. Neither the Malayali woman Kuṭṭi Ammāl of Ālamūṭu temple (Muppantal) nor the old Nāṭār woman at Muppantal Nāṭār temple (West), nor Kantappiḷḷai either, agreed to give any interview on this subject. Only the main pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, willingly disclosed that the degree of possession changes abruptly and unpredictably (interview held on 19 January 2003; see also under Sects. 9.2.1, p. 294, the first flowerbed, and 9.2.2, p. 313, the *māppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* ritual, citation).

<sup>119</sup> I adopt this term from Blackburn 1980:255. For further features of "ritual depth" in *koṭai* rituals, see ibid. One of the markers of ritual depth is its triggering the intervention of the assistants in cases of observable injury.

<sup>120</sup> For the safety measures taken by assistants, see Blackburn 1980:252: "[There are] monitors who prevent any accidental injury. They continuously lubricate areas of the medium's body exposed to heat. [...] At [...] critical moments, the monitors either remove the dancer to safety and make necessary adjustments, or cool down his dance with a special liquid. Sometimes it is necessary to end the dance altogether."

<sup>121</sup> The image is still richly covered with flowers: one jasmine garland is hanging on the erect right arm, a pair of garlands (one each of red *araḷi* and jasmine flowers) over the shoulders, and jasmine convoluted under the chin, covering underlying stems of *tulaci* and *margosa* leaves; jasmine flowers also continue to embellish her forehead.

<sup>122</sup> The time is significant. We have reached the first watch of the night, which corresponds to the first watch of demon time (after 6:00 P.M.).



*The possession dance*

In a direct sequel to the fiery torch dance, the main pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, continues dancing without the fiery torch, merely equipped with the red *pirampu*, which he swings rhythmically to the right and to the left. The dance, self-absorbed and single-minded, seems to lure him into a bodily rhythm in interplay with the ordered drumbeat. Meanwhile his younger brother Śāṅkara and a near relative have joined him. The elderly woman continues dancing too. As described by Blackburn (1980:250), this style of dance calls for coordination between arms that pump and legs that step high. Suddenly the younger brother makes his way through the crowd, snatches the *vēl* (spear), the accessory of Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ, and returns to the arena. In protestation, the Tēvars, the community with a close relationship with this deity, retrieve the *vēl* and return it to Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ's image. Is the dancer's transgression, his breaking through the prescribed invisible zone, a sign that he is in some intermediate state, in which demonic forces have again slipped in? The point at which the *villuppāṭṭu* performance has arrived suggests as much.<sup>123</sup> Controlling wild disorder, a potentially dangerous aspect of the goddess, would then be the function of the dance.<sup>124</sup> The main pūjārī, covered with the *mañcaṇai* paste, delivers *cāmivāṅku* to a woman. Having been without the silver bangles throughout the series of evening rituals, he is at long last embellished with them.<sup>125</sup> The pūjārī and the elderly woman are smeared with the red *mañcaṇai*, while two other dancers have white paste applied. The *cāmivāṅku* continues. Crowds of women cluster around the *cāmiyāṭi*. Meanwhile the floral decoration of Icakki-in-the-shrine is being used for garlanding the bodies she has entered,<sup>126</sup> and so diminishes. By the end of the whole series of evening rituals, which end at around 10 P.M., the goddess, having been reduced to virtual nudity, now lacks all womanly modesty. Apart from two jasmine and two red *araḷi* garlands, she is completely deflowered. What remains, in full, inescapable view to the goddess and the spectators is: the voluptuous milk-filled breasts with their swollen nipples. A long *villuppāṭṭu* performance follows.

*The villuppāṭṭu*

The possession dance is directly followed by a long *villuppāṭṭu* performance. It is around 10:00 P.M. The *villuppāṭṭu* relates the *IK* scene in which the Kōṅārs, complaining about the disappearance of their cattle and sheep, reel off their own names: “Aṅṅi Kōṅ, Paṅṅi Kōṅ ...”; and the dialogue between the two hungry spirits, brother and sister, disguised as the children of the Cōḷa king, takes place. Abandoned in the forest under a margosa tree, Nīlaṅ frightens the pūjārī of the Cāstā temple. Again the bow-song singer is interrupted, this time to express thanks for a money donation of ten rupees. It is 10:20 P.M. when the narration reaches the scene in which Kuṅṅōtaraṅ is ordered to kill Icakki's twin brother Nīlaṅ. Again there is an interruption. The bow-song singer announces that a ring has been lost. The story advances on apace: *Anta ceṭṭi muṅṅālē vantu tōṅṅiṅāḷ* (Icakki appears to the Ceṭṭi [in the Paḷakai forest]). The *IK* has now arrived at Icakki's first *alaṅkāram*, but this seems to be unimportant. No rituals occur at this point. The story continues on. Icakki asks the Ceṭṭi to sit and talk (*koṅca uṅkāra, pēci*). The bow-song singer is told to proceed on without delay (something the bow-song singer T.M.P., with whom I mainly worked, never would have allowed to happen). Icakki demands to be recognised as the Ceṭṭi's wife. But the Ceṭṭi denies being married to her (*kalyāṅam māṭṭēn*), and orders her to be off. Again the story is interrupted. Someone passes instructions to the bow-song singer, and once again someone else says something to her after she continues singing. Icakki complains that the Ceṭṭi does not look at his child

<sup>123</sup> See the description of the *villuppāṭṭu* that follows.

<sup>124</sup> Kapferer (2000:12) writes: “[T]he discourse of episodes of dance [...] that are generally enacted [...] are important to the building of [...] the subversion of demon control.” On the link between mind and dance, Padel (1995:131ff.) notes that if the mind is licentious, dance marks it off and sets it aright.

<sup>125</sup> “The *kaṭakam/kaṭayam* (bangles) and the anklets should be worn by the man who is possessed by the deity. The bangles should be worn in large numbers. Only then will he be possessed” (interview of 15 December 2002).

<sup>126</sup> This seems to be a custom in *koṭais*; see Blackburn 1980:251: “Dancers [...] also decorate themselves with the garlands placed around the image of their possessing deity.”

(*piḷḷai ... pāratē*). Thirteen minutes later the scene has shifted to the assembly place of the Karaiyāḷars, who decide to postpone confronting the problem to the next day (*piracciṇai nāḷai pēcurōm*, “Let’s discuss the problem tomorrow”). Here Muttuleṭcumi, the singer, skips some pages in her notebook. Icakki forces the Karaiyāḷars to take the sword from the Ceṭṭi. The bow-song singer again skips some pages. The couple is put into the *ilaṅkam*. The bow-song singer skips some more pages of her script. The smoke of a cigarette held in the hand of an elderly man sitting in front of the stage rises into the air. Icakki asks the Karaiyāḷar women to drink the buttermilk she offers (*mōr cāppiṭa enṇa colli*). The story is interrupted. The bow-song singer receives ten rupees and announces the fact. The story continues on. All the women drink the buttermilk and die. The translocal *IK* has come to a close. Icakki has managed to take revenge on everyone: the Ceṭṭi (her own murderer), the seventy Karaiyāḷars (the murderers of her brother), and a whole village including all its children. In doing so, she has put a stop to all reproduction within the community. It is nearing midnight. The lead bow-song singer lays her script aside, keeping only a sheaf of loose papers in her hand.

MIDNIGHT SESSION 7 MAY 2002

*The continuation of the villuppāṭṭu performance: the local Icakki story*

As a direct sequel to the translocal *IK*, the *villuppāṭṭu* group begins to perform the local story of Icakki.<sup>127</sup> It is said that Icakki, after killing the Ceṭṭi, the Karaiyāḷars, and their families, came with insatiable hunger southward to Paḷavūr, where she continued her atrocities.<sup>128</sup> The narrative retelling of her appearance in Paḷavūr is performed by the bow-song group within one hour, from midnight to 1:00 A.M. I offer here a synopsis:<sup>129</sup>

<sup>127</sup> See Sect. 7.5; also Caṅmukacuntaram 1978, ed. “Palaiyanūr Nīli,” appendix “Nīlikatai Āyuvurai”:38 (*ikkataip pāṭi ....*): “After completing the story by singing the bow-song [i.e. the translocal *IK*], artists used to tell the [local] story of Nīli, who came to Palavur, in prose.” – Except for this crucial point of an interpolated local story of Icakki, the ritual and narrative sequence followed the pattern that Blackburn (1980:238, 263) delineates in his dissertation on the bow-song tradition. In the morning session, the *villuppāṭṭu* performed a type A *katai*, the first of the two categories Blackburn 1980 has identified (type A and B). “Type A narratives are defined by a divine birth in Kailāsa and are fictive in tone; type B narratives are defined by a tragic human death on earth, and their tone is realistic” (262). In the afternoon session, whose components are clustered around the first *tīpārāṭṭai*, the beginning of the *IK* was sung. Though a type B *katai*, it here counts as a type A variant, since it begins with the three birth stories of the Brahmin, the brother, and Lakṣmī. Then in the midnight session, which contains the second *tīpārāṭṭai*, the death scenes of the *Icakkiammaṅ Katai* (type B) are performed.

<sup>128</sup> Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai of Paḷavūr in an interview held on 27 March 2002: “It all began from that place, and that place alone. That Icakki came here to the south [...]” (K-F); see also in Sect. 7.5, p. 257, the interview with the bow-song singer G. Muttuleṭcumi and her husband G. Gopikriṣṇaṅ (8 May 2002), in which they explain how they make the translocal *IK* of epic length more obviously tie in with the local Icakki story.

<sup>129</sup> I have chosen here the synopsis given to me by Paḷaiyā Piḷḷai (treasurer of the Icakki temple) and Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai on 27 March 2002, and published earlier by the latter in the local newspaper *Tamiḷmuracu*, 18 February 2000. As has already been noted, this local Icakki story of Paḷavūr is the same story as the one mentioned in Perumāḷ 1990:131, appendix to n. 14 under the subtitle: “The Story of Teṅkaṅputūr Icakki and the establishing of an Icakkiammaṅ temple,” but there relating to a village called Teṅkaṅputūr; see Sect. 7.5 (also 7.7.2) above. Caṅmukacuntaram 1978:38 also shows up with a retelling. The synopsis he gives of the local Nīli story of Paḷavūr slightly diverges from the story told at the *koṭai* festival in Paḷavūr on 7 May 2002, in that in his account it is the daughter who is pregnant rather than the wife of the pūjārī: “Likewise Nīli came back to earth and resided at Paḷavūr. Then a priest (pūjārī) of Paḷavūr temple came to the temple at noon, oblivious of the summer season and the hot sun. Seeing him, Nīli wanted to be adored by him. She obstructed him and began to argue. The pūjārī understood her motivation and drove a peg made of wood from the strychnine tree (*kāñciram*) into her head in order to control her ego and power completely. [...] Afterwards she took the form of a maidservant and went to the house of the priest. The pregnant daughter of the priest came to her father’s house for her first delivery. Nīli, harbouring a plan of revenge, joined them as a maidservant and played the role of a good servant. When the priest returned home, he saw the new woman, but did not suspect her.” The remaining part narrates the same story as Perumāḷ’s version, and ends with the construction of a temple.

Icakki, the enticing younger sister of Nallaṅṅaṅ, is sitting under a banyan tree (*ālamūṭṭil*) near Caṭṭi Nakki spring (*ūttu*), when Tiruvēṅkaṭa Nampiyār,<sup>130</sup> a *mantiravāti* (magician) and Brahmin priest of the Ammaiappar Śiva temple of Paḷavūr, comes along on horseback on his way to Āḷvār Piḷḷai of Ampalavāṅapuram in order to conduct anniversary death rites (*titi*). He is attracted by the young woman's beauty and decides to employ her as a maidservant. Being a *mantiravāti*, he penetrates her mask and sees that she is [the hungry spirit] Icakki (*cuyarūpam*, “real form”). He wants to control her. He draws a *cakra* (Ta. *takaṭu*, lit. “metal plate”) in order to immobilise her, and drives a *kāñciram muḷai*, a peg of strychnine wood, into the top (*uccī*) of her head in an attempt to bring her under his control and render her docile.<sup>131</sup> He takes her home as a maidservant for his eight-month-pregnant wife. His wife is suspicious but accepts her, for the young woman is amazingly skilled in housework. One day, when the time of delivery is nearing, Icakki asks the lady of the house, who discovers the impress of the peg while delousing her, to pull it out. When she innocently does so, Icakki explodes and emerges in her active, raged form and kills the pregnant woman.<sup>132</sup> She plucks out the baby, and crunches it in her teeth. She garlands herself with the intestines of the woman and makes the *kuravai* sound. Then she takes up a position opposite Nampiyār's house, next to the Ammaiappar Śiva temple—where she is still present as a memorial stone, and known as Tēraṭi Icakki (Icakki-at-the-foot-of-the-temple-car). From there she proceeds via the Ōraiyaṅ tank, Ilantaiyaṭi, and Ceṭṭikuḷam to the Vēlukanta Ammaḷ/Veyilukanta Ammaḷ temple (see Map 3, Section 8.3), on the way committing all kinds of atrocities. Tiruvēṅkaṭa Nampiyār returns home and finds everything out of control, and she kills him, too. Day by day her atrocities become worse. When things become unbearable, the villagers decide to build a temple for her beside the trunk of a banyan tree, on barren land (*kiṭaṅkaṭi ālamūṭṭil*), and worship her. (A synopsis related by Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai, Paḷavūr).

It is nearing midnight. The local Icakki story, which has its setting in Paḷavūr itself (so it is said), continues on seamlessly from the end of the *IK*. The *villuppāṭṭu* recalls the connection between Icakki-in-the-wilderness and her former activities, and her place in the village, her *mūlasthāna*, where she is present as Tēraṭi Icakki, residing in a stone next to the Ammaiappar temple. Icakki is the story's protagonist, and her antagonist is Tiruvēṅkaṭa Nampiyār, the *mantiravāti* and Brahmin priest of the Ammaiappar temple. When the bow-song singer mentions Paḷaiyanallūr, the same name as in the translocal *Nīli katai*, Paḷaiyā Piḷḷai, the treasurer of the temple committee, steps forward and corrects her, asking her to call the place Paḷavūr.<sup>133</sup> The bow-song singer continues with the story:

<sup>130</sup> On the title Nampiyār as applied to priests in charge of funeral rites, see Thurston and Rangachari 1909:142.

<sup>131</sup> See also other stories where Icakki or other goddesses are locked up in bottles or captured in pots by a male, but ultimately flee—for instance, in the *sthalapurāṇam* of Kuttuppiṇṇai Icakki of Naṅkuṅṇeri (see above, Sect. 7.5, p. 258). Putting the goddess in a bottle and sealing it with a cork in order to immobilise her is exactly what Nampiyār does in the local Icakki story when he drives the *kāñciram* peg into the top of Icakki's head. (Exercises in which the practitioner tries to bring a *yakṣi* under control to satisfy his wishes are reminiscent of tantric practices.) – Cross-culturally, we find similar motifs in Malay village beliefs. (Note that Malaysia formerly underwent Hinduisation.) Laderman (1987:126f.) draws attention to the Malay idea that a “clever man” can turn a *langsuir* (the spirit of a woman who has died in childbirth) “into a human woman if he places a nail or other long, hard, pointed piece of iron or steel into the hole [in her head]. After its insertion, the gap closes up, leaving no mark to reveal the *langsuir*'s nature [126][...which is] dangerous and threatening” (127). Laderman (ibid.:127) regards the object inserted into the hole as a “phallic object.”

<sup>132</sup> Note the striking similarity of narrative pattern in a folk tale (from Muruganandan, *Nāṭṭupura Makkaḷ Collum Kataikaḷ*, Madras: Tenmaḷai Pathippagam, 1991, 128) retold in Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 2002:70: “The murder of a toddy-drawer's wife must be attributed to a demon's (transversal) revenge on her husband. The demon had begged the toddy-drawer for some palm-juice, but when he bent down to drink, the toddy-drawer drove a nail into his head. The nail changed the demon into a man whom the toddy-drawer made his house servant. After a few weeks of diligent work, the servant asked his mistress to search for lice in his hair. She thus discovered the nail and pulled it out. At that moment he regained his demonic form, killed the woman, and escaped.”

<sup>133</sup> I concur with Blackburn and Ramanujan (1986:176): “Since these narratives are local history and often genealogies, this concern for the authenticity of their oral presentation is not surprising.” – Here the source of interruption (i.e. those who dare to interrupt) gives a fair idea of where local power resides.

Beautiful Icakki is sitting under the banyan tree when the Brahmin comes along on his way to a client. Seemingly attracted by the beauty of the woman, he decides to take her home as a maidservant for his eight-month-pregnant wife.

By the time the local story has started, Kantappiḷḷai, Icakki's *cāmiyāṭi*, is sitting among the audience in front of the stage. Everybody is listening attentively.

*The fusion of villuppāṭṭu and possession ritual*<sup>134</sup>

It is 12:00 P.M. midnight (*ucci nēram*)—demon time.<sup>135</sup> Kantappiḷḷai becomes increasingly possessed while listening to the goddess's local story.<sup>136</sup> The lead singer notices this with surprise and continues on happily: "Icakki is fixed on a *cakra* by the *mantiravāṭi* Tiruvēṅkaṭa Nampiyār, who drives a poisonous *kāñciram* peg into Icakki's head (*ucci*)." This is the moment the *villuppāṭṭu* fully succeeds in its attempt to make the goddess's presence felt:<sup>137</sup> Kantappiḷḷai is in a high state of possession. He lets out a howl.<sup>138</sup> His body rocks to and fro while sitting on the sandy ground in front of the stage. He keeps on howling. The bow-song singer is spurred on by the possession and increases the tempo of her performance. *Villuppāṭṭu* and possession ritual have finally coalesced. The event takes place in a small, densely packed arena. With Kantappiḷḷai's body still jerking strongly, a family member adorns his arm with additional silver *kaṭakams*. Kantappiḷḷai is supported by Śaṅkara. S/he asks the *mēlam* (drums) to join in: *cantaikāṭci kiṭṭa kalaiṅṅar ... cikiramāka varum*. The cast is complete. It consists of the whole of the ritual gathering, which manifests the following hierarchy: a) Kantappiḷḷai, who is Icakki, b) the *villuppāṭṭu* singer, who is in charge of evoking the deity, c) the drummers, who reinforce the acoustic impact on the goddess, d) the monitoring assistant, who supplies the goddess with additional bangles, e) the family members of the *pūjārī*, who care for Icakki throughout the year, f) the villagers.

The sacred arena is thrown into an "unspaced"<sup>139</sup> fusion of exciting drumbeats, the high-pitched singing style of the *villuppāṭṭu*, and the ongoing possession, each attracting and sending the others spiralling to new heights. The audience is no less seized. The action is synchronised. The goddess has fully emerged. In the blink of an eye everyone is engulfed by the depths of her presence, until the narration "respaces," bringing the people back up to the surface, that is to say, back into time. The goddess's devotees (and non-devotees) experience a special sort of *darśana*. The *villuppāṭṭu* continues at full speed: "Nampiyār takes Icakki home as a maidservant." With a jerk Kantappiḷḷai / the goddess receives the silver vessel with the sacred ash, which she applies to her forehead. Flowers are on her lap. The goddess remains present, listening to her own story: [...] *nēṅṅi ceyṅcu vēlai curu curuppu*, (colloquial; "yesterday's work was done very fast"). She grasps the flower garland, holds it to her chest, buries her face into it, and smiles. Again her possession increases. She shakes her head excitedly as she buries her face into the flowers. *Nalla vēlaikāri* (fine maidservant), the *villuppāṭṭu* singer sings, echoing the wife's words of high praise for Icakki's work. Kantappiḷḷai / the goddess, now holding the convoluted garland,<sup>140</sup> again jerkily buries her face deeply into the fragrant and cooling flowers. The

<sup>134</sup> The fusion lasts more or less uninterruptedly for one hour, at various degrees of intensity. Possession in the central session can easily last for more than one hour, as underscored in Blackburn 1980:236: "[T]he possession [...] by the medium of the chief deity may extend beyond the usual 10-15 minutes and last for as long as two or three hours."

<sup>135</sup> According to Blackburn (1980:261) it is customary for stories of type B goddesses to be performed at midnight: "If the chief deity is a type B Ammaṅ (e.g. Icakki Ammaṅ), her story is performed at the nocturnal zenith. If the chief deity is a type A Ammaṅ, the center performance may be at either zenith: at 12 noon if she is a maternal Ammaṅ (e.g. Muttār Ammaṅ) and at 12 midnight if she is a fierce Ammaṅ (e.g. Kāḷi Ammaṅ, Bhadrakāḷi Ammaṅ, Ucciṅimakāḷi Ammaṅ)." See also his chart 13, p. 263.

<sup>136</sup> This is, according to Blackburn (1980:275), a common feature of the central cycle: "[I]n the center slot the medium usually becomes possessed while in the audience listening to the performance itself."

<sup>137</sup> As is clear from my description, earlier it was the ritual procedure and the drums rather than the bow-song which made the goddess emerge.

<sup>138</sup> Babb (1975:136) calls the act of howling "evidence of possession by the goddess."

<sup>139</sup> For the terms *unspaced* and *respaced*, borrowed from Don Handelman, see Sect. 8.2, p. 275, point 9.

<sup>140</sup> One wonders if the convoluted form can be read as an oblique reference to the intestines she extracts after killing mother and child.

*villuppāṭṭu* proceeds. (Icakki:) *Akkā, akkā!*, “Elder sister!” (Wife:) *Eṇ peṇṇai!*, “My girl!” (Icakki:) *Ucciyil oru muḷai*, “There’s a thorn in the top of my head.” The goddess touches the point on her head, and her body jerks. Then the *kāñciram* peg is pulled out by the wife: *koṭuccā*, “It’s out!” At that very moment the goddess’s body collapses. The upper part of her body topples down to the ground. The hands of the monitoring assistant support her. The goddess maddens.<sup>141</sup> Her impulses erupt volcano-like. She is death personified. Crawling on the sand towards the steps of her shrine, she exchanges glances with herself in the shrine. The whole scene has attained ineffable depth. Nothing is as it was. The ritual gathering releases a deep expiration of breath, glad that the unspeakable force has exploded within the safe arena of ritual order. There is no doubt that the goddess has shown her destructive potential.<sup>142</sup> The *villuppāṭṭu* group sings: *nampiyārum maṇaiviyum koṇru*, “Nampiyār and his [pregnant] wife have been killed.” *Inta kiṭaṅkaṭiy Icakki pukaḷavaḷ*, “This Kiṭaṅkaṭi Icakki is famous.” The local story has come to an end. The lead singer lays her script aside, though some pages still remain. It is nearing 1:00 A.M.

#### REFLECTIONS ON THE FUSION OF VILLUPPĀṬṬU AND POSSESSION RITUAL

The fusion segment is the only one in the entire *koṭai* festival when the story is directly enacted in the ritual. The synchronisation of the narration, the possession, and the drum music is an index of this. The whole centres around the *kāñciram* peg, its being driven into and pulled out of the top of the goddess’s head (*ucci*).<sup>143</sup> The dominant mood of this segment is tension, mirrored in the highly dynamic movement and in the intense emotions paired with cognitive insights into the challenging play between life and death. At midnight (*ucci nēram*) everything is pushed towards fusion. There is the *IK*; and then the local Icakki story that, added to the translocal one, attempts in vain to avoid the disaster of the preceding story by driving the peg into the top of the head of Icakki, who again has appeared in order to challenge life. Everything, I would argue, moves predominantly within the register of physical violence and death, which overshadows the goddess’s maturation and creative nature, and gathers towards the fusion. The critical moment comes when the *kāñciram* peg is pulled out. It is then that the goddess emerges, possessed<sup>144</sup> by her demonic past. The *villuppāṭṭu*, in creating memories, relatedness, and strong emotions, unmask itself as a hunter, who lures both the goddess and the audience into meeting one another and making the private public. By participating in the knowledge of the goddess’s blocking of reproduction the villagers become activated. Their knowledge demands a counterresponse. This fusion thus not only marks the point where all the different pieces virtually fall into place, but also the turning point.<sup>145</sup>

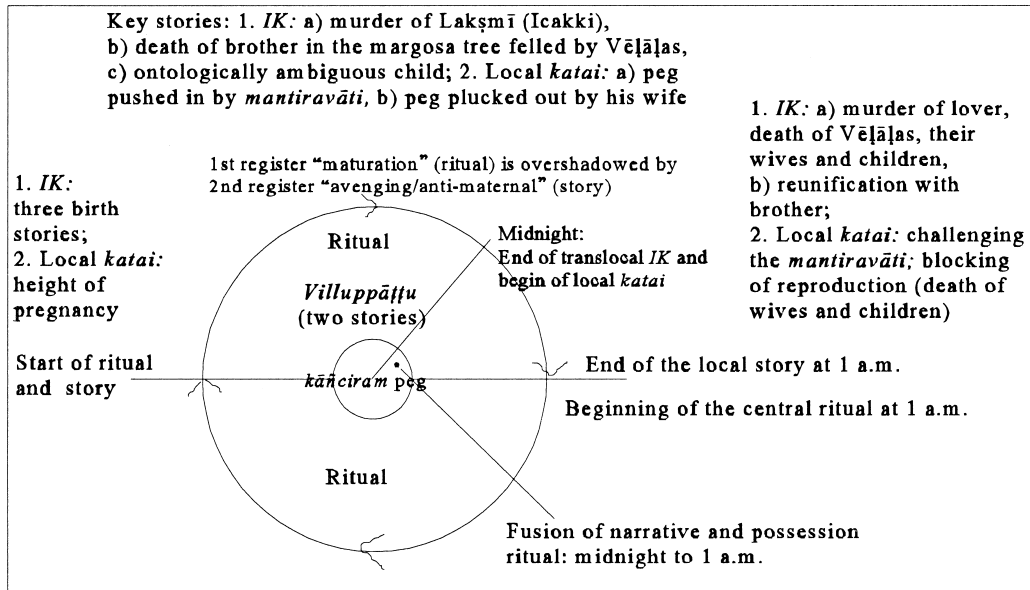
<sup>141</sup> The range of madness and the notions associated with it in the Tamil context have been studied by Handelman and Shulman (2004:164ff.). For *veri*-madness, see *ibid.*:175: “*Veri* primarily suggests states of rage or fury [...] wildness, mental aberration, and what we call ‘possession’.” For *veriyātu*, see Hardy 1983:141; Zvelebil 1984:947ff.

<sup>142</sup> The bow-song singer’s words are proven right: in order to control the deity, the sorcerer’s means are effective only for a certain time. Not only has he applied the wrong procedure to return the goddess to a healthy state of mind; even his tools are not effective; indeed, they are a failure, as being entirely unsuitable for this goddess.

<sup>143</sup> On *ucci* as the centre of the body and centre of gravity, see Osella and Osella 1999:189: “The *ucci* is the most important of the series of holes in the body [...]; it] is a holy place.”

<sup>144</sup> I would argue that what we witness here is a possession within a possession. Not only Kantappiḷḷai is possessed by the goddess, but the goddess herself is also possessed. On goddesses themselves becoming possessed, cf. Kinsley 1987:205.

<sup>145</sup> I suggest that the rituals do not intend to tread further along the path taken by the stories, involving the destructive, antimaternal younger sister, but rather attempt to render the goddess more harmonious and fertile.

Figure 4: The link between story (*katai*) and ritual (*koṭai*)

*The varattu pāṭṭu performance of the villuppāṭṭu group and the possession dance of an elderly Tēvar woman*

The local Icakki story has come to an end, but though the lead singer has laid her script aside, she continues her performance. She now sings in praise of the goddess, and invites her to come by performing the *varattu pāṭṭu*.<sup>146</sup> It is getting ever nearer to 1:00 A.M. The goddess is expected to make her dazzling presence soon felt in the second, the central *alañkāra tīpārāṭṭanai*, the *pūjā* that initiates the most important rituals of the *koṭai* festival. Meanwhile an elderly woman from the Tēvar community begins dancing. Her red silk sari is draped loosely around her body. She is wearing the goddess's silver bangles. (She is said to make predictions, usually at her house in Paḷavūr.) Adorned with a huge flower garland, she now veils her hair with one end of the sari, and stands with folded hands in communication with Icakki-in-the-shrine. Then she turns toward the members of her community and throws sacred ash over them. Her possession dance differs in style from that of others. It appears as though she is floating on air, while her hands draw imaginary circles in it. The scene appears somewhat surreal. Her movement is slow and impressive, very much in the mood and rhythm of the *varattu pāṭṭu*, the song of invitation that is melodiously sung by the lead singer and the accompanying *kuṭam* player (who, after the end of the Icakki story, is now again a woman). The dancer's hair is loose. Her dance evokes interest among the audience. She begins to speak *kuris* (predictions), but only to members of her community who have gathered in front of Cuṭalaimāṭṭan's image. Some of them adorn her with the huge flower garland that had previously been offered to the inner sanctum and is now taken from there. The Tēvar woman dancer then approaches the lead singer. She generously throws some coins onto the spanned end of the lead singer's sari. The Tēvar man in charge of keeping an eye on the arena comes and stands next to her. It is unclear whether the Tēvar woman dancer is "designated" or "undesignated."<sup>147</sup> An interview with the

<sup>146</sup> The bow-song singer T.M.P. pointed this out: "In the temples of the Piḷḷaimāṭṭ conditions are not strict. They used to sing the *varattu* only at the time of the *tīpārāṭṭanai*. [...] If we sing the *varattu* with great effort, it [the deity] will come [...]" பிள்ளமாரு கோயில்ல, அந்தக் கோயில்ல உள்ள கதையத்தான் பாடித்திரணுண்ணு கண்டிசம் கிடையாது. தீவாரண நடக்க நேரத்தில வரத்து மட்டும் பாடுவாங்க...வரத்த படிச்சி நாங்க கஸ்டமா பாடுனா வந்திரும் (interviewed by Nā. Irāmaccantiraṅ in *Puṇaikaḷam*, January-March 2002:104). – S. Svayamburajan (8 May 2002) commented similarly: "If we sing in praise of the deity, her power is evoked and she comes" (K-L.01.A.736).

<sup>147</sup> That there are undesignated persons, we have already seen in the course of the *koṭai* festival. For the concepts of

main pūjārī revealed that she has no official status within this *koṭai* festival of the Vēlālas (or Piḷḷais).<sup>148</sup> We may assume, though, that she has been designated by her own community (in terms of numbers, one of the larger in the village).<sup>149</sup> After all, her appearance on the scene does not appear to be fortuitous, given that she is garlanded, and more importantly, is wearing the goddess's silver bangles. There can be no doubt that she embodies none other than Icakki herself. There are signs that the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai* is about to start. This implies that the *vil* performance has come to an end for the night.

THE SERIES OF CENTRAL RITUALS IN THE SESSION FROM 1:00 A.M. UNTIL THE DAWN OF 8 MAY 2002

*Arttacāmapūjai (last nighttime pūjā)*

*The second alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai for Icakki—a central ritual*<sup>150</sup>

It is 1:00 A.M.—*camayama* time (demon time).<sup>151</sup> The *villuppāṭṭu* performance has come to a close. The local Icakki story is completed. The goddess is praised and invoked. The air is pregnant with expectation. With Kantappiḷḷai still in a state of possession, a direct transition occurs to the second and central *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai*,<sup>152</sup> “the culmination [...] of an enormous amount of preparatory labor [...],” as Blackburn (1980:236) describes it. (Since the post-evening session Pūtattār has receded into the background. He does not receive any further pūjā until the next morning.) Icakki appears in a gorgeous *alaṅkāram*.<sup>153</sup> The extent of the latter has increased significantly. Flowers cover not only her statue (*cilai*) but all quarters of the inner sanctum. Without question, the second *alaṅkāram* is the peak of Icakki's flower decoration and beautification. Hour by hour her appearance has been growing in splendour, in a process that can be likened to budding into womanhood.<sup>154</sup> Fruits are heaped up in front of her. Her face is thickly smeared with the auspicious, radiant *mañcaṇai* paste. The pūjā is the same as the initial *alaṅkāram* in the afternoon.

I am not allowed to shoot pictures or make a video recording. Some feared that I would be the one

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“designated” and “undesignated medium,” see Blackburn (1980:254), who specifies the different types of dancers: “Two of these are designated mediums: (1) mediums of other deities in the chief deity's story, and (2) mediums of deities of other stories. The third type are undesignated mediums from the crowd who may become possessed by any deity.”

<sup>148</sup> “These ladies make prediction professionally. [...] We have not engaged her for the *camiyāṭṭam*” (interview [AK-H.02, A.039] held on 15 December 2002 in Paḷavūr).

<sup>149</sup> See Map 3 in Sect. 8.3.

<sup>150</sup> As Blackburn (1980:232) emphasises, “the second tīpārāṭṭai of the koṭai is the central node of the sequence and the entire festival.”

<sup>151</sup> For demon time, see Obeyesekere 1984:109: “The night is divided into three watches [...]. The first watch [is...] roughly from 6:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.; middle watch [...] from 10:00 P.M. to 2:00 A.M.; and [...] dawn watch, from 2:00 A.M. to 6:00 A.M. [...] Demons are active at crucial points of these watches; hence they are called [*c*]amayama times [...]” – The central *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai* takes place at a somewhat unexpected time. The bow-song bard T.M.P. cleared my uncertainty over the timing of the *tīpārāṭṭai* in the interview with Nā. Irāmaccantiraṅ (2002:104), published by *Puṇaikaḷam*, Folklore Magazine (January-March): “East of Āralvāymoḷi they perform the midnight pūjās or the midday pūjās accurately. In our K.K.Dt. we don't do like that. We perform the *tīpārāṭṭai* at the time the story ends. Really, that is wrong. It must be exactly twelve o'clock when the pūjā is performed [...]” ஏகதேசம் ஆரல்வாமொளிக்கி கெழுக்க என்ன நடத்து காங்கன்னா—தெய்வங்களுக்கு கரெக்டா பகலோ ராத்திரியே பண்ணி ரெண்டு மணிக்குப் பூச கொடுக்கிறாங்க. நம்ம கன்னியாறி மாவட்டத்தில் அப்படி செய்ய மாட்டாங்க. கத எங்க போயி நிக்கோ—அதுவர பாத்திரந்துதான் தீவாரண கொடுக்கது. உண்மையிலே அது தவறு [...] (104). – Blackburn (1980) also notes that twelve o'clock at midnight is the standard time for the central *tīpārāṭṭai*; see his chart 11, p. 238.

<sup>152</sup> For a comprehensive summary of the “sequential movement [...] through the three tīpārāṭṭai of the koṭai,” see Blackburn 1980:256f.

<sup>153</sup> See Photo 6 in Appendix A, p. 356.

<sup>154</sup> Is not the right hand of Icakki's icon, modelled on the gesture of *mukula* in the language of classical Bhāratānāṭyam dance, the very sign of a bud? It appears as if the bud, which had been sheathing a knife for violent use, has now blossomed—has fully opened—and has relinquished the knife. It is not surprising that the ritual specialists regard this moment as most significant. It seems clear, as pointed out elsewhere, that the theme of revenge, had simply overshadowed the goddess's maturation, and had made what we now see in all its pervasiveness—her flowering—imperceptible.

to benefit from the goddess's power;<sup>155</sup> others that I would put myself in danger. Though the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai* is being performed in the inner sanctum, one has the impression that the goddess long ago left it and is out among the people. Physically, space seems to me to have narrowed, and time to have stretched out prodigiously. A few minutes earlier I was still confused about the villagers' sudden decision not to let me shoot. I felt like an intruder. It hurt. But then I accepted it, and Icakki's appearance took me somewhere unexpected.

Asked which rituals he regarded as most important on the first day of the *koṭai*, the main pūjārī replied: "Tuesday night, 1:00 A.M. is the most important ritual." [Do you mean the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai*?] "Yes, it takes place at 1:00 A.M." (interview on 19 January 2003). This explains my being reduced to a mere bystander. On no account could they risk the goddess's not coming into their presence.

#### REFLECTIONS ON THE SECOND ALAṅKĀRA TĪPĀRĀṬAṆAI FOR ICAKKI —A CENTRAL RITUAL

The dominant mood during the central *alaṅkāram* at 1:00 A.M. is the expectation on the part of the ritual gathering that they will receive a vision (*darśana*) of the goddess, and will recognise her for what she has become. It is during this central ritual that the goddess is expected to emerge and recognise herself in her full maturation, that is to say, as a goddess filled with procreative power. This meaning is also latent in the second *alaṅkāram* scene of the *IK* (Icakki with child).<sup>156</sup> However, there things go badly wrong. As the pūjārī's words indicate, in the series of central rituals the goddess is considered to be "highly active" and in a state in which she can generate power from within:

During the *camakoṭai* she is highly active; if anybody goes against her, that person will immediately die. She can do anything at that moment. She will bite into and eat even a huge goat. (Interview with Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai on 19 January 2003)<sup>157</sup>

The state of "activeness" the pūjārī alludes to can be understood on the basis of a complex notion that equates flowers with menstrual blood or maturation,<sup>158</sup> and these two in turn with procreative strength.<sup>159</sup> That the ritual attempts to control the manner in which the goddess emerges is suggested by the ritual segment that follows.

<sup>155</sup> Kinsley's assumption (1987:199) is in line with the villagers' claim: "The exclusion of outsiders seems to be associated with the idea that they might benefit from the power of the goddess, which is intended for the local village. Her power is believed to be for her village, not for outsiders."

<sup>156</sup> Perhaps this particular point of the ritual (the second *alaṅkāram*) presents a parallel to the *IK*, inasmuch as they both refer to Icakki's procreative power (to be sure, each in its own language). In the second *alaṅkāram* of the ritual, procreative power is signalled by means of floral markers, while in the second *alaṅkāram* of the *IK* narrative (N1:1460ff.), the same meaning is implied in the *kallī*-turned-child Icakki has created herself (and with which she appears to the Ceṭṭi). Note that the first *alaṅkāram* scene of the *IK* (N1:1040ff.), by contrast, refers merely to Icakki's maturation and sexual attractiveness. In this particular scene Icakki appears without the child. For an overview of the three *alaṅkāram* scenes in the *IK*, see Sect. 4.7.

<sup>157</sup> The citation of an Ayurvedic practitioner in Kersenboom-Story 1987:69, n. 22, is in compelling agreement with the pūjārī's statement above. Noting the accumulation of blood in women and the necessity of its monthly discharge, he states: "If it were not for her monthly period, five men could not hold one woman down." That the flow of menstrual blood, then, is a time of danger, is emphasised by Kersenboom-Story (ibid.): "[T]he advent of puberty is considered a highly dangerous process and state of physis."

<sup>158</sup> It may be suggested that the goddess is indeed filled with the power of flowers, which are equated with the vital potency of menstrual blood, the latter a sign that marks bodily maturation. Cf. Kersenboom-Story (1987:69, n. 22), who stresses that "[t]he process of physiological maturation from infancy to adulthood is seen as a direct consequence of the increasing 'force' of the blood in the body."

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Kersenboom-Story (1987:69, n. 22): "The fact that the girl has become mature means that she shares now in the procreative power [...]. This is marked by flow of menstrual blood."



*The second fiery torch (tīpantam) possession dance*

Kantappiḷḷai comes out of the shrine, his upper body smeared with *mañcaṇai* paste. Embellished with the silver *kaṭakams* and garlands of flowers taken from the inner sanctum, he begins dancing with a fiery torch, waving it back and forth over his head and shoulders. Occasionally the lighted end of the torch brushes against his chest. The torch has come from the inner sanctum—a sign that the goddess has burst into flame. It is striking that, once the second *alaṅkāram* has been built up, the goddess, now apparently in full maturation, enters into the fiery torch possession dance rather than into the cooling flowerbed ritual.<sup>160</sup> Meanwhile the main pūjārī, garlanded richly and adorned with the goddess's *kaṭakams*, intermittently joins in, taking the burning torch from Kantappiḷḷai and dancing around with it in the middle of the arena. He touches the fire briefly to his body as he swings the torch past his chest. One wonders whether the flame of the torch, the focus of the scene, is meant to be implanted in the goddess's consciousness, there to become a radiant embryo. This is perhaps not too strained an interpretation, given that fertility is boosted by heat, and fertility is the motivation of the rituals in this cycle.<sup>161</sup>

*The possession dance with the protective pirampu and a whisk of kamukam (areca)*

In a direct sequel to the fiery torch possession dance, the main pūjārī, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, continues dancing with the curved red *pirampu*. The aged female family member joins in, and both go round and round in a circle in the middle of the arena, demarcating with their *pirampus* the area of control where the goddess is to reside. Blackburn (1980:254) points out the “greater ritual depth of the dance in the center tīpārāṇai”—marked by a larger number of dancers joining in. But ritual depth is also accompanied by moments of ambivalence, when opposing cosmic forces are confronted. The protective *pirampu* is in this sense suggestive. Demonic forces from both outside and within the goddess must be averted. Fertility must be protected at nocturnal times.<sup>162</sup>

The elderly woman from the Tēvar community continues dancing with the others, her arms embellished with the goddess's accessories. She again is wearing a huge flower garland, but the loosely hanging silk sari has been replaced with a lilac-coloured one. One Tēvar, a monitoring assistant, smears her with more blazing red *mañcaṇai* paste. Her look is somewhat fierce. Then suddenly she rushes towards Icakki-in-the-shrine, all the while beating her own reddish head with a whisk of *kamukam*. Meanwhile the main pūjārī, too, dances with a whisk of areca, with the *pirampu* also still in his hand. From time to time he distributes the sacred ash.

## REFLECTIONS ON THE SECOND FIERY TORCH POSSESSION DANCE

## AND THE POSSESSION DANCE WITH THE PROTECTIVE PIRAMPU AND A WHISK OF KAMUKAM (ARECA)

To lead the goddess from the *alaṅkāram*, the moment of the goddess's self-recognition (and her recognition by others), directly into the fiery torch dance, rather than into the cooling flowerbed, makes perfect sense. Under the sign of the burning torch, the goddess is erotically aroused and overheated, the latter property a result of her increasing procreative force. The inner heat, rather than being cooled on

<sup>160</sup> One harbinger of this change of sequence can be seen in the *karukkal pūjā*, which likewise did not make use of the flowerbed. A couch spread with flowers would cool rather than heat the goddess. Thus, it seems, she is to be kept in an environment of heat. Fertility presupposes heat.

<sup>161</sup> Blackburn (1980:219) in his dissertation on the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition makes a point of general significance when he postulates that maternity is stressed by the tradition to an equal extent as the marriage of the goddess: “[T]he wedded state of the goddess has normally been seen as the dividing line between her dual aspects, but the vil pāṭṭu narratives suggest that her maternal state may be equally important.” On the basis of the *koṭai* rituals we are discussing here, we can only concur with Blackburn's assumption. In our case we may even go a step further and neglect the *unmarried-married* dichotomy, putting all the emphasis on *barrenness-maternity* as the important opposition. After all, in the southern version of *Nili/Icakkiamman Katai* the goddess's marriage is not an issue, as indicated by the choice of a devadāsī as the heroine.

<sup>162</sup> On demons being attracted by the powerful blood of a virgin, see Kersenboom-Story (1987:69, n. 22).

the flowerbed,<sup>163</sup> is to be increased by an external heat containing, it can be argued, generative and fertile qualities.<sup>164</sup> The more the process of fertility in the goddess is kindled by the flaming heat, the more she must be protected from bloodthirsty spirits that could invade the arena.<sup>165</sup> This is implied in the protective *pirampu* held by the goddess. The time is a period of danger.<sup>166</sup> And although the rituals offer no clarity on this point, I think it eminently plausible that the gesture of protection has as much to do with protecting the goddess from herself<sup>167</sup> as with protecting her from demonic (*pēy*) invasion from without. That the goddess is no less susceptible to her own *pēy*-like component must be clear by now.

*The second flowerbed, flowerbed tīpārātānai, and dance*

There is purifying smoke in the air of the sacred space. The pūjārī's assistant, a family member, circumambulates<sup>168</sup> the flowerbed clockwise, performing a *tīpārātānai* to it. The second flowerbed has the same lay-out as the one in the afternoon.<sup>169</sup> Meanwhile Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, the main pūjārī, has begun dancing. The flowerbed ritual takes on a novel form. What we observe in this second flowerbed ritual occurs in concert with the possession dance—a fact illustrative of Freeman's observation (1999:154) that “across physical embodiments [...a] single divine being [...] can simultaneously possess two human vehicles” (ibid.), inasmuch as consciousness can “variably part and fuse” (ibid.).<sup>170</sup> The main pūjārī's joyful dance, Kantappiḷḷai's reiterative finding of the *tālampū* and the *kamukampū*, and people's performing of the *kuravai* sound play off against each other with great intensity (and with ever more joining in to perform the *kuravai*).

*The poiṅkal pariṅṅu paṭaiṅṅu (food offering),<sup>171</sup> the tuvalai kid goat sacrifice, and the drinking of the kid's blood<sup>172</sup>*

It is 3:00 A.M.—dawn watch. Three men, close relatives of the pūjārī, prepare a food offering within a sacred square demarcated by a spanned long white *vēṣṭi*.<sup>173</sup> A long plantain leaf is handed over to them, and they place it on a white cloth. One big pot is filled with *puṭṭu*, a speciality of K.K.Dt., Kerala, and

<sup>163</sup> Compare the sequential pattern in the first ritual cycle, Sect. 9.2.1.

<sup>164</sup> For the notion of “reproduction of life” being related to an increase of heat, see Mareno and Marriott 1990:151.

<sup>165</sup> See also Kinsley 1987:205, relating to another context: “[T]he goddess too is said to become [...] invaded by the demons.”

<sup>166</sup> Susceptibility to demoniacal forces is believed to be particularly strong between sunset and 6 A.M. and at midday.

<sup>167</sup> Along these same lines, see my previous argumentation in Sect. 6.4, p. 229 above.

<sup>168</sup> Icakki's pūjārī said: “When the pūjārī starts the circumambulation, he does so from a position facing both the flowerbed and the statue inside the shrine” (AK-HH.01, A, 738, interview on 19 January 2003).

<sup>169</sup> “All the three flowerbeds are equal. We throw away all the flowers used in the first bed, and fresh flowers are laid for the second bed and the third bed. For each flowerbed, a fresh *tālampū* is put in place. All the flowers are freshly laid” (interview held with the main pūjārī on 15 December 2002). “The square form with the *tālampū* is found on all the three beds” (interview on 19 January 2003). Asked whether the flowers used for the *alaṅkāram* figure are identical in type with the flowers on the flowerbed, the main pūjārī replied in an interview held on 15 February 2002: “Yes, the same flowers are used. In the flowerbed the flowers are single flowers, but here in the *alaṅkāram* they are placed as a garland. All the flowers which are found on the *alaṅkāram* figure are also placed on the flowerbed, except for the lotus. The lotus flower is on the bed, but not on the garland.” Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai gives an account of the flowers used for the *alaṅkāram* figure: “There are *mallikai*, *picci*, *campanki*, *civappu arali*, *vellai arali*, *aṭukku malli*, *tuḷaci*, *kirēnti*, roses, *vāṭāmalli*, *mallikai* at the neck, two *tālampūs*, *vēmpu* (margosa) leaves at the bottom of the statue, and finally garlands of lemon (*elumiccampaḷamālai*)” (interview with the main pūjārī on 15 February 2002).

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Parfit's (1984:199ff.) scenario of teletransport (in Western philosophy), which demonstrates that it is logically possible to branch psychic continuity. Parfit's thought experiment results in the reduplication of a person.

<sup>171</sup> The main pūjārī states: “The *poiṅkal pariṅṅu paṭaiṅṅu* is the third offering (*paṭaiṅṅu*) on this day [i.e. Tuesday]. Beforehand there was the ‘noon offering’ (*mattiyāṅṅam paṭaiṅṅu*) [of the first flowerbed], followed by the ‘midnight offering’ (*naṭurāṅṅiri paṭaiṅṅu*) [of the second flowerbed]” (interview with Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai on 19 January 2003).

<sup>172</sup> According to the main pūjārī (interview of 15 December 2002), the *paṭaiṅṅu*, the *tuvalai* goat sacrifice, and the drinking of the kid's blood, in exactly this sequential order, form one functional unit.

<sup>173</sup> A dhoti.

Sri Lanka. Another pot contains chicken curry. For this a hen (*peṭṭai kōli*) has been sacrificed and cooked along the northern side of the temple, adjacent to the *poṅkal* site. The cooked hen, the rice and other dishes are then put on the plantain leaf together with the *puṭṭu* and *āppam*, the two latter eatables having been given by the Brahmin priest of the Ammaiappar temple.<sup>174</sup> All the food has been cooked under purified conditions, namely with napkins placed over mouths and noses to prevent impurities (sweat or saliva) from coming into contact with it. The food must not be smelled by anybody other than Icakki, I am informed.

A *tuvaḷai* goat, a very young kid still sucking its mother's milk and not yet able to bite into grass and chew it,<sup>175</sup> has been donated by a Kōṅṅār (shepherd). It is smeared with holy ash and sprinkled with water prior to being sacrificed. The *vēṣṭi* that has been spanned so as to hide the food is removed. The full meal, with the *āppam* on top, is revealed. Incense sticks are lit. The men are supposed to remain with napkins over their mouths till the *tīpārāṭaṇai* is completed. Finally the meal is ready to be served. The bell rings. A *pūjā* for the food offering is done. Icakki has in the meanwhile come, still in the embodiment of Kantappiḷḷai. S/he sits down. Again a white cloth is spanned. A Tēvar then cuts open the belly of the *tuvaḷai* kid goat.<sup>176</sup> There, it is said, is where the power of the deity is aroused. The intestines are plucked out; in the process something is turned “inside out.”<sup>177</sup> Then the throat is slit (or squeezed?).<sup>178</sup> Instantly someone lets forth a deep, howling sound, an indicator of extreme ritual depth. Icakki embodied in Kantappiḷḷai looks at Icakki-in-the-shrine. S/he bends down behind the white veil. She drinks the blood.<sup>179</sup> Her blood-stained right hand appears from under the veil. With a movement of her hand she makes a sign (*kuṛi*) towards the shrine. The veil is partly drawn aside. Facing the shrine, she lolls out her tongue. She straightens her upper body, sitting up erect, deeply immersed in the image inside the shrine, her eyes drowned in tears. Her mouth is covered with blood, while her forehead is smudged with holy ash. She is served water. The main *pūjārī* stands to her left. The *tīpārāṭaṇai* takes place. The events have all been interwoven, and it is said that “with all these she is satisfied.”<sup>180</sup> The third *paṭaiṭṭu* (offering) of the day is over.<sup>181</sup> The white veil is fully removed. The *nātasvaram* begins to play mildly. The goddess puts the kid goat on her lap, as if a newborn baby were being laid down gently by its mother. The intestines will remain inside the kid goat. After the *koṭai* they and the rest of the *tuvaḷai* will be handed over to the Vaṅṅār (washerman) who carried the *pantam* (burning torch) to the temple. The *poṅkal parippu paṭaiṭṭu* (food offering) will be distributed to the *pūjārī*'s family members at his house.

<sup>174</sup> Interview on 19 January 2003. See also Sect. 9.2.1 “A flashback to the village,” p. 285.

<sup>175</sup> Only at this stage is the goat called a *tuvaḷai* (otherwise kids are called *āṭṭu kuṭṭi*); interview with the main *pūjārī* on 19 January 2003.

<sup>176</sup> It is the Tēvars again who do the slaughtering.

<sup>177</sup> For this concept, see Handelman and Shulman 1997.

<sup>178</sup> It is not clear whether the throat is cut or squeezed. The main *pūjārī* gave me two different descriptions at two different times.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Babb's (1975:136) observations regarding possessed dancers licking at the blood slick on the floor produced when a goat was decapitated behind a cloth. See also Whitehead's (1983 [1921]:99f.) description of an annual ritual in honour of the goddess Kalumaiamma. In this ritual, which is held in the months of February or March in Tiruccirāppaḷḷi (Tiruchirapalli), “some two thousand kids are [...] sacrificed one after the other, the blood of the first eight or ten is collected in a large silver vessel [...] and handed up to the *pūjārī* [of the Vēḷāḷa caste], who drinks it all. Then, as the throat of each kid is cut, the animal is handed up to him, and he sucks or pretends to suck the blood out of the carcass. The belief of the people is that the blood is consumed by the spirit of Kalumaiamma in the *pūjārī* [...]” – The *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols* compiled by Jobes (1962:226, s.v. “blood”) notes: “[I]n India goat blood was drunk by magicians to enable them to prophesy.”

<sup>180</sup> Interview with the main *pūjārī* on 15 December 2002.

<sup>181</sup> The other two *paṭaiṭṭus* were the first and second *pūppaṭṭukai* or *pūppaṭṭaiṭṭu* (flowerbed or flower offering).

REFLECTIONS ON THE POŅKAL PARIPPU PAᅤAIPPU, THE TUVALAI KID GOAT SACRIFICE,  
AND THE DRINKING OF BLOOD

This tripartite segment is the last of the three offerings (*paᅤaippu*) made to satisfy and reorient a goddess who, at one time a human, died childless and violently. The dominant themes of the segment are reintegration paired with violence. I interpret the food offering (*poᅇkal parippu paᅤaippu*) as an invitation to the goddess to reintegrate herself into the villagers' world,<sup>182</sup> and the sacrifice of the kid goat as instrumental in providing new life. It is surely important that the goddess drinks the blood of the kid goat before creating the babies for the childless couples.

*The māppiᅇlai maᅇcappiᅇlai and the divinatory spinning of the coconut*<sup>183</sup>

Asked for whom the *māppiᅇlai maᅇcappiᅇlai* ritual is meant, the main pūjārī replies: "Those who don't yet have children come. It is only for childless couples."<sup>184</sup>

This ritual occurs in a direct sequel to the preceding events in the sacred arena in front of the shrine, where the goddess, embodied in Kantappiᅇlai, sits with the *tuvalai* goat victim on her lap. Her left hand gently enfolds the head of the *tuvalai*, as if it were a baby. She is wearing a large number of *kaᅤakams*, perhaps more than twenty. The main pūjārī joins her and sits down to her left. Both face the shrine, in front of them the untouched *poᅇkal parippu paᅤaippu* (food offering). A couple approaches them and sits down to their right—the main pūjārī's younger sister and her husband. The right to be the first is usually reserved for some family from among the Kōᅇnār community, but no such family has shown up this time, I am informed.<sup>185</sup> Ever since the *tuvalai* goat was sacrificed, a mild tune played on the *nātasvaram*, as if produced by a bamboo flute (*pullāᅇkulaᅇ*), has filled the air. No drum is heard. The main pūjārī describes the atmosphere in the following words:

After the *tuvalai* is slaughtered the music is very mild. The instrument is played just as it is when the Nāgarājan (the king of serpents) appears. At that time those who are childless come to receive the goddess's boon. Those who come first experience the birth of a child without fail. Those who come at the end may not. The power of the deity comes but does not last long. The power of the deity comes in intervals. Whenever the deity performs *aruᅇvāᅇku* the results are definitely positive.

While the mild sound is lulling us into a sense of intimate harmony with ourselves, others, and the goddess, the main pūjārī passes a plantain leaf to Kantappiᅇlai. It contains a pair of dolls called *māppiᅇlai maᅇcappiᅇlai*,<sup>186</sup> sacred ash (*tirunīru*), lemon (*eccaipalaᅇm*), and *maᅇcaᅇnai*, all said to be auspicious and powerful items. The boon of a child depends on the *māppiᅇlai* and *maᅇcappiᅇlai* figures not being missing on the leaf. Kantappiᅇlai touches the blood of the *tuvalai* and smears it on the plantain leaf. The

<sup>182</sup> Recall that though linked with the *tuvalai* sacrifice, the meal is offered and the *tīpārāᅇᅇai* is performed prior to the killing of the *tuvalai*. For a detailed discussion of this ritual segment, see Sect. 9.3.5, p. 333.

<sup>183</sup> See Photo 7 in Appendix A, p. 357.

<sup>184</sup> Interview held on 19 January 2003. Those who want to participate in this ritual must inform the pūjārī one month earlier. They will be charged one thousand rupees.

<sup>185</sup> Giving priority to families of the Kōᅇnār community goes back to an event that happened some forty years ago, when a very young Kōᅇnār "was playing with broken pieces of an Icakki statue while tending cattle. All of a sudden he felt severely ill. He went to the Icakki temple and prayed. Icakki appeared and asked him for a sacrifice consisting of a *tuvalai* goat and a brown *cemmari* goat. The boy was poor but miraculously managed to fulfil Icakki's wish. Later on he became a wealthy man. This is why the Kōᅇnārs have priority. During the *koᅇtai* festival a pot filled with cooked rice and placed near the flowerbed is presented to the same Kōᅇnār. The Kōᅇnār community's ties to the Icakki temple are strong. The restoration of the temple in the year 2000 was financed by a Kōᅇnār" (interview on 15 December 2002 with Veyilukanta Perumāᅇ Piᅇlai).

<sup>186</sup> The main pūjārī went into more detail in an interview held on 15 December 2002 (AK-H.01, B, 461-477): "[The pair] is called *māppiᅇlai maᅇcappiᅇlai*. We create it from *māvu* (rice flour) and *maᅇcaᅇ* (turmeric); hence the name. The pairs of dolls are given to the childless couples. They effectively ensure childbirth." In another interview, held on 19 January 2003, the main pūjārī added: "*Māppiᅇlai maᅇcappiᅇlai* are more or less like dolls. We form them just like a child, with eyes, mouth, and nose. The pūjārī forms them."

blood is a symbol (*aṭaiyālam*) of Icakki's power, it is said.<sup>187</sup> The couple turn their heads to the image inside the shrine, while the goddess in Kantappiḷḷai sits deep in thought with the plantain leaf in her hand. She spins the coconut, observing its three eyes, and then buries her face in the leaf. She begins gyrating with her upper body. Her very look reveals whether she has granted the boon of a child or not.<sup>188</sup> Kantappiḷḷai applies holy ash, first to the husband's forehead, then to the wife's. S/he hands over the plantain leaf. Placing it on the receptive lap of both, she ties the couple's hands together. Again she distributes holy ash, but now first to the wife and then to the husband. She puts her hand into the intestines in the open belly of the *tuvaḷai* goat and smears the contents on the foreheads of wife and husband. The procedure is repeated with the next couple.

A woman with clear signs of aversion towards her husband comes next. Her body stiffens and for a few moments she seems to suffer a spell of unconsciousness and dissociation. The woman quite obviously is not eager to participate in the ritual.<sup>189</sup> Someone among the spectators whispers to others close by the name Icakki, identifying the irregular behaviour as a sign of the woman's possession by the goddess. This unexpected possession evokes great interest in the ritual gathering.<sup>190</sup>

The couple is followed by others. The ritual is nearing its end, with wives and husbands drawing closer to each other and the goddess. The audience, too, profits from the intimacy that envelops the main actors. That women and men sit now in a mixed group is significant, and a sign of the effects of this ritual segment.

#### REFLECTIONS ON THE MĀPPIḶḶAI MAÑCAPPIḶḶAI AND THE DIVINATORY SPINNING OF THE COCONUT

The *māppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* and the divinatory spinning of the coconut mark the culmination of a sequence of rituals starting with the morning segment and ending with the dawn segment. The prevailing mood of this last segment in the midnight session is intimate, highly intense, and spiritual. During this ritual the goddess provides a most direct form of help to the childless couples who ask for it: she produces offspring. The coconut is the sign that creation occurs. When spun, it "utters the sign" (*kuṛi col*). How could a ritual so obviously linked with human fertility make its inner workings and purposes—the visualisation of child production by the divinity and the transformative process within the couple—more apparent than by the *māppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* and by the divinatory spinning of the coconut? That the couple only becomes ready for its own transformation after the transformation of the goddess has taken place seems significant to me.<sup>191</sup> One can infer that the rolling on the flowerbed and the spinning of the coconut are intimately related.<sup>192</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Interview on 15 December 2002 with the main pūjārī.

<sup>188</sup> Interview of 15 December 2002 with the main pūjārī.

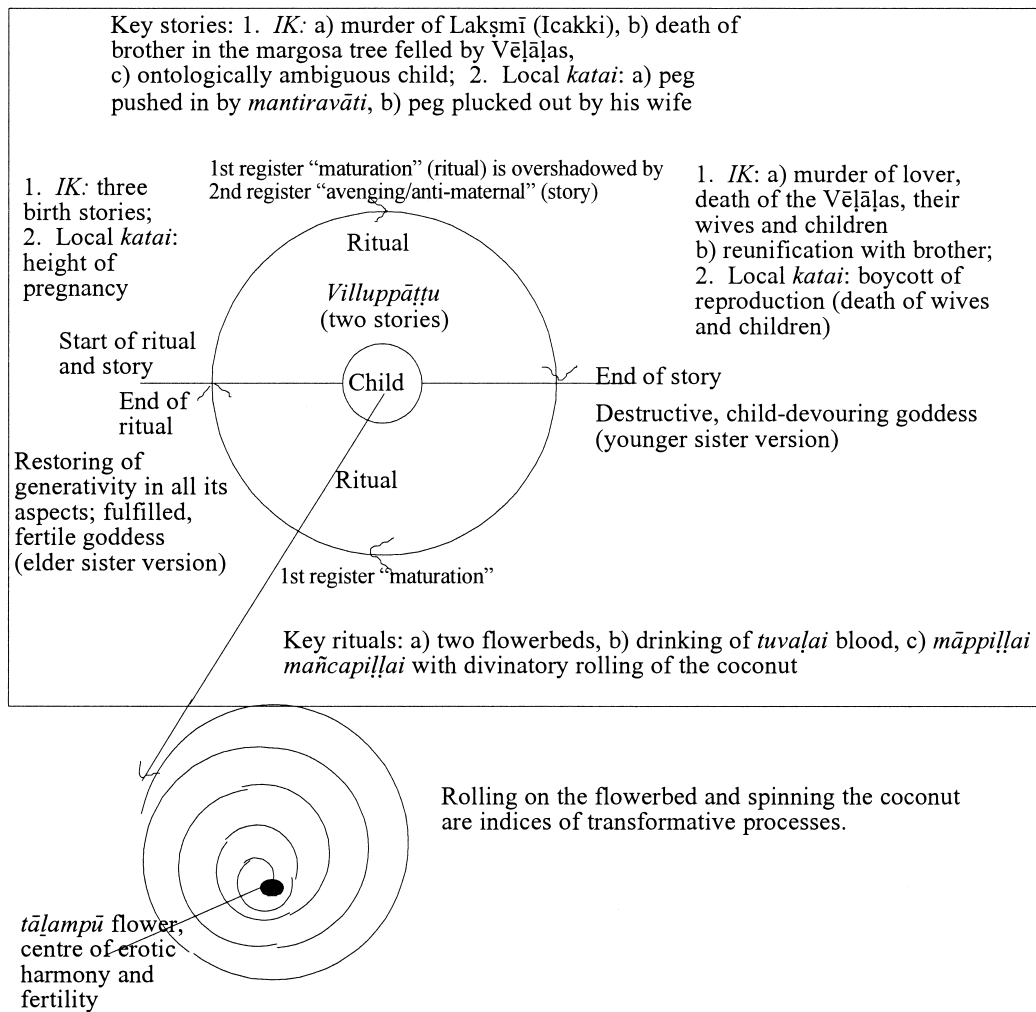
<sup>189</sup> It is the family of the husband who decide what is to be done in the case of mental or physical problems relating to childlessness, and in this case it was certainly not the woman herself who decided to undergo the ritual.

<sup>190</sup> Blackburn (1980:255), familiar with the phenomenon, makes the following point: "Because the possessing deity [...] is unidentified, people watch closely for clues."

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Köpping and Rao's observations (2000:10) relating to temple rituals studied by Marglin.

<sup>192</sup> For a detailed discussion, see Sect. 9.3.5, p. 335.

Figure 5: An enhanced synoptic diagram of the ritual–story complex



### 9.2.3 The Third Ritual Cycle

THE SECOND DAY, 8 MAY 2002

#### *The villuppāṭṭu*

The second day of the *koṭai* festival opens with a *villuppāṭṭu* performance. It is around 11:00 A.M. The group performs the stories of Pūtattār and Cuḷalaimāṭaṅ, Icakki’s story having been completed the night before. It seems as if the *villuppāṭṭu* is now being employed to entertain the villagers.

#### *The alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṅai*

—*The second alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṅai for Pūtattār*

Pūtattār, who has not received any attention since the evening *karukkal pūjā*, now puts in his second *alaṅkāram* appearance. Cuḷalaimāṭaṅ and Vairavaṅ, the other two subordinate deities, are also bounteously adorned.

—*The third alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai for Icakki*

The goddess appears to spectators in the same gorgeous *alaṅkāram* as the night before for the 1:00 A.M. *tīpārāṭṭai*. That this final *tīpārāṭṭai* is ritually weak is indicated by the reduced number of spectators for this second day of ritual. The climax of the *koṭai* festival was clearly the night before. What happened in those central rituals is something that the rituals of this second day cannot add substantially to. An analysis shows, then, that the climax does not necessarily coincide with the end point and that it is important to try to make sense of whatever clear markers there are of the ritual's organisation.

*The possession dance with protective pirampus and whisks of kamukam (areca)*

The direct sequel to the *tīpārāṭṭai* is a possession dance by the garlanded main pūjārī and his assistant. Both are equipped with a *pirampu*, which is later exchanged for a whisk of *kamukam*. Kantapiḷḷai, who usually is the first to be possessed by the goddess, does not join them. While dancing to the beat of the drum and the soft tones of the *nātasvaram*, the dancers occasionally receive gifts of white dhotis from the villagers. Then a big pot filled with water is set over a fire in the arena, where the possession dance is taking place.

*The third flowerbed ritual*

In design, the flowerbed to which the goddess is invited to come to play on is the same as the day before. While the goddess is thus disporting herself on the flowerbed, the water in the big pot is being heated preparatory to the *mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu* ritual. Though this final flowerbed is ritually subdued, during her rolling on it the goddess is again expected to find the *tālampū* flower.

*The villuppāṭṭu and possession dance*

The *villuppāṭṭu* group performs the story of Pūtattār and Cuṭalaimāṭṭa.<sup>193</sup> The dancers are equipped with the accessories of the deities of whom the *villuppāṭṭu* sings in praise: first with the *vēl* (spear) of Cuṭalaimāṭṭa, then with the club of Pūtattār. They are later replaced with whisks of *kamukam* and the protective *pirampu*. The *villuppāṭṭu* is accompanied by the drums, while the dancers dance with whisks of dry areca in hand.

*The mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu*

It is 3:00 P.M. We are nearing the close of the festival.<sup>194</sup> The second day of the *koṭai* festival is clearly anticlimactic. It is marked by a decrease in ritual expectations and tension, even though the actors have not yet shed their ritual identity. There is just one moment of excitement, when the *mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu* takes place; it is revealing that this segment is regarded as the highlight of the second day.

The turmeric (*mañcaḷ*) water, after a long process of being heated in the pot, is finally boiling. This is a sign that the goddess has emerged.<sup>195</sup> Indeed one might suggest that it is the goddess's own heat that brings the water to a boil.<sup>196</sup> Kantapiḷḷai, again possessed by her, dips a whisk of *kamukam* into the

<sup>193</sup> Blackburn's comments (1980) on the story of Cuṭalaimāṭṭa and the final part of the festival are valuable: "A more commonly performed narrative in the final slot is the Cuṭalai Mādaṅ story, which [...] is presented as a form of worship [287] [...] In the final slot [...] the [...] story produces a ritually weaker dance [287f.]. [...] the events with a type B emphasis are removed from the story when it is performed in the final slot [288]."

<sup>194</sup> "The final part of the *koṭai* includes the bathing in the turmeric water (*mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu*)" (interview [AK-H01, B, 529] with Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, in Paḷavūr on 15 December 2002). Cf. TL :3008, s.v. *mañcaṅṅiṅṅaiyāṭṭu*: "Play of sprinkling turmeric-mixed water at the close of a festival [...]."

<sup>195</sup> The main pūjārī pointed this out when he remarked: "If she does not come, the water will not boil" (interview [AK-HH.01, A, 659] with Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai held on 19 January 2003 in Paḷavūr).

<sup>196</sup> The main pūjārī confirmed this when he pointed out: "During her bathing in turmeric water, the water will come to a boil" (interview [AK-HH.01, A, 659] with Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai held on 19 January 2003 in Paḷavūr).

boiling turmeric water, jerks it over his shoulder and strikes his back, sprinkling the auspicious turmeric water mixed with herbs all about.<sup>197</sup> The main pūjārī follows suit. Other dancers, whether possessed or not,<sup>198</sup> also join in. The drum beats stirringly, accompanied by the strong tones of the *nātasvaram*. The dancers circle around the pot again and again, jerking the dipped whisks over their backs. Finally the whisks are thrown away. Asked about the meaning of the *mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu*, the main pūjārī replied:

There is a line in the *Icakkiamman Katai: mañcaḷ mukattu alaki*, “she who has a beautiful face for having it smeared with *mañcaḷ* paste.” [...] She feels very happy with the *mañcaḷ* when there is heat like that of a fire. She is happy when she feels the fire, just as we are happy when there is rain. She will bathe in the fire. (Interview held in the pūjārī’s backyard next to *pūtam-Icakki* on 9 May 2002)

“Bathing,” according to Narayan (1995:488), is “a common allusion to sexual relations in Indian folk narratives [...]” and turmeric (*mañcaḷ*), according to Rao (1986:148), “a symbol of femininity.” The scholars’ observations are supported by the *IK*, which mentions *mañcaḷ kuḷikka* (lit. “to bathe in turmeric”) in verse N1.1409: “Give me the money one [usually] gives for the pleasure of bathing in turmeric,” a euphemism for sexual enjoyment.<sup>199</sup>

That the *mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu* ritual bears resemblance to a ceremonial act conducted after the first menstruation must be assumed on the basis of a reference given in the Cre-A Tamil dictionary, where *mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu* is referred to as “a ritual bath in turmeric-mixed water for a girl who has attained puberty” (798).<sup>200</sup> Also relevant is what Marglin (1985) writes in her work on rituals in the Jagannātha temple in Pūri (Orissa): “[T]he women [after menstruation] will bathe [...; likewise] the goddess [...] will also be bathed and her body rubbed with oil and turmeric” (235). The same author adds: “The menses of the goddess takes place around the month of [...] May–June] usually before the bathing festival” (234). Although the rituals at the famous Jagannātha temple in Pūri are more sophisticated, there are recognisable similarities in the underlying concepts and timing.

### *The animal sacrifice*

The ritual reverts to killing and exacting fresh blood. Sacrifices of cocks made in return for divine favour are numerous. First of all, though, a black goat is sacrificed within the goddess’s field of vision. There is probably further significance to the sacrifices: Having made available all her life force for others, the goddess is once again empty. The extent of this can be gauged by the number of animals sacrificed. With the animal sacrifices the *koṭai* is at an end. It is 4:00 P.M. in the afternoon.

## 9.3 Notes on the Inner Logic of the Ritual System in Paḷavūr

In the following sections I attempt to exhibit the inner logic of the ritual system that I have described above. In order to do so, I follow the rituals as they unfold. An analysis of the system is greatly furthered by looking at its major components and junctures. I highlight those that the ritual specialists,<sup>201</sup>

<sup>197</sup> Concerning what is called *mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu* Blackburn (1980:234) writes: “The second form of possession [...] is standard [...]. It is known as ‘dancing with turmeric water’ (*mañcaḷ nīr āṭṭu*l).” The main pūjārī explained that for him the mere fact that he is able to sprinkle the boiling turmeric water on his body without the appearance of pustules is proof of his being possessed (interview held on 9 May 2002); cf. Blackburn 1980:234f.: “[T]he presence of the deity within [the *cāmiyāṭi*] prevents any burning.”

<sup>198</sup> Not everybody, apparently, is possessed. The police inspector for one seems to have been designated to dance, but seems not to be possessed by the deity. He appears to be dancing on his own, a form of dance called *taṇ āṭṭam* by Blackburn (1980:255).

<sup>199</sup> I rely here on the interpretation offered by Professor T. Naṭarājan, Maturai Kamraj University, and the bow-song bard T.M.P.

<sup>200</sup> Singh’s (1998:3638) characterisation of “*manjalneerattu vizha*” as a puberty rite, observed, for instance, by the Veḷḷalas of North Arcot, accords with this. See also Singh 1998:3642. For the puberty rites of the Śaiva Ceṭṭiyārs, see Singh 1997:318. In their rites, the “aunt pours *manjal neer* (turmeric water) on the girl’s head.”

<sup>201</sup> The term *ritual specialist* refers exclusively to the actors in the ritual who are responsible for its efficacy.



including the bow-song bard, identify as the most significant, and look at how these significant portions relate to the needs of those gathered for the ritual, the villagers. Such an undertaking is useful in the first place for understanding the transformative process and the highly original way experiences are organised within it. I have divided this ritual practice into various components, which include the goddess's self-recognition and her self-procreation, reorientation, and reintegration, and I suggest that once all the components are enacted the transformation can be said to have occurred. In this particular system, healing<sup>202</sup> seems to be understood as an external impetus, a stimulus generated from the outside, which sows the seeds for what follows.

Furthermore, the discussion also looks at how the local people experience and understand problems of reproduction within the cultural environment in which they live. I devote particular attention to the system of causes (etiology), in this case, the villagers' view of the sources of their reproductive problems. These problems are often attributed to demons (*pūtams*, *pēys*)<sup>203</sup> (see the local Icakki story; Section 9.3.4.2), and therefore the conception of how demons act in the human domain is integral to this ritual system.

### 9.3.1 Icakki Inside Meets Icakki Outside, Another Version of Herself<sup>204</sup>

The most relevant aspect of this multifaceted ritual practice is the two versions of Icakki.<sup>205</sup> The one version is Icakki-inside-the-shrine, enclosed in a world that is wild and inhabited by spirits. Here she lives in a state of hostility; everyone who approaches and challenges her is a potential victim. She is enclosed in a world of deep dissatisfaction, separation, and hungry emptiness—feelings she externalises by taking life. This side of her is very pronounced in both the *IK* and the local Icakki story. The second version is Icakki-outside-the-shrine—the diametrical opposite of the Icakki within. She is harmonised and a generative and fertilising presence, as seen by the fact that her image is displayed in an act of thanksgiving for having granted the blessing of offspring at the *koṭai* festival of the previous year. From the outset, the goddess inside the shrine is invited by the *koṭai* to initiate a transformative process towards the life-giving nature of the other version of herself, a lost side she needs to regain. By being shown her opposite self<sup>206</sup>—or rather, what she could become—she is made aware of the vitality of her erotic and fertile benevolence, which has been eclipsed by former events. It is not only my view that the face-to-face meeting of the two configurations of Icakki's identity results in an awakened awareness on the part of the Icakki-inside-the-shrine. The ritual specialists, too, consider that this is what happens: they assert that a transfer of power—or, we may say, of identity—from Icakki-outside-the-shrine to Icakki-inside-the-shrine has taken place.<sup>207</sup> In addition, they affirm that a transfer from inside to outside is mediated in turn by the priest on behalf of the Icakki inside, and marked by a sign of acceptance (in

<sup>202</sup> When speaking of healing, I consider, as Csordas (2002:3) suggests, that “the object of healing [...] is not elimination of a thing ([...] a problem [...] a disorder), but transformation of a person, a self [...]”; or following Krippner (1994:183), “[that healing is] attaining wholeness or harmony with the community, the cosmos, and one's body, mind, emotions, and/or spirit.” On the connection between healing and self-transformation, cf. Shulman and Stroumsa 2002. In their introduction these authors state: “[T]ransformation [...] means the healing movement towards a wider sanity [...]. [T]he very concept of healing in the context of self-transformation entails concerns of integration and voice” (ibid.:12).

<sup>203</sup> The two terms are used interchangeably by the local people, although they convey different meanings. *Pēy* may be the Prakrit loanword *peya*, from Skt. *preta* (spirit of a dead person [in limbo], and *pūtam*, a loanword from Skt. *bhūta* (demon). Writing in the year 1713, Ziegenbalg referred to *pēys* as “evil spirits” (see Nabokov 1997:299), in accordance with the contemporary usage of the word: “[...] throughout Tamilnadu the word *pēy* usually characterizes the spirits of people who [...] met an ‘untimely’ [...] death [...] which prevented their transit into the hereafter” (ibid.).

<sup>204</sup> For a description, see Sect. 9.2.1, pp. 286ff. above.

<sup>205</sup> We speak here of two complementary configurations of the goddess. They are often also designated as the younger sister version and the elder sister version, a categorisation that springs from the cultural outlook of the Tamils.

<sup>206</sup> For a definition of the term *self* as applied in this work, see Sect. 8.2, p. 274f., point 7 above.

<sup>207</sup> See Sect. 9.2.1, p. 289, n. 52.

the form of jasmine flowers).<sup>208</sup> This sign must be understood as her having taken notice of the existence of another version of herself, of which she has been unaware. Persuading the highly destructive, child-devouring goddess to meet her other self is the beginning of a process of signs working upon her consciousness—signs that have the potential to change her picture of the world and of herself.<sup>209</sup> This should be interpreted as a procedure for making her remember her connection to a human type of social behaviour, and more importantly, for causing her to be attracted to a harmonic cosmos that is generative and fertile. Both changes benefit the villagers, who desire her good offices, but they seem of no less benefit to the violent goddess herself, seeing that she has forgotten who else she could be.

### 9.3.2 *Alaṅkāram*: Generating Self-Recognition in the Goddess<sup>210</sup>

The self and its transformative qualities<sup>211</sup> have been discussed illuminatingly in a publication edited by Shulman and Stroumsa (2002) and in the article by Don Handelman (1995) titled “The Guises of the Goddess and the Transformation of the Male.” The parameters set by these scholars (particularly Handelman) are useful for exploring similar features in the *koṭai* under discussion. Given the ritual’s insistence that the goddess radically change, I shall try to show the actual process of her inner change, as determined within a ritual system that opposes a goddess who, in the legends about her, was notorious for violently blocking reproduction. The view that the *koṭai* invites the goddess to initiate a transformation into another version of herself has been outlined above. Each of the major ritual junctures contributes to this process—most particularly, the moments of *alaṅkāram* (ornamentation), which, I would argue, induce the goddess’s self-recognition. It is through the *alaṅkāram* that the goddess acquires her sense of self. In other words, the split goddess, whose self-awareness has been diminished, becomes conscious of who she is and what her relation to others is.<sup>212</sup> The *alaṅkāram* enables this process to unfold. It is thus not surprising that it is as a result of the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai* that the goddess first emerges.<sup>213</sup> The people’s emotional response makes her actively present. Decorating her with flowers initiates her change in the direction of the newly made terra-cotta figure.<sup>214</sup> The flowers fill her with the world of this figure.<sup>215</sup> Presented from without as a gift (*koṭai*), they effect a change in the goddess’s internal state. The garlanding attracts her attention, shows her the people’s appreciation of her, and so touches her emotions. It should be clear that the purpose of adorning her is not only to allow devotees *darśana* of her, but also to induce a process of self-knowledge within her, towards a form that people can appreciate and relate to emotionally. In the context of Andhra Pradesh, Handelman (1995:324f.) has pointed out that a goddess’s self-recognition occurs through “an external perspective that will tell her [...] how she is [...]” In our case, too, the same can be said: the impulse comes from without.

The *alaṅkāram*, then, is directed towards the goddess’s self-recognition and her recognition by others. She wants to be recognised<sup>216</sup>—a desire that she clearly expresses, for instance, in the *IK* at the

<sup>208</sup> For a description, see Sect. 9.2.1, p. 289, n. 51.

<sup>209</sup> This initial act of the transformative process begins with the *kumbhābhiṣeka* ritual.

<sup>210</sup> For a description of the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai*, see Sect. 9.2.1, pp. 290f.

<sup>211</sup> The transformative qualities of the self can be: “to shift, to split [parts], to unravel, to disappear, to cumulate new levels or parts, to disencumber itself of levels of parts, to refashion, deepen, or diminish its own self-awareness in changing contexts [...]” (Shulman and Stroumsa 2002:4).

<sup>212</sup> See the definition of “self-concept, or identity” in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* 14:838. My view owes much to Don Handelman’s essay on Gangamma (1995:326).

<sup>213</sup> The link between a god’s “coming into presence” and a “god’s awareness” has been described by Handelman and Shulman (2004:39). The authors state: “Śiva’s coming into presence, that is consciousness, is a primary, quotidian goal.”

<sup>214</sup> On the ability of emotional responses to cause profound changes in the body and brain, see Damasio 1999.

<sup>215</sup> The notion of a god’s being filled and emptied was introduced by Handelman and Shulman (2004:38). – Concerning the metaphoric link between flowering and a woman’s maturity, see Ramanujan 1995:35: “[A] woman’s biological and other kinds of creativity are symbolized by flowering.”

<sup>216</sup> On the need for recognition, see also Handelman and Shulman 2004. In an insightful analysis of the myth of Śiva’s

time of her divine appearance to the Ceṭṭi: “When you see (me)—don’t you recognise this woman?” (lines N1.1128-9; forest scene). Icakki wants to be seen; to be appreciated. Anṇatāṭci, the protagonist in the northern version N7, expresses this same desire when she complains that her husband, the Brahmin Āticēṣaṅ, had not looked at her since the day of their wedding. Here the implication is that he has not consummated the marriage. I argue that the people’s recognition of the goddess’s maturation, creativity, and richness brings her to life and makes her present.

This opinion is shared by the sixty-year-old bow-song bard T. Muthucami Pulavar (Nāṭār community), as is evident from the importance he attaches to the *alaṅkāram* passage of the *IK*. He sang this particular section of the *katai* for me during an interview I held with him on 10 May 2002. For him, the *alaṅkāram* passage is the most important part of the story<sup>217</sup>—the main highlight of it. It is at this point that possession by the goddess should occur:

[He sang:] “She appears, dressed suitably [...] in silk, the *mēkalai* around her waist. She wears gold jewels; she has oiled her beautiful hair. That deity with beautiful hair appears just like a moon.” [He continued:] “That young lady, that teenage woman—in order to beautify herself, she has tied her lovely long hair into a knot. She exposes the sacred *tāli* on her neck. She smears *mañcaṇai* [on herself]” [N10.1073/1079] [end of the demonstration]. First of all, God gives her the *mañcaṇai*. [He sang again:] “She smears sandalwood and applies red *kuṅkumam*. ‘O Ceṭṭiyār, stop here!’ That sweet-tongued Icakki, that deity, appears in such a way” [end of the demonstration]. If the deity does not come, I have to sing the part [that begins] “*tōṅṛināl* (she appeared)...” again in a special tune. Exactly at midnight I shall sing the part “*tōṅṛināl Icakkīyammai*.” If I begin with that line, it is where the power will possess me. At that time, too, the *pūjā* will be performed. The power of Icakki will enter a particular person. All are attracted by that time. The man who possesses the power of Icakki will begin to act.

I remember well that when T.M.P. performed the entire story at my request in November 2002, his body expressed the emergence of the goddess at this particular point of the story. I, too, his audience, responded emotionally to the tune and the power with which this passage was sung. Perhaps there was something at work similar to what Shulman and Stroumsa (2002:9) describe in another context: “to sing the poem is both to conjure up the presence of the deity within the self [in our case, within the bow-song bard,] and to be transformed.”

To conclude, the goddess is not merely what she appears to be. Her self-perception has been diminished. The focus on generating self-discovery within the goddess—a recognition of herself—clearly shows that the problem consists in her having forgotten<sup>218</sup> her relationship with the social world and its generative qualities. Most importantly, it presents a view of people’s understanding of how it is possible to induce an inner change in her. In this section, I have attempted to capture something of this and to display the

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adventures in the Dāruvana (forest of pine) the two scholars argue that Śiva must be recognised, and indeed is recognised, by the sages’ wives of the pine forest.

<sup>217</sup> His assessment of the importance of the *alaṅkāram* passage in the *IK* is not shared by all bow-song singers. The forty-two-year-old G. Muttuleṭcumi (Tēvār community), the bow-song singer of the *koṭai* being described here, and her husband S. Gopikriṣṇaṅ hold the revenge scene to be the most important: “The revenging part is the important part. [...] She avenges her being killed by the Ceṭṭi. We will cut short the story if we are asked to do so. [...] We come immediately to the place where she takes revenge. We will omit all other portions and will sing about the story where she took vengeance on the Ceṭṭi in the *ilaṅkam*” (interview held on the second day of the *koṭai*, 8 May 2002). Pakialeṭcumi, the Nāṭār woman from Teṟkukkūṅṭal in her sixties who provided me with the N2 version, declared for her part that the murderous act of Lakṣmī’s lover was the most important segment: [She sang:] *kal eṭuttu talaiyilēyē pōṭṭāṅ.... kaḷḷi nīyē cāṭci*, “He took a stone and killed her.... *Kaḷḷi* plant, you are the witness!” Thus while T.M.P. accords precedence to the ornamentation acts (*alaṅkāram*) and the divine appearance of the protagonist, the other two consider the antagonist’s criminal deed and its injustice as being central—the latter a choice of emphasis perhaps indicative of the fact that injustice and revenge figure prominently in the lives of individual members of Tamil society.

<sup>218</sup> The goddess’s forgetting that she had been a woman and originally had felt solidarity with women is a theme that Caldwell (1999:210f.) points out in another context, one relating to the closure of the eastern door at the Panayannarkavu Bhagavatī temple near Chengannur, Kerala. It is “a place where *guruti* was done by human sacrifice. A pregnant lady was the last person. [...] because of her pregnancy she was not sacrificed]. [F]rom then onwards it was decided [...], no more women. After that, [...] cows and goats were offered. Then it became chickens. Now it’s this turmeric water with lime” (an interview with an Ezhava sweeper woman at the Panayannarkavu Bhagavatī temple near Chengannur held by Sarah Caldwell).

“‘raw’ moment”<sup>219</sup> of the goddess’s self-recognition as translated into a performance. My video material (and the description in Section 9.2.1) of the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai*, which results in the transition to the flowerbed, makes the moment in which the *alaṅkāram* generates the goddess’s self-recognition and leads to her emergence in a body palpable. Bringing herself into visual presence allows the goddess to face herself in the world and consequently to re-create her sense of self. Yet the fact that the performance of the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai* is repeated three times suggests that its effects are far from lasting.<sup>220</sup>

### 9.3.3 The Goddess’s Self-Procreation: Icakki Rolls into Icakki

This section begins by recapitulating two points. First, the goddess is split from the fertile part of herself. Second, the goddess, having acquired an awareness of what has been lost in her own self, is ready to regain her vital core and re-create herself. It is the flowerbed ritual,<sup>221</sup> I would argue, that resolves the contradiction within the goddess’s self, with refined methods that guide her elegantly towards the goal. The interpretive possibilities of this ritual segment revolve around the highly anticipated goal of finding the pandanus (*tālampū*) and areca flowers (*kamukampū*), the ultimate moment of the goddess’s full self-procreation and self-recognition, in which the split self reveals itself within herself. My interpretation rests essentially on an understanding of the nature of the flowerbed. We can speak and think of the flowerbed as being the goddess’s fertile version of herself<sup>222</sup> offered to her by the villagers.<sup>223</sup>

Several points require closer attention. I shall begin my elaboration by an examination of the markers of the erotic and fertile aspects of the flowerbed. That the flowerbed becomes the locus of the goddess’s amusement or play (*viḷaiyāṭal*) is disclosed by the following words:

When she comes, she will play there. She comes out to play on this flowerbed. She is very happy to play on the flowerbed, [said the main pūjārī in an interview held on 19 January 2003. Asked what he meant by “playing,” he replied:] She is joyful. During the *koṭai* she comes out and plays. After the pūjā, at the time when the drums beat, she will be extremely joyful—in the afternoon, in the evening, and at midnight (*camakoṭai*). [Asked with whom she plays, he said:] She plays alone. If there is more than one, they are also possessed by this Icakki. All are considered to be one. The person who plays on the flowerbed belongs to our family.

That this key ritual<sup>224</sup> is sequentially closely related to the *alaṅkāram*, the moment of the goddess’s self-recognition, is most significant and makes perfect sense. The interwovenness of the two segments is also pointed out by the main pūjārī:

<sup>219</sup> Shulman and Stroumsa (2002:8) state: “We have no access to the ‘raw’ moment of transformation; what we have is a wealth of textualized materials.”

<sup>220</sup> Cf. Shulman and Stroumsa 2002:6, which discusses the impermanence of changes in the self.

<sup>221</sup> For a description of the flowerbed rituals, see Sects. 9.2.1, pp. 292ff. and 9.2.2, p. 311.

<sup>222</sup> That the pūjārī performs a *tīpārāṭaṇai* by circumambulating the flowerbed adds to the argument that the flowerbed *is* the goddess.

<sup>223</sup> It seems apparent to me that the ritual community is fully aware of the goddess’s state. If a parallel can be drawn with a childless woman within a Tamil family, the goddess’s infertility is a blight upon her people. A woman who is infertile is likely to be pitied and tacitly considered flawed and incomplete. The villagers evidently sense that when someone feels inadequate, the whole social group is affected. Obviously, the villagers mobilise on Icakki’s behalf. They attempt to satisfy the goddess in order to allow her to regain the vital core of her self. Towards that end, the ritual specialists must fill her with what she lacks. (This role of the caretaker is reminiscent of what might be called Nilan’s role of providing dynamic stability to his sister in the story. We may see them, then, as standing in for the brother figure.)—Up to the end of the crucial second ritual cycle there are altogether three offerings (*paṭaiṭṭu*): two flower offerings (*pūppaṭaiṭṭu*)—one each in the first and second ritual cycles—and one food offering (*poṅkal pariṭṭu paṭaiṭṭu*) in the second ritual cycle.

<sup>224</sup> Asked about the importance of the flowerbed, the main pūjārī replied: “In the *koṭai* festival Amman plays on the flowerbed. Therefore it is considered to be the most important ritual. [More important than other segments?] Yes, more important.”

When the deity comes alive, the flowerbed must be there in order to play on it. At the time of the *alankāram pūjā* Amman should come and play on the flowerbed. (Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Pīḷḷai, in the interview held on 19 January 2003)

As stated earlier, various markers point up the erotic and fertile aspect of the flowerbed. Apart from the flowerbed's own cultural meaning as a locus of love-making,<sup>225</sup> two botanical markers, placed in the centre of the uppermost layer, require closer attention: the *tālampū* and *kamukampū* flowers. These botanical markers are key elements. The *tālampū* flower (in classical Tamil literature known as *tālai* and *kaitai*, Skt. *ketakī/ketaka*, Te. *mugali*, Latin *Pandanus odoratissimus*, Engl. screw pine),<sup>226</sup> of a bewitching, strong fragrance,<sup>227</sup> clearly has highly sensuous overtones. S.M. Gupta (2001:63) writes about *tālampū* flowers: "Flowers of *Ketaki* are generally worn by young girls to win lovers."<sup>228</sup> The eroticism they arouse is illustrated by the following myth:

One day Siva was playing a game of dice with his wife Parvati. Parvati defeated him. Feeling ashamed he hid in the *Ketaki* woods and got absorbed in meditation. Parvati sensed his feelings and approached him to entice him back. With his eyes closed in deep meditation, Mahadeva neither saw her nor felt her presence. Parvati then approached him wearing *Ketaki* flowers in her hair. The sweet fragrance of *Ketaki* flowers distracted him. Getting annoyed at being thus disturbed, he cursed the *Ketaki* flowers. (Gupta 2001:62).<sup>229</sup>

<sup>225</sup> See my reflections on the first flowerbed ritual in Sect. 9.2.1, pp. 295f.

<sup>226</sup> Ta. *tālampū*, can be found as *tālai* (DEDR 3183) and *kaitai* (DEDR 2026) in ancient Tamil Caṅkam poetry. Both words refer to the same flower (see also the discussion on the etymology in Vacek 1999:153). Vacek (1999:150 n. 8) has counted the number of occurrences of these words in Caṅkam literature: "[T]he term *kaitai* appears only about 8 times (Akanāṇṇūru 3 times [i.e. *Aka.* 170.9], *Narriṇai* 3 times, *Kuṛiṅci* and *Kalittokai* have 1 each). The term *tālai* appears almost 40 times, the majority being in *Akanāṇṇūru* (9), *Narriṇai* (10), *Kuṛuntokai* (7) [i.e. *Kuṛ* 163.4], and *Kalittokai* (5). Several other texts have just one or mostly two occurrences (*Puṛam*). No occurrences are found in *Aiṅkuṛuṇṇūru*" (the brackets are mine). For an exact listing of the occurrences of the terms in Caṅkam literature, see the index in Lehmann and Malten 1992:173, 224. – *Tālai*, too, can be found in Tamil *kāppiyam* literature: *Cil.* 2.17, 6.166, 8.49, 22.68, 27.237 (see the indices in S.V. Subramanian 1965:164 and the *Cilappatikāram*, ed. U.V.C. 1978:684). On *tālai*, see also N. Subramanian 1966:425. – The female flower is of light yellow colour. Syed (1990:235) remarks: "Bemerkenswert ist die Tatsache, daß die Schraubenbaumgewächse [screw pine; B.S.] nur [...] eingeschlechtliche[...] Blüten kennen, die getrennt auf den männlichen bzw. weiblichen Pflanzen wachsen und daß die Inder *ketaka* und *ketakī* nennen, was auf eine Kenntnis dieser botanischen Gegebenheit hindeuten könnte." S.M. Gupta (2001:63) states: "*Ketaki* is a densely branched, rarely erect, evergreen tree growing in the low moist swampy places in the Andaman islands and on the coastline of India. The plant with strong roots and its trunk studded with short prickles, is aphrodisiac, and induces sleep." The natural habitat of *ketakī* is on marshy ground; see the Sanskrit literature cited in Syed 1990:230, 232, 234. – The *neytal* (seashore) lines in *Cil.* 6.166 provide us with evidence that the *tālai/ketakī* is native to coastal regions. – In *Tāḷakkuṭi*, where *Puruṣā Tēvi* *Icakkī* resides under the name of *Muppiṭāri Amman*, there is a *tālampū* growing close to her shrine.

<sup>227</sup> Its Latin name, *Pandanus odoratissimus*, clearly reflects the penetrating scent of this flower. Gandhi (2000:121) states: "The Keora [Hindi for *tālai*] is mentioned frequently in Tamil classics as having flowers which neutralize with their strong perfume the foul fish odour pervading the sea coast. The flowers are swan-like in shape and are worn in the hair. [...] Jehangir in his memoirs, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, [...] writes that [the] scent [of *tālampū*] is so strong and penetrating that it even obscures that of musk." The ability of the *tālai/tālampū* to neutralise fish odour is mentioned in *Cil.* 6.166, in the chapter on the seashore, "Kaṭal āṭu kātai": *kaṭarpulavu kaṭinta maṭarpūn tālai / ciraicey vēli yakavayi nāṅku [...]*, "There in a place confined by a fence of flowering screw pines (*tālai*) that drives off the foul fish smell of the sea [...]" (6.166-7). – On the penetrating fragrance of the *ketakī/tālai* blossom, see also Syed 1990:234.

<sup>228</sup> During my field research, this was confirmed by young Tamil women.

<sup>229</sup> The statement of T.M.P., bow-song bard and great devotee of Śiva, is quite interesting: "[...] *tālampū* is not suitable for the temple. It is a danger for Śiva" (personal communication). There is a myth in *Skanda-Purāṇa* (tr. G.V. Tagare 1992:44ff.) I.1.6.25ff., that offers one more reason why Śiva curses the plant: Owing to a curse by the forest sages, Śiva's *liṅga* fell to the ground, where it continued to grow in size (6.25) until it pervaded the entire universe. Both Brahmā and Viṣṇu decided to go in search of its ends in two different directions, Viṣṇu in the lowest regions and Brahmā in the highest (6.34). Viṣṇu accepted his defeat at not finding the end of the *liṅga*, but Brahmā decided to cheat, saying that he had reached the top of the *liṅga* (6.44). The *ketakī* bore false witness for him (6.55-8). For this falsehood, the *ketakī* flower was rejected by Śiva, who had meanwhile appeared, and he laid a curse on it that it never be offered again in his worship, despite its wonderful fragrance (6.63). This myth is also found in *Śiva-Purāṇa* (tr. Board of Scholars 1981:56f.), *Vidyēśvara-Saṁhitā*, 7.19ff. There it is related that the *ketakī* flower fell from the head of Śiva when he bursts out in laughter over the contest between Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Brahmā, in search of the summit of Śiva in his form as a column of fire, asked the *ketakī* flower to bear false witness, in the presence of Viṣṇu, that he (Brahmā) had indeed reached the top of the column (7.24-5). See also Syed 1990:233. As remarked by Gupta (2001:63): "The Nair girls do not use its flowers for adorning their hair because the plant was cursed by Śiva."

Asked for the meaning of the *tālampū* flower for Icakki, Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai (Ceṭṭi-Veḷḷāḷa community), the main pūjārī, stated in an interview held on 15 December 2002:

Icakki likes only that fragrance. Young snakes reside inside the *tālampū*.<sup>230</sup> [...] She likes everything that comes from the source of evil power. Icakki likes the fragrance of *tīyaśakti* (fiery power).<sup>231</sup> Without *tālampū* we do not allow this flowerbed [ritual] to be held.

This flower signifies bodiliness and eroticism. This meaning is further underscored by the other flowers and substances placed on the plantain leaf:<sup>232</sup> jasmine, the fragrant, tender leaves of the *koluntu* shrub,<sup>233</sup> lime,<sup>234</sup> the red *mañcaṇai* paste mixture, and the *kamukampū* (areca flower).<sup>235</sup> Interestingly, the areca flower in particular is considered to be a transformative substance related to fertility.<sup>236</sup> As remarked by Honko (1998:230) in his description of one of the segments of the Siri cult:

Soon it was the Siri women's turn to receive the areca flowers. [...] a few of them [were] already in mild possession. As soon as they got the areca flower, they began to rock it as a child in their arms.

<sup>230</sup> On the belief that the plant is inhabited by snakes, see Böhtlingk 1966:349, aphorism 6331: “*vyālāśrayāpi viphalāpi sakaṇṭakāpi vakrāpi paṅkilabhavāpi durāsādāpi / gandhena bandhur asi ketaki sarvajantor eko guṇaḥ khalu nihanti samastadoṣān*, ‘Ogleich du, o Ketakī (Pandanus odoratissimus), Schlangen als Behausung dienst, keine Früchte trägst, mit Dornen versehen und krumm bist, auf sumpfigem Erdreich wächst und schwer zugänglich bist, so bist du doch Jedermann durch deinen Duft ein lieber Angehöriger: ein einziger Vorzug macht ja sämtliche Fehler zu Nichte.’” On young snakes surrounding the *ketakī* blossom, see Syed (1990:231), who cites *Subhāṣitaratnaḥ* 10.33. – For further references to *ketakī* in Indian aphorisms, see Böhtlingk 1966, aphorisms 1159, 1719, 2083, 2128, 3897, 7093, 7607. – For a further source, see the Tamil *kāppiyam Cīvācintāmaṇi* of Tiruttakkatēvar (very probably not earlier than ninth century, Zvelebil 1995:169), in which the hero Cīvakaṇ—called to cure Patumai of a snakebite—in a discourse on the different types of snakes remarks that “a snake that smells like the *tālai* flower (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) belongs to the Vaṇikaṇ (merchant) type of snakes,” *tālit taṭamalar vaṇika nārum* (*Cīvācintāmaṇi* 1287.3 [ed. Po.Vē. Cōmacuntaraṇār 1967:733]). From the different sources we can perhaps draw a tentative conclusion that the pandanus flower has been traditionally associated with the Vaṇikaṇ caste. This assumption is supported by *Cil.* 22.68, which mentions the *tālampū*, a corruption of the old term *tālai*, as being, along with other flowers, in the hair of the demon of the merchant caste: 61 அரைச பூதத் தருந்திறற் கடவுளும்... 66 நாஞ்சிலும் துலாமு மேந்திய கையினன்... 68 (வெட்சி தாழை கட்கம மாம்பல் 69 சேட னெய்தல் பூளை மருதம் 70 கூட முடித்த சென்னிய ன்...) (*Cil.* [ed. U.V.C. 1978:492], Chap. 22, “Alarpaṭu kātai” (Conflagration of Maturai), 61, 66, 68-70; the text in parentheses belongs to the interpolation.), “61 And there was the demon (*pūtam*) of the kingly class, a victorious god [leaving the burning city] ... 66 He held in his hand a plough and a pair of scales, [emblems of agriculture and trade], ...70 (in his topknot tied together 68 [various] flowers: *veṭci*, pandanus [*tālai*], *āmpal* with the fragrance of honey, 69 *cētal*, *neytal*, *pūlai*, *marutam*).” The “kingly class” of line 61 are the Ceṭṭiyārs, who consider themselves of high rank. See also the *IK*, where the Ceṭṭi explicitly places his community on a par with petty kings.

<sup>231</sup> Tamils usually translate *tīyaśakti* as “evil power,” but I consider “fiery (*tī*) power” more appropriate and think that this is perhaps close to what the main pūjārī meant.

<sup>232</sup> See the exact arrangement of the different flowers, leaves, and substances in Figure 3, p. 295. Asked what significance this particular arrangement has and whether it could be changed, the main pūjārī could give me no explanation, but added: “From olden days we have been following this tradition—for what reason we don’t know. We don’t want to change it. We blindly follow the tradition. If we change the arrangement, Ammaṇ will get angry and will kill our family members” (interview held on 19 January 2003).

<sup>233</sup> Young women wear these leaves in their hair. Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi (2002:71) tells of a tale in which “[t]he fragrance [of the *koluntu* leaves ...] attracted a demon’s passion.”

<sup>234</sup> A lime is cooling (and so an object of attraction) for hot *pēys* (demons) who appear to passers-by in the forest (see the *katai* N1.1135-6). T. Natarajan, in his unpublished seminar paper (1986), writes that the fact they are demons is revealed when they ask for a lime.

<sup>235</sup> The whisk of areca is most important in the possession rituals of the Siri cult of southern Karnataka. On areca, see Hirschberg 1988:56: “B. [i.e. Betel] hat eine große Bedeutung im Lebensbrauchtum, so bei Geburt, Initiation, als Liebesgabe (wird die Betelnuß vom Partner oder der Partnerin akzeptiert, so gilt dies als klares Zeichen), bei Hochzeit und Tod.” For the areca nut in *yakṣi* iconography, see Bühnemann 2000:118f., where mention is made of Vaṭayakṣiṇi in the *Mantramahodadhi*, a deity whose iconography features an areca nut. Bühnemann remarks (ibid.:119) that the vision of this *yakṣi* shows her “asking the worshipper for sexual intercourse.”

<sup>236</sup> I am very grateful to Nir Avieli, graduate student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for the valuable information relating to similar beliefs in China having to do with the areca flower.

It is notable that this flower is placed diagonally across<sup>237</sup> the *tālampū*. Hart (1999:165) provides us with examples in early Tamil Caṅkam love poetry where two plants are described as intertwined, suggesting love-making.

From what has been said, it is apparent that the flowers of the uppermost layer in general, and the *tālampū* flower in particular, add to the evidence that the flowerbed is the goddess's vital self, and the *tālampū* and *kamukampū* its centre.

### *Rolling on the Flowerbed*

In order to understand the rolling on the flowerbed as a moment critical for the goddess's transformation, not only a description but also an interpretation of the process will be required. Given that the divine presence is figured and embodied in the flowerbed, I would argue that in rolling on it the split goddess rolls back into herself, filling herself with herself.<sup>238</sup> The act of rolling bears witness to a vital dynamic. It is a three-dimensional movement towards the heart of the goddess's cosmos, the centre of erotic harmony and fertility. In concrete terms, it is a movement into the layers towards the centre of the flowerbed—the location of the pandanus and the areca flowers. Finding these flowers is, in our interpretation, finding and merging with the fertile part of her split self.<sup>239</sup> Her physically burrowing into herself and fertilising herself, in a sexually suggestive manner, is an act of self-procreation, in which she reveals herself to be an androgynous virgin goddess.<sup>240</sup> This being an inherently ritual act, perhaps the flowerbed can indeed be seen as a kind of *yantra*.<sup>241</sup>

To conclude, the goddess is offered the flowery body in order to fill and fertilise herself. This interpretation fittingly applies to the concept of self-fertilisation as manifested not only by women both in the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai* (N4) and in version N7 of the *IK*, but also by most flowering plants.<sup>242</sup> My interpretation of the flowerbed ritual, then, is to view the goddess's sensuous playing (*viḷaiyātal*) as being an act of self-procreation,<sup>243</sup> during which the fertile self reveals itself within the goddess. This revelation is signalled by the discovery of the pandanus and areca flowers. We may say that finding herself induces a change in the goddess and makes her internal resources readily accessible. It produces intimacy, both physical and emotional, and brings her close to the people who desire her help. This can probably be considered the true moment of *alaṅkāram*.

However, the tension within the goddess's procreated cosmos is not fully resolved. Depending on the circumstances, it may become either potently fertile or turn aggressive.<sup>244</sup> This ambiguous state is clearly seen in the fusion segment at midnight, which will be discussed in Section 9.3.4.2 below.

<sup>237</sup> See Figure 3, p. 295.

<sup>238</sup> On the opening of inner space as a prerequisite for self-transformation, see Handelman 2002:246f. See also Guy Stroumsa's contribution in the same volume.

<sup>239</sup> On the womb or vagina being the flower par excellence, see Trawick (1978:141).

<sup>240</sup> The virginal goddess has long been a topic of discussion in Indological studies. With respect to Tamil goddesses, Shulman 1980 stands out. The author proposes that the Tamil goddess is "in some sense bisexual," and calls her "male-female hybrid" quality an "original conception" of virgin goddesses (ibid.:295). Cf. Nichter (1977:141) on the androgynous concept of *pūtams* in Tulu Nadu. See also my general discussion of Icakki's identity in Chap. 7 and, more specifically, in Sects. 7.6, 7.4 and 7.4.1. In Sects. 7.1 and 7.6 I stress the goddess's independent status; Sect. 7.6 concerns itself with her two configurations (male-female), corresponding emically to the pair of younger and elder sisters.

<sup>241</sup> See my reflections on the first flowerbed ritual in Sect. 9.2.1, pp. 295f.

<sup>242</sup> On self-fertilisation as it occurs in bisexual organisms, including most flowering plants, see *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* 10:619. On the concept of tree fertility in the translocal *IK*, see Sect. 6.4, p. 229.

<sup>243</sup> The "active presence of play in the acts of creation [...] in Hinduism" has been noted by Handelman (1987:363, s.v. "Play").

<sup>244</sup> We have ample evidence of the goddess turning aggressive in the various stories about her, either because she is scarred by men's physical aggression (N1, N4, N7) or otherwise misused by men (local Icakki story). – On an androgynous goddess's aggressiveness being seen as masculine, see Shulman 1980:295.

### 9.3.4 Reorienting the Goddess in the Presence of the Past: Icakki Relives Her Story and Meets the Murderous Spirit within Herself<sup>245</sup>

#### 9.3.4.1 The moment of fusion as a marker of ritual depth<sup>246</sup> and the turning point

In this section I shall be chiefly concerned with the goddess's reorientation and the manner in which it occurs. I argue that in order to become reoriented the goddess must re-encounter her own past, which has taught that regeneration is achieved and life gained only through murderous vengeance. The focus of this section lies in the moment, occurring at midnight, when the performance of the story, the drum music, and the possession fuse. Viewing more closely this moment of profound tension and violence will lead to an understanding of both the underlying therapeutic programme of reorientation and the concept of ritual depth. It will also provide the means of demonstrating how the local Icakki story, which is bound to a system of *memoria*, serves the interests of ritual depth by drawing the goddess and the villagers closer, to the point of making them directly involved with one another.

As a first step in this direction, let us consider the conclusion of the *IK*, which marks the starting point of the fusion. What we witness in this particular *koṭai* is an exception to the rule. In *koṭai* festivals held by the Vēlāḷa community, the *cāmiyāṭṭam* usually takes place at the moment of the Vēlāḷas' death.<sup>247</sup> The interviews with G. Gopikriṣṇaṅ (*kuṭam* player) and S. Svayamburajan<sup>248</sup> (bow-song singer) on 8 May 2003 at Paḷavūr confirm this:

In Nāṭār temples, the *cāmiyāṭṭam*, or the dance of the deity, takes place when the Ceṭṭi is murdered. (584) In Piḷḷaimār [=Vēlāḷa] temples they don't like this. They want it after their [= the Vēlāḷas'] death, that is, after they went to Kailāsa and received the boon from Śiva (586). Then only is the power of the deity (*cāmiyāṭṭam*) expected to come (K-L.02.A.587).

Be that as it may, in our context the fusion of the *villuppāṭṭu* performance and the possession ritual clearly begins with the transition from the translocal to the local narrative,<sup>249</sup> and centres on the local Icakki story rather than the translocal *IK*. Both are stories assumedly containing some underlying real-life facts in them, but it is the local Icakki story that the villagers identify with, for it is about their own village. Blackburn and Flueckiger state as much:

[O]ral epics in India have that special ability to tell a community's own story and thus help to create and maintain that community's self-identity (Blackburn et al. 1989:11).

It is thus no surprise that the local Icakki story is the central text of the *koṭai*. Given that it resonates more strongly with the local people, it is logical that the fusion, which marks the emergence of the goddess, should happen at this point in the performance. The need to finish the translocal *IK* shortly before midnight in order to begin with the local story is thus not accidental. We have seen that the lead singer skipped several pages of her script in order to keep to this schedule.<sup>250</sup> Independently of one another, both bow-song singers, G. Muttuleṭcumi and T. Muthucami Pulavar, pointed out that the emergence of the goddess occurs at midnight (*ucci nēram*). G. Muttuleṭcumi, telling about her experiences at *koṭai* festivals in honour of Cuṭalaimāṭaṅ, stated: "At midnight the deity possesses a person. The possession [...] will appear to a particular person, at a particular time" (K-L.01.352).

<sup>245</sup> For a description of the moment of fusion, see Sect. 9.2.2, midnight session, pp. 305f.

<sup>246</sup> For general remarks on ritual depth in *villuppāṭṭu* performances, see Blackburn 1980:237ff.

<sup>247</sup> The terms *Vēlāḷa* and *Karaiyāḷar* are used interchangeably.

<sup>248</sup> In the following I shall refer to him as SR.

<sup>249</sup> We are dealing with two strands of the story, the translocal and the local. This is important to bear in mind when attempting to understand the way in which the *IK* is kept alive. For the people of the *villuppāṭṭu* regions, the two strands are interrelated, in that they reflect an overlapping regional and local identity, and also a common understanding of the goddess, whom they imagine to be constantly on the move.

<sup>250</sup> See my description of the *villuppāṭṭu* performance prior to the midnight session.



Yet the possession is induced by the *villuppāṭṭu* performance. How does this work? The *villuppāṭṭu*, as it increases in speed, is indicative of possession by the deity. G. Muttuleṭcumi confirmed this: “When possession comes, we sing speedily” (K.-L.01.341). Singing quickly requires performing in the *pāṭṭu* (song) style, a style that communicates ritual depth.<sup>251</sup> The statement of the lead singer underscores my impression, noted above, that the *villuppāṭṭu* is a hunter, as it were, who lures the goddess into becoming actively present.<sup>252</sup> SR,<sup>253</sup> a renowned bow-song singer of K.K.Dt., in an interview held on 8 May 2002 (K.-L.01.A+02.A), also stressed the allurements that the *vil* exerts:

It is called *varattu pāṭṭu* (“a song for inviting [a deity]”). [...] The *pūjā* is going on. The *mēlam* is playing. It has some effect on the deity. [...] The lines must be sung with great speed. Then the power of the deity arises. [...] If we sing in praise of the deity, the power of the deity arises and she comes (K.-L.01.A.736).<sup>254</sup> [...] We have to play the instrument at a high pitch (K.-L.02.A.363). The power of the deity arises in response to our tune. That is what the bow-song is all about (366). We have to sing like that for some minutes at that particular time—that is all (368). And the *mēlam* also will be performed at such a speed (369). In that way we also sing and perform with the instruments at a fast pace. (372) [SR illustrates the tune.] If we change the tune to a slow tempo, then there will be no *cāmiyāṭṭam* at all (K.-L.02.A.375).

SR described the magic of his art when he compared the bow-song singer to a *mantiravāṭi*:

In a sense the bow-song singer is a *mantiravāṭi*. In a way they are one. (392). If we perform the programme for a full night we are constantly speaking about Icakkiammaṅ (394). We repeat her name again and again, the same way as the *mantiravāṭi* does (K.-L.02.A.396).

Much the same is remarked by Blackburn (1980:266): “[T]he ritual power of a *vil pāṭṭu* performance is no different from that of shorter oral genres, e.g., the *mantiram*. In both, the ability to verbally name a thing becomes manipulative control over it.”

That the goddess is aroused by words is also confirmed by the statement of the *kuṭam* player, G. Gopikriṣṇaṅ, in an interview held on 8 May 2002. Though he was referring to Muttār Ammaṅ, his statement holds true for any deity:

Only if the story is performed will the possession of the deity take place. The reason for this is that the person who is possessed by the deity has that power only after he has heard the sound of that particular story [being told]. If the performer sings in any other way, he will say, “This is not proper.” They expect the particular words of the story to be heard (K.-L.01.180ff.).<sup>255</sup>

From this statement it is clear that the correct wording evokes a memory. This holds especially true for

<sup>251</sup> There is a correlation between the *pāṭṭu* delivery style of dense text (a reflex of the text’s fixity) and ritual depth. On this connection between the *pāṭṭu* style and ritual depth, see Blackburn 1980:347ff.

<sup>252</sup> Perhaps the function of the musical instrument explains the name of the genre: *villuppāṭṭu*, translated as “the song of the bow (*vil*)”—a hunter’s tool, so to speak. Compare the “art of hunting” of Sri Lankan exorcists. Kapferer describes them as “seductive hunters of the demonic who deflect demons from their destructive course [...]” (2000:19). – Discussing the luring of a deity, the bow-song bard T.M.P., in an interview in *Puṇaikālam* (January-March 2002):103, pointed out yet another method used by the *villuppāṭṭu*, one not applied through the music but rather through the style of narration. However, this style seems to have been lost in contemporary *villuppāṭṭu* performances. In his demonstration of the two styles, he illustrated the difference nicely in a scene between Narada and a *rākṣasa*, in which the *rākṣasa* is asked to go to Śiva. In the old style, Narada, the emissary, gently approaches the *rākṣasa* and sings praises of Śiva, whereas in the modern style Narada simply commands the *rākṣasa* to come, saying “Come, come! Śiva is calling you. Come [with me]!”

<sup>253</sup> I had the opportunity to meet SR, whose name is so well known that I had already heard of him in Chennai from people working in the National Archives at Egmore. He is a sought-after bow-song singer of the modern *villuppāṭṭu* style, and was originally chosen by the temple committee for the performance of the Icakki *koṭai* I describe here. Born in 1956 (K.-L.02.A.603), and a later student of Taṅkacāmi Nāṭar of Alataṅkarai (K.-L.01.B.385) and owner of a textile shop, SR is a gifted bow-song singer. It is said that at Curaṅkapāraṅ Icakkiammaṅ temple of Karuṅkal he was able to bring Icakki into the presence of the devotees after forty years of non-possession. (K.-L.02.A.349). Icakki is his *kulateyvam* (family deity).

<sup>254</sup> SR gave an example to demonstrate this: “[T]he *kaḷḷi* plant is turned into a child [*kaḷḷitaṅai piḷḷai ākki*] and the music begins with these words (734): ‘O Ammā, who kills the Ceṭṭi, come, come!’” (K.-L.01.A.735).

<sup>255</sup> Blackburn (1980:266) writes in a similar vein: “[L]ocal people [...] stressed that the performance must be correct: ‘If one word is in error, the *cāmi* will not come.’”

the type B<sup>256</sup> goddess, who actually experienced what is being narrated. The goddess wants her story to be heard as she experienced it. After all, one of the functions of the *koṭai* is to make her life public. The transfer of suffering from a private to a public sphere is of crucial importance. Usually strongly discouraged from revealing their suffering to the outer world, women thus acquire a voice and enter the public domain.

In our context, then, what SR, G. Muttuleṭcumi, and Blackburn have referred to takes place at midnight. The *vil* and *mēlam* (drums) go on a hunt to lure the goddess out into the open. Yet it seems that bringing the goddess into the full presence of devotees likewise demands attention on the part of the ritual gathering. As remarked by SR (interviewed on 8 May 2002):

Each and every member in the audience (*sabha*) will be in a different mood. Some will be in a sorrowful mood. We have to make all the moods of the audience concentrated and focused on one point. [...] We try to make them attentive (K-L.01.B.018).

When I asked the bow-song singer G. Muttuleṭcumi (8 May 2002) whether she performs according to the taste of the audience, she answered in the affirmative, referring to the moment of the fusion:

Yes, did you see? At the end of yesterday's performance I played a particular tune, and each and everyone appeared joyful. We can determine the psychological state of mind of the audience from facial expressions (K.-L.01.514).

Obviously, the *vil* (bow) hunts not only for the goddess but for the people who have gathered as well. Its aim is an intimate meeting of the two. If the *vil* is successful in its 'hunt,' the bow-song group earns a good name for itself, as G. Gopikriṣṇaṇ stated (8 May 2002):

The people [...] will appreciate the artists, saying that they are good, because they evoked the power of the deity. One earns a reputation for the act of inviting [the deity]. Whether our programme is good or not, we earn a reputation only for this (K-L.01.B.057f.)

G. Gopikriṣṇaṇ stressed the visible presence of the goddess during the performance of the local story:

For example, yesterday during our performance the deity came in front of us and expressed enjoyment by nodding its head (K.-L.01.143). The audience was very pleased to see this, assuming that the deity was enjoying the story, and afterwards would be gracious to the people of this area. (Interview with G. Gopikriṣṇaṇ held on 8 May 2002 at the *koṭai* festival in Paḷavūr)<sup>257</sup>

The crucial point concerning the fusion of the *villuppāṭṭu* narrative and the possession ritual is the attention the fusion commands. If the narrative is punctuated by acts of possession during its performance, these are thrown into the spotlight. The dialogue between ritual and narrative energises the goddess's story to the point where its message attains ritual depth. The force of the *villuppāṭṭu* and *mēlam* pushes the narrative and the possession towards one another and unites them at a moment of maximum intensity. As a result of the fusion, the gaps segregating the worlds of narrative, ritual, and

<sup>256</sup> This, it will be recalled, is Blackburn's (1980) categorisation.

<sup>257</sup> The statement reveals something of the bow-song singer's dependence on the ritual specialist and the person who is possessed. If the latter, for instance, is not pleased by the *villuppāṭṭu* group, it is possible that he may not undergo possession. S. Svayamburājan (SR), G. Gopikriṣṇaṇ, and G. Muttuleṭcumi, in an interview held on 8 May 2002 (Paḷavūr *koṭai* festival), pointed out their interdependence (K-L.02.A.182ff.). SR said: "First of all the pūjārī should have sympathy for the artist (184). Suppose they don't appreciate the bow-song singer; then the pūjārī will not act in a manner of one possessed by the deity, no matter how the artist may sing (185). The pūjārī will say with disgust: 'What is this song!' So when we enter into that temple we [have to] convince first of all the pūjārī (187). They will [attempt to] convince him: 'O this temple is great because of you alone!' (189). Otherwise, no matter how [well] we sing he will not be satisfied, and will not show himself possessed by the power of the deity. This is the link between pūjārī and artist (194)." (K-L.02.A.259): "The pūjārī is the person who has the say—only the pūjārī, not the trustee. [...] The relationship is between us and the pūjārī. We will do what the pūjārī says." G. Muttuleṭcumi (K-L.02.A.168f.) confirmed this: "We are only assisting them, that's all. They will say: 'You sing this part of the bow-song at the time of a particular ritual.' That's how they arrange things (177). We only support them."

women and men seem to close. If the assumption is correct that both the suffering inflicted upon women by men and the subliminal accusations made by women against other women are usually perceived only by women, and only sporadically realised by men (although they control the local sociopolitical structures), then the moment of fusion bridges this gap and makes the invisible visible. Through the sharing of all groups in the true knowledge of the state of social relations, the whole village is activated. The fusion has revealed a most crucial point. Something incredible is going on. One witnesses an angry woman who has no maternal instincts—a child-killer. At first she horrifies the viewers,<sup>258</sup> but then they are led to ask what drives Icakki to such extremes. What causes the anguish of a woman like her? The *villuppāṭṭu*'s function is to expose the female psyche publicly, while the task of the ritual is to offer a simultaneous enactment of it. Where both meet, an imprint is left.

At the moment of fusion, the ritual attains an ineffable depth reflective of a cosmic conflict, a clash: the challenging play of life and death. It is here that the goddess challenges humans to exist. This challenge creates the tension that leads to ritual depth.<sup>259</sup> The fusion, which takes place on an “unspaced” plane,<sup>260</sup> thrusts the audience into the heart of existence, revealing realities that are folded into one another: *āvatum peṇṇālē alivatum peṇṇālē*, “Becoming is through the female; destruction is through the female” (a Tamil proverb).<sup>261</sup> It lays bare the fragile nature of humans' existential being and offers “true seeing.”<sup>262</sup>

Within the ritual process we are discussing here, the fusion marks a most interesting and significant point, one that Victor Turner probably would call “betwixt and between,”<sup>263</sup> an intermediate phase between no longer and not yet. For the goddess, this phase clearly imposes the urgent need to sever herself from her old destructive version of herself. However, in order to bring about a new state,<sup>264</sup> a ritually induced re-experiencing of the earlier destructiveness seems necessary. This conveys some sense of the complex ideas upon which the ritual process is based. The key to understanding this practice is the notion of regeneration by means of ritually returning to chaos and destructive forces.<sup>265</sup> If the reawakening and confronting is done intelligently, and with the intention to reintegrate, reorientation can occur. The conscious reliving of her past induced by the *villuppāṭṭu* can be seen to provide the goddess with an understanding of her demonic fragmentation. It allows her to reconsider her “feelings of interior asociality,”<sup>266</sup> her antimaternal attitude that rejects social relations and the reproductive capability of women. Reactivating her memory by calling up her story and its underlying motivation therefore leads her to a state of self-knowledge and redirects her destructive orientation. It allows her to see her role differently: as generative and beneficial to the world of human beings. The

<sup>258</sup> Note that at the moment of fusion the audience is induced to adopt the position of “under-distancing.” Concerning this notion, see Kapferer (1984:170f.), who distinguishes between an “under-distancing” (= “build-up of tension”), “aesthetic distancing” (= “balance of thought and feeling”), and “over-distancing” style of performance.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Blackburn's (1980:277f.) comments: “Ritual depth is then greater in performance which present the fierce and murderous aspect of the goddess and less in performances which project her maternal and benevolent aspect.”

<sup>260</sup> For a neurobiological explanation of the “unspaced” and “timeless” quality of ritual experience, see Laderman 1991:89. Referring to Barbara Lex (“The Neurobiology of Ritual Trance,” in: *The Spectrum of Ritual: A Biogenetic Structural Analysis*, ed. Eugene G. D'Aquili et. al.) and R. Ornstein (*The Psychology of Consciousness*), the author remarks: “It is believed that the ability to assess duration of time is lacking in the right hemisphere [of the brain] (Lex 1979). Ornstein (1972) believes that ritual practices employing the rhythms of singing, chanting, clapping, and percussion instruments evoke and place into preeminence the right hemisphere's functions and inhibit those of the left hemisphere, accounting for the ‘timeless’ quality of the trance experience.” For the term *unspaced*, see also Sect. 8.2, point 9 above.

<sup>261</sup> Here two configurations become visible: giving the breast and withholding the breast, or to put it differently, the loving mother and the devouring mother.

<sup>262</sup> This expression is Padel's (1995:78).

<sup>263</sup> Turner (1969:95) uses this expression to refer to liminal moments; see also Köpping 2003:188, “Dazwischensein.” This ambivalent state is a potent phase of transition “in der die Partizipanten in einen Zustand *zwischen* allen möglichen Werten und Orientierungen versetzt werden, der neue zum Teil verstörende Erfahrungen zulässt” (Jaeger und Straub 2004:289).

<sup>264</sup> Köpping (2003:189) holds not only that chaos is necessary in order to re-establish harmony, but also that it is necessary to newly establish harmony and form it again and again.

<sup>265</sup> Cf. Köpping 2003:191.

<sup>266</sup> This phrase is Handelman's (2002:239).

villagers know that life is secured if she understands that destructive activities are no longer necessary. Letting the goddess confront the murderous spirit within her serves to remind her how disruptive her destructive states are,<sup>267</sup> both for the outer social world and for herself. Her past indeed stands in striking contrast with the flowerbed she has tasted in the present. She is thus offered a choice. This creates an openness to reorientation that, in turn, is critical to the efficacy of the ritual.

#### 9.3.4.2 A system of *memoria*: The local Icakki story<sup>268</sup>

Let us now take a closer look at the local Icakki story, a narrative that is shaped by the theme of control and challenge (*arai kūvutal*). Our first task will be to uncover this narrative's underlying meaning. What is the nature of the experience it relates? The local story refers to the people of Paḷavūr. It expresses in words realities that apply to them and lays bare the etiological (causal reasoning) processes they engage in to explain them. The story is the villagers' own version of the causes of death, encapsulating as it does their religious notions of spirits wading into human lives and their explanations of what happens within and to people. At the centre of the story are not only the crucial relationships between humans and hungry spirits against the backdrop of the practice of sorcery<sup>269</sup> on the one hand, and between men and women, on the other, but also relationships internal to the self.<sup>270</sup> The local story of Icakki is clearly concerned with problems of birth and infant mortality—in earlier days very common ones in rural areas. It is about a woman who dies a premature death during pregnancy. But it is also about a fragmented and violent goddess,<sup>271</sup> about a sorcerer (*mantiravāti*), and last but not least, about murders of revenge. The two main characters of the story are Icakki, by nature a hungry spirit (*pēy*), and Nampiyār, a *mantiravāti*, who knows the real nature of the young woman. Nampiyār is seen as being able to identify and deal with evil spirits. He knows that evil spirits are inherently deceitful and attempt to disguise their identity.<sup>272</sup> He is considered to be a stalker of spirits,<sup>273</sup> someone who can immobilise and control such beings by sorcery.<sup>274</sup> It is believed that a skilled sorcerer can change a vampire-like hungry spirit into an ordinary woman if he inserts a peg into the top of her head.<sup>275</sup> If, on the other hand, a powerful sorcerer is not permanently successful,<sup>276</sup> this can be taken as evidence that he has a false end in view, and in the

<sup>267</sup> The goddess's guardian deities live in similar destructive states: first, Cuḷaimāṭaṅ, who greatly desires to have barren women under his control and to attack women who are seven months pregnant; second, Vairavaṅ, who goes begging with the severed head of the creator god Brahmā. See also Sect. 8.6 above.

<sup>268</sup> See the synopsis of this local story in Sect. 9.2.2, midnight session, p. 304 above.

<sup>269</sup> Kapferer's (1997) view of sorcery is helpful here. He argues that sorcery "illuminat[es] the processes whereby human beings create themselves and their realities. [...] Sorcery practices [...] are exercises in the construction and destruction of the psychosocial realities that human beings live and share" (ibid.:301f.).

<sup>270</sup> Regarding the inner social world of the self, see my definition of self in Sect. 8.2, point 7, above.

<sup>271</sup> On violent goddesses as "a common south Indian prototype" and as a "translation of wronged woman into violent goddess," see Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam 1998:78; see also Brubaker 1978:122.

<sup>272</sup> Recall Icakki's tactic of disguise in the translocal *IK*.

<sup>273</sup> N4, the *Peṅṅaraciyaṅ Katai*, characterises a *mantiravāti*'s task as quite legitimate (see the synopsis of N4, p. 15). Here even royalty becomes a client of the *mantiravāti* named Mantiravēlaṅ. Since the Pāṅṅiyaṅ king calls on him for help, we may assume that the *mantiravāti* indeed tracks demons down on behalf of the righteous. Still, sorcery, as anthropology has shown us, is ambivalent by nature.

<sup>274</sup> The bow-song singer G. Muttuleṭcumi, in an interview held on 8 May 2002, said: "[T]he deities are controlled by the power of magic" (K.-L.01.258). Immobilisation and control are achieved in our local story by drawing a *cakra* on the ground and driving a *kāñciram* peg into the top of Icakki's head. The *mantiravāti*, personifying a particular ritual order, should be considered as someone who controls whatever he regards as active, turbulent, unpredictable, and secret.

<sup>275</sup> Recall that, in the local story, inserting a peg into the top of Icakki's head restored her to humanity. After the peg was removed she returned to her demonic self, killing the baby and its mother. The claim of anthropology that all sorcery attempts to modify the life and circumstances of others is here notably confirmed.

<sup>276</sup> The bow-song singer SR also referred to the fact that magical devices may not be permanently successful in an interview held on 8 May 2002: "[...] However, magic is effective only for a certain time. He [i.e. the *mantiravāti*] can control the deity only for a certain time [SR mentions 3.75 *nāḷikai*; 1 *nāḷikai* = 24 minutes]" (K.-L.02.A.416). See also the synopsis of the N4 version, *Peṅṅaraciyaṅ Katai* (Sect. 2.4), where a *mantiravāti* from the hill station who had been requested by the Maturai court to come help control Icakki and her demonic group (which were threatening the city) fails in his attempt.

case of Icakki has enlisted her to perform actions on his own behalf.<sup>277</sup> It is then that Icakki takes revenge on him.<sup>278</sup> What is the nature of this attack?<sup>279</sup> Icakki's violence involves human-like emotions. The inner logic of the local Icakki story, which treats demons as real entities, calls for Icakki's attack to be interpreted as a revenge killing. Nampiyār's wife is ammunition in the conflict between Icakki and the *mantiravāti*.<sup>280</sup> Icakki—a bloodthirsty *pēy* who in her human life was not allowed to complete her female task of giving birth—is depicted as engaging in a deceitful manoeuvre—indirectly,<sup>281</sup> via the wife—so as to take revenge on the *mantiravāti* Nampiyār in response to his direct sorcerous assault. She

<sup>277</sup> That the *mantiravāti* is the target of Icakki's uncanny vengeance may indeed be grounded in the fact he has at times misused his powers of sorcery.

<sup>278</sup> Regarding Icakki's punitive acts, T.M.P. stated in an interview held on 10 May 2002 (K-O.02): "There are so many *mantiravātis* in the Nagercoil area. They do so many evil things. I'm also a victim of them. [...] Icakkiammaṅ is more powerful than these *mantiravātis*. (551) Icakkiammaṅ punishes such *mantiravātis*. But sometimes victimised persons are under the power of these *mantiravātis*. It is because of the ill fate of that particular person. At that time Icakkiammaṅ will take a closer look at that person, and when the time comes she punishes the *mantiravāti*." Note that Kanniyaṅkumari district, until 1956 a part of Nañčilnāṭu and joined with southern Kerala (formerly Travancore State) is, like Kerala, well known for its active practice of sorcery. Power struggles have also been known to take place between bow-song singers and *mantiravātis*. T.M.P. told me in a personal communication (10 May 2002) about one such incident (K-O.02.A.235): "The *mantiravāti* (sorcerer/magician) can [...] break the bow. I have told this in a previous interview [with Nā. Irāmacantiraṅ in "Puṅaikaḷam," January-March 2002, 102–115]. There is a village by the name of Vaiyirāvi Kutiyiruppu near Rājākkamaṅkalam. In that village there lived a great *mantiravāti*. He was a disabled fellow; he had only one leg. If any bow-song singer or any *nātasvaram* group went there, they had to go to his house for a courtesy visit. Then only could they start in on the bow-song programme in the temple. These things were usually told of earlier by the people of that village. I did not know the whole procedure before, even though I live in the neighbouring village. [...] When we were about to sing [...], the *mantiravāti* came there with the aid of a walking stick. The villagers gave him a special place to sit, next to the Muttār Ammaṅ temple. [...] He came, sat down, and within ten minutes the rope of the bow was cut. This is the first such incident in my forty years of service. It was a beautiful rope. When I tie the rope to the bow, I usually examine it and only then attach the rope, because there is a possibility of worms. Sometimes the rope may tear off because of this. Therefore I try the rope before. [...] There was no damage at all. Yet it was torn at the centre. The *kuṭam* player [...] repaired it and we continued the programme. [...] Only one man somehow understood what had happened. The programme was not stopped. [...] There was possession. Afterwards the people said that prior to this performance no one was strongly possessed, but that this time the possession was fine. [...] The eighth day of the *koṭai* festival [...] was [...] the final day. Before that, the *mantiravāti* died. He was a ferocious *mantiravāti*. [...] But we are more powerful than that *mantiravāti* [...]."

<sup>279</sup> Before I proceed further I would like to clarify some important differences between the terms *sorcery* and *witchcraft* as these are used by certain anthropologists. Kapferer (2003:10ff.) has defined the differences between these terms on the basis of the distinction between "protective and destructive" (11), corresponding to ambivalent qualities in the case of sorcery, and "unambiguously malevolent and death-dealing and highly immoral" (11) ones in that of witchcraft. He contends that "witchcraft is a potential quality of everyone and is deeply integral to the person [11][... and] social relations and arises from them" (12), "whereas sorcery [...] comes from outside" (11). "[W]itchcraft-like effects, such as the 'evil eye,' emerge in the intense spaces of everyday sociality and often involve close kin" (12). Lewis (1976) explains the differences in other terms: "[S]orcerers are people who employ magical spells, rites and medicines to achieve their fell ends. Their malevolent apparatus is tangible and external to themselves. Witches [...] do not need any of these aids; their power consists in their own innate psychic capacity to cause harm. Their weapon is malicious thought itself, not techniques which, in principle, can be detected and observed" (ibid.:71). On witchcraft (or sorcery) and its close relationship to accusations, aggression, envy, and social tensions, see Lewis 1976:81, 82. On witchcraft and its threat to fertility and sexual potency, see ibid.:83f.; cf. Favret-Saada 1979. – Lewis (1976) further distinguishes between *witchcraft* and *spirit possession*, defining the difference as a degree of "severity": "The possession attack seems on the whole to be a milder and less radically challenging assault than that conveyed by charges of witchcraft [...]" (89). He also distinguishes between the indirect "devious manoeuvre" of spirit possession and witchcraft's "direct strategy of mystical assault" (1971:118). Another important point is made by him (1976:83): "[T]he witch naturally takes his form and character from the society which conceives him. Thus he attacks what people at a given time and place hold in highest esteem, and people's fears of witchcraft correspondingly reveal their deep-seated cultural preoccupations." This statement clearly suggests that witchcraft is found where humans live under a cloud of uncertainty and unpredictability. For further references to discussions of spirit possession, see n. 286 below.

<sup>280</sup> The rivalry is confirmed by the bow-song singer SR, who stated in an interview held on 8 May 2002: "[Nampiyār], the *mantiravāti*, was a great man. In order to defeat him, Icakki appeared" (K-L.02.A.406).

<sup>281</sup> Taking revenge indirectly forms an easily detectable pattern in the translocal *IK*, too. There, as I have already proposed in Sect. 6.3, Icakki takes revenge on the *Vēlālas* by a roundabout means, via the *Ceṭṭi*. Remarkably, in both stories (the local and the translocal), the aim of the revenge is to put an end to human reproduction. Note that the range of cases to which such indirectness could apply is obviously not confined to demonic behaviour and spirit possession. For instance, in the *Dāruvana* story (recounted in Handelman and Shulman 2004), Śiva seduces the sages' wives in order to destroy the sages' power.

employs spirit possession<sup>282</sup> and kills that which guarantees the continuance of Nampiyār's lineage: his wife and unborn child.<sup>283</sup> While a clinical view would likely be that such deaths of mother and child are caused by some physical disorder, perhaps brought on by eclampsia<sup>284</sup> or an infection, the local story explains the cause as an attack by a demon<sup>285</sup> who has discovered the woman's vulnerability and susceptibility to spirit possession at the height of her pregnancy.<sup>286</sup> As anthropology has shown, pregnant women are perceived as being particularly vulnerable to unwanted spirit possession, be it because of an environment of deceit (for example, demonic mental states of others),<sup>287</sup> their own ambivalent feelings towards the unborn baby,<sup>288</sup> or their own fear of failing to meet others' expectations.<sup>289</sup> Whatever the

<sup>282</sup> During possession there may be either a complete or only a partial merging of the personality of the possessing spirit and that of the possessed. – For cases of spirit possession in contexts outside India employing a similar indirect strategy, see the analysis of the Japanese *Tale of Genji* in Bargaen 1997.

<sup>283</sup> As remarked by the main pūjārī in the interview of 15 December 2002: "In great anger she challenged Nampiyār [the Brahmin *mantiravāti*]: 'I shall put a child in my mouth, one on my arm, and one between my feet!' In order to show her power, she did so, to oppose the magical power of Nampiyār." – On the killing and devouring of children ascribed to witches, see Briggs 1996:241. Interestingly, in the Tamil culture, the womb and mouth are considered to be alike (Trawick 1978:206), and each has an ambivalent nature. The mouth may eat in order to nourish, or may express oral aggression. Likewise the womb may be reproductive, or may not. – Note that in Tamil society children are treated with great affection and concern. They are regarded as the later providers of their parents and the preservers of the family line and property. This child-centred model presupposes that reproduction is the only purpose of a conjugal bond. Of all models found in the history of conjugal relationships, it is by far the most favoured one, and is the one at the base of traditional Tamil society. The other main models are either economic-judicial or institutional-judicial in nature.

<sup>284</sup> Ger. "Gestose," EPH/HES/SIH; see [www.rund-ums-baby.de/gestose.html](http://www.rund-ums-baby.de/gestose.html) (21 March 2004, 23:29 P.M.). The opinions concerning the causes of eclampsia are varied. The syndromes are convulsive fits, headaches, and hypertonicity. I would like to thank the gynaecologist Dr med. Clas Schwenke, Hamburg, for introducing me to this phenomenon. I would also like to thank the folklore scholar Hedda Jason, Jerusalem, for explaining the relationship between pregnancy-induced hypertonicity and child mortality.

<sup>285</sup> Csordas (2002:131) categorises disease as a "biological substrate of distress," while demons are a "spiritual substrate of distress." He argues that the two views "account [...] for the different way the two [...] name the problem." – See also the synopsis of the local story of Naṭukaṭṭu Icakki in Sect. 7.6. In the story I recount there, the pregnant woman's death is caused by her seeing the terrifying Icakki.

<sup>286</sup> On the vulnerability to spirit possession during pregnancy and menstruation, see Osella and Osella 1999:204, n. 30. This, so the authors, we might expect, for "categories of women whose wombs/vaginas are at that moment particularly 'open'." On "unintentional" contact with spirits in a Tamil context, see Blackburn 1980:240, listing "[...] possession at puberty, during pregnancy, after intercourse, during childbirth, and as a result of frustrated sexual desires." – For a cross-cultural treatment of the relationship between reproduction and spirit possession, see Graham's (1976) article on "Pregnancy as Spirit Possession"; see also Boddy's (1989:185ff.) discussion on the Hofriyati Muslim society in Northern Sudan; and Bargaen 1997:88, which, referring to the Japanese *Tale of Genji*, highlights similar beliefs during the Heian era, as exemplified by the Empress Anshi's (927–964 C.E.) vulnerability to spirit possession at the height of her pregnancy.

<sup>287</sup> The issue referred to here revolves around the innate fears of pregnant women, who (according to Graham 1976:295) are most vulnerable to the responses of their social environment at the height of their pregnancy. Kapferer (2000:13), in a Sri Lankan context, similarly alludes to this psychological phenomenon: "They [the main myths of Kalu Kumara] suggest [...] that the plight of female victims is not so much a consequence of their own sexual desires and obsessions as it is a result of sexual obsessions and repressions arising among others, women and men, in the social context of the victim." This phenomenon is well known in the Tamil context, as in the cruelty of a teenage sister towards her brother's wife. Paramasivan (2002:116), in his article on the *Palaiyaṅūr Nili Katai*, points this out: ... ஒரு பெண்ணுக்குக் கணவனின் தங்கை கொடியவளாகவே தோற்றமளிக்கிறாள். பாலியல் பொறாமைமும், சொத்துரிமை மறுப்பும் பெண்களைப் பெண்களே எதிரிகளாக நினைக்கும்...; "[T]he sister of the woman's husband seems to be a cruel woman (*koṭiyaval*). Sexual jealousy and the denial of property rights cause women to become women's enemies." See also Ramanujan 1995:36f., pointing out this same theme in a Kannada woman's tale. Cf. Trawick 1990a:204: "[Sister and wife] compete for the affection of the same beloved man."

<sup>288</sup> The ambivalence of feelings towards the unborn child bespeaks not only an exterior disconnectedness resulting from the pregnant woman's "abnormal" state (a condition of "biological ambiguity" in which "two [are] in one," Graham 1976:297), but also a sense of inner strangeness. In this regard, it is not unlikely that the foetus is perceived as an insatiable *taker*, which, like a hungry spirit (*pēy*), snatches and fills itself up from without, or to be more precise, from the expectant mother's womb. The pregnant woman would then be inclined to regard the foetus as an uncontrollable inner being, which threatens her by sucking up food, attention, and her feelings, like an inner demonic force. The belief that children have innate magical capacities is in keeping with this. (Children may serve the aims of sorcery, as in the *mantiravāti*'s use of *mai*, a black substance said to be "concocted from the boiled and charred skulls of first-born sons" [Nabokov 2000:150].) Beyond the borders of India, the observations in Mary Douglas's study (2001) on the Nyakyusa are noteworthy: "A pregnant woman is thought to reduce the quantity of grain she approaches, because the foetus in her is voracious and snatches it" (96). – On the pregnant women's

cause of the spirit possession, the influences are seen to operate on or within the seized person. According to local belief, demonic aggressors attack both mind and body. In their active state they can easily be personified. Icakki's intrusive destructive force,<sup>290</sup> which had been contained, explodes, and goes wandering off by itself, not with the primary purpose of targeting Nampiyār's wife and child,<sup>291</sup> but rather to use them as a means of striking at her real victim. No matter what the mechanisms of the mother's and child's death are, it seems clear that the presumed traumatic possession by Icakki's spirit<sup>292</sup> reflects mainly the tension between men and women.<sup>293</sup> Again, as already seen in the translocal *IK*, it is the conflict between male and female that leads to the attack on the fertile centre of life. His pregnant wife's death is the destruction of the world Nampiyār has built. That Icakki is challenging the *mantiravāti*'s sorcerous power of control spells danger for his wife.

It is clear that Icakki's identity, as perceived by the people of Paḷavūr, harbours a demonic potential that can break out into furious and ruinous forms if she is aroused or challenged—the reason why the image of Icakki in the pūjārī's backyard is kept as a non-anthropomorphic wooden slab rather than in the shape of a human being. The local people know the potency of the “younger sister version” and try to prevent the intrusion of demons, those insatiable, inhuman strangers that are within humans as well as without. Through the collective local *memoria*, which takes mental note of the dynamic of violence and women's susceptibility to spirit possession at the height of their pregnancy, we can come to understand the intention and victim of the demonic.

Returning to the key point, we may conclude that the fusion is the dynamic moment of a challenge.<sup>294</sup> It addresses the crisis of being-in-the-world in a most direct way. The moment of fusion superimposes a view of the goddess's past upon both our own and the goddess's perception of the present. It allows the ritual gathering to share in the experience in their deepest selves. The potency for radical inner reorientation lies in such tense ritual depth. In my view, the end of the fusion is the decisive turning point. Its intention is to create new factualities.<sup>295</sup>

### 9.3.5 The Goddess Reoriented and Keenly Self-Aware<sup>296</sup>

If we proceed on the assumption that the goddess has arrived at a reoriented and keenly self-aware state, the main questions are how this result has come about and what effect the change has. In this regard it is first necessary to look at the effects of the central rituals that follow the fusion.<sup>297</sup> I focus here only on the most important ritual (during the dawn watch):<sup>298</sup> the tripartite segment consisting of a food offering

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experiences of intense relationship with and ambivalence of feelings towards a growing child in the womb, see Graham 1976:298. Beck (1986:97) describes the phenomenon of the ambivalence of motherhood from the Tamil point of view, and records a predominance of the aggressive mother in her collection of Tamil folk tales, where “of twenty-seven folk stories [...] twenty-four involve a mother who [...] eats the flesh of her own female offspring.”

<sup>289</sup> Note that Tamil women's status in relation to their husbands is closely connected with their role as child-bearers.

<sup>290</sup> In this story, the destructive force may be interpreted, too, as the jealous thoughts of a childless woman.

<sup>291</sup> That Nampiyār's wife is of secondary importance gains added credence from the fact that the narrative does not give her a name.

<sup>292</sup> On vengeful Ammans as possessing spirits, see Blackburn 1980:239. Cf. Misra 1981:152f. on the popular belief that *yakṣīs* possess human beings. – Note Burrow 1979:283, where “the possessing spirit” or “the state of possession” corresponds to the Tamil term *aṇaṅku*. On the concept of *aṇaṅku*, see also Chap. 3, p. 33, point 4.2 above.

<sup>293</sup> Paradoxically, Nampiyār's wife is the one who removes the peg.

<sup>294</sup> This can also be said of the fusion's various components. The *vil*, drum, and possession all jostle and challenge one another to the maximum.

<sup>295</sup> On notions of ritual inversion, see Köpping 2000:25, where such ritual intentions are formulated with the phrase “Lasst uns neue Tatsachen schaffen.”

<sup>296</sup> On processes leading from “non-self-recognition” to “self-recognition,” see Kapferer 2003:115.

<sup>297</sup> For a description of the ritual segments following the moment of fusion, see Sect. 9.2.2, pp. 308ff.

<sup>298</sup> I have already given an account of the underlying scheme of the other central rituals in Sect. 9.2.2, and therefore shall here

(*poṅkal pariṅṅu paṭaiṅṅu*), the *tuvaḷai* kid goat sacrifice, and the drinking of the kid's blood,<sup>299</sup> and briefly repeat the main features of the dynamic process at work in this functional unit in somewhat detailed terms, before moving on to the *māppiḷḷai maṅcappiḷḷai* ritual, the moment when the goddess finally emerges in her generative and social self.<sup>300</sup>

As has already been noted, the tripartite segment is the last of the three offerings (*paṭaiṅṅu*) made to satisfy<sup>301</sup> and reorient an unfulfilled goddess who died prematurely and childless in her human life. In describing this tripartite unit, I follow the order of the ritual.

There is first the food offering (*poṅkal pariṅṅu paṭaiṅṅu*). I interpret it as an invitation to the goddess to reintegrate herself into the world of the village, which is dynamic but stable. The food comes from the village.<sup>302</sup> Food offerings—here I follow anthropologists—strengthen the relation and simultaneously sever the demonic conjunction. Second, there is the kid goat sacrifice. I would argue that certain characteristics point to the kid goat being a human surrogate. Indeed it may be seen as a child.<sup>303</sup> To look at it as a gift and a final act of healing, in which the kid's pure blood is a beneficial vital fluid rather than a destructive one, would be one way to understand its purpose. It empowers<sup>304</sup> the goddess and becomes new life in the wombs of the childless women. It seems, then, only fit that the sacrifice of the kid goat takes place just before the *māppiḷḷai maṅcappiḷḷai* and divinatory ritual, which is the climax of the *koṭai*, and the moment when the goddess makes her life-force available to childless couples.

Yet there is something odd about the *tuvaḷai* kid goat and the drinking of its blood—some sort of witchcraft—probably owing to the ambiguous inner potency of the goddess and baby.<sup>305</sup> A peculiar inversion occurs:<sup>306</sup> the goddess's drinking the kid goat's blood upsets the normal pattern of a baby drinking its mother's breast milk.<sup>307</sup> Here it is not the mother who nourishes the baby, but rather the kid

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focus only on the most important one.

<sup>299</sup> For a detailed description, see Sect. 9.2.2, pp. 311f.

<sup>300</sup> See the description and accompanying reflections in Sect. 9.2.2, pp. 313f.

<sup>301</sup> I refer to the main pūjārī's remark; see Sect. 9.2.2, p. 312.

<sup>302</sup> Recall that the *puṭṭu* and *āppam* food items come from the Brahmin priest of the Ammaiappar temple. He is closely linked with the local Icakki story.

<sup>303</sup> I base my interpretation on the assumption that the Icakkiyamman worship is a cult that originally developed out of a tradition of honouring women who died when pregnant or as virgins (see Sects. 7.4.1 and 7.3.2, point 3), and so, according to Tamil belief, were not allowed to become fully female, whence they linger on in an unsatisfied and envious state. The *IK*, the *Peṅṅaraciyaṅ Katai*, and the local Icakki stories, which are all connected with the Icakkiyamman cult, strongly suggest as much. Yet one might be hesitant to follow, for the kid goat sacrifice we are concerned with, the views of Mahāleṭcumi (2003:54), who, in her recently published work on the Icakki story of the Kaṅṅiyāṅ people, relates the kid goat sacrificed in the *koṭai* festival directly to a scene in the *IK*: பவி கொள்வதற்கு முன் கள்ளிக் கொப்பாகிய குழந்தையைத் தொட்டிலில் இட்டு தாலாட்டுவதையும் இக்கதைப்பாடல் குறிப்பிடுகிறது. கொடையின் போது பவியிடுவதற்கென உள்ள துவளைக் குட்டியைத் [...] தொட்டிலில் போட்டு கணியான் தாலாட்டுகின்றனர். தாலாட்டும் போது இக்கதைப் பாடலில் இடம் பெற்றுள்ள தாலாட்டுப் பகுதியினைப் பாடுகின்றனர், "Before being sacrificed, the child created from the *kaḷḷi* branch was put in a cradle and it was sung a lullaby. This is also referred to in the folk song. The *tuvaḷai* kid goat that is going to be sacrificed during the *koṭai* festival is put in a cradle and a lullaby is sung by the Kaṅṅiyāṅ. In this lullaby he sings the lullaby passage of the folk story." Here, it seems to me, the *IK* is enacted in the ritual in a most direct way. This is not so in the *koṭai* festival we are concerned with. In our case, it is rather the local Icakki story that can be directly related to the kid goat sacrifice; indeed this story is indivisibly conjoined with the ritual in question (see Sect. 9.3.4).

<sup>304</sup> The pūjārī remarked: "The power of the goddess is aroused when the *tuvaḷai* kid goat is sacrificed" (interview of 15 December 2002).

<sup>305</sup> Popular belief stresses the internally grounded capacities of women. Examples of these abilities are found in the various Icakki stories. It is an inner resource of the goddess in the story of N1, for instance, that allows her to turn a *kaḷḷi* plant into a child, or as we read in N7, that allows *Aṅṅatāṭci* to become pregnant from her own swallowed saliva; moreover, in N4, that enables *Peṅṅaraci* and *Puruṣā Tēvi* to conceive with the Śrī *Laṅka* wind, without any biological need of male semen. From these stories it is clear that men do not share this resource; recall N7, where the Brahmin *Āticēṣaṅ* questions his self-impregnated wife *Aṅṅatāṭci*: "Does a woman become pregnant without a husband? [She doesn't.]" (N7.237-8).

<sup>306</sup> One may recall that this theme (of inversion) in the conceptualisation of the child is no less prominent in the *IK*, but there the child is equated with death rather than with life.

<sup>307</sup> Note that in Tamil culture, blood and milk are akin to one another: "[M]ilk is regarded as a refined extract of blood. [...] [E]ighty drops of blood make one drop of milk" (Trawick 1978:146). Note also the milk–blood equation in the case of milk-coconuts used as substitutes for blood sacrifices.



goat that nourishes the goddess, in order to give her power, particularly the power to bestow new life upon others.

A few words on the act of killing itself are in order here. As shown by the anthropologist Bruce Kapferer (1997), the moment of killing is “filled with the ambiguity of potency” (190). It is a moment that violently connects death to life. At the same time it severs life from death, and in our case causes the potentially demonic forces within the goddess to be exorcised.<sup>308</sup> Destructive violence thus becomes a transformative dynamic that creates new life.<sup>309</sup> The kid goat victim prepares, then, the way for the final transformative step the goddess must take so that she can give or release new life.<sup>310</sup> This has obvious repercussions for the domestic life of the villagers.

It is necessary to look now more closely at the effect the change of the goddess has and at the power her regained sense of self is supplied with. The *māppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* ritual, involving the divinatory spinning of the coconut, is the major reference point for this. Here the beneficent, procreative goddess emerges and brings an end to a crisis. Her journey has taken her from blocking reproduction to partaking of erotic harmony and fertility, and above all, to *aruḷ*, a “presence that is [...] full.”<sup>311</sup> This process has progressively unfolded in the course of the various ritual segments. By the end of the second ritual cycle there is, then, every indication that the goddess’s cosmos is profoundly social. It is important to note that at this stage Icakki creates her cosmos by internal dynamics of her own.<sup>312</sup> She presents herself as the “creative, virginal mother”<sup>313</sup> who directly helps childless couples. She invites couples to be on intimate<sup>314</sup> terms with her, and receptive to the offspring she has produced for them to implant. This is shown first of all by her transferring a plantain leaf that contains the edible *māppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* dolls and the blood of the *tuvaḷai* kid goat<sup>315</sup> from her lap to the couple’s lap.

Several points require explanation. I shall begin with an examination of the *mā(vu)ppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* pair of dolls. Stories collected by Mahāleṭcumi (2003) have provided me with the needed material. As we learn from the Māvīcakkīyamman narratives (ibid.:36),<sup>316</sup> the *mā(vu)ppiḷḷai* male doll

<sup>308</sup> Such demonic forces, nourished by envy and rage, are considered to reside in childless women who die prematurely. N7.864 provides a notable example. There Icakki’s demonic forces have materialised in her self-created child, which attacks the Ceṭṭi. Similarly, in N1 this demonic (male) offspring, a composite of angrily violent relations with the outside world (represented by the *kallī* plant-turned-child), is used to seduce and finally take revenge.

<sup>309</sup> For a discussion along these lines, cf. Kapferer 1997:190; also ibid.:206: “[V]iolence [...] is both a generative and destructive force.” It takes life in order to create life.

<sup>310</sup> It is in this act, it seems to me, that the goddess acquires the honour and status of maternity. – Cf. Blackburn 1980:215 on babies’ importance for transformative processes within violent women: “The appearance of the child as an agent for transforming the aggressive woman into a pliant mother is [...] found in [...] vil pāṭṭu narratives. [T]ransformation of the fierce to the maternal goddess.”

<sup>311</sup> The translation is Shulman’s (in Shulman and Stroumsa 2002:146).

<sup>312</sup> I have several times pointed out the external impetus needed to induce change in her.

<sup>313</sup> Shulman in his discussion of the “creative, virginal mother” (1980:305) equates this figure both with sister-ness, as exemplified in the seven sisters who are also seven mothers (ibid.:254), and with the bisexual creator, who is described in Tamil myths as a “male’ goddess [...] a virgin who creates alone, possessed of male and female components within her own nature” (ibid.:254).

<sup>314</sup> Cf. Luhmann 2001:136: “[The] divinity communicates with the worshiper through divination, omens, and indications. A relationship with divinity can feel very intimate, more intimate than any closeness to an ordinary body-burdened human. [...] That relationship can figure as more important, more powerful, and more trustworthy than those with mere others.”

<sup>315</sup> These are the main substances. For the other substances, see my description in Sect. 9.2.2, p. 313.

<sup>316</sup> The outline of one story is as follows: The Malayali sorcerer Pulaiyaṅ found a plantain leaf floating on a river. It contained a male doll (*mā[vu]ppiḷḷai*), put there by women who had performed the *avvai viratam*. The female doll (*mañcappiḷḷai*), which also figured in the ritual, had been dissolved in the river. The sorcerer picked up the *māppiḷḷai* male doll, uttered some mantras, and brought it home to his barren wife, asking her to consume it together with milk. Doing so, she became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter. Mahāleṭcumi (2003:36f.) additionally offers an alternative story: The wife of the sorcerer Kāḷippulaiyaṅ performed the *avvai viratam* with other women in her house while her husband was away. After the ritual the women took the *mañcappiḷḷai*, the female doll, with them, but they left the *mā(vu)ppiḷḷai*, the male doll, behind, asking Kāḷippulaiyaṅ’s wife to dissolve it in the river. She remembered the request only at dawn. Not knowing what to do, she mixed it with milk, consumed it, and became pregnant with a baby girl.

is made of rice flour (*māvu*) by women performing the *avvai viratam* (see *Auvaivār nōṇpu* in Section 6.3 above). If consumed with milk, it is said to be able to impregnate a woman who wants to conceive. From this we can draw conclusions: First, an actual power to procreate inheres in these dolls. Second, the *mā(vu)ppiḷḷai* (male doll) plainly must be eaten by a member of the opposite sex to have an effect. Third, the dolls acquire their power through the ritual practice, in our case through the inner dynamics and procreative resources of the goddess.

On the plantain leaf handed to the couple, in addition to the pair of dolls, is the *tuvaḷai* kid goat's blood. Blood and intestines are bodily substances that can serve the interior of others.<sup>317</sup> As one such substance, the kid goat's blood provides infertile couples the wherewithal to obtain offspring.<sup>318</sup> Thus the goddess produces the child. It comes from her lap and is received onto the laps of the childless wives.<sup>319</sup> This is the most direct help she can offer to a couple who have come with a desire to procreate.

Finally—as seems only fit—we are left with the important act of spinning the coconut, another part of the *māppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* ritual. Spinning the coconut is an act of divination<sup>320</sup> that provides information about the past, present, and future, and about matters beyond ordinary perception. According to the main *pūjārī*, it is an *aṟivippu*, an announcement that does not fail to come true.<sup>321</sup>

However, I also see in the spinning of the coconut, in addition to its divinatory function, an inward and outward spiral-like movement, as has already been described with regard to the rolling on the flowerbed. There are obviously close similarities between the repotentialisation of the goddess and the childless wife, both in the overall structure and the details of the rituals. Though the flowerbed ritual exclusively concerns *Ikakki*,<sup>322</sup> and the divinatory spinning of the coconut the couple, their vocabulary is the same. The spinning of the coconut can be seen as spinning the wife back into the space of the couple—or to put it differently, as spinning the couple into and through each other, and through the goddess's fertile cosmos as well. The decisive moment of the divinatory spinning is meant to unblock the forces of fertility<sup>323</sup> that have been dysfunctional in the couples. The spinning has a transformative dynamic that is directed by the goddess. It is she who spins or rolls the coconut. Waiting for the coconut to stop rolling and 'speak' the sign (*kuri col*) is a highly suspenseful and spiritually heightened moment.<sup>324</sup> 'Speaking' the sign is what makes conception succeed or fail. It is instrumental to conception, yet occurs before the fact. The goddess 'speaks' the sign and then creates the baby. The point should again be stressed that the transformation of the childless couples would, however, be unthinkable without the preceding transformation of the goddess.<sup>325</sup>

<sup>317</sup> I would like to thank Don Handelman, personal communication 2002 for this information. Accordingly, a piece of the intestines is rubbed on the foreheads of both wife and husband. This external use of an internal part of the body (during which something of the interior is revealed) may signal the transformation of husband–wife relationships, and of family life as a whole. On the notion of “inside out,” see Handelman and Shulman 1997, upon which I base my own line of thought. Note that in Tamil, domestic life is called *akam* (inside), in contrast to *puṟam* (outside).

<sup>318</sup> On blood as a “source [...] of [...] nourishment” for the developing foetus, see Leslie's discussion (1996:94) of medical texts.

<sup>319</sup> The reproductive technology offered at clinics treating infertility inevitably comes to mind. The two procedures represent different procedures of approaching the disorder. – A lap can be seen as a receptacle of *desiderata*; see Beck 1979:31, 32.

<sup>320</sup> A similar custom is found in the *teyyam* cult of northern Kerala, where astrologers use a coconut to set an auspicious date for their festivals. On coconut divination, see also Honko 1998:328.

<sup>321</sup> The three eyes (*muṇṇu kaṇ*) of the coconut show the divinatory result. This was stated during an interview with the main *pūjārī* held on 15 December 2002. He did not, however, disclose whether it is the direction in which the three eyes point or something else that yields the result. – For the coconut and its three eyes, see also Kapferer 1997:249. Note that a coconut is regarded as equivalent to a human head (Hiltebeitel 1991:84; Masilamani-Meyer 2004:205): the holes are the eyes and nose, the outer fibres are the skin, the edible white portion is the flesh, and the milk is the blood. Coconuts are also thought of as equivalent to babies; see Newton and Newton's article on “Childbirth in Cross-Cultural Perspective” (2003:12). They are compared, moreover, to childbearing wombs; see Laderman 1996:131, concerning a Malay context: “Hard and round like a pregnant womb, the coconut contains liquid and solid elements that mimic the fetus and amniotic fluid.”

<sup>322</sup> This is confirmed by the main *pūjārī*'s female relatives. The goddess alone experiences the flowerbed, though the outcome of this ritual, namely the goddess's regained split version of herself, is of benefit to all.

<sup>323</sup> On the problems of sexuality, see Sect. 9.2.1, p. 292, n. 65 and also Sect. 7.4.

<sup>324</sup> There is a similarity here to the interval in a game of dice between the toss and the moment when the dice stop rolling.

<sup>325</sup> This is supported by the fact that the divinatory spinning of the coconut, exclusively for the sake of the childless couples,

To conclude, the *māppiḷḷai mañcappiḷḷai* ritual brings Icakki's constructed, procreative self into full light. The goddess and, consequently, the childless couple are transformed. This has repercussions for domestic life.

However, the harmonies achieved by the ritual process are temporary, and the realities that create disharmony and emptiness naturally return within the environment outside the ritual. Their reappearance is signalled not only by the animal sacrifices at the end of the *koṭai* festival, but also by the silver bangles (*kaṭakams*) that are returned to the backyard of the *pūjārī*'s house and lie unworn on the ground in front of *pūtam*-Icakki,<sup>326</sup> who resides there as a wooden slab. Unworn bangles do not produce the jingling sound<sup>327</sup> that for Tamils is filled with overtones of eroticism and the auspiciousness of women in the seventh month of their first pregnancy.<sup>328</sup> This illustrates what Shulman and Stroumsa (2002:6) have already pointed out, namely that transformation underlies a notion of continuous strife.<sup>329</sup>

Let me add that the ritual specialists of the *koṭai* may not be aware of the internal organisation and logic of the ritual in the same terms as I have discussed them here, but they nonetheless enact the ritual in the same logical sequence, as an integral and complex set of actions. The accompanying DVD is meant to illuminate the internal processes from an emic point of view, and to the extent that it succeeds, exemplifies the power of visual anthropology.

#### **9.4 A Brilliant Strategy: The Supportive Elements in the Making of a Fertile Goddess**

Communication is usually understood as an exchange of information, and speech as the major medium of communication between humans. When communicating, we wish to express a range of meaning, and so say what we think, expect, and the like. If there is communication without speech, the transfer of meaning, to follow Roth (2003:420), is entirely dependent on the ability of the receiver to interpret the meanings of visual, gestural, or audio signs correctly. If the signs are to be understood, they must be unmistakable and vivid.<sup>330</sup> If at the same time the expectation is that the receiver will be alert and respond to them, they must be perceptible to the senses in a pleasant<sup>331</sup> and attractive form.<sup>332</sup> There is evidence that indeed this knowledge has guided the ritual specialists' strategy I am discussing here. This will be pertinent to this section, in which I consider the individual components of ritual and the message they convey. Paying attention to the language of signs as a form of communication leads to an understanding of the ritual specialists' intention and the realities upon which their ritual world is built. It can also show us what the efficacy of the ritual is based upon.

A study of the components of ritual and the inherent reference marks within them, then, is a worthwhile inquiry. How they are arranged and wielded gives us a working idea of the transformative

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is the final segment of the crucial second ritual cycle.

<sup>326</sup> See Sects. 8.7 (p. 280) and 9.2.1 (p. 285).

<sup>327</sup> The main *pūjārī* has pointed out the function of the bangles: "These bangles are possessed by the deity. If he [the embodiment of Icakki] wears the bangles, he can do the *cāmiyāṭṭam*. There must be a sound from the bangles. He has to wear the anklet; also to jingle [them] and make sounds" (interview).

<sup>328</sup> In Tamilnadu it is customary to decorate a woman in the seventh month of her first pregnancy with additional bangles. This ceremony is called *vaḷaikāppu*. On pre-delivery rituals observed by the Śaiva Ceṭṭiyārs, see Singh 1997:318.

<sup>329</sup> A similar insight has been formulated by Doniger (2002:68) with respect to "transformations in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa."

<sup>330</sup> Roth (1997:322) stresses that the more vivid a perception is, the more we are conscious of it, and the more likely we are to take as real that which is perceived.

<sup>331</sup> See Damasio (1999:78), who states that if a perception gives pleasure it generates "behaviors such as seeking and approaching," in sharp contrast to painful experiences, which lead to "freezing and withdrawing" from the surrounding environment.

<sup>332</sup> See Roth 1997:323.

process leading towards the manifestation of the goddess's social self. In the arena where this process occurs are two players in close relationship with one another: the goddess and the ritual specialists, including the *vil* bard. Signposts<sup>333</sup> are carefully placed throughout the series of rituals by the ritual specialists, seemingly to serve as reference points for the goddess, marking as they do the transition that the ritual has in store for her from an unfulfilled-antimaternal to a fertile goddess. Each marker contributes to the process of making the goddess conscious of her newly assigned role.

I shall begin by considering the most basic elements of this type. At the top of the list I place the flowerbed. The flowerbed commands centre stage. Its botanical markers are highly significant. Their positioning foreshadows the anticipated fertile self. In highlighting the flowerbed segment, however, I do not mean to suggest that other elements are less important, but rather that the flowerbed possesses a remarkable degree of internal dynamic. It generates values and activates emotions, wishes, and desires, all of which the participating devotees are also invited to internalise. There are other markers—first and foremost the freshly made terra-cotta Icakki figure—which also foreshadow the ‘new’ identity. By placing Icakki face-to-face with these signs, the ritual provides her the opportunity to merge with them. We can view the ritual arousal of eroticism and the increase of fertilising heat—manifested in the fiery torch, the red *mañcaṇai* paste, the pandanus flower (*tālampū*), the *mēkalai* long-life belt and the display of the goddess's breast (*karukkal pūjā*, in Section 9.2.1), just to mention the most relevant—along these same lines.

The choice and combination of the signs and their reference to one another show that the ritual specialists obviously know the relationships between signs and what each sign means.<sup>334</sup> As Dücker and Roeder (2004:33f.) stress, it is the specific *semiotics* of the ritual itself that enable it to enter into the old reality in order to build a new one. I for my part propose that the repetition of the signs is especially relevant when it comes to building this new reality. The repetition of any significant experience, such as that of the *alaṅkāram* moment or the flowerbed ritual, increases its embeddedness in awareness, which in turn develops the emotions associated with that sign.

Here we have arrived at the point where the apparent tendency of the ritual to provide stimuli that produce pleasure may be profitably discussed.<sup>335</sup> “Pleasure [...] is all about forethought. It is related to the clever anticipation of what can be done *not* to have a problem,” a postulate of the neurobiologist Damasio (1999:78) that serves our context well. Pleasures “open up to the world,” to cite the same author (*ibid.*) again. We find a fine example in the moment of the *alaṅkāram*,<sup>336</sup> which triggers positive emotions that lead to the goddess's emergence and her motivated exploring of her fertile self.<sup>337</sup> However, pleasure is not restricted to the moment of the *alaṅkāram*. It is also produced by the sound of the drum, by the touch of the fresh flowers, by the smell of the fragrant pandanus flower (*tālampū*), and by the taste of the cool *margosa* leaves.<sup>338</sup> All of these sensual perceptions are highly vivid. A mood is generated or modified. Heat is drawn to coolness,<sup>339</sup> or upon occasion, contrarily, heat maintains its heat.<sup>340</sup> But also dancing and the *vil* produce pleasure, the former in its uniting body and mind,<sup>341</sup> the

<sup>333</sup> The three terms *signpost*, *sign*, and *marker* are used interchangeably here.

<sup>334</sup> This knowledge is not necessarily transparent to the participating devotees. Cf. Jaeger and Straub 2004:290.

<sup>335</sup> I regard pleasure, along with Damasio (1999:76), as “a constituent quality of certain emotions.”

<sup>336</sup> On the emotional-cognitive effect of the external floral decorations on the internal state, see my reflections on the first *alaṅkāram* in Sect. 9.2.1, p. 291f.; also Sect. 9.3.2.

<sup>337</sup> This is evidence that the inner logic of the ritual system I am discussing here supports the conception that “emotion is integral to the processes of reasoning and decision making” (Damasio 1999:41), and that “emotion probably assists reasoning, especially when it comes to personal and social matters” (*ibid.*). For the notion that higher values are communicated by the elder sister version of Icakki, see Sect. 7.6.

<sup>338</sup> Here it is worthwhile looking at the text's and ritual's use of flower images. Whereas the *IK* text uses the language of plants (*kaḷli*) to voice accusation (Sect. 6.2), signify danger and rebellion, and to serve as a link to the world of hungry spirits (Sect. 6.4), the floral terms in the ritual (e.g. *tālampū*) allow one to explore associations with pleasure and fertility (Sect. 9.3.3).

<sup>339</sup> See the description of the flowerbed ritual in Sect. 9.2.1.

<sup>340</sup> See the reflections on the fiery torch ritual in Sect. 9.2.2, p. 310f.

<sup>341</sup> See the descriptions in Sect. 9.2.1, pp. 296f. and 298 under the headings “Another *tīpārāṭaṇai* resulting in the possession dance” and “The possession dance.”

latter in its bringing people together. Issues of intimacy and harmony are automatically addressed. Thus seen, the charting of signs is a seductive tactic that sets in motion a sequence of actions that can be expected to culminate in fertility. The goddess's moods and states are well known.<sup>342</sup> After all, this is not the first *koṭai* festival for the goddess. The *nērccai*, the gift of a freshly made terra-cotta figure of Icakki at the beginning of each *koṭai*, attests to the efficacy of the ritual specialists' strategy.

The sparking of specific pleasures is an important part of the inner design of the ritual,<sup>343</sup> but the building up of tension is equally essential. Humans are naturally inclined to respond to pleasures, but what about to a challenge? One cannot but respond to it, as has become clear from the fusion segment. Here the challenge is a signal that, given the underlying tension, requires a response. The efficacy of the ritual is thus founded on both the positive emotionality and the challenge being offered. Together they seem to draw Icakki toward transformation and higher values. We find evidence of this in the ritual depth during the crucial moment of fusion (see Section 9.3.4.1).

To conclude, from the outset the ritual specialists must have a clear vision of the pivotal moment that will occur at dawn. Working with variable components, they introduce signposts that suit their intent. It is a brilliant strategy, which quietly and effectively approaches the fertile self, a self that serves society. Towards this end, the ornamentation process (*alaṅkāram*) would seem to play an especially significant role; it does something from without that has an emotional-cognitive effect within. It may even be suggested that the *alaṅkāram*, as a form of recognition, both of oneself and by others, is what in the end produces the child.<sup>344</sup> From both the story and the ritual, one can deduce that the *alaṅkāram* and recognition are intimately connected.<sup>345</sup>

## 9.5 The Organisation of the Ritual and Its Repercussions for Domestic Life

As is seen in my tabular summary of the ritual sequence (Appendix A), the *koṭai* festival consists of three ritual cycles. Each cycle has its own peak moments: in the first cycle it is the flowerbed segment, in the second cycle it is the drinking of the kid goat's blood and the divinatory spinning of the coconut, and in the third cycle it is the goddess's bathing in water mixed with turmeric (*mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu*). The three cycles together have a climax of their own, which occurs at the end of the second cycle. The second cycle is at the same time an intensification of the first, since it multiplies the signs and draws the goddess deeper into the ritual. In terms of activity and mood, there is an increase of heat and a ritual arousal of eroticism. As regards the individual segments, I would suggest that each segment must take place in the specified sequential order. Each of the components is dependent on the one before to do its part towards producing a result. The goddess cannot emerge before she is made aware of herself in the *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭai*. She must not come out of her shrine before the flowerbed is prepared. Her

<sup>342</sup> This is suggested by remarks of the main pūjārī: "After the pūjās with the *mēlam* she is filled with an excess of joy. In the afternoon, in the evening, and at midnight (*camakoṭai*), these three times" (interview with Veyilukanta Perumāḷ Piḷḷai on 19 January 2003).

<sup>343</sup> Cf. Kapferer 2000:24, listing "[h]armony [and] the enjoyment and happiness of mutuality" as being among the elements employed in rituals in a Sri Lankan context.

<sup>344</sup> In terms of married couples, recognition could be understood to be a husband's identification of his wife as his goddess. The converse is the rule in traditional India: the husband is the wife's god, see for instance Leslie 1989:322f. Cf. version N7 of *Nili Katai*, lines 897ff.: "No mother, father, or god is equal to a husband. I had a great belief in you, and I never disobeyed you." Concerning the drive for recognition by a husband, see the Kannada tale of "a flowering tree" retold by Ramanujan 1995:22ff. – As for fertility disorders, there have been a number of studies investigating the role of neurotransmission in modulating emotional behaviour and reproductive activity. Neurobiologists attest that the brain of a person showing symptoms of depression releases dopamine and noradrenaline (also called "happiness transmitters"). Scientists assume that as a result of this release in the case of depressed women the production of the follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH), which is responsible for ovulation, and also of the so-called prolactin-inhibiting factors (PIH), is reduced. If the concentration of these hormones is reduced, ovulation and menstruation are obstructed. See Ramachandran and Blakeslee 2002:348f.; also Corr 2006:558.

<sup>345</sup> This applies to all three *alaṅkāram* scenes in the *IK* (N1.1039ff., 1460ff., 1683ff.; see also my tabulation in Sect. 4.7) and also to the three *alaṅkāra tīpārāṭṭais* in the *koṭai* festival.

becoming fiery should occur not at noon but in the middle of the night. The goddess's drinking of the *tuvaḷai* kid goat's blood, and equally important, the divinatory spinning of the coconut for the benefit of childless couples, cannot occur until the goddess has been re-created and made keenly aware of her fertile self. We can see that single modules cannot be rearranged without doing harm to the integrity and efficacy of the whole.

That this ritual system of the *Vēḷāḷas* is marked by great integrality is seen in its self-containment, its compact wholeness. The high degree of self-containment is immediately evident not only in the complex circular and three-dimensional flowerbed segment (Section 9.3.3), but also in the fact that the ritual courses around and re-establishes a link to the beginning of the legend of the goddess, thus carrying us full circle back to human fertility. In doing so, the ritual sets procreation against the fatal *dénouement* of the stories. Here we see a great ritual dynamic, with the movement being from death to new life. The ritual turns the goddess back upon herself. It is an inner dynamic that works towards change. What comes out at the end is different from what was before. Two examples will make this clear: First, the violent antimaternal goddess, after rolling on the flowerbed, returns to her shrine not bent on destruction, but rather eroticised and otherwise transformed. Second, the kid goat is slaughtered; however, its blood is turned into new life. At the end there are clear signs of the transformed goddess who gives up opposing reproduction, and of the transformed kid goat's blood that becomes foetuses in the wombs of the childless women. The childless women, too, then, are different than before. That this ritual system has repercussions on domestic life is reflected in the divinatory spinning of the coconut, meant to unblock the forces of fertility that have been dysfunctional in the childless couples who have come to ask the goddess for help. With the spinning of the coconut, the ritual opens up to the outside world, to the childless couples, who receive a most direct form of help from the re-created and now highly self-aware goddess.

I would propose that this ritual practice manages to do what the split goddess and the childless women could not have done by themselves.<sup>346</sup> This, in my opinion, is what makes the ritual practice of the *Vēḷāḷas* most powerful. It allows for an experience that is radically different from the social patterns outside the ritual. Thus the ritual can claim an independent status. In Handelman's (2004b:12) theory of ritual, the otherness of experience within the ritual compared to the experience outside the ritual world presupposes a ritual which not only manifests a high degree of self-organisation, but is also distinguished by its autonomy and power to bring about change.

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<sup>346</sup> I have pointed out several times that the impulse for change has to come from outside.



## 10 The Relationship between Text and Ritual

My purpose here will be to discuss the relationship between text and ritual, more precisely between the bow-song performance of the two texts (the translocal *IK* and the local Icakki story) and the ritual system I have described above. We have noted that there is a narrative incongruity between the translocal *IK* text and the ritual. Certain themes are restricted to the *IK*,<sup>1</sup> while others are assigned to the ritual. Moreover, we have seen that the climactic moments of the *IK* performance and the nodal points of the ritual do not coincide. It seems that the *IK* text and the ritual system are separable to such an extent that their interaction, and in particular whether the bow-song is able to bring the goddess into the gathering's presence, must be called into question.

There is only one long moment where this stand-off breaks down and the text and ritual converge. This is the part of the ritual occurring at midnight (Sections 9.2.2, 9.3.4), when the physical violence being sung of in the bow-song text is synchronised with the emergence of the goddess to the accompaniment of the drum. This is the only time that the bow-song and the ritual meet and their events concur. However, interestingly enough, it is not the translocal *IK* which brings about this conjunction, marked by liminal frenzy,<sup>2</sup> but rather the moment of transition from the translocal to the local story (the latter a direct sequel to the former). Certainly this fact requires attention, since it is of particular importance for understanding the relationship between the ritual and the two texts.

Part of the problem of the narrative incongruity between the epic *IK* and the ritual is that the *IK*, a somewhat altered form of the classical *Cilappatikāram*,<sup>3</sup> which narrates a story of karmic revenge and deification, has infiltrated the local Icakki cult. This cult, which originally developed out of the tradition of honouring powerful female spirits of the dead, namely virgins and pregnant women who died untimely deaths (see Section 7.4.1, *cumaitāñki kal*),<sup>4</sup> is focused on transformative moments in the annual cycle of the goddess Icakki (the *bhakti*-sided composite of such women), with a view to rendering her fecund, and through her, childless women and everybody else. The concept of death in a childless state is, of course, also present in the *IK*, but it is significant that, unlike with the local story, no such passage in the *IK* is enacted in the ritual. In other words, although the *IK* exhibits thematic parallels with the ritual practice and the local Icakki story, it is not possible to conclude that the *IK* and the ritual are isomorphic.<sup>5</sup> The disparate marriage of the *IK* and the ritual might be explained by assuming that the text has been superimposed on the ritual. Although both develop analogous themes that obviously resonate with one another throughout, each seems a distinct entity. Hence the odd sense of disjuncture when we try to make the narration of the *IK* conform to the inner logic of the ritual.<sup>6</sup> The underlying

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<sup>1</sup> For example, the sister–brother theme, specific to the *IK*.

<sup>2</sup> It is a state out of time.

<sup>3</sup> See Sect. 4.2.

<sup>4</sup> There is reason to assume that the worship of Icakki in Paḷavūr is only one stage removed from its origin, that is to say, from the tradition of honouring women who have died childless. In comparison, we might describe the Icakki worship in Muppantal as being two stages removed.

<sup>5</sup> Although some themes are found in both the *IK* and the ritual, others have no part in the ritual reality, as, for instance, the sister–brother theme (unless the ritual community itself is regarded as displaying what might be called the “brother traits”).

<sup>6</sup> A similar line of argument has been developed with respect to the names Nili and Icakki; see Sect. 7.3.2.



autonomy of each is probably also part of the reason why the *IK* gives rise to a different interpretation when part of the ritual.<sup>7</sup> In any case, although there is reason to assume that the translocal *IK* is not the text that is central to the ritual practice, but rather a kind of ‘prefix’ to the local story (its aim being to bring karmic revenge as a way to attain *mokṣa* into play, and make male–female tensions public), there is still every reason to consider the bow-song performance, as such, successful in what it sets out to achieve. This is evidenced by the fusion, the moment when ritual and text (albeit that of the local story) meet and synchronise, thereby letting the goddess emerge.

I have shown that there is an underlying disjuncture between the epic *IK* text and the ritual system. Nevertheless, one must not lose sight of the complex ways in which text and ritual do interact and how such interaction is constitutive in itself. As Kapferer (1997) postulates, the act of borrowing and the constructing of identity are dynamic processes that give to rituals both form and content. Our ritual specialists confirmed this when they asserted that their use of certain ritual markers and segments is due to their occurrence in the *IK* text. In this regard they mentioned, for instance, the ritual application of red *mañcaṇai* paste and the second day’s ritual of *mañcaḷ nīrāṭṭu* (bathing in the turmeric water).<sup>8</sup> And, although they did not explicitly point this out, there are three *alaṅkāram* scenes in the *IK* text, similarly to the *koṭai* ritual, in which there are also three *alaṅkāram* moments. It is quite clear that the two draw on each other and experiment with the borrowed material.<sup>9</sup>

When it comes to the forming of identity, the translocal *IK* again plays a significant role. The text links the ritual practice not only to a wider—that is, regional—context, but also to a social group, the *Vēḷāḷas* (the patrons of the *koṭai* festival).<sup>10</sup> This community figures prominently in the *IK*, but, interestingly enough, they are not mentioned in the local story.<sup>11</sup> This may offer a partial answer to the question of why, according to Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai (a *Vēḷāḷa*), the *IK* is indispensable. “The bow-song performance of *Palaiyaṇūr Icakki Katai* is a must in our *koṭai* festival,” he said.<sup>12</sup> The performance of the translocal story of *Icakki (IK)* obviously gives not only a special platform to women to make their mistreatment by men public, but also to *Vēḷāḷas* to recall their community’s fame, values, and social order.

To sum up, the way in which the ritual and the translocal *IK* interact seems to be an indirect one. In contrast, the ritual and the local story interact quite directly. Their fusion—at the ritual’s only juncture point with the texts—generates a dynamic moment of challenge that lays bare a crisis: the blocking of human reproduction by a powerful female spirit of the dead. This crisis is what is being dealt with in the ritual. Hence it is here that the ritual and the text (i.e. the local story) attain their full measure of profundity.

<sup>7</sup> Another way to look at this issue is, of course, in terms of the problem of the ethnographical present versus the past of the epic text. With regard to the Sri Lankan legend of *Kalukumāra*, Vogt Fryba (1991:172) describes how much individual indigenous interpretations of a text may vary during its enactment in a ritual: “Während laut den historischen Aufzeichnungen von Nevill (1954) im frühen legendigen [*Kalukumāra*-]Mythos offenbar die inzestuöse Beziehung des *Kalukumāra* mit seiner Schwester fokussiert wurde, wird in der heutigen Form in Heilritualen des Kandy Hochlands sein Werdegang von einem meditierenden Asketen zu einem *Yaka* [*yakṣa*] dramatisiert. In Heilritualen im Süden wiederum liegt der Schwerpunkt der Legende bei den sieben Königinnen, die der Gott *Sakka* dem *Kalukumāra-Yaka* als Ehefrauen gab.”

<sup>8</sup> I may refer to an interview held on 9 May 2002 with the main *pūjārī* (see Sect. 9.2.3, p. 317).

<sup>9</sup> Other segments of the ritual, again, receive their inspiration either from the contents of the local story, as attested in the food-offering (*poṅkal pariṭṭu paṭaiṭṭu*), or from religious beliefs, as seen in the kid goat sacrifice and the use of the protective *pirampū*. The latter is an expression of female fertility problems and the subtle link these have with spirit affliction.

<sup>10</sup> On the strong link of the *Vēḷāḷas* with the narrative core of the *IK*, see Chap. 3, conclusion.

<sup>11</sup> Although the local story is the text that lays the foundation for *Icakki* worship in *Paḷavūr*, constituting thus the identity of the village, the *Vēḷāḷas*, the patrons of the *koṭai* festival, are not mentioned in this text. – For (religious) centres whose founding is based on legends, see Remensnyder 2002:196f. The author discusses this phenomenon in the context of the Middle Ages in France.

<sup>12</sup> The interview was held in the courtyard of *Paḷaṇiyā Piḷḷai*, the treasurer of the *Icakki* shrine trust, on 27 March 2002. The importance of the *IK* for the patrons of the *koṭai* ritual is also attested by the following: first, Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai, when asked to tell the story of *Icakki*, recited the *IK* to me rather than the local *Icakki* story; second, in the local newspaper *Tamiḷmuracu* (18 February 2000), Uṭaiyār Piḷḷai not only published a summary of the local *Icakki* story, as one would expect, but also brought the reader’s attention to the translocal *IK*.

To conclude, leaving aside the fact that they exhibit two different schemes as far as the narrative of the *IK* is concerned, the text and the ritual in tandem reveal the fundamental process at work in the destruction and creation of human realities. Both recognise the taking of life and giving of life as the capacity of the female to respectively break with and create realities in life. Both text and ritual display the dimension of these capacities. This is a recognisable feature of the iconography as well.



## Final Conclusions

The present work has comprised basically three interlocking parts. Part One presented the *IK* story proper in the light of the manuscript material that was collected. Along with the edition of an unpublished palm-leaf manuscript (N1) and an accompanying annotated translation (Chapter 5), the story itself has been presented in the form of an encyclopaedic apparatus (Section 2.3 and Appendix C) which reveals the ‘complete’ story of Icakki, as preserved today in the *villuppāṭṭu* (bow-song) genre. The conspectus I have come up with demonstrates which portions of the text the performing bards and the tradition attempt to preserve intact and which are variable. The profile of a relatively fixed text embedded within a larger ‘complete’ text containing improvised variants thereby becomes clear. Such a profile is only natural for a text that is primarily performed orally. The apparatus yields a hidden mental text that underlies individual performances—a text which cannot, however, be performed, owing to restrictions imposed by the *koṭai* ritual frame. In addition, the apparatus offers a means of explaining non-linear and overlapping text segments, and identifying opportunities for potential creativity and innovation on the part of performing bards. At the same time, it indicates how certain more general questions concerning the evolution of epic texts might be answered.

While the earliest source of the heroine’s story necessarily remains vague (a seventh-century classical Tamil source, which alludes only to the core of the story), the picture becomes clearer around the early fourteenth century. From this time on a larger number of texts referring to the heroine exist, furnishing much more information about the narrative sequence. Having consulted these sources (Chapter 3), we can reasonably posit that there is a strong link between the heroine of the story and the renowned Saiva site in Tiruvāṅkāṭu of northern Tamilnadu. Hence this ancient story of the vengeful Nīli of Paḷaiyaṅṅūr-Tiruvāṅkāṭu must have branched off into northern and southern lines. The *villuppāṭṭu* (bow-song) tradition of the southernmost districts of Tamilnadu (Kaṅṅiyākumari, Tirunelvēli and Tūttukūṭi) took the *Nīli Katai* and endowed it with an integrity of its own as a sequel to the *Peṅṅaraciyar Katai* (Section 2.4, N4), the elder sister’s story, and in doing so made it the central text of the Icakkiyaṅṅu cult, which exists only in these three districts. I have sought to make clear that the *villuppāṭṭu* tradition is only one tradition among those that adopted the narrative core known of from as far back as the seventh century. This tradition not only adapted the narrative to cultic realities and a new regional context, but also institutionalised the Nīli figure as a representative of the region’s identity. Matrilineal descent was long an important aspect of the region. Hence, from the ethnographic point of view, the new formulation of the sister–brother bond and the heroine’s identity are quite compatible with the sociocultural environment. And while we may still not be able to provide a full explanation for the fundamental reconceptualisation of the heroine’s identity seen in the devadāsī motif, certain clues (see Parts Two and Three) have emerged from the analysis of the text and ritual. A common thread running through both of them is their concern with matters of female fertility. This may suggest a possible partial explanation of why the devadāsī motif was introduced into the story (*katai*). Paradoxically, this most auspicious and sexualised woman is, at the same time, not fully a woman at all. In one way, she is associated with notions of fertility; in another, though, she is separate from her own procreative powers. This seems to me the most obvious basis upon which to establish a link between the devadāsī motif (*IK*) and the

goddess (Section 7.3.2), whose proximity to the historical *yakṣī* concept of fertility (Section 7.3.1, points 2, 3, 6) is reflected in her name, Icakki.

My tabulating of the most important characteristics of a *yakṣī* (Sections 7.3.1 and 7.4.1) is not only descriptive of Icakki's own nature and actions, but also provides reason for assuming that Nīli and Icakki were originally two independent figures, each with her own distinctive traits (Section 7.3.2). We can assume that they converged at the textual level when the story of Nīli became linked to the worship of Icakkiyamman. This convergence with a cult and the constructing of a "southern" identity were dynamic processes that gave both form and content to the *IK* (Section 7.3.2).

The research undertaken in this work is neither an exhaustive inquiry into the background of the *IK* (also known as the *Nīli Katai*), nor has it pursued the north-to-south migration of the story; rather, it has sought out the tradition's socioreligious motivation for transmitting the text and keeping it alive as part of a cult. It needs to be emphasised that the cult was not in search of a story, but rather vice versa: the *Nīli Katai*, a text obviously of great importance for Tamils, was in search of a cult, in order to deify a human female who had died childless and was burdened by the violence of her death. At first glance, it is not clear why this story has remained so widely spread among Tamils down through the ages. The fact that the lesson embedded in this story is a consistent one should, in any event, arouse our attention, and suggests that the story's socioreligious meaning is deeply rooted. There are a number of indications that the story's force is perceived in its concern with fundamental processes that pose challenges to human existence and its continuance. Central to such a judgement is the Tamil view of female ambivalence, as enunciated in the earlier cited proverb *āvatum peṇṇālē alivatum peṇṇālē*, "Becoming is through the female, destruction is through the female." Its touching on the fragile nature of humans' existential being may indeed be the key to the longevity and popularity of the story. I deviate here from the usual modern reductionistic interpretations of the narrative, which seem fixated on the sexual innuendo in the story.

I have also looked at the text in its ritual context. The approach followed here has had as its working basis three performative 'texts': first, the goddess's translocal legend, the *Icakkiyamman Katai*; second, a local story of Icakki; and third, the *koṭai* ritual, a 'text' in a language of its own. By situating the two stories within the context of their living ritual performance, my ethnographic analysis has revealed the different ways in which they each interact with the ritual. One thing is certain: the translocal *IK* lacks a clear one-to-one correspondence with the ritual—an isomorphic fit. By contrast, the local Icakki story and the ritual fuse with one another in a most direct way. This congruity is such that the local story can be viewed as indivisible from the ritual, which cannot be said in the case of the translocal *IK*. Hence the *IK*, a variation on the classical karmic revenge plot, must be seen as superimposed on the local ritual system. However, for all the narrative incongruity and the odd sense of disjuncture when we look at the *IK* within the framework of the ritual, the *IK* is certainly not irrelevant. Its place within the ritual is prefatory in nature and constitutive of identities (Section 8.5 and Chapter 10).

There is a final point I may add to the discussion of the relationship between ritual and story. My ethnographic and textual analyses have revealed that the ritual strives for harmony and a culture of consensus, while the narrative portrays an individualistic culture, grounded in mutual tension and argument. In one sense, the ritual rewrites the two fatally tragic stories of Icakki in positive terms and towards practical ends. This shows that the aim of the ritual is to master the future rather than the past.<sup>1</sup> Whereas the texts offer us a cultural understanding of instability (N1.2027-44), rage storage (Section 6.2), and control mechanisms (Section 9.3.4.2), and plainly also of *memoria*, the ritual creates an alternative reality in response to the texts. It carries us from death to human fertility. This makes it all the more clear that the ritual practice is meant to assist human reproduction. When ritual intervention to solve problems of human reproduction is viewed from the textual perspective, something else is revealed, namely, the intimate relation among human existential continuity, stability, and identity.

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<sup>1</sup> Coming to terms with the past is clearly a concern of the text.

Human reproduction is a prerequisite for continuity, and continuity is supported by stability.<sup>2</sup> As the *IK* has shown, relative stability must be present. Instability leads to extremes in behaviour.

I have all along treated this ritual not only as a ‘text’, but also as a transformative practice focused on a split goddess so as to render her fertile—and childless couples and everybody else through her. By exploring the inner logic of the ritual system at hand, I have shown that it reflects a culture that is inherently therapeutic,<sup>3</sup> the therapeutic process being also a religious one. It commands forces which can transform rage, alienation, and blockage into fulfilment, cohesion, and growth. The fact that the practice builds on a concept of positive emotionality and intimacy (Section 9.3) suggests a basic underlying belief that negative emotionality is involved in reproductive disorder. Viewing the ritual as a motivational system that establishes a set of coordinates upon which to map out identity throws some light on the properties that make it fit for reordering experience. Such a perspective would entail a processing of emotion over a series of specialised adaptive modules, which function as a kind of input system, that is, as processors tasked specifically with administering proximal emotive stimuli (Section 9.4).

A ritual understanding of the flowerbed, foremost among the supportive elements relevant to the transformative process, rests on such a view. My analysis of its nature provides reason for assuming that the flowerbed is a generative space or body out of which the split goddess procreates herself (Section 9.3.3). Noteworthy, the performing of this act of self-procreation is seen as a form of play or amusement (*viḷaiyāṭal*) on the part of the goddess. A sensuous experiencing of the body’s vital potential seems basic to the goddess’s *viḷaiyāṭal* mode. (We may point out here the notion that the sensuous is part of the sacred.) That the *viḷaiyāṭal* experience (and the *alankāram* moment as well) is repeated three times is indicative of how the ritual goes about creating reality.

If we look at the *koṭai* as a whole, the intention of the ritual is clearly to bring cure and change, not only to the goddess herself but also to participants. My analysis has made clear that the self-procreation of the goddess and her reacquiring her potency are decisive factors influencing conception in participating women who have had a history of reproductive failure and long-term infertility. When the goddess is transformed, she becomes a creator who visibly transfers her creative power to the wombs of these (likewise transformed) women. The pregnancies achieved by the women seem to attest to the efficacy of the ritual.<sup>4</sup> We can see here a ritual dynamic at work that opens itself up to childless couples, and to domestic life more generally (Section 9.5). That this ritual practice accomplishes something that the goddess or the infertile women could not have achieved on their own indeed attests to a high degree of inner dynamic and a clear programme to bring about change.

No one would deny that a well-organised ritual is highly conducive to a successful outcome. However, one will not do full justice to this ritual system if its rich underlying understanding of the interaction of body and mind, and how this positively affects the reproductive success of the ritual, is also not duly recognised. To appreciate the full efficacy of the ritual it is necessary to note still further aspects of it that surfaced in the course of the *koṭai*. There is, for instance, the intimate relation between recognition and procreation, and the way erotic and violent forces are ritually engaged; these features have occupied us above and deserve remention here. The stress the ritual places on exteriority as being operative upon interiority, and the recursive structure of the whole (similar to an *antāti*), with the end of the story feeding back into the beginning of the ritual, lead one to regard these as two more patterns of this ritual system. It remains for us lastly to assert the significance of the underlying notion of ritual

<sup>2</sup> This points up the value of the earlier matrilineal marriage system, which was conducive to both procreation and dynamic stability. One may recall that the Nāñcilnāṭu Vēḷāḷas followed a matrilineal marriage system (*marumakkaṭṭāyam*) for 826 years, returning to a patrilineal tradition (*makkaṭṭāyam*) only in 1926; see Sect. 7.2.1 above.

<sup>3</sup> It is striking that in the ritual system we have been discussing here, the goddess is not transformed by marriage—submission to marriage is one well-known pattern of domesticating violent goddesses in India—, but by dealing with the two poles of herself and by curing her rage.

<sup>4</sup> The Icakki *koṭai* festival I have been discussing here was highly successful. According to the *pūjārī*, whom I visited six months later, all the married women who had participated in order to overcome childlessness, with the exception of one, had in the interim conceived.

depth—a phase of being in-between,<sup>5</sup> when the fundamental processes of making and breaking of realities can be observed simultaneously. That the potential for radical inner reorientation lies in such ritual depth has hopefully been shown by this work.

The *koṭai* ritual reveals society's expectations for reproduction, the specific requirements for reproduction to function, and the sort of intervention undertaken in case it does not function as expected. It is a long way from the *koṭai* ritual, where the power of deceased virginal females (*iyakkis*) is accessed to enhance fertility, to fertility clinics that practise in vitro fertilisation in India's mega-cities. Yet they can be seen as merely two different ways of intervention for acquiring control over the fertility process.

In no way do I claim to have exhausted the potential readings of the ritual and the story. They are still open to other equally plausible interpretations.

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<sup>5</sup> Note that the site of the ritual called *naṭukāṭu*, a place of cultivated forest that encompasses both the village and the “village's other” (Malamoud's term 1996:76) also falls under this notion of in-between.

## Appendices

### Appendix A A Tabular Summary of the Ritual Sequence

1st day (7 May 2002, Tuesday)

FIRST CYCLE: morning, afternoon

Morning:

Time	Ritual sequence	Place	Comments
8:25–9:00 A.M.	<i>pālkuṭam</i> (milk pot)	at the Ammaiappar temple	inaugural function
9:00 A.M.	1st pūjā to the newly made Icakki statue	at the Vēlar's (potter's) house	
10:30–11:00 A.M.	<i>cilai kaṇ tirappu</i> (eye-opening ritual) for the newly made Icakki statue carried in procession	at the Veyilukanta Ammaṅ (Ūr Ammaṅ) temple situated at the northern edge of the village	animal sacrifice
10:05 A.M.	<i>villuppāṭṭu</i> (bow-song) performance	at the Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukāṭṭu Icakkiammaṅ shrine in the middle of <i>pālai</i> land (wilderness, wasteland)	various stories of gods
11:00 A.M.	arrival of the newly made Icakki statue carried from the village in procession; placing her face-to-face with Icakki-inside-the-shrine	at Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukāṭṭu Icakkiammaṅ shrine	carried by the Vēlar (potter); at first the statue, dressed in a white dhoti, is not attended to.
	<i>kumbhābhiṣeka</i> for Pūtattār and Icakki		
11:30 A.M.	1.) for Pūtattār		<i>kumbhābhiṣeka</i>
midday	2.) for Icakki		<i>kumbhābhiṣeka</i> for Naṭukāṭṭu Icakki, and simultaneously a first ritual eye contact between the inside and the outside Icakki



	3.) for <i>Cuṭalaimāṭaṇ</i> and <i>Vairavaṇ</i>		<i>kumbhābhiṣeka</i>
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Afternoon (7 May 2002):

Time	Ritual sequence	Place	Comments
approx. 1:30/1:45 P.M.	<i>villuppāṭṭu</i> (bow-song) performance		
approx. 1:45 up to 2:00 P.M.	pūjā for the newly made Icakki statue from the village (now dressed in a red sari) + animal sacrifice (a cock) + Icakki-in-the-shrine's acceptance of the donated statue (Icakki-outside-the-shrine)		together with the ongoing (1) <i>villuppāṭṭu</i> performance, (2) preparations behind a red curtain for the 1st <i>alaṅkāram</i> (beautification) of Icakki-inside-the-shrine, and (3) cooking the festival food ( <i>poṅkal</i> )
2:00 P.M.	<i>villuppāṭṭu</i> continues		preparations for the <i>alaṅkāram</i> of Pūtattār continue
2:00 P.M.	cooking the festival food ( <i>poṅkal</i> ) at the <i>poṅkal</i> site		
2:15 P.M.	<i>villuppāṭṭu</i>		
2:45 P.M.	1st <i>alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai</i>		for Pūtattār and Icakki
2:45 P.M.	1.) 1st <i>alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai</i> : Pūtattār		
a direct sequel	2.) 1st <i>alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai</i> : Icakki		designing the goddess's facial expression: dissatisfaction
a direct sequel	3.) 1st flowerbed ritual		MOST RELEVANT FOR THE TRANSFORMATIVE PROCESS OF THE GODDESS The goddess comes out of the shrine to roll on the flowerbed and to find the <i>tālampū</i> ( <i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i> )
	4.) Once again a <i>tīpārāṭaṇai</i> for Icakki, resulting in the possession dance		
	5.) dance of the main pūjārī		
	6.) animal sacrifice for Icakki		1. a small brown goat 2. a bigger black goat 3. a number of cocks
	7.) dance with the <i>pirampu</i> (protective stick)		
End of the first ritual cycle approx. 3:30 P.M.			

SECOND CYCLE: from approx. 6:30 P.M./7 P.M. to 4:30 A.M.  
Evening (7 May 2002):

Time	Ritual sequence	Place	Comments
6:30/7:00 P.M.	<i>villuppāṭṭu</i> performance		
approx. 8 P.M. (two hours behind schedule); the sequence 1.) – 4.) takes two hours, up to 10:00 P.M.	<i>karukkal pūjā</i>		no <i>alankāram</i> or flowerbed ritual in the evening session
	1.) <i>karukkal pūjā</i> for Pūtattār		hereafter no rituals for him
a direct sequel	2.) <i>karukkal pūjā</i> for Icakki		displaying her nude breasts; Icakki beautified with lots of red <i>araḷi</i> flowers (oleander); almost no other colour
before 10:00 P.M.	3.) 1st fiery torch ( <i>tīpantam</i> ) ritual		Icakki comes out from inside her shrine.
up to 10:00 P.M.	4.) dance of the main pūjārī		without a fiery torch
10:00 P.M. up to nearly midnight	long <i>villuppāṭṭu</i> performance		The <i>Icakkiammaṅ Katai</i> is completed shortly before midnight.
nearing midnight	<i>villuppāṭṭu</i> : begin of the local Icakki story		a direct sequel to the <i>Icakkiammaṅ Katai</i>
shortly before midnight	story and ritual converge: fusion of <i>villuppāṭṭu</i> (local Icakki story) and ritual		The possessed man asks drums to join with the <i>villuppāṭṭu</i> . It is the moment in the story when the sorcerer drives the poisoned <i>kānciram</i> peg into the top of Icakki's head to control her.
up to 1:00 A.M. (8 May 2002)	<i>villuppāṭṭu</i> (last part for this night)		completion of the local Icakki story
	<i>varattu pāṭṭu</i> performance by the bow-song group and possession dance of an elderly Tēvār woman		
1:00 A.M. (8 May 2002)	<i>arttacāma pūjā</i> (final night puja 1:00.A.M.):		Kantappiḷḷai is still possessed by the goddess.
	1.) 2nd <i>alankāra</i> <i>tīpārāṭṭai</i> : a central ritual		only for Icakki; the entire inner sanctum is filled with flowers.
	2.) 2nd fiery torch ( <i>tīpantam</i> ) ritual		
	3.) dance of the main pūjārī		first with the <i>pirampu</i> (protective stick), then with the whisk of arca ( <i>kamukam</i> )
	4.) 2nd flowerbed ritual + flowerbed <i>tīpārāṭṭai</i> and dance		The goddess rolls a second time on the flowerbed, and intermittently dances, while also possessing the main pūjārī.

3:00 A.M.	5.) drinking the <i>tuvaḷai</i> (kid goat's) blood: a ritual segment which is part of the <i>poṅkal pariṅṅu paṭaiṅṅu</i> (food offering) and the food <i>tīpārāṭaṅṅai</i>		MOST RELEVANT FOR THE TRANSFORMATIVE PROCESS OF THE GODDESS Sequential order: (1) <i>poṅkal pariṅṅu paṭaiṅṅu</i> (food offering) (2) killing the <i>tuvaḷai</i> kid goat (by cutting the throat), plucking out the intestines, (3) drinking the blood of the <i>tuvaḷai</i> (4) <i>tīpārāṭaṅṅai</i> of the food
a direct sequel	<i>māppiḷḷai maṅcappiḷḷai</i> ritual + divinatory spinning the coconut		THE GODDESS SHOWS HER CREATIVE POTENTIAL; THE MOST RELEVANT RITUAL FOR THE TRANSFORMATIVE PROCESS OF COUPLES <i>tuvaḷai</i> kid goat on the goddess's lap; coconut spinning by the goddess
4:30 A.M. (8 May 2002) end of the second ritual cycle			

2nd day (8 May 2002, Wednesday)

THIRD CYCLE: morning up to 4:00 P.M.

Time	Ritual sequence	Place	Comments
approx. 11 A.M. (8 May 2002)	<i>villuppāṭṭu</i>		stories of Cuṭalaimāṭaṅṅ and Pūtattār
1:15 P.M.	<i>alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṅṅai</i> : 1.) for Pūtattār 2.) for Icakki		Cuṭalaimāṭaṅṅ and Vairavaṅṅ are also in their <i>alaṅkāram</i> form
1:15 P.M.	1.) 2nd <i>alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṅṅai</i> : Pūtattār		
	2.) 3rd <i>alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṅṅai</i> : Icakki		<i>alaṅkāram</i> form, as in the <i>arttacāma pūjā</i> the night before
	3.) dance with the <i>pirampu</i> (protective stick)		Persons other than Kantappiḷḷai are dancing.
	4.) dance with a whisk of <i>kamukam</i> (areca)		Kantappiḷḷai dances with a whisk of areca.
	5.) 3rd flowerbed ritual and the simultaneous boiling of water in the pot		ritually less important and weak; smaller audience
	6.) <i>villuppāṭṭu</i> + dance while the water is still boiling in the pot		song about Cuṭalaimāṭaṅṅ and Pūtattār. Dance sequence: (1) dance with a <i>vēl</i> and club (2) dance with only a dry whisk of areca (3) dance with areca and protective stick
3:00 P.M. (8 May 2002)	7.) <i>maṅcal nīrāṭṭu</i> (lit. turmeric-water dance)		a whisk of areca dipped into boiling water and jerked over one's own back

	8.) animal sacrifice		(1) a black goat (2) numerous cocks
End of the <i>koṭai</i> festival approx. 4 P.M. (8 May 2002)		at the Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukāṭṭu Icakkiammaṅ shrine	
	9.) The <i>kaṭakams</i> (silver bangles) go back to the village, to <i>pūtam-</i> Icakki.	in the pūjārī's backyard in the village	They are not worn any more, but rather lie on the floor in front of Icakki, who resides there in the form of a wooden slab.



Photo 1: *Villuppāṭṭu* bow-song group



Photo 2: Memorial of the seventy *Vēḷāḷas* at Paḷaiyaṅūr-Tiruvāḷāṅkāṭu





Photo 3: Terra-cotta figures of Icakki at Kiṭaṅkaṭi Naṭukāṭṭu Icakkiammaṅ shrine, Paḷavūr



Photo 4: Flowerbed at the *koṭai* festival, Paḷavūr





Photo 5: First fiery torch possession dance at the *koṭai* festival, Paḷavūr



Photo 6: Second *alaṅkāram* of the goddess (1 A.M.) at the *koṭai* festival, Paḷavūr





Photo 7: *Māppiḷai mañcappiḷai* ritual with divination (after 3 A.M.) at the *koṭai* festival, Paḷavūr





## Appendix B

### A Tabular Comparison of Text Versions by Topic

The following tabular comparison is offered as an overview of how the various versions of the *IK* differ from or accord with one another in selected topics and episodes featured in them.

- N1: (devadāsī-) margosa leaf-plough  
N2: (devadāsī-) margosa leaf-plough  
N5: (devadāsī-) margosa leaf-fire (hybrid version)  
N6: (devadāsī-) margosa leaf-fire (hybrid version)  
N7: (self-impregnated wife-) sword-fire  
N8: (devadāsī-) margosa leaf-plough  
N9: (devadāsī-) sword-fire (hybrid version)  
N10: (devadāsī-) margosa leaf-plough

The text material compared by topics:

**TOPIC 1:** Nīli, as she matures sexually, fears people’s gossip and leaves her brother Nīlaṅ.

- N1, N2, N8, N10: The versions narrate the entire episode: Nīli, now sexually mature, fears people’s gossip and leaves her brother. She asks Śiva for a cloth and goes to Ceṅkāṭu.  
N5, N6: The episode appears rudimentarily: N5 mentions merely Icakki’s sexual maturation. The N6 text contributes to this episode only by pointing out that the brother and sister are 6 years old.  
N7, N9: The entire episode is absent.

**TOPIC 2:** Nīlaṅ’s death and the felling of the margosa tree

- N1, N2, N8, N10: Nīlaṅ attacks Cāstā’s pūjāri – Kuṅṭōtaraṅ kills Nīlaṅ – Karaiyāḷars cut down the margosa tree for timber for the Cāstā temple – Icakki takes an oath: “They have killed my brother, and have cut down the margosa tree; I shall destroy Paḷakai.”  
N5, N6, N9: Karaiyāḷars cut down the margosa tree – Nīlaṅ suffers a broken leg as a result – Nīlaṅ attacks Cāstā’s pūjāri in anger – in response Kuṅṭōtaraṅ kills Nīlaṅ (N5, N6), or else the pūjāri burns Nīlaṅ to death (N9) – Icakki takes an oath: “They felled the margosa tree – roots and all. The Karaiyāḷars are responsible for the death of my brother. I shall destroy Paḷakai.”  
N7: Nīli and Nīlaṅ live together under a banyan tree. The forest episode is absent. Neither the scene with Kuṅṭōtaraṅ nor the felling of the tree is narrated.

**TOPIC 3:** The Ceṭṭi’s father advises his son.

- all versions: “A woman will kill you!” (divergence: in N7 told to the Ceṭṭi’s wife by his mother)  
all except N7, N9: “Keep the margosa leaf with you!”  
only N9: The father gives an amulet and a magic sword (rather than a margosa leaf) to his son.  
only N7: The mother (rather than the father) warns her son that there is a woman out to kill him in the northern direction. No other advice is given.

- N2, N8: “Respect the modesty of women!”  
 N5, N6: “Don’t be adulterous!”  
 N2, N5, N6, N8: “Don’t go after prostitutes!”  
 N1, N2, N5, N6, N8: “Wealth is a god for the Ceṭṭi community!”

**TOPIC 4:** Omens at the time the Ceṭṭi sets out to Paḷakai

- N1, N2, N5, N6, N8,  
 N9, N10: various bad omens  
 N7: no bad omens at all  
 N2, N6, N8, N9, N10: The *kuṛatti* woman tells the Ceṭṭi about his former birth, reminding him of his murder of a woman who loved him greatly.  
 N1, N5, N7: Nothing is said about the Ceṭṭi’s former life.  
 N1, N2, N6, N8, N9: The *kuṛatti* woman predicts that Nīli will appear in a bid to kill him. At the same time she foretells that the people of Paḷakai will die (in the N1 text she predicts Nīli’s appearance, her claim that she is the Ceṭṭi’s wife, and his being killed; the texts of N2, N6, N8, N9 do not mention that he will be killed in Paḷakai; N10 also adverts to Nīli’s claim that the Ceṭṭi is her husband).  
 N5, N7: no prediction at all  
 all versions: Ānantaṅ Ceṭṭi knows his fate either from the prediction of a woman (*kuṛatti*) or a gecko. The Ceṭṭi ignores the omens and predictions.

**TOPIC 5:** Nīli appears in the forest.

- N5, N6: Nīli is said to be a “modest” woman.  
 N1, N2; N5, N8, N10: The *alaṅkāram* form is described in either a long or very long list.  
 N6, N9: The *alaṅkāram* form is described in either a short or very short list, yet the description does not contain any signs of Nīli’s being married—for instance, a red dot, *tāli*, or *mañcaḷ* paste.  
 N1, N2, N5, N8, N10: drops of sweat mentioned  
 N1, N2, N5, N8, N10: the red dot mentioned  
 N1, N2, N5, N8, N10: the *tāli* mentioned  
 N1, N5: lovely breasts mentioned  
 N1, N2, N5, N8, N10: smearing of *mañcaḷ* mentioned  
 N1, N2, N5, N8: betel in the mouth mentioned  
 N1, N2, N5, N8, N10: Nīli jumps joyfully, dances, and sings when she sees the Ceṭṭi.  
 N7: The *alaṅkāram* scene is missing. Nīli simply appears to the Ceṭṭi’s legal wife; and later to the Ceṭṭi—disguised as his wife and holding in her arm the *kaḷḷi* plant that has turned into a child.

## Appendix C

### The Encyclopaedic Apparatus: The ‘Complete’ *Icakki katai*

#### Explanatory Remarks on the Symbols in the Encyclopaedic Apparatus

For the information contained in the encyclopaedic apparatus, I refer the reader to the detailed listing in Section 2.3. The apparatus provides, apart from the complete versions of N10 and N1, the reading of texts N2 and N8; N2 is largely identical with N8, and therefore for the most part neglected in the listing.

From the beginning up to line 599, and again from line 1850 up to the end, my recording of variant readings is very accurate, with even the slightest difference in wording being noted. This undertaking served first of all the purpose of reconstructing the text. In the second place, it clearly illustrates the near fixity of the performative *katai* text as a whole. Moreover, the apparatus accurately records both the loss of text and elaborations on the story in texts other than N1.

▯ with number	Read “N” with number
((	Text of N10 (or N2, N8) that is missing in N1
++	Readings that vary from those of N1, if not otherwise stated
**	The sequential narrative order of N1 is changed relative to the N10 text. I regard N10 as being in the ‘proper’ sequential order. If N1 displays a different sequential order than N10, I consider N1 as ‘out of order’ (i.e. not exhibiting the standard order of N10). The apparatus thus demonstrates the narrative sequence that the bard has reimagined and strung out; and thus reveals the phases in which the bard feels free to rearrange the sequential order. The apparatus clearly shows that major changes in the narrative order occur in the middle of the <i>katai</i> rather than at the beginning or end.
Three registers	1st register, on the very left, displays the N1 text. 2nd register, slightly shifted inward to the right and marked by double parentheses, displays text in N10 (or at times in N2, N8) that is missing in N1. 3rd register, shifted far inward to the right and marked by a double plus signs ( ++ ), displays readings in N2, N8, N10 that differ from N1.
Line numbering	1. The number that stands at the very left (position 1) refers to the N1 text. 2. The number that stands in the second position from the left (position 2) refers to the N10 text. (Owing to limited space the number appears without any label identifying it as “N10”). 3. The third position is occupied by the number that refers to text N8 (N2 is generally neglected, given that it normally reads the same as N8). 4. Breaks in the continuous numbering of N10 are due to the fact that the text of the <i>vacanam</i> (prose part) is not included in the apparatus. 5. Breaks in the continuous numbering of N8 are due to the fact that it contains text not found in the variants with which it was compared. 6. The number that stands at the very left relates to the text citation that follows. For instance, if the line number of the N1 text stands in position 1, the citation belongs to this version.
Bold	Bold print in the text citation is the marking used if the names or contents of the variant readings are entirely at odds.
Grey back-ground	A text citation highlighted against grey background marks a peculiarity that is not found in any other text.

## இசக்கிகதை

103/45/ந8.28 நாடான னாடதிலே<sup>1</sup>  
104 நல்ல வடசீர்மயிலே

++ Variant to 103  
++ N8.28 உய்யும்உப்புக் கடல்கூழ்ந்த உயர்ந்தசம்புத்  
தீவதிலே  
++ N10.45 நாடுநல்லநல்லநாடு நாவலர்கள்புகழும்நாடு

105/46 தேசமான தேசத்திலே  
106/46/ந8.29 சிறந்த அன்னகரியிலே

++ Variant to 106  
++ N8.29 தெய்வநீதம் மநூநீதம் சிறந்திலங்கும் பழகைநகர்

107 அன்னகரி யானதிலே  
108/47/ந8.30 அன்னகரி யானதிலே  
109 அம்மயப்பர் திருக்கோவில்  
110/48/ந8.30 அம்மயப்பர் திருக்கோவில்  
111 ஆதிமற வேதியர்கள்  
112 வேதியர்கள் குலமதிலே  
113 மிக்க மறயோர்களவர்.  
114/49/ந8.31 மறயவர்கள் பூசைசெய்ய

++ Variant to 114  
++ N8.31 மறயவர்கள் (rest missing)

115/49/ந8.31 மகதேவர் மனமகிள  
116/50 திசைபுகள் பூசைசெய்ய  
117/50 சிறந்த மறவேதியர்கள்  
118/51/ந8.34 அறுபத்தொரு மறயவர்கள்

++ Variant to 118  
++ N8.34 அவமறுத்த அறுபத்தொரு அந்தணரில்

119/51 அவரவர்க்கு தக்கமுறை  
120/52/ந8.32 ஒருனாளும் குறயாமல்  
121/52/ந8.32 உள்ளமுறை தப்பாமல்  
122/53 தப்பாமல் பூசைசெய்ய  
123/53 தான்வாற வேளையிலே

++ Variant to 123  
++ N10.53 தான்வாறநாளையிலே

124 அப்போது சிவபாப்பான்  
125 அவன் தனக்கு பிள்ளயில்லை  
126/54 யிப்போது சிவபாப்பான்  
127/54 யிருந்தானே மலடாக  
128/54/ந8.35 மலடாக சிவஆதி

++ Variant to 126-8  
++ N10.54=N8.35 சிவபாப்பான்மனவியவள்சிவஆசிமலடாக

129 மனமறுகி யிருக்கயிலே  
130 மனமறுகி அம்மயப்பர்  
131 மலர்பாதம் தான் தொளவே  
132 மதலையிலல்லா கவலையாலே  
133/61/ந8.41 வைத்தகெற்பம் உதித்ததுவே.

++ Variant to 133  
++ N10.61 மலடாக சிவஆசி வயற்றில் கெற்பம்  
உதித்திடுமாம்  
++ N8.41 சிவஆசி மங்கைகெற்பம் உண்டாகி

<sup>1</sup> The invocation and apologetic preface are not included in the apparatus.

134/62/ந8.42 உதித்தகெற்பம் உருவளர்ந்து  
135/62/ந8.42 உகந்து பத்தும் சென்றதுவே.

++ Variant to 135

++ N10.62 உகந்து பத்தும் திகைந்திடுமாம்

++ N8.42 பத்துமதி முற்றுபெற பார்ப்பாத்தி வயிறுழைந்து

136/63/ந8.43 பத்து மாசம் சென்றபோது  
137/63-4/ந8.43 பாலகரை பெற்றெடுத்தாள்.

++ Variant to 136-7

++ N10.63-4 பத்துமாதத்திகைந்தயின்பு பாலகரை  
பயின்றெடுத்தாள்.

++ N8.43 அத்தனருள் கொண்டவரும் ஆண்பிள்ளையொன்  
நின்றிடவே

138 பயின்றெடுத்த பாலருக்கு  
139 பாப்பானும் ஆதியுமாய்  
140/65/ந8.45 சிறந்த நல்ல பாலருக்கு  
141/65/ந8.45 திருநாம பேர் கூறவாரே.

++ Variant to 140-141

++ N8.45 அவசியமாய்ப் பாலனுக்கு அந்தணர்பே ரிடுவாராம்.

142/70/ந8.46 வேதியநென்று திருநாம பேரது கூற

++ Variant to 142

++ N8.46 வேலவ னென்று திருநாம மானது கூறி

143/71/ந8.47 மிக்க சிவபார்ப்பான் சந்தோசமாக மகிள

++ Variant to 143

++ N8.47 மிக்க சிவபார்ப்பான் ஆசியும் சந்தோசமாகி

144/72 அப்படியே மறையோனவன் செப்பமுடநே  
145/73 ஆதிமற வேதியன் வளருகின்ற னாளில்

++ Variant to 145

++ N10.73 அதிகபிரிசமாய்வளர்ந்துவருகிறநாளில்

146/74 செப்பமுடநே சிவகாமி தாசியவள்தாம்  
147/75 சித்திரமாய் கோவில் நித்தம் பணிவேலை செய்தாள்.

++ Variant to 147

++ N10.75 சித்திரமாய் கோவில் நித்தம் பணிவிடைசெய்தாள்

148/ந8.50 சேய்யிளை னால்பத்தொரு தாசிக்கு மூத்த தாசி.

++ Variant to 148

++ N8.50 தாசிமார் கூட்டத்தில் நாற்பத்தோர் தாசிக்கு  
மூத்த

149/76 சிவகாமி தாசி அதிய தொளில் கற்ற தேவி

++ Variant to 149

++ N10.76 சிவகாமிதாசி அதிக தொழில் கற்ற தேவி

[[N10.4

((77 தேன்மொழியானவள்சிறந்ததொளில்களும்கற்று

150/78/ந8.52 அதிய தொளில்களும் னாடகம் ஆடவும் கற்று

++ Variant to 150

++ N10.78 அதிகதொழில்களும் அண்பானநாட்டியம்கற்று

++ N8.52 ஆதித்தொழில்களும் நாடக மாடவுங் கற்று

151/79/ந8.53 அல்லோர்க்கு முன்பாய் அவன்முதல் தண்டியிருந்தாள்.

++ Variant to 151

++ N10.79 அல்லோர்க்கும் முன்பாக அதிகதொழில் தேடி  
வந்தாள்

++ N8.53 அல்லோர்க்கும் முன்பாக ஆடிமு தல்தண்டி னாளே

- 152/80/ந8.54 தண்டின பொன்னும் உடம்பும் வேண்டும் துயிலும்  
 ++ Variant to 152  
 ++ N10.80 தேடினபொன்னும் உடமையும் வேண்டும்துகிலும்  
 ++ N8.54 தண்டின பொன்னும்உ டைமையும்  
 வேண்டுந் துகிலும்
- 153/81 சந்ததியில்லயே யித்தனை செல்வமும் ஆள  
 154/88/ந8.60 தோண்டிய போட்டு துலாவை  
 155/88/ந8.60 நிறுத்தி வைத்தேனா.  
 156/89/ந8.61 சொல்ல துலயாதே  
 157/89/ந8.61 யித்தனை செல்வமும் ஆள  
 ++ Variant to 157  
 ++ N10.89 சொல்லதுலையாதுசந்ததி இல்லாதபாவம்  
 ++ N8.61 சொல்லத்தொ லையாது சந்ததி யில்லாத பாவம்
- 158/90/ந8.62 யில்லயென்றே பலகாலம்  
 159/90/ந8.62 யிவளும் வருந்தி  
 ++ Variant to 159  
 ++ N10.90 அவளும் இருக்க  
 ++ N8.62 நொந்து
- 160/91/ந8.63 யீழ்பரன் மேலே  
 161/91/ந8.63 கருத்த யிருக்கிற னாளில்  
 ++ Variant to 160-1  
 ++ N8.63 ஈஸ்வர னாரைத்து தித்துவ ருகின்ற நாளில்
- 162/92 வல்ல மயாய் சிவன்  
 163/92 பாற்வதிக்கே யுரைசெப்ப  
 164/93/ந8.65 மங்கை சிவகாமிக்கு  
 165/93/ந8.65 பதவி கொடுத்தார்.  
 166/94 கொடுத்தது பிள்ளை குறியாகவே யுருவாகி  
 167/95/ந8.67 கோல வயிற்றிலே யீரஞ்சி திங்களும் சென்று  
 168 சென்றிரு மாசம் திகைந்தது கண்டினத்தவர்கள்  
 169 சேர யினத்தார்கள் கூடியிரங்கிடவேதான்  
 170/96 அன்று சிவனார மைத்தபடியாலே அவளும்  
 171/97/ந8.69 ஆண்பிள்ளை பெற்று அருவ குரவையுமிட்டார்.  
 ++ Variant to 171  
 ++ N10.97 ஆண்பிள்ளைபெற்றுஅரிவயர் குரவையுமிட்டார்  
 ++ N8.69 ஆண்பிள்ளை ஈன்றனள் அரிவைகு ரவையு மிட்டார்
- 172/98/ந8.70 மிட்டகுரவை யெல்லோரும் கேட்டு மகிழ்ந்து  
 ++ Variant to 172  
 ++ N10.98 இட்ட குரவையைஉகந்துபெண்கள்மகிழ்ந்து  
 ++ N8.70 இட்டகு ரவையைக் கேட்டந்தப் பெண்கள்  
 மகிழ்ந்து
- 173/99/ந8.71 யாந்திளயாள் சிவகாமி யீன்ற பாலரென்னா  
 ++ Variant to 173  
 ++ N10.99 ஏந்திளையாள் சிவகாமியின் பாலனைஎடுத்து
- 174/100/ந8.72 பாலரை பெற்று மடியிலிருத்தி பாலூட்டி  
 ++ Variant to 174  
 ++ N10.100 பாலகன்தன்னைமடியில்வைத்துபாலூட்டி  
 ++ N8.72 அட்டியில் லாதாம டிதனில் வைத்துப்பா லூட்டி
- 175/ந8.73 பலபேரும் கூடி திருனாம பேரது கூற  
 ++ Variant to 175  
 ++ N8.73 அல்லோருங் கூடித்தி ருநாமங் கூறிடு  
 வாராம்
- 176/101/ந8.74 கூறிய பேரும் திருகண்ட நட்டுவரென்னா  
 177/103/ந8.75-6 குஞ்சரம் போலே திருக்கண்டனோடி வளர  
 178/110/ந8.76 ஓடிவளரவே நட்டுவர் கூடியிவனை

- 179/111/ந8.77 உத்த தமிழ் கல்வி  
 180/111/ந8.77 மத்தள(ம்)கொட்டும் வருத்தி  
 181/112/ந8.78 வருத்தியே கொட்டும்  
 182/112/ந8.78 வாய்த்த திறம் கைகளில் கண்டு  
 ++ Variant to 182  
 ++ N10.112=N8.78 வாய்த்திறம்கைத்திறத்தால் அவனும்
- 183/113/ந8.79 வல்லபனாகவே மத்தளம்  
 184/114/ந8.79 கொட்டும் சேவித்தான்  
 ++ Variant to 183  
 ++ N10.114=N8.79 வல்லவனாக...
- 185/115/ந8.80 சேவித்து யிப்படி கூலியுடமயும் வேண்டி  
 ++ Variant to 185  
 ++ N10.115 ...கூலிஉடமையும் வாங்கி
- 186/116 சேயினையாள் பொற் சிவகாமி யோடிருந்தானே.  
 ++ Variant to 186  
 ++ N10.116 சேயினையாள் பெற்ற...
- 187/117/ந8.82 யிருந்தாள் சிவகாமி யெப்போதுதான்  
 188/118/ந8.83 யிரங்கினாள் பெண்மதலை தனக்காக  
 ++ Variant to 118  
 ++ N10.118 ஏங்கினாள்பெண்...
- 189/119/ந8.84 மருந்து போல மகள் வேணுமின சொல்லி  
 190/120/ந8.85 மனது நொந்து சிவகாமி வாடினாள்.  
 191/121/ந8.86 யிருந்ததினால் பலனொன்று மில்லயே.  
 192/122/ந8.87 யிறந்து போனாலதினாலே மோகூமே.  
 ++ Variant to 192  
 ++ N8.87 இறந்து விட்டா லதிலுண்டு மோட்சமே
- 193/123/ந8.88 மறந்து பால்க்குடி தீரா தெளியுமுன்  
 ++ Variant to 193  
 ++ N8.8.88 பிறந்த பிள்ளைகள் பால்க்குடி மாறுமுன்
- 194/124/ந8.89 மக்களைப் பெற்றெடுப்பார்.  
 195/124-5/ந8.89-90 மடவார்கள் பெண் பிள்ளைக்கு பலனில்லையோவென்ன  
 ++ Variant to 195  
 ++ N10.125 பெண்பிள்ளைக்கு இல்லையோவென்ன  
 ++ N8.90 எந்த னுக்குமேற் பிள்ளைதா னில்லையோ
- 196/126 பிள்ளைக்கு தவம் செய்தாள் சிவகாமி.  
 197/138/ந8.92 பெண்பிள்ளைதாம் யினக்குண்டுமானாக்கால்  
 ++ Variant to 197  
 ++ N10.138 பெண்பிள்ளைக்குபலன்உண்டுமேயானால்
- 198/139/ந8.93 போத பொன் தேடி ஆதாயமாக்கலாம்  
 199/140/ந8.94 யென்று சொல்லி சிவகாமி தாசியும்  
 200/141/ந8.95 யீச்பரர் தரவேணுமின சொல்லி  
 ++ Variant to 200  
 ++ N8.95 ஆன ஈஸ்வரன் நாட்டம தாகியே
- 201/142/ந8.96 கோவிலில் சென்று னாடகம் ஆடாமல்  
 202/143/ந8.97 குறயாய்த் தவம் செய்திருக்கும் னாளில்  
 203/147/ந8.98 ஆதியும் உமை மனதாகியே  
 204/148/ந8.99 ஆயினியாள் சிவகாமிக்காகவே  
 205/149 கோளதாக வயது குறயாமல்  
 206/150/ந8.101 குளந்தையொன்று அருளினாரப் போது  
 207/151/ந8.102 யீனமில்லாமலே சிவகாமிக்கு  
 208/152/ந8.103 யேற்ற கெற்ப்பம் உருவாய் வளந்திட  
 209/153/ந8.104 வளந்து கெற்ப்பம் திகைந்தது மாசமும்  
 210/154/ந8.105 மங்கையர்க்கு திருவயற் னோகவே



- 211/155/ந8.106 னொந்து(ை)ளந்து உடலு தள்ளடியே  
212/156/107,9 நுண்ணிடைமார் யிருபுறம் கைதாங்க  
++ Variant to 212  
++ N8.107, 9 நுண்ணி டைமார் அருகினில் போற்றிட /  
/... (108)/ பாவை மார்கள் இருபுறம் தாங்கவே
- 213/157/ந8.110 தாங்கியே உபகாரமாகவே  
214/158/ந8.111 சங்கரனா ரமைத்த படியினால்  
215/159/ந8.112 யேற்றதோர் மடவார்கள் மகிளவே  
++ Variant to 215  
++ N8.112 ஏந்த வேமட வார்கள்...
- 216/160/ந8.113 யின்பமாகவே ஒரு  
217/160/ந8.113 பெண்பிள்ளை பெற்றனரே  
++ Variant to 216-7  
++ N8.113 இந்து போலொரு பெண்பிள்ளை பெற்றனள்
- 218/166/ந8.114 பெற்றனரே பெண்பிள்ளைதாம்  
219/167/ந8.114 பேதை சிவகாமி தாசி  
220/168/ந8.115 உற்றார்களுறமுறயார்.  
221/168/ந8.115 ஒன்றொடிமார் வரிசை செய்ய  
++ Variant to 221  
++ N10.168 ஒன்றொடிமார் மனமகிள  
++ N8.115 ஒண்டொடிமார் மனமகிழ
- 222/169/ந8.116 சித்திரம் போலே பிறந்த  
223/169/ந8.116 சிவகாமி மகள் தனக்கு  
224/170/ந8.117 உற்ற தன்பாலுட்டி  
225/170/ந8.117 ஒன்றொடிமார் தாராட்டி  
++ Variant to 225  
++ N10.170=N8.117 ஒண்ணுதல்மார் தாராட்ட
- 226/171 தாராட்டி ஓராட்டி  
227/171 சந்ததியென்றே வளத்தார்.  
228/172 வளந்திடவே மடவார்கள்  
229/173 மகள் தனக்கு பேர்கூற  
++ Variant to 228-9  
++ N10.172-3 வளர்த்திடவேமகளர்க்கு /  
மடவார்கள் பேர்கூற
- 230/174 ஆருடைய பேரிடுவோம்.  
231/174 அருமையுள்ள மகளர்க்கு  
232/175 முன்னுள்ளோர் பேரிடவோ  
233/175 மூதாக்கள் பேரிடவோ  
++ Variant to 232-3  
++ N10.175 அம்மைஅப்பர்பேரிடவோ / அபிராமிபேரிடவோ
- 234 யென்நவேதான் மகிள  
235/176/ந8.119 லெச்சுமியாரம்மை யென்று  
236/176-7/ந8.119 யேந்தினைக்கு பேருமிட்டார்).  
++ Variant to 235-6  
++ N8.119 லட்சுமியாள் எனநாமம் இட்டனரே மனமகிழ
- 237/184/ந8.120 பேருமிட்டு தாராட்டி  
238/184/ந8.120 பிள்ளைக்கு பொன் பணியுமிட்டாள்.  
++ Variant to 238  
++ N10.238 பிள்ளைக்குநல்பணியுமிட்டு  
++ N8.120 பலபணியும் மங்கைர்க்கு அணிந்தவரும்
- 239/185 காலுக்கு வீர தண்டை  
240/185 கையிக்கு நல்ல கடயமிட்டாள்.  
241/186 தோளுக்கு முறுக்கு வளை  
242/187 தூடியிடைக்கு வளயல் கெகூம்

++ Variant to 242

++ N10.187 துடியிடைக்கு வன்னகச்சை

[[N10.8

((188 பாடகம் சிலம்புதண்டை

243/189 பட்டரஞாண் நெத்திப் பிறை  
 244 பாவை உக்ஷி பிறையும் வைத்தாள்.  
 245/190 உக்ஷி பிறை கண் மலரும்  
 246/190 உகந்த சரபணிகள் மின்னி

++ Variant to 245-6

++ N10.190 உச்சிபிறைகண்மலடுஉயர்ந்தசரபணிகள்மின்ன

247/191 பக்ஷ வடம் ஆபரணம்  
 248/191 பதைக்கன் விஸ்த்தாரமிட்டாள்.

++ Variant to 248

++ N10.191 பதைக்கன்முத்தாரமிட்டார்

249 ஆக்ஷி மாலை ஆபரணம்  
 250 அதிய முத்து தாவடமும்  
 251 நெத்தி பிறை உச்சி பிறை  
 252 நேரிளைக்கு திருவம் பிறை  
 253 பயத்தங்காய் சாயலிலே  
 254 பத்துவிரல் மோதிரமும்  
 255 கோரி தொளித்தது போல்  
 256 கொம்பனயாள் மேனியது  
 257 வாரிதொளித்தது போல்  
 258 வயற் நிறைந்த தேமல்களாம்  
 259 ஒருபாக ம்தலை முடியும்  
 260 உடலளகும் ஒப்பினயும்  
 261 கெண்டயக் கண் விளியாளுக்கு  
 262 கீள்மாறிப் பாற்ற்த கண்ணும்  
 263/192 வளந்தாளே லெச்சுமியார்.  
 264/197/ந8.126 வானமதில் கதிரவன் போல்  
 265/197/ந8.126 வளந்து வரும் னாளயிலே

++ Variant to 264-5

++ N8.126 அந்த லட்சுமியும் கதிரவனார் ஒளிபோல

266 வண்மயுள்ள ஆடவர்கள்  
 267 ஆடவர்கள் கண்டதுண்டால்  
 268 அவர்பிறகே துடந்திடுவார்.  
 269 பெருவிரலை முக்கில் வைத்து  
 270 பேதலித்து மயங்கிடுவார்.  
 271/198 குளந்தை வயதுமிட்டு  
 272/198 கொடியிடைக்கு வயது ஏளாய்  
 273/199 யேளான வயது சொல்ல  
 274/199/ந8.123 யெளுத்து வாசன் வருத்த

++ Variant to 273

++ N10.199 ஏழுநல்லவயதுசெல்ல

++ N8.123 நன்றெனவே வாத்தியாரை நாடியவர் தான் வருத்தி

275 கூடுவிட்டு கூடுபாய  
 276 குறளிவித்தையும் படித்தாள்.  
 277 இந்திரசால மந்திரசாலம்  
 278 யிணசால வித்தைகளும்  
 279/200 வருத்திய கைமுறையும் கற்று  
 280/200 மங்கை லெச்சுமியார் தனக்கு  
 281 ஆடவர்க்கு யேற்றவளாய்  
 282 ஆயினயும் தான் வளர

[[N10.9

((201 உகந்த நல்ல கதிரவன்போல் உடுத்த துகில் அளகுடனே  
 ((202 சந்தரம் சேர் வடிவளகும் தோகையுட ஒப்பினையும்  
 ((203 ஒப்பினையும் உடலளகும் ஒருபாகம் தலைமுடியும்  
 ((204 கறந்தபால் நெய்யது போல் கன்னி நல்லாள் வளர்ந்தனளே

((205 வளர்ந்து வரும் நாளையிலே மங்கை லெச்சிமிதாதி

283 யிப்படியே தான் வளர  
284 யேற்ற நல்ல மறயவனும்

[[N10.9

((212 அன்னர்பதிகமலபுரம் அம்மை அபபர் திருக்கோவில்  
((213 சன்னதிக் கேமுறைக்காட்டிதன்மனைக்கு வரும் சமயம்  
((214/ந8.134 மின்னிடையாள் அனுதாரம் வேல்விளிபாய்ந்தொரு மறையோன்

285/215 மன்னிய கால் தடுமாறி  
286/215 மதிமசங்கி விளுந்தனனே

[[N10.9

((216 விளுந்தமறையோனை அந்த  
((217 மெல்லி நல்லாள் கண்டடுத்து

287/ந8.135 யிருந்தனனே ஆசையினால்  
288/ந8.135 யினி அகப்பட்டானிநவே

++ Variant to 287-8

++ N8.135 கன்னியரின் ஆசையினால் கருத்தழிந்து  
விழுந்தனனே

[[N10.10

((226/அணத்தடுத்து இருத்தி மெத்த / ந8.149 படுத்திருக்க வாருமென்று  
பஞ்சணையில் கொண்டுவந்து  
((227 அதில் கிடத்தி அரவணைத்து  
((228 செழுந்தருளும் புணர்ந்த கொங்கை  
((229 செல்வியவள்வாய்திறந்து

289/230 யெளுந்திருவு மென உரைத்த

[[N10.10

((231 வருத்தியதோர்தனத்தாலும் வாய்மலரும்குமிழ் முக்கும்

290 யிசல் மறையோன் தனைனோக்கி  
291/232 திருத்திய பொதிலி மாந்த

++ Variant to 291

++ N10.232 திருத்திய வேல் போல் நிமிர்ந்த

292/233 செவ்வரியோடல் வினியும்

[[N10.10

((234 கருத்துறகண்டருள் மறையோன்  
((235 கனகளி கூர்ந்திருந்தனே

293/243/ந8.156 பொருந்திய தோர் மாறையோன்

++ Variant to 293

++ N10.243 பொருந்தனவாள் அருள் மறையோன்

++ N8.156 பெருந்தனவான் அருள் மறையோன்

294/244/ந8.156 பிறியாமல ருகிருக்க

295 திருந்தினயாள் மதி நினைந்து

296 செய்தியெல்லாம் தாய்க்குரைத்தாள்.

297/245/ந8.158 மருந்திடவே வேணுமென்று

297.1/245/ந8.159 மருந்து மலர் தேடுவாளாம்

++ Variant to 297-7.1

++ N8.158-9 தியக்கிஅந்த வேதியனை சீர்ப்படுத்த  
வேணுமென்று / மயக்கியவனை இருத்த மருந்துபல  
தேடுவாளாம்

298/246/ந8.160 ஆடைவொட்டி பின்துடரி

299/246/ந8.160 அதியமடி சேலையொட்டி

++ Variant to 299  
++ N10.246=N8.160 அதிகமடி சேலையொட்டி

300/247/ந8.162 பேடையொத்த கரும் காக்கை  
301/247/ந8.162 பித்துடநே பித்தாந்தல

++ Variant to 300-1  
++ N8.162 பேடையொத்த கருங்காகப் பித்தமுடன்  
ஆந்தைப்பித்தம்

302/248/ந8.161 தேடியொக்க மருந்த யெல்லாம்  
303/248/ந8.161 திரட்டி யிணலால் உணர்த்தி

++ Variant to 302-3  
++ N10.248 தேடிவைத்தமருந்தையெல்லாம் திரட்டி  
நிணலிலுவர்த்தி  
++ N8.161 தேடியொத்த மருந்தையெல்லாம் திரட்டியவள்  
திழலுவர்த்தி

304/249/ந8.163 பாடு பட்ட மருந்த யெல்லாம்  
305/249/ந8.163 பாக்கிலே தான் மூட்டினளே

++ Variant to 304-5  
++ N10.249 ...பாக்கிலே போட்டுட்டினளே  
++ N8.163 பாடுபட்ட பாக்கிலிட்டு பார்ப்பானைத் தின்ன  
வைத்தாள்.

306/261/ந8.164 யிட்ட பல மருந்தாலும்  
307/261/ந8.164 யினந் தனமாருறவாலும்

++ Variant to 307  
++ N10.261 யேந்தினையாள் உறவாலும்  
++ N8.164 இளமயிலாள் உறவணைத்து

308/262/ந8.165 கட்டுகின்ற தனத்தாலும்  
309/262/ந8.165 கால் பிடிக்கும் திறத்தாலும்

++ Variant to 309  
++ N10.262=N8.165 கால் பிடிக்கும் சுகத்தாலும்

310/263/ந8.166 ஒட்டத்தனத்தாள் மாமி  
311/263/ந8.166 ஒருதி ஒளித்திட்டாலும்  
312/264/ந8.167 வட்டமிட்ட பணத்தயெல்லாம்  
313/264/ந8.167 அவள் வசமாய் கொடுத்தனநே  
314/265/ந8.168 கொடுத்தனநே பல னாளாய்  
315/266 கொடுத்தமுத்த பின்பு

++ Variant to 315  
++ N10.266 கொடுத்தமுதல் அற்ற போது

316 அப்போது தாய் கிளவி  
317/267/ந8.169 அவன் முகம் பாற்தே யுரைப்பாள்

++ Variant to 317  
++ N10.267 கடுத்தனனே அவனைமுகம் கண்டானே  
வேதியனும்  
++ N8.169 கடுத்தனனே அவன்முகத்தை கண்டவுடன்  
வேதியனும்

318 யென் தின்னை விட்டு யெருந்திரடா  
319 யெளிதான வேதியநே  
320 யிந்த மொளிதனை கேட்டு

[[N10.12

((279 =N8.7.170 அம்மை அப்பர் தேடும் முதல் அத்தனையும் அளித்தேனே

((280 =N8.7.171 கன்மவினையாலிவள்க்கு

((281 =N8.7.171 கனைந்தோ மேமுதலை எல்லாம்

((282 =N8.7.172 வாயுறவு அல்லாது கையுறவுகண்டேனில்லை

((283 அரண்மனையில்சென்றாலும்

((284 அவன்முகம் பார்த்தே உரையார்

- ((285 =N8.7.177 பரதேசம்போகவென்று பாவியவந்துணிந்தானே  
 ((286 =N8.7.178 துணிந்தனனேதுணிந்ததற்ப்பின்  
 ((287 =N8.7.178 சுகமிளந்து அவளாசை  
 ((288 துணிந்தனனேமனம்தனிலே  
 ((289 சடைத்தன னேசிவலோகம்  
 ((290 பணிந்தவர்கண்டருள்புரியும் பரமசிவாதுணையனவே  
 ((291 =N8.7.179 அணிந்தனனேதிருநீற்றை அதுகுறியாய் நடந்தனனே

- 321 யேற்ற வனகாச மிட்டான்.  
 322 வனகாச காடதிலே  
 323 வளிபாற்த்து அவனிருக்க  
 \*\*324/397/ந8.209 சடப்பாகி கோவிலிலே  
 \*\*325/397/ந8.209 தாசியவன் ஆடினதால்  
 326 நம்மை விட்டு பிரியாத  
 327 நல் மறயோன் யெங்கே போனாந்  
 328 யென்று சொல்லி லெச்சுமியார்  
 329 இன்பமுடன் தனை தேடி  
 330 அடந்த பெருஞ்சாலி வயல்  
 331 அணி மதுரம் நிலங் கடந்து  
 332 சீர்குலைந்து போவதற்கு  
 333 செய்த பள வினையாலே  
 334 அருந் தவ(ம்)செய்ய வேணுமென்று  
 335 அவனு(ம்) மனம்தனில் நினைந்தான்.  
 336 நினைந்து அந்த மறயவனும்  
 337 நேரிளய தனை(த்) தேடி  
 338 வாறயந்த வேளயிலே  
 339 வளி பாற்த்து அவனிருக்க

[[N10.14

- ((321 துடந்தனனேமறையோன்பின் தோகை வற்றணமைலது போல்  
 ((322 அடர்ந்த பெரும் சாலிவயல் அணிமதுராநிலம்கடந்தான்  
 =ந8.182-183 தொடர்ந்தனனே வேதியனார் சென்றதொரு பாதைவழி / அடர்மருத நிலங்  
 கடந்து அரிவைவனன் மயிலதுபோல்

- 340/323 தேடியவன் யிருண்ட பெரு  
 341/324 காட்டு வளி நடந்தனனே

[[N10.14

- ((325 = N8.184 காட்டகத்தில் மிகத்தேடி கன்னிலெச்சிமிதாதியவன்  
 ((326 = N8.185 வீட்டகத்தில் இராதபடி மிகமறையோன் இடத்தில் வந்தான்  
 ((327 அக்காட்டின் இடை யேசென்று  
 ((328 அவள் கூடி அன்னேரம்.

- \*\*342 கள்ளருண்டும் கானகத்தில்  
 \*\*343 கன பணி யெல்லாம் பூண்டு வாதாய்<sup>2</sup>  
 344 யிப்படியே வருவானே.

[[N10.15

- ((343 = ந8.186 இக்காட்டில் தனிவரவு.

- 345/343/ந8.186 யேதாமக்கு சீர்தாக்கம்

[[N10.15

- ((344 = N8.187 செக்காடுஎருதது போல் தெருக்களல்லாதேடினனே

- 346/345/ந8.188 முக்காடு வேதியனேன்  
 347/345/ந8.188 மோசம் வரும் யெருந்திரியும்

[[N10.15

- ((346 = N8.190 எருந்திரியும் எனஉரைத்த ஏந்திளையான் முகம் நோக்கி

<sup>2</sup> The marked lines (\*\*) N1.342 and 343 are out of their actual order. According to N10 they should occur between N10.15.366 and 368.

[[N10.15

- ((357 = N8.191 மொழிந்தனனே வேதியனும் முத?ள்ளது பொருள்பலதும்  
 ((358 = N8.192 திருந்தினை யேவடமயிலே  
 ((359 = N8.192 சேர உனக்களித்தேனே  
 ((360 = N8.193 விமுந்தோடி தேடி வந்தாய் விட்டகத்தில் வாறதில்லை  
 ((361 வாறதில்லை என்றி ரேவடிவளகாளன்னோடே  
 ((362 சேர்வதில்லை என்றிரே  
 ((363 திருந்தநல்லசுகம் வெறுத்தீர்  
 ((364 மாறேறும் தனத்தாளே மக்கையரே  
 ((365 சொல்லகேளு  
 ((366-7 = \*\*N1.342-3 = N8.194  
 ((368-9 = N8.195 எள்ளளவும் மனமில்லா என்பிற கேதனியே வந்தாய்  
 ((370 வெள்ளிவேல் வறைசிவனார் விதித்ததுவும் தப்பாது  
 ((371 = N8.197 உள்ளதொன்றும் குறையாது  
 ((372 = N8.197 ஊரகத்தேவாருமென்றாள்  
 ((373 வாருமென்றால் வருவேனோ  
 ((374 வானுதலேநீபோடி

[[N10.17

- ((395 = N8.207 இருந்தன னேகாட்டகத்தில் ஏற்றகள்ளிநிழ்திலே  
 ((396-7 = \*\*N1.324-5 = N8.208-9  
 ((398 வருந்தி அந்தமறையோன்தன்  
 ((399 = N8.210 மடிதனிலே விளிதுயின்றாள்  
 ((400 திருந்த வேகண்துயின்ற போது செய்தபளவினையாலே  
 ((401 அவளைகுலைசெய்யவென்று அவன் மனதில் தான்நினைத்தான்  
 ((402 நினைத்து அவள் அணிந்திருந்த  
 ((403 நேரினையாள் உடமையெல்லாம்  
 ((404 சேர்ந்தசரபணிகொப்பும் திருவுடனே நெற்றிப் பிறை  
 ((405 மாலை அணிபொந்த தொடு மணிப்பதைக்கன்  
 ((406 அணிச்சவடி.

348/407 நீல மொத்த கடவளசி

- ++ Variant to 348  
 ++ N10.407 நீலமொக்க கடை வளயல்

349/408 நிறவளசி தாக்குடனே

- ++ Variant to 349  
 ++ N10.408 நிறைவளைசித்தாக்குடனே

350/409/ந8.212 சாலம் ஒக்கயெடுத்திடலாம்

- ++ Variant to 350  
 ++ N8.212 தையல்நல்லாள் அணிந்திருக்கும் தங்கநகை  
 ஆனதெல்லாம்

351 யிவளை தன்னை வதை செய்திடுகில்

352/421 யென் நினைந்தங்கருள் மறயோன்

353/422/ந8.213 யிளமணலை மிக கூட்டி

354/423/ந8.214 அன்ன நடயாள் தலயை

355/424/ந8.214 அசையாமல் மணலில் வைத்து

356/425/ந8.215 மனம் துணிந்த மறவரைப்போல்

357/426/ந8.215 மறயவனும் மனதுறப்பாய்

- ++ Variant to 356-7  
 ++ N8.215 மனனுபுகழ் மறவரைப்போல் மனதுறப்பாய்  
 வேதியனும்

358/427 வனமிருந்த நெடுவயிர

- ++ Variant to 358 கனமிகுந்த...

359/427/ந8.217 கல்லை யெடுத்திட்டனரே

360/428 மனமிகுந்த மாமயில் போல்

361/429 மாது தலை நெரிந்தனளே  
 362/430/ந8.218 கல்லை யெடுத்து மறயவன் போட  
 363/431/ந8.219 கன்னி நல்லாள் தலை தகற்ந்ததே நெரிய  
 ++ Variant to 363  
 ++ N10.431 கன்னி நல்லாளுடையதலையதுநெரிய  
 ++ N8.219 கன்னிநல் லாள்தலை மீதி லெறிய

[[N10.18  
 ((432 வல்லாள்நிலையாள்கல்பட்டிறக்க  
 ((433 மகதேவர் அன்று எழுதினபடியோ

364/434/ந8.221-2 நெரிந்தாள் சரிந்தாள் பொரிந்தாள் மெலிந்தாள்.  
 ++ Variant to 364  
 ++ N10.434 நெரிந்தாள் பொரிந்தாள் நேரிளைமெலிந்தாள்  
 ++ N8.221-2 பொரிந்தது போலவே மண்டை நெரிய /  
 நெரிந்து அவளுயிர் போகுமுன் பாக

365/435/ந8.223 நிலைநின்ற கள்ளியர் நீங்கள் நடுவென்றாள்.  
 ++ Variant to 365  
 ++ N10.435 நிலைநின்றகள்ளியே நீசாச்சிஎன்றாள்  
 ++ N8.223 நிழல்நின்ற கள்ளியே நீசாட்சி யென்றாள்

366/446 திரிந்தாள் உருண்டாள் மருண்டாள் வெருண்டாள்.  
 367/447/ந8.224 சிவசங்கரக் கடவுளே தஞ்சமென்றாள்.  
 368/448 யென்றா ளிறந்தாள் பெரும் சீவனும்போய்  
 ++ Variant to 368  
 ++ N10.448 அமுதாள் இறந்தாள் அஞ்சீவன்போக

369/449 யிதூநன்று கலிகாலம் அவகால மென்னா  
 ++ Variant to 369  
 ++ N10.449 இன்று சிவகாலம்காலமோ என்றாள்

[[N10.19  
 ((450 நெரிந்து அவள்தலைஇறந்தபொருது  
 ((451 நிகரில்லாபொன்பணிகள் எல்லாம்களற்றி

370/452/ந8.226-7 களத்தி மறயவன் வேட்டியில் முடிந்து  
 371/453/ந8.226-7 கன்னிநல்லாளுட உடமை பணிகளெல்லாம்  
 ++ Variant to 370-1  
 ++ N8.226-7 உடலி லணிந்த உடைமை கழற்றி /  
 ஒருகட்டாய்க் கட்டியே வேதியன் றானும்

372/454 பிளைக்கலாம் நம்முடைய பிள்ளை உள்ளளகும்  
 373/455 பிற மாகவே மனது பூரித்து  
 ++ Variant to 373  
 ++ N10.455 பிறமாண்டமாகவே மனதுபூரித்து

374/456/ந8.228 பூரித்து மறயவன் பொட்டணமதாக  
 ++ Variant to 374  
 ++ N8.228 பூரித்து நாமள் பிழைக்கலா மென்ன

375/457/ந8.229 போக புறப்பட்டு அவிடமிட்டானே.  
 376/458/ந8.232 போன பொருது திருக்கண்ட நட்டுவன்  
 ++ Variant to 376  
 ++ N8.232 போனஅண் ணன்திருக் கண்டநட் டுவன்

377/459/ந8.233 புகள் கோவில் விட்டவன் வீட்டிலே வந்தான்.  
 ++ Variant to 377  
 ++ N8.233 பொழுது விடிந்தபின் வீட்டிலே வந்தான்

378/460/ந8.234 வந்தவன் மத்தளம் கீளே யிறக்கி  
 379/461/ந8.235 வாய்மொளி கேட்டானே சிவகாமியோடே

- 380/462/ந8.236 யென் தங்கை லெச்சுமி யெங்கயடி அம்மா  
 ++ Variant to 380  
 ++ N8.236 என் தங்கை லட்சுமி யானவ னெங்கே
- 381/463/ந8.237 யென்று சிவகாமி யோடே அவன் கேள்க்க  
 ++ Variant to 381  
 ++ N10.463 என்று சிவகாமி யோடுவாய்மொளியும்கேட்டான்  
 ++ N8.237 என்றந்த நட்டுவன் கேட்டபொ முது
- 382/464/ந8.238 உன் தங்கை லெச்சுமி ஊதாரி போலே  
 383/465/ந8.239 உத்தமற வேதியநே தேடியே போனான்.  
 384/476/ந8.242 கெடுத்தானே பாவி சதித்தானே யென்னை  
 ++ Variant to 384  
 ++ N10.476 கெடுத்தாயேபாவிசதிப்பானேமறையவன்  
 ++ N8.242 கெடுத்தானே தங்கை சதிப்பானே பார்ப்பான்
- 385/477/ந8.243 கெட்டோமெனத் தலை மீதிலடித்தான்.  
 ++ Variant to 385  
 ++ N10.477 கெட்டோமே என்றுதலை யோடடித்தான்  
 ++ N8.243 கெட்டேன் எனத்தலை மீதி லடித்து
- 386/478/ந8.244 அடித்து தெருத் தலைவீதி கடந்து  
 ++ Variant to 386  
 ++ N10.478 அடித்து தெருவீதிதானும்கடந்து  
 ++ N8.244 அடித்து அழுது தெருவோடே ஓடி
- 387/479/ந8.245 ஆயிளை லெச்சுமி தடத்தின் துடந்தான்.  
 ++ Variant to 387  
 ++ N10.479 ஆயிளைலெச்சுமி தடத்தில்நடந்தான்  
 ++ N8.245 ஆயிழை தங்கை லட்சுமி நடந்த
- 388 வேதியன் தடத்துடன் தாசியர் தடமும்  
 389 மிக்க தமயனும் தேடி னடந்தான்.  
 390/480/ந8.246 ஓடிஓடி நடந்துள்ளம் பதைக்க  
 ++ Variant to 390  
 ++ N8.246 தடத்தின் வழிநடந் துள்ளம் பதைக்க
- 391/481/ந8.247 உற்ற பளகை நகர் காட்டிலே வந்தான்.  
 392/482 காட்டிலே தங்கை யிருந்த யிடத்தில்  
 393/483/ந8.249 கள்ளியடி முட்டிலே தங்கயரைக் கண்டான்.  
 ++ Variant to 393  
 ++ N8.249 வளமாய் வளர்ந்ததோர் கள்ளி நிழலில்
- 394/484/ந8.251 கண்டானே தங்கை தலை மேலே கல்லை  
 ++ Variant to 394  
 ++ N8.250-1 தலையிற் கிடந்ததோர் கல்லுடன் தங்கை  
 தன்னைக்கண்டு
- 395/485/ந8.252 கட்டி யெடுத்தவன் கல்லை நகட்டி  
 ++ Variant to 395 கல்லை நகட்டியே கட்டி யெடுத்து
- [[N10.20  
 ((486/~ ந8.253 கண்ணிலும்முகத்திலும் முத்தமிட்டானே
- 396/494/ந8.254 உன்னாலே தங்கா பிளைத்திருந்தோமே  
 397/495/ந8.255 ஊளி விதியோ நீ காட்டிலிறக்க  
 ++ Variant to 397  
 ++ N8.255 ஊழிப்ப டியோநீ காட்டி லிறக்க
- 398/496/ந8.256 தங்கா நீ யிந்த தனிக்காட்டிலுன்னை  
 399/497/ந8.257 சதித்தார் தமக்கு யிது தற்மமோ வென்றான்.



++ Variant to 399  
 ++ N10.497 சதித்தார் தனக்குவெகுதற்றம் என்றான்  
 ++ N8.252 சதித்தோனுக் குஇது தர்மமோ வென்று

400/498/ந8.258 யெந்தவிதமா யிறந்தானீ தங்கா  
 ++ Variant to 400  
 ++ N10.498 எந்தவிதமாய் இறந்தாய் நீ தங்கா  
 ++ N8.258 எந்தவி தமாய் இறந்தாள எந்தங்கை

401/499/ந8.259 யினிதான் முகம் யிறக்க ஆருண்டுமென்றார்.  
 ++ Variant to 401  
 ++ N10.499 எந்தன்முகம்பார்க்கஆருண்டுதங்கா  
 ++ N8.259 இனியெந்த நாளிலே உன்முகம் காண்பேன்

402/500 வங்கார சிங்கார அலங்காரமேனி  
 403/501 மண்ணுன்று தோ வென்று மனமறுகி விளவே  
 ++ Variant to 403  
 ++ N10.501 மண்ணுண்டுபோமெனவேமனமறுகிவீழ்வான்

404/502/-ந8.260 பொங்கார மேனி லெகுவானதாலே  
 ++ Variant to 404  
 ++ N10.502 பொங்காரம் மேன்மேலும்வெகுவானதாலே  
 ++ N8.260 என்று அழுது புலம்பிச் சடைவால்

405/503/-ந8.261 பூவதமயனும் ஆவியவிட்டானே.  
 ++ Variant to 405  
 ++ N10.503 பூவதமயனும்ஆவிதனைவிட்டானே  
 ++ ~N8.261 இறந்தான் அண்ணந்தங்கை பக்கத்தி லே  
 -தான்

406/504/ந8.262 ஆவிதா னடங்கி யந்த அண்ணனும் தங்கைதானும்  
 407/505/ந8.263 பாவி யந்தணர் தாம் கொன்ற பனியது வாங்க வென்று  
 408/506/ந8.264 தாவியே வனத்தில் வந்ததமயனும் தங்கைதானும்  
 ++ Variant to 408  
 ++ N8.264 தாவியவ் வனத்தில் நின்று தமையனோ டரிவை  
 தானும்

409/507-8/ந8.265 மேவியே சிவனை போற்றி விண்ணிலே உயிர்கள் போனாரே.  
 ++ Variant to 409  
 ++ N8.265 மேவிய சிவனைப் போற்றி மேல்வரம்  
 வாங்கலூற்றார்.

410/509-10/ந8.269-70 தாசியை கொன்ற பனி நம(க்)கில்லை தடந்தெரியாதினவே  
 411/511/ந8.271 சாட்டு வளிவிட்டு காட்டுவளியாக சற்றே தூரம் போனார்.  
 412/512-3/ந8.278-9 காசிக்கு போய் வோடி வாசிப்பு தேடலாம் கப்பல் சமைத்திடலாம்  
 ++ Variant to 412  
 ++ N10.512-3 காசிக்கு போய்வட்டிவாசிக்குதேடலாம் கப்பல்  
 முடித்திடலாம்.  
 ++ N8.278-9 கண்ணிய மாய்க்காசி சென்றுவட்டி வாங்கி  
 கப்பலும் செய்திடலாம்

413/514-5/ந8.280 கவ்வை நமக்கில்லை யென்றந்த வேதியன் கைதட்டி பாடினானே.  
 ++ Variant to 413  
 ++ N8.280 கௌவைந மக்கில்லை என்றந்த வேதியன்  
 கைகட்டிப் பாடினனே

414/516 யெல்லா யாபாரமும் செய்து பிளைக்கலாம்  
 ++ Variant to 414  
 ++ N10.516 எல்லாவியாபாரமும்செய்துமுடிக்கலாம்

415/517 யென்றொரு பொட்டணமாம்  
 416/518 கெட்டி யெடுத்தவன் மாறாப்பு போட்டு

417/519 கெறுவிதமாய் நடந்தான்.

\*\*418/543/ந8.285 வேண்டும் பவுசை பெறலாம் நம(க்)கொரு

++ Variant to 418

++ N10.543 வேண்டும்பவுசிபெறலாம்இனிமேல்

++ N8.285 வேண்டும்ப விசுபெ றலாமினி மேலும்

\*\*419/544/ந8.286 வே றொரு தீங்குமில்லை.

++ Variant to 419

++ N10.544 வேறொருகுற்றமில்லை

++ N8.286 வேறேமா சில்லையென

[[N10.20

((535 = ந8.274 எண்ணாதபுத்தியைஎண்ணினால் தெய்வம்

((536 = ந8.275 இடையில்சதிக்கும்என்று.

420/537/ந8.276 வேதியனுக் கொரு யெள்ளள வாகிலும்

++ Variant to 420

++ N10.537=N8.276 எள்ளளவாகிலும் வேதியனுக்குஒரு

421/528/ந8.277 விசனங்கள் கிடையாது.

++ Variant to 421

++ N10.528 விசாரங்கள் இல்லாமல்

++ N8.277 விசாரமுந் தட்டாமல்

\*\*422/547/ந8.289 வேசய கொன்ற ரெத்தவிறியாலே

++ Variant to 422

++ N10.547 தாதியைகொன்றறெத்தவிறியால்

++ N8.289 வேசையைக் கொன்றதோர் ரத்தவெ றியில்

\*\*423/548/ந8.290 வெய்யில் தகை யெழும்பி

++ Variant to 423

++ N10.548 தண்ணிர்தகை எழும்பி

++ N8.290 வெயிவிறற்கை யெழும்பி

\*\*424/545/ந8.287 வெருண்டொரு காதம் யிருண்ட

\*\*425/546/ந8.288 வனத்தில் விரவாய் வளி நடக்க

++ Variant to 424-5

++ N10.545-6 வெட்டநிலத்தில்இரண்டொருகாதம் /  
விரைந்துநடக்கலுற்றான்

++ N8.287-8 விண்டநி லம்விட்டு ரண்டொரு காதம் /  
விரைந்துந டத்திடவே

\*\*426/539/ந8.281 சன்டை பிடிக்கின்ற வண்ட கிளவி மகள்

\*\*427/540/ந8.282 தங்கசரப்பணியை

++ Variant to 427

++ N8.282 தனையினு டைமைகளை

\*\*428/541/ந8.283 தட்டாண்டத்தில் விலைக்காட்டலாமென்று

\*\*429/542/ந8.284 சந்தோஸ(ம்) மெத்த மெத்த கண்ணி கயற்றோடு

[[in N10.22 we find for N1.422-429 a different order, as follows:

((N10.539-541=\*\*N1.426-428

N10.542=\*\*N1.429

N10.543-4=\*\*N1.418-419

N10.545-6=\*\*N1.424-425

N10.547=\*\*N1.422

N10.548=\*\*N1.423

[[N10.23<sup>3</sup>

((549 தாங்கும்படிகல்லில் தொங்கல் உடமையை  
((550 சற்றே இறக்கிவைத்தான்.

430/560-1/ந8.301-2 தோண்டியதொட்டவ கல்லில் மிதித்திடவே

++ Variant to 430

++ N10.560-1 கண்ணிகயிற்றோடு தோண்டியதொட்டு /  
கல்லில் மிதித்திடவே++ N8.301-2 கண்ணியோடு கையில் தோண்டியைத்  
தொட்டந்த கல்லிமி தித்திடவே

431/562/ந8.303 கல்பிடைக்குள்ளொரு சற்ப்ப மிருந்து

432/563/ந8.304 கடித்தது பாப்பானை.

++ Variant to 432

++ N10.563 கடித்தது வேதியனை

++ N8.304 கடித்திடும் வேதியனை

[[N10.23

((564=ந8.305 மெய்யில் கடித்தவிசத்தினால் கையை

((565=ந8.306 விறைத்து விறைத்துக்க

((566=ந8.307 வேட்டி உடமையும் மெல்லநகண்டு

((567=ந8.308 விழுந்திடும் கிணற்றில்

433/568/ந8.309 கய்யிலுட்மையத்தில் விளவே

434/569/ந8.310 கரயிலவன் வினூந்தான்.

435/570/ந8.311 கண்டவருண்டென்று கூப்பிட்டு கூப்பிட்டு

436/571/ந8.312 காட்டில் பதபதைக்க

++ Variant to 436

++ N10.571 காட்டில் பதபதைத்தான்

++ N8.312 காட்டில் பதபதைத்து

[[N10.23

((572=ந8.313 கொண்டவிசத்திற்கு பண்டிதனையும்

((573=ந8.314 குழியோடிடுவானை இப்போ

((574=ந8.315 கூட்டிவரவேணும் என்ற பொழுதிலே

((575=ந8.316 கொண்டதுபாம்புவிசம்

437/576/ந8.317 யிரண்டடி தூக்கி யெடுக்குமுன் னாளில்

++ Variant to 437

++ N10.576 இரண்டடி எடுத்துநடக்குமுன் நாவில் ரெத்தம்

++ N8.317 ரண்டடி தூக்கியெடுக்குமுன்னே யவன்

438/577 கோதிகொள்ளவே

++ Variant to 438

++ N10.577 குதிகொள்ளவே

439/578/ந8.319 மிந்த உலகத்துக்கு ஆகாது யென்று

440/578-9/ந8.319-20 பாப்பானும் யிறந்து விட்டானே.

++ Variant to 439-40

++ N10.578-9 இந்த உலகத்துக்காதன்று பாப்பானும் /  
இறந்தானே++ N8.319-20 இந்தவுலகத்துக் காகாமல் பார்ப்பானும் /  
இறந்துவிட்டா னுடனே

441/585 போனார் கயிலயில் மூபேருமாகவே ஒன்று

442/586/ந8.321 பொல்லாத பாவியும் அண்ணனும் தங்கையுமாக

++ Variant to 422

++ N8.321 பொல்லாத வேதியனோடண்ணன் தங்கையுமாக

443/587/ந8.322 ஆதிசிவனார் யிருக்கும் கயிலாமும் தன்னில்

<sup>3</sup> The lines are not found in N1.

444/588/ந8.323-4 ஆகாத பாவியை அப்பாலே நில்லென்று சொன்னார்.  
 445/589 நில்லென்று சொல்லி  
 446/589 நிருத்தி மறயவந்தனை  
 447/590 நேரிளயாளும்  
 448/590-1 தமயனை(ப்) பாற்த்தேது சொல்வார்.

[[N10.24

((592 கொல்லாமல் கொன்றபளியைதிரும்பவும்  
 ((593 கூறுவார்மெம்பியன்தேவிக்குபிள்ளையதாக  
 ((594 அல்லல்தவிர்த்திடும் ஆதிபரன்சொன்னதாலே  
 ((595 அண்ணனும்தங்கையும் ஏதுமொழிசொல்லு வாராம்

449/596/ந8.327 கல்லாலே கொன்ற  
 450/597/ந8.327 பளிய திரும்பவும் வாங்க

++ Variant to 449-50

++ N8.327 கல்லாலே கொன்ற மறையவன் தன்பழி வாங்க

451/598/ந8.328 காசினி தன்னில் பிறப்பிக்க  
 452/598/ந8.328 வேணும் சிவநே  
 453=460/599 நல்லது யென்று நயினார்.  
 454=460/599 மனது மகிள்ந்து  
 455=461/600/ந8.335 நாட்டில் பிறப்பிக்க  
 456=461-2/600/ந8.335 கூட்டகணக்கில் யெளுதும்  
 457/601 யெளுதிடும் யென்று  
 458/601 ஈஸ் பரனார் சொன்ன போது  
 459/602-3/ந8.336 யெல்லோரும் நல்லது யென்று சிவனோடுரைத்தார்.  
 460=453 நல்லது யென்று நயினார் மனது மகிள்ந்து  
 461=455 நாட்டிலே பிறப்பிக்கக் கூட்ட  
 462=456 கணக்கி லெளுதும்  
 463/618/ந8.337 யெளுதிடும் மென்று சொல்லிய - சோளன்  
 464/618-9/ந8.337 அரசனவனுடதேவி தோகை நல்லாளுமே  
 465/619 பிள்ளையில்லாமல் திகைத்தான்.  
 466/620 தேனார்மொளியான் திகை(த்)தந்த செம்பியன்தேவி  
 467 செம்பியன்தேவி திகைத்தேது வார்த்தைச் சொல்வாளாம்.

[[N10.25

((621 செப்புவான் சஞ்சலம் எல்லாம்  
 ((622 தன்மன்னவனோடே.

468/623 யேனோ மதலை நமக்கு ஒன்றில்லாத பாபம்  
 469/624 யிருந்தால் யிறந்தால் யினிகூடங்காரது செய்வார்.  
 470/634 உய்யும் புவிதனில் யெத்தனைபேர் பிள்ளையில்லார்.  
 471/635 உடயோன் விதித்த விதிவசம் ஒண்ணுதல் கேளு  
 472/636 யின்னிலந் தன்னிலே நல்மகனை யின்றெடுத்தாக்கால்  
 473/637 யெல்லோற்க்கும் அன்னமிட்டேங்கி மகிள் வேண்டாமோ.  
 474 நல்லமகனை மணி தொட்டின் மேலே கிடத்தி  
 475 நாடிவிளக்கேற்றி மோடியாய் தாராட்டேனோ.

[[N10.26

((638 முன்பாக என் மகன்தன்னை முகத்தோட  
 ((639 ணைத்து.  
 ((640 கொஞ்சிவிளையாடகண்டு மகிள்வேண்டா

476/641 அன்பாய் மகனுக்கு கிண்கிணி நூல்புரம் கொஞ்ச  
 477/642 ஆதரவாய் வரும் பாவினை காண வேண்டாமோ.

[[N10.26

((643 = \*\*N1.482  
 ((644 = \*\*N1.483

478/645 ஆவலுடன் பல ஆய்த வித்தயும்கற்று  
 479/646 அங்கத்திலே வரும் சங்கீதம் கேள்க்க வேண்டாமோ.

++ Variant to 479

++ N10.646 அங்கத்தில்வந்திடும்சங்கீதம்காணண்டாமோ

480/647-8 மேவு மடவார்கள் மிக்க கலியாணம் செய்து

++ Variant to 480

++ N10.647-8 வேண்டும்மகனார்க்கு மிக்ககலியாணம் செய்து

481/649 வெற்றி முரசிகள் ஓக்க அதிர வேண்டாமோ.

\*\*482/643 பாவினையாக மகனாரை பள்ளியில் வைத்து

\*\*483/644 பள்ளி புகுந்து படிப்பது காண வேண்டாமோ.<sup>4</sup>

484/650 தாபமோடுள்ள சடங்கு பலது முகித்துத்

++ Variant to 484

++ N10.650 தாகமோடுள்ளசடங்குபலதுமுடித்து

485/651-2 தாயாரை கைதொள ஆசாய்னாந் மகிளேனோ.

486/661 அந்தனா னொரு சோளந்தேவி

487/661 அசயா மணி மடந்தை

488/662 அய்யகோ உயிர் தேய்யவே

489/662-3 உள்ளம் நய்யவே உடலசய

490/664/ந8.338 யெந்த னாளிலு முகியா தவம்

491/665/ந8.338 யேற்றி முகித்திடவே

++ Variant to 490-1

++ N8.338 சோர்விலா ததவம் செய்திட ஈசனி ரங்கி

492/666 யிமயோருட உமயான்பல

493/667 உமை கேள்வனும் வெளியாய்

++ Variant to 493

++ N10.667 உமை கேளனும் வெளியாய்

494/668 உய்வெளியாகிய பகவானுயிர்

495/668-9 வேந்தர் முகம் நோக்கி

++ Variant to 494-5

++ N10.668-9 வெளியாகியபகவானுயிர்வேந்தன் / முகம் நோக்கி

496/670 வீண்போய மன்னா உனக்கேபிள்ளை

++ Variant to 496

++ N10.670 விளிப்போமென அவர்க்கேபிள்ளை

497/671 தனக்கெதி யில்லைக் காண்

++ Variant to 497

++ N10.671 தனக்கே விதி இல்லை காண்

[[N10.27f.

((672 அழியாமனதரனார் அவர்

((673 அருளிசெய்தபடியே

((674 அரனே அருள் புரிவீரன்று

((675 அரசனுரைசெய்ய

((676 மாணமதிசடையே எனவன்

((677 வனத்தே ஒருமறையோன்

((678 வதைத்தானையும் முன்னோனையும்

((679 வகுப்போமன உரைத்தான்

((680 உரைத்தேசிவநாயகன்

((681 உமக்கே அவன்வெளியாய்

((681.1 உனக்கே பிள்ளை கொடுத்தோம் என

((682 உரைத்த மொளி கேட்டு

[[N10.28

((690 புகுந்தேசிலகாலகாலமும் புகழ்தேவி

((691 யருடனே.

((692 புனிவாணனும் மதியும் மென்ன

((693 புகள்ந்தே இனிதிருந்தார்

((694 மகிழ்ந்தேகுலமானாரோடு

((695 வாழ்கின்றதோர் நாளில்

((696 வாகாய்த்திருத்தேவி திருவயற்றில்

<sup>4</sup> According to N10.26 the lines of N1.482-3 should follow N1.477.

- ((697 கெற்ப்பம்வளர  
 ((698 முன்னாள்வனமதிலே முடித்தோனும்  
 ((699 முன்னோனும்.  
 ((700 முடியாள்க்கள் மாடாடுகள் முடியும் படிக்கிதாய்  
 ((701/-ந8.340 என்னாயகன் அருளால் இருபேரும் ஒரு உருவாய்  
 ((702/-ந8.341 இரவோடவன் வயற்றில் அவதரித்தோர் நாளில்  
 ((703 ஒரு நாள் அவதரித்தபிள்ளை உகந்துகருவுருவாய்  
 ((704 உடையோன் அருள்படியே. பிள்ளை ஊர்ந்து  
 ((705 துடித்திடுமாம்.  
 ((706 திருநாளன் அளகன்திருத்தேவிமனம்  
 ((707 மகிழ்ந்து.  
 ((708 தேவ தேவனை வணங்கி திருத்தேவி மனம்  
 ((709 திகைத்தாள்.

498/710 அரை மாசமும் புவி மீதினில்  
 499/710-1 அஞ்சோடஞ்சி நிறய.

[[N10.29

- ((712 அரசன்திருத்தேவி வயறுளைந்து  
 ((713 மதிமயங்கி.

- 500 அறிவோம் மென னோக்காடிது  
 501 ஆவோமென அறிந்தார்.  
 502 ஆரூர்பெருமாரே உன(க்)கபயம்  
 503 உனக்கபயம்  
 504 வேற்ப்பாள் வெதும்பிடுவாள்.  
 505 பிள்ளை விதனங் கடிதென்பாள்.  
 506/714 ஆகோவென அருவாள்.  
 507/714-5 மலரனை மேல் பய்ய சரிவாள்.  
 508/716 ஓகோ மருத்துவமேபிள்ளை  
 509/716-7 உனக்கேப் பதமென்பாள்.  
 510/718-9 யென்பாளுடன் மெலிவாள்.  
 511/718-9 யினமான் போல விருந்தருவாள்.

++ Variant to 510-1

++ N10.718-9 என்பாள் உடல்மெலிவாள் இளமான் / போல்வலம் வருவாள்.

512/726 பொன்போல முகம் வேற்ப்பாள்.  
 513/726-7 புவிமீதில் புரண்டருவாள்.

++ Variant to 512-3

++ N10.726-7 பொன்போல்முகம்வியர்ப்பாள் புவிமீதில் / புரண்டருவாள்.

- 514 புவியப் படை(த்)தோநே.  
 515 பொல்லாங்கல்லோ செய்தாள்.  
 516/728 நஞ்சோ நடுவயிற்றில்  
 517/728 னாதன் தரிப்பித்தானோ.

++ Variant to 516-7

++ N10.728 நஞ்சுநடுவயிற்றில் நாதன்தரித்தானோ

518/729 நானோ யிது படுவோயிது  
 519/729-30 நடுவொன்றில்லை அய்யயோ

++ Variant to 518-9

++ N10.729-30 நானோஇதுபடுவேனினிநடுவில்லை / யாஜயய் யோ

520/731 வாளத் தடை போலே  
 521/731 சித்திர வற்றனதுடை ரண்டும்

++ Variant to 520-1

++ N10.731 வாளதுடை போலே சித்திரவற்றனதுடை ரண்டும்

522/732 வயறும் குலைத்திடயும்  
 523/732 கடவயறு மிருகுது அய்யயோ

++ Variant to 522-3

++ N10.732 வயறும் அடிவயறும் கடவயறும் நோகுதய்யய்யோ

[[N10.30

- ((733 வெட்டிவிட்டமரம்போல் உடல்  
 ((734 வயறும் தோகுதய்யய்யோ  
 ((735 விதியோ இது சதியோ என்று  
 ((736 விழுவாள் எழுந்திருப்பாள்  
 ((737 கூட்டியே பெண்கள் அணைப்பார்  
 ((738 பெண்கள் கமலமுகம் துடைப்பார்  
 ((739 கன்னியே பிளைளை பிறக்கும் இப்போ  
 ((740 கலங்காதே என்பாள்  
 ((741 பொன் போல் உள்ளனே எல்லாம்  
 ((742 பொடியாகுது எனவே  
 ((743 புத்திரனில்லைசத்துரு இது போதும்  
 ((744 மருத்துவமே.

524/745 காலத்த உண்டவர் போலே

525/746 உடல்கட்டு விழுகுது நெரிய

++ Variant to 524-5

++ N10.745-6 காலத்தே உண்ட வயறது போல் கட்டுவிடுகு /  
-து அய்யய் யோ.

- ((747 கடந்தே உயிர் போகுமுன்னே. என்கண  
 ((748 வரைவரச்சொல்லுங் கோ  
 ((749 காலமேசிறிதானநாளையில் கைதந்த  
 ((750 தோர்கணவன்.

526/751 கண்ணிலே முளிக்க சொல்லுங்கோ.

527/751-2 கன்னிமார்களே நீங்கள்

++ Variant to 526-7

++ N10.751-2 கண்ணில்வந்து முளிக்கசொல்லுங்கோ  
கன்னிமார் / களேநீங்கள்.

528/753 மாலைதந்தனர் மணமுண்டவர்

529/754 மணவாளவரெங்கே

++ Variant to 528-9

++ N10.753-4 மாலைதந்தன்னை மணம் முடித்ததோர் /  
மணவாளனார் எங்கே

530/755 மன்னவா உயிர்கன்னுதே.

531/755 மதிப்பேன்கண்ணில் முளிப்பாயே.

[[N10.31

((756=751 கண்ணில் முளிப்பாயே

532/763 கண்ணில் முளிக்க கருதியே மன்னவனாரை

533/764 கய்யோடே நீங்கள் கூட்டிவர வேணுமிப்போ

++ Variant to 532-3

++ N10.763-4 கண்ணில் முளிக்க கருதியே மன்னவனாரை  
/ கையுடன்சென்று கூட்டிவாருங்கோ என்றார்.

534/765 யென்னுட பக்கத்திலிருக்கிற தோளிமார் நீங்கள்

535/766 யீராசாவை சென்று அளைத்து வாருமெடி பெண்ணே

536/767 கோல வயிற்றிலே கல்லா கனக்குதே பிள்ளை

537/768 கூறுங்கே பெற்று பிளைப்பதற்கென்னுயிர் தோளி

538/775 புத்தியத்து போனால் பொன்னேதிருத்தேவியம்மா

++ Variant to 538

++ N10.775 புத்தியது சொன்னாய் பெண்ணே திருத்தேவி  
அம்மா

539/776-7 பூவுலகானதில் யாபேற்கு உள்ளமுறைதான்

++ Variant to 539

++ N10.776-7 இது எல்லோக்கும் உள்ளமுறையல்ல  
வேறொன் / றும் இல்லை

540/778 யில்லயே யெந்தன்வயிற்றில் சனித்ததோர் பிள்ளை

541/779 யீனம் யிரக்கமில்லாத நெட்டஊர் குளந்தை

542/780 குளந்தை யிதில்லைக் காண்

543/780 யினக்கு உதவ மாட்டாது.

544/781 கூத்துவனாக வயிற்றில்

545/781 ஸெனித்தது கொல்ல

++ Variant to 544-5

++ N10.781 ...செனிப்பித்தார் கொல்ல

[[N10.32

((782 கொல்ல பலதெய்வத்தின்குறைகள் உண்டோ

((783 கோலபகவதியாளுக்கு தேரொன்றுவைப்பேன்

546/784 யென்னடி பெண்ணே

547/784 மருத்துவமே யின(க்)கிப்போ

++ Variant to 546-7

++ N10.784 ....மருத்துவமே இப்போது

548/785 யீன்றெடுத்திடவே

549/785 லெகூணமுண்டாக்கால் பாரு.

++ Variant to 548-9

++ N10.785 ஈனங்கடுத்திடலெச்சணம்உண்டானால் /  
சொல்லு

550/787 பாற்த்ததினால் பளுதில்லையே திரு(த்)தேவி

551/788 பாருலகானதில் யாபேற்கு உள்ளமுறைதான்

552/789 உள்ள முறையே உடன் கொடுவாருங்கோ வென்று

553/790 உத்த நிலத்திலே சத்திரமிட்டு யெருதி

++ Variant to 553

++ N10.790 உற்றநிலத்தில்சந்தணம்மிட்டுமெழுகி

554/791-2 மெளுகியே பன்னீரும் சந்தணம் கொண்டு தொளித்து

555/793 மேகவறணப் பட்டு னாள் கொண்டு உள்ளுற முடி

556/794 முடிநிறமரக்கால் நிறனானியும் வைத்து

557/795 முப்பது பொன்னயும் முந்தி கெட்டாகவே வைத்தார்.

558/796 கெட்டி வைப்பது வன்ன கலத்திலே யிட்டு

559/797 கிறுபயுடனே மடவார்களெல்லோரும் காண

560/798-9 காணவே கிண்ணியில் மூன்று குல யெண்ணை வாங்கி

561/800 கன்னியே அஞ்சாதேயென்று வயிற்றினிலிட்டார்.

562/801 யிட்டிடும் யெண்ணை யிவள் வயிறானதில் சென்று

[[N10.32

((802 எழுந்துதிருத்தேவிதன்னைவலுவாய் இருத்தி

((803 இருந்ததைகண்டு இயல் தோழிமார்கள் நடுங்கி

563/804 யெல்லோரும் காண மெய் னோவுது டங்கிடுமாமே.

564/813 பத்தான மாஸ்த்தயிலே

565/813 பாரரசன் திருத்தேவி

[[N10.33

((814 மெத்தானமின்னோவுமெலிவதுவும்கண்டவுடன்

((815 மருத்துவத்தாள்முகம்நோக்கி

((816 வருத்தமுற்றாள்திருத் தேவி

((817 உருத்திடுவாள் கருத்தரித்து

566 உற்றான ஆளோடி

567 உறமுறயாள் குணம் சொல்லி

568 மற்று நிகரொவ்வாத

569 மருத்துவத்தாள் சொல்ப் படியே



- 570 உரைத்திடுவாள் கருத்திலிட்டு  
 571/818 உருத்திரண்ட கெற்ப்பமதாய்  
 572/819 பொருத் தெலும்பும் குறுக்கெலும்பும்  
 573/819-20 பொன்னாந சரீரமெல்லாம்  
 574/821 வயிற்றில் நெரி புதல்வநென்னா  
 575/822 வயிற்றில் நெரிப்பாகுதய்யோ  
 576 கருங்கல்லோ யென் வயத்தில்  
 577 கல்லாக கனக்குதம்மா  
 578 யிந்தசெய்தி தெரியுமானால்  
 579 யிருப்பேனோ அருந்தவசி  
 580 கணவனயும் அறியாமல்  
 581 கருமருந்தெ குடித்தேனில்லை.  
 582 ஆடுகெற்ப்பம் ஆனாலும்  
 583 அலறியொரு மறியீணும்.  
 584 மாடு கெற்ப்பம் ஆனாலும்  
 585 மறுகியொரு கன்று யீணும்.  
 586 அயிரெட்டி பங்காக  
 587 அடிமுறிகள் னோகுதம்மா

[[N10.33ff.

- ((823 நெருப்புவந்து அனல்கொளுத்தி  
 ((824 நெஞ்சில்வந்துகரையேறி  
 ((825 இருக்குதடிதாதியரேஇசங்குதில்லைமுச்சனக்கு

[[N10.34

- ((834 புவியில் அரன்தனக்கு முன்னாள்பொல்லாப்புசெய்தேனோ  
 ((835 மதிப்பினான்மடக்கொடியே  
 ((836 மன்னவர்க்கு உரையும் என்றார்  
 ((837 என்றான் - மெய் தளந்துமுகம்  
 ((838 இருபுறமும் வேர்த்தொழுக  
 ((839 நின்றான் கண்ணீர்சொரியநிலத்தில் இரு  
 ((840 கையறைய  
 ((841 பெண்ணாகபிறந்தவர்க்கு பிரமனிட்டகட்டளையோ  
 ((842 ஒன்றாலும் ஆகுதில்லை  
 ((843 உறுதினகால்பள்ளிகொண்டோன்  
 ((844 மன்றாமல்தவங்கள்செய்தேன்  
 ((845 வரங்கள் பெற்றேன் சாகவென்றோ  
 ((846 சாவதுக்கோநோகுதடிசெனித்தபிள்ளையால் வயிறு  
 ((847 நோவதற்க்கு குறைகளில்லை  
 ((848 நொம்பலப்பட்டென் உயிர்தான்

[[N10.35

- ((853 போவதற்க்கு குறிசொல்லடி பெண்ணீமருத்துவமே  
 ((854 ஆபத்துக்கு குறிசொல்லி என்றமுதவளும் இரங்கலுற்றான்  
 ((855 இரங்கபெற்றார் சிவன்செயலால் இரங்கலுற்றார் மாதாவும்  
 ((856 மாதாவைமுகம் நோக்கி மருத்துவத்தான் உரைத்திடுவாள்  
 ((857 குதாடும் வேல்விழியே தோகையரே அஞ்சாதே  
 ((860 ஏதாலும் குறைகளில்லை ஏந்தினையே பெறுவாய் இப்போ  
 ((861 வேதாவின்கற்ப்பனையோ விதிவசம்தான்  
 ((862 தப்பிடுமோ.  
 ((863 தப்பிடுமோ என்றுரைத்தாய்தாரகுளலே  
 ((864 மருத்துவமே  
 ((865 இப்பாரில் உள்ளபெண்கள் யாபேரும் பெற்ற  
 ((866 டுக்கல்லையோ  
 ((867 ஒப்போதான் உன்குறிதான் ஒன்றுவைத்தொன்றுரையாதே  
 ((868 செப்பாயோவொருவாற்றத்தை  
 ((869 திருந்தமொழிசொல்லுமென்றான்.

[[N10.35

- ((875 சொல்லும் என்ற போதிலந்த  
 ((876 துடியிடையான் மருத்துவமும்  
 ((877 வல்லவரிகல்லதிலே வருத்திவைத்த எழுத்ததுவோ

[[N10.36

- ((878 எல்லையில்லா என்குறிதான் எழுதிடலாம் செப்பேட்டில்  
 ((879 நல்லதன்மை உண்மை சொன்னேன்  
 ((880 நடுக்கமுறவேண்டாங்காண்

[[N10.36

- ((887 நடுங்குதுகாண்எந்தனுள்ளம்  
 ((888 நண்ணுதலேமருத்துவமே  
 ((889 கொடும்பகையோகடும்சனியன்  
 ((890 கூற்றுவனோமாற்றானோ  
 ((891 இடும்புகள்செய்வயற்றில்என்னபிள்ளை மாதாவே  
 ((892 காதலுறசெய்ததவம்  
 ((893 கருத்தளிக்கவந்ததுவோ  
 ((894 கருத்தளிந்து மெய்தளர்ந்து  
 ((895 கமலமுகம்சோரவிட்டாள்  
 ((896 ஒருவரையும்முகம்பாராள் உலையில்மெமுக  
 ((897 ன் உருகி.  
 ((898 பொருத்தனபெண்கொடியாள்  
 ((899 பிள்ளைஇல்லைகல்லோவென்றாள்  
 ((900 வருத்தமுற்றாள்திருத்தேவி  
 ((901 மக்களில்லை கல் லோஎன்றாள்

[[N10.37

- ((902 எரிகொடுத்தும் என்வயற்றில் என்னபிள்ளைமாதாவே  
 ((903 அரிபிரமன்தனக்குமுன்னாள் அடியாள்நான்செய்ததுவோ  
 ((904 பிழைகள்உண்டோ மருத்துவவேபினைப் பானோ என்மகள்தான்  
 ((905 இவள்வயற்றில் சென்ததபிள்ளை  
 ((906 இதுபேறாய் பெறுவானோ

[[N10.37

- ((912 பழையமொளிசொல்லுகிறேன்பழம்பமுத்தால்கொப்  
 ((913 பில் இருந்திடுமோ  
 ((914 மணம் பொதிந்தகுழலாளே மலங்காதேபிள்ளை  
 ((915 பெறுவாய் என்றாள்  
 ((916 பிறக்கும் என்று உரைத்தகுறி  
 ((917 உருக்கமதாய் உரைத்தனனே  
 ((918 விறைக்குதுகாண் மெய்தளர்ந்து  
 ((919 மேனி எல்லாம் தணலாகி  
 ((920 அறைக்குள்வைத்ததங்கமது  
 ((921 அதிகமுள்ள மாத்தனவே  
 ((922 உறைக்குநின்றுவாழ்வாங்கினாப்போல்  
 ((923 உமைதிருவும்வயற்உழைந்தாள்

- 588 மளைபொளிந்த குளலாளே  
 589 மலங்காதே பிள்ளை பிறக்குமென்றார்.  
 590 வல்லவரி கல்லதிலே  
 591 வருத்தி வைத்த யெளுத்ததுவோ.  
 592 காரிகயாள் மெய்னோக  
 593 கன்னிநல்ல குடமுடய  
 594 கன்னிக்குடமுடய  
 595 கண்டாளே மருத்துவமும்  
 596/924 திருவயிறு வாளந்திலங்க  
 597/924-5/ந8.344-5 சிறந்து ரண்டு குளந்தயது  
 598/926/ந8.344-5 ஒரு குளந்தை பிறந்தபோது  
 599/926/ந8.344-5 ஓவியத்தார் குரவையிட்டார்.

++ Variant to 597-9

++ N8.344-5 இரண்டுபே ரிலண்ணன் தானுமே முன்பிறந்த  
தானே / பிள்ளைபி றந்திட வேகுர வையிட்டு மாதர்

- 600/927 மறுபடியும் பெண் பிறந்து  
 601/927 மனமகிளந்தார் தாதியர்கள்

[[N10.37

- ((928 திருமுன்பே சென்றுநின்று தெளிந்துரைத்தார்செம்  
 ((929 பியர்க்கு

[[N10.38

- ((948-955  
 ((948 செம்பியனும்தான் கேட்டு சிந்தையதுபுகளமுற்று  
 ((949 தம்பிபிறந்தானவே சந்தோசமாய் மனமகிழ்ந்து  
 ((950 கெம்பிடுமாமாம படைவீடு கீளத்தெருகோவிலுகளில்  
 ((951 அம்பனையாள் வேல்விளியாள் அரிவையர்கள்

- ((952 குரவைபாட.  
 ((39.953 படிபுகளும்செம்பியர்க்குபாலர்வந்துபிறந்தபலன்  
 ((954 அடியளந்து குறித்தாராம் அருகேநின்ற பிள்ளைமார்கள்  
 ((955 உற்றதொருசெம்பியனும்ஒட்டனையும்வரவளைத்து

602 மந்திரி மார்தனை யளைத்து  
 603/ந8.348 வரவளைத்தார் சோசியநெ

++ Variant to 603

++ N8.348 ஏற்ற அரசனும் சோதிட ரையழைத் தேதான்

[[N10.39

((956-965

- ((956 கற்றமிழ்சேர் சோதிரியேகடுகனவே கூட்டிவாடா  
 ((957 நீடியதோர்படைவீடுநீண்டமுத்தாவெளியும்விட்டு  
 ((958 நாளிகையில் ஓடுவானாம் நல்லதொருஓட்டனவன்  
 ((959 கட்டுடனேஓட்டனவன்காலோட்டமாய் ஓடி  
 ((960 திட்டனவேசோதிரியை சென்றளைத்துசெய்தி கொல்ல  
 ((961 அரசர்குலமன்னவர்க்கு ஆணும் பெண்  
 ((962 னும் பிறந்திருக்கு.  
 ((963 முரசைதிருபடைவீடுமோசம்வரும்இன்றுமுதல்  
 ((964 வரும்வினைதான்வரும்வழிக்கு  
 ((965 வராது வராதன்றான்

[[N10.40

- ((978 பஞ்சாங்கம் நாள்தரிப்புபரல்பரத்தும்பலகைகளும்  
 ((979 அஞ்சாமல் தானடுத்து அழகுடனேநடக்குறாராம்

604/980 காறந்த பால் நெய்யது போல  
 605/980 கய்யோடே சோசியநெ  
 606/980 வந்து அந்த சோசியனும்

++ Variant to 604-6

++ N10.980 சோதிரியும் ஓட்டனுமாய்சுறுதியிலேதானடந்து

607 வளர் சோளன்தனை தொளுதாரே.

[[N10.40

- ((981 கருதியவர் செல்லும் நேரம் கனபடைகள்  
 ((982 சூள்ந்து நிற்க்க.  
 ((983 கண்டனனேநின்றநிலைகாவலவன்  
 ((984 சோதிரியும்  
 ((985 சென்றுநின்றுசோதிரியும் செம்பியனிடம்  
 ((986 முகம்காட்ட  
 ((987 இன்றுஒருசோதிடம்தான்எனக்கறியசொல்  
 ((988 லும்என்றார்.

[[N10.40

- ((998 அன்றுநல்ல சோதிரியும்  
 ((999 ஐங்கரனைத் தொழுது  
 ((1000 வென்றியுள்ள நெல் பொரியும்  
 ((1001 விடலை கடலை என்னும்  
 ((41.1002 நன்றியுடன் வாங்கிவைத்து நல்லறுகுமுடிசூட்டி  
 ((1003 ஐங்கரனைதான் தொழுது ஆனதட்டுதான் வரைந்து  
 ((1004 சங்கைபெறபரல்எடுத்துதான்பலகைஅதில்பரப்பி  
 ((1005 சுத்திவைத்த பொர்ச்சத்திலே சொல்லுவானாம்  
 ((1006 சோதிரியும்  
 ((1007 மத்திபமாய் இருக்குது காண்மக்கள்வந்து  
 ((1008 பிறந்தபலன்  
 ((1009 அயன்விதித்தபடிவருங்காண்  
 ((1010 அடியேன்நான் சொல்வதன்ன  
 ((1011 விதனப்படவேண்டாங்காண்வெட்டனவே  
 ((1012 சொல்லுமென்றார்.  
 ((1013 நாட்டமுள்ளசோதிரியே  
 ((1014 நன்மைதீமைஇரண்டையுமே  
 ((1015 சேட்டமுடன் சொல்லும்என்று  
 ((1016 செம்பியனும்தெளிந்திருந்தானே

608/1026 தெளிந்திருந்திருந்த செம்பியர் முன்  
609/1026-7 சென்று நின்று சோசியனும்  
610/1028 மொளிந்தானே சாஸ்த்திரத்தின்  
611/1028 முன்னூலின் முறைப் படியே

[[N10.42  
((1029 = \*\*N1.614

\*\*612/1031/ந8.361 அளிந்திடுமே பிறந்த பிள்ளை  
++ Variant to 612  
++ N10.1031 இளந்திடுவீர் மன்னவனே மக்களவர்  
++ N8.361 இறந்திடும் பிறந்த பிள்ளை எழில்கேது நின்ற தா  
-னம்

613/1030 அவனி மோயரிமை.  
\*\*614/1029/ந8.354 யிறந்திடுமே படைவிடுதனில்  
++ Variant to 614  
++ N10.1029 அழிந்திடுங்காண் படைவீடு  
++ N8.354 பழுதாகும் படைவீ டோடு பாரெல்லாம்  
பாழதாகும்

[[N10.42  
((1031 = \*\*N1. 612

615/1032 யிவர் பிறந்த பலாபலநே  
616/1033-4 யென்ன பலன் கண்டுரைத்தா யியலுடைய சோசியநே  
617/1035-6 மொளிந்தனநே சாஸ்த்திரத்தின் முன்னூலின் முறைப்படியே.  
++Variant 617  
++ N10.1035-6 முன்னூலின் சாஸ்த்திரத்தைமுறைப்படியே /  
மொழிந்ததல்லாம்.

[[N10.42  
((1037 நன்னூலின் சாஸ்த்திரத்தைநானும்  
((1038 உரைக்கநீங்கள்கேளும்  
((1039 யின்னம்யின்னம்பலாபலாங்கள்  
((1040 இனக்கறியசெப்பும்என்றாரே

[[N10.42  
((1041 தானமின்றிதவம் அனியும்சனியுதயம்பிறந்தபிள்ளை  
((1042 வானிபமின்றிகளவுசெய்து வதைபடுவதும்களவால்  
((1043 ஈனமின்றி இவரிக்கில் இந்தராச்சியமெல்லாம்முடியும்  
((1044 = \*\*ந1.624  
((1045 = \*\*ந1.625

[[N10.42  
((1046 = \*\*ந1.628/ந8.353/ந2.335  
((1047/~ந8.354/~ந2.336 பழுதாகும்படைவீடு பாருலகல்லாம் அழியும்  
((1048/ந8.355/ந2.337 எழிதானகருமமல்லஇயல்சோளாஉன்நகால்

618/1049/ந8.356/ந2.338 அளிந்திடுமே படைவீடு அவரிருவர் பிறந்த பலன்.  
++ Variant to 618  
++ N10.1049 அளிவாக பிறந்த மக்கள் அரசாள  
மாட்டார்கள்.  
++ N8.356 அழிவாக்கப் பிறந்த மக்கள் அரசாள்வ தில்லை  
தானே.

[[N10.43  
((1050 = \*\*N1.623, 626-27/N8.357/N2.339  
((1051 நிறைவாகநின்றதற்க்குநிச்சயம்தான்சொல்லுகிறேன்  
((1052 வரைசேரும்பூசந்தனத்தாள்மாதாவுக்குஇவர்பிறந்து  
((1053 விரைசேரும்மாளிகையும்விதிவசத்தால்அழிந்திடுமே

[[N10.43  
((1054/ந8.361 இறந்திடுமேபிறந்தபிள்ளை கேதுஉண்டாகும்இடத்தில்  
((1055/ந8.362 உறைந்தபுதன்நிற்ககையிலே குளந்தைக்கு

((1056 ஓங்கும்வித்தை வராது.  
 ((1057 நான் பறைந்ததல்லாம்மெய்வாக்கு  
 ((1058/ந8.363 பாழ்படுத்திஊர்கெடுப்பான்.  
 ((1059/~ந8.364/ந8.346 சிறந்தமுடிசெம்பியனேசெப்பினேன்நடைதப்பாது

[[N10.43  
 ((1060/ந8.365/ந2.347 தப்பாதப்பா அட்டமத்தில்சந்திரனில்குளிகைநிற்க்க  
 ((1061 = \*\*N1.629/~N8.366/N2.348  
 ((1062 = \*\*ந1.630-1/ந8.367/ந2.349  
 ((1063 = \*\*ந1.632-3/ந8.368/ந2.350

[[N10.43  
 ((1064/~ந8.369/ந8.351 அளிந்திடுமேபிறந்தபிள்ளை அதினாலும்போதாது  
 ((1065/~ந8.370/ந2.352 சிறந்தபுகள்வளர்நாடுதேசமதுஅழியும்மன்னா  
 ((1066/~ந8.371/ந2.353 குளந்தைஎன்றுஇராத்தேமன்னா - கொடுமுடிகள்  
 ((1067/~ந8.371/ந2.353 மெத்தஉண்டு

619/1068-9/ந8.372/ந2.354 யினந்த செல்வம் யெருபது பேர் யிறுதியுண்டும் கண்டாயோ.  
 ++ Variant to 619  
 ++ N10.1068-9 இலங்கும்செல்வம்இளப்பதுவேஇறுதி  
 உனக்கு / கண்டே  
 ++ N8.372 இழந்தாந்தன் செல்வத தோடு எழுபது பேரும்  
 சாவே

(விருத்தம்)

620/1070 ஓது மறையோர் தமயும் உடனரசர் முகம்னோக்கி  
 621/1071 னாதநருளப்படியானால் நம்மாலே வேறுமுண்டோ  
 ++ Variant to 620-1  
 ++ N10.1070-1 ஒதுமறையோர்தங்கனையும்உடரோசன்முகம்  
 நோக்கி / நாதன் அருளே அல்லாமல்நம்மால் வேறு  
 வருவதுண்டோ

\*\*622 அளிந்திடுமே பிறந்தபிள்ளை  
 \*\*623/1050/ந8.357/ந2.339 அஸ்ட்டமே னாலாமிடத்தில்  
 \*\*624/1044 ஆனது கண்டே உரைத்தேன்  
 ++ Variant to 624  
 ++ N10.1044 ஆனதுகண்டேஉரைத்தேன்

\*\*625/1045 அரசே யென்றடி தொளுதாரே.  
 ++ Variant to 624-5  
 ++ N10.1044-5 ஆனதுகண்டேஉரைத்தேன்/  
 அரசேஎன்றடி தொழுதாரே

\*\*626/1050/ந8.357/ந2.339 அரசாள வாய்(த்)தில்லை செவ்வாய்  
 \*\*627/1050/ந8.357/ந2.339 அஸ்ட்டமே னாலாமிடத்தில்  
 \*\*628/1046/ந8.353/ந2.335 கேது ஒன்பதாம்) னாலாமிடத்தில்  
 ++ Variant to 628  
 ++ N10.1046=N8.353/N2.335 தொழுதே முன்றாமடத்தில்  
 தோராமல் கேதுநிற்க்க

\*\*629/1061/ந8.366/ந2.348 நின்றாகுவது பொல்லாது  
 ++ Variant to 629  
 ++ N10.1061 இப்போதுஇங்கொருநாளநின்றாகுவது  
 பொல்லாதது  
 ++ N8.366/N2.348 செப்பமாம் ராகு கூடத் தீமையாம்  
 குறிபோல்லாது

\*\*630/1062/ந8.367 ஒப்பாதிங்கொரு னாளும்  
 \*\*631/1062/ந8.367 உள்ளூறக்கம் வாராது  
 \*\*632/1063/ந8.368 அப்போதுவும் பிதாவும்  
 \*\*633/1063 ந8.368 உங்கள் அடிமுதலும் அளிந்து போகுமே.  
 ++ Variant to 630-3

++ N10.1062 ஒப்பாதுஇங்கொருநாளும் உறக்கம்  
 வராதன்னவர்க்கு / அப்போதுதான் உம்முடைய அடிமுதலும்  
 அழிந்திடுமே  
 ++ N8.367-8/N2.349-50 ஒப்பில்லாப் பிள்ளை கட்டு  
 உண்டாலும் உறக்கம் வாரா / அப்போது உமது வாழ்வும்  
 அடிமுத வழிந்து போமே

[[N10.43  
 ((1072 வேதன்விதிப்படிதானவே மெலிந்துமறை  
 ((1073 யோர்தங்களுக்கும்.  
 ((1074 போதநிதிதான்கொடுத்துசோதிரியை போவீர்  
 ((1075 என்றுஅனுப்பினாரே

[[N10.44-5  
 [[N2.360ff-371  
 ((1082/ந8.377 கொடுத்தருள்புரிந்தபின் அரசர் இளவரசர்  
 ((1083/ந8.378/ந2.360 குமாரத்தி தன்னோடு கொடுவாரும் என்றார்  
 ((1084/ந8.379/ந2.361 கொடுவாரும் என்ற போது தாதியர்கள் ஓடி  
 ((1085/ந8.380/ந2.362 கோவிகள் உள்ளேபுகுந்தெடுத்தாரே  
 ((1086/ந8.381/ந2.363 எடுத்துடன்மடவர்கள்இருவரையும்கொண்டு  
 ((1087/ந8.383/ந2.364 ராஜாவின்முன்பில்தொழுதுநின்றாரே  
 ((1088/ந8.383/ந2.365 எடுத்துமடிமீதில்வைத்துஇருவரையும்முத்தி  
 ((1089 இலங்கும்பணியும்கருடனரெட்டின்பதைக்கண்  
 ((1090 தொடுத்தவளைகச்சை யோடுமுங்கை  
 ((1091 மோதிரம்.  
 ((1092 தும்பிபதைக்கனோடு முத்துமணிமாலை  
 ((1093 அளகுதங்ககாதில்வற்றணசரப்பணி  
 ((1094 அரைவடம்தண்டையும்கிங்கிணிபாதசரமும்  
 ((1095 பாதசரத்துடனே பணிபூட்டிஅளகாய்  
 ((1096 பச்சைமணிவைதவை வரச்சோடுவாளி  
 ((1097 போதஇதுமுதலானபணிபலதாநிறைய  
 ((1098 பூட்டியரசன் கோவில் புகுந்தார்  
 ((1099/ந8.385/ந2.367 தாதியர் எடுத்துமஞ்சள்ரீராட்டி  
 ((1100/ந8.386 தாள்பணிதொட்டில் மீதேகிடத்தி  
 ((45.1101 இலங்கியநீலரையும் என்தாயார் இசக்கிஅம்மைதனையும்  
 ((1102/ந8.388/ந2.371 யேத்தியேபொன்தொட்டில் கிடத்திதாலாட்டுவாரே

634/1109 ராரி ஆரி ஆராரோ கன்னே  
 635/1109 ஆரி வரி ஆராரோ

[[N10.45-46  
 ((1110/ந8.389-90/ந2.371-2 ஆடல்பரிவீரன்சோளராஜன்ஆண்டபடையான  
 ((1111/ந8.390/ந2.372 பிறந்தகன்றோ.  
 ((1112/ந8.391-2/ந2.373 கூடல்கரிபரிபாண்டிமன்னன் கொடியைதவீர்த்  
 ((1113/ந8.392/ந2.373 தாளபிறந்தவரோ  
 ((1114 செம்பற்கிரிதனைசென்றாலேதிரிந்தாய்  
 ((1115 மகனேநீ ஆராரோ  
 ((1116 ஆவின்கன்றுக்குமகனைவிட்டுஅளகாய்  
 ((1117 தேநூசெய்த குலத்தவனோ  
 ((1118 பசவின்நிரைகுளல்ஊதிமேய்க்கும்  
 ((1119 பச்சமால்குலத்துதித்தவனோ  
 ((1120 அன்றுபுறாவுக்காய்தன்னுடம்மை  
 ((1121 அரிந்தான்மகனேநீஆராரோ  
 ((1122 = \*\*ந1.638-9  
 ((1123 = \*\*ந1.640  
 ((1124 மன்றுள்ளோர் மெய்க்கும்வடிவனகா  
 ((1125 மகனேநீஆராரோ  
 ((1126 கன்றோடிணங்கியகார்வண்ணரோ  
 ((1127 காரிளையாள்பெற்றுகன்றோ  
 ((1128 மன்றுள்ளோர் மெய்க்கும் மகனேநீஆராரோ  
 ((1129 எங்கன்குடிவாள பிறந்தவனோ

636/1130 யீனாத வாளயது யிளவாளை  
 637/1130 யீன்ற கன்னோ

++ Variant to 636-7

++ N10.1130 ஈனாதிளம்வாளை ஈன்ற கன்றோ

[[N10.46

((1131 சங்கடங்கள் தீர்க்க வந்த

((1132 தாவதுணையே நீ ஆராரோ

((1133 ஏவும்படியாலே சூள நின்ற

((1134 ஏழுமிலாமரம் எய்தவனே

((1135 கோவும் குடிகளும் வாழ்வந்த

((1136 கோபாலரே நீ உறங்காயோ

\*\*638/1122 கன்றோடிணங்கிய

\*\*639/1122 கார்வண்ணரோ

\*\*640/1123 கலச(த்)துறிவெண்ணை உண்டவனோ ராரி

++ Variant to 638-40

++ N10.1122-3 கன்றோடுணங்கியகார்வண்ணரோ /

கலசத்துறிவெண்ணைஉண்டவனோ

641/ந8.393 யெங்கள் குடியாள பிறந்தவனோ

642/ந8.394 யீணாதிள வாளை யீன்ற கன்றோ

643/1137/ந8.397 யென்று சொல்லியே தாதியர்கள்

++ Variant to 643

++ N10.1137 இந்தபடிஇந்ததாதியர்கள்

644/1138/ந8.398/ந2.376 யிரவும் பகலுமாய் தாராட்ட

645/1139/ந8.399 நன்றெநருள்படி கால் திருத்தி

++ Variant to 645

++ N10.1139 நன்றாய் உருப்படகால்திருத்தி

646/1140/ந8.400 நலமாய் வளர்கின்ற னாளயிலே

647/1141/ந8.401 ஊட்டி உறக்கிற தாதிமாரை

648/1142/ந8.402 உபாயத்தாலவர் முன்னுறக்கி

649/1149/ந8.403 பூட்டு நவமணி கதவு தன்னை

650/1150/ந8.404 புலிய போல சென்று தாள்திறந்து

++ Variant to 650

++ N10.1150=N8.404 பூனைபோல் சென்றுதாள்திறந்து

651/1151/ந8.405 வேட்ட புலி போலே குதிபாய்ந்து

652/1152/ந8.406 வீதி தெருவெல்லாம் விளயாடுவார்.

653/1153/ந8.407-8 மாட்டு நிரை மேலே சென்று கொண்டு

654/1153/ந8.407-8 வலிய காராவும் பொலியெருதும்

655/1154/ந8.409-10 ஊட்டிதனை முறித்திருபேரும்

656/1154-5/ந8.409-10 ஒளுங்காய் கிடக்கிற நிரைகளெல்லாம்

657/1156/ந8.411-2 காட்டிலிடயர்கள் காணாமல்

658/1156-7/ந8.411-2 கதற கதறவே கொல்லுவாராம்.

659/1158/ந8.413 கொம்பும் தோலும் குளம் பெலும்பும்

++ Variant to 659

++ N10.1158 கொம்பும் தோலும் குறுக்கெலும்பும்

++ N8.413 கொம்புந் தோலுடன் குளம்பெலும்பும்

660/1159/ந8.414 கூண்ட முடியுடன் குடல் கிடக்க

++ Variant to 1159=N8.414 கூண்டவயற்றினில் குடல் கிடக்க

661/1160/ந8.415 ந(ர)ம்பு சதைகளும் அறிந்து தின்று

662/1161/ந8.416 நடந்து ஒருவரும் அறியாமல்

663/1162/ந8.417 மீண்டு கோவிக்கல் உள்புகுந்து

\*\*664/1163/ந8.418 வீதி தெருவெல்லாம் விளயாடுவார்.<sup>5</sup>

++ Variant to 664

++ N10.1163 விரைவாய தொட்டிலில்

சென்றேறுவாராம்

++ N8.418 விரையத் தொட்டிலில் உறங்கிடவே

<sup>5</sup> The sentence is out of its order. Only N10.47.1163 is correct at this point.

665/1172/ந8.419 பூண்ட பசு நிரை கோன்களெல்லாம்  
 666/1173/ந8.420 பொருது விடிந்தபின் யெளுந்திருந்து  
 667/1174/ந8.421 யெருது பசுக்களை காணாமென்பார்.  
 668/1175/ந8.422 யேங்கி சேகன்று யெங்கேயென்பார்.

++ Variant to 668  
 ++ N10.1175 ஏங்கிஏங்கியேபரதவிப்பார்  
 ++ N8.422 ஏங்கி சேகன்று எங்கேயென்பார்

669/1176/ந8.423 கருதி நிரைகொண்டு போனதாரோ  
 670/1177/-ந8.424 கைகால்ப் பதறியே கதறிடுவார்.  
 671/1178 ஒட்ட சாண்கொம்ப சுட்டிகாளை

++ Variant to 671  
 ++ N10.1178 ஒட்ட காண் கொம்பன் கட்டகாளை

672/1179 உறுக்கி பாய்கின்ற உகூி கொம்பன்

++ Variant to 672  
 ++ N10.1179 உறுக்கிபாய்கின்றஊசிகொம்பன்

673 கட்டகருமறை மாக்காளை  
 674 காறிகாளையே காணாமென்பார்.  
 675 பொட்ட கண்ணொரு முட்டிவாலன்  
 676 புண் தளும்புள்ள பின்மறையோன்

[[N10.48  
 ((1180 ஒட்டிபசுவைஓர்இடமும்காணோம்  
 ((1181 ஓடி ஓடியே தேடுவாராம்  
 ((1182 தட்டப்பளுவனக் கென்னசெய்வோம்  
 ((1183 சாத்தகோனேழுத்தகோனே

677/1184 குட்டி கருமறை கூளவாலன்  
 678/1185 கொம்பு முறிந்தானே காணாமென்பார்.  
 679/1186 யெட்டி பாற்த்திட நிரய காணோம்  
 680/1187 யேங்கி சேகன்று யெங்கயென்பார்.

++ Variant to 680  
 ++ N10.1187 யேங்கியே சீவன்வாங்கிச்சென்பார்

[[N10.48  
 ((1188 சுட்டிகருமறைவெடிவாலன்  
 ((1189 செங்கண்ணன்பசுதுடைவீங்கி  
 ((1190 வட்டில் போலே வயிறடுக்கும்  
 ((1191 வளர்ந்தகுக்கில்லையைகண்டில்லையே

681/1192 நெட்ட தடிகம்பை தறயில்போட்டு

++ Variant to 681  
 ++ N10.1192 நெட்டதடிகம்புகீள்போட்டு

682/1193 நிமர சாடியே விளுந்திடுவார்.

[[N10.48  
 ((1194 மட்டிதனமாக செம்பியன்தன்  
 ((1195 வாழும்தேசத்தில்குடியிருந்தோம்

683/1200 கிட்ட கிளயில்லை குடிவாங்க

++ Variant to 683  
 ++ N10.1200 கிட்டகிளைஇல்லைகுட்டிவாங்க

684/1201 கிடுகிடென்றவர் பதறிடுவார்.

++ Variant to 684  
 ++ N10.1201 கிடுகிடன்றுவிறைத்திடுவார்

[[N10.48-49  
 ((1202 தில்லைகோனார்தனது ஆட்டை



((1203 திருவம்பலத்திலே சேர்த்தடைத்தார்  
 ((49.1204 மெல்லகோனார்தன்மறக்காளையை  
 ((1205 மேலகடவிலேநிறுத்திவைத்தார்  
 ((1206/ந8.425 காடுமலையும் செடியும்மேய்ந்து  
 ((1207/ந8.426 காய்க்கனிகளும்தினையுதிர்ந்து  
 ((1208/ந8.427 நாடும்நடுகரும்தினையுதிர்ந்து  
 ((1209/ந8.428 நரிநாய்புலியொருநாளடாமல்

685/1210/ந8.429 பாடுபலாபட்டு. தண்ணீரூட்டி  
 686/1211/ந8.430 பரம கோனாரும் பாற்த்தடைத்தார்.  
 687 கூடு கிடக்க ஆடய்ந்து போச்சே  
 688 குட்டி கோனாரே குடிகெட்டோமென்பார்.  
 689/1212 கோனார் பேனாய் போலோடுவார்.  
 690/1213 கூட மேய்ப்பாரும் வாய்ப்பாறுவார்.

[[N10.49  
 ((1214/ந8.435 ஆடுநிரைபோனதடம்பாரன்பார்  
 ((1215/ந8.436 அய்யோதடம்காணுதில்லைஎன்றார்

((1221/ந8.437 அன்னம்போலொருதடக்காறன்  
 ((1222/ந8.438 அந்ததடத்தின்பின்செல்லுவானாம்  
 ((1223/ந8.439 இன்பமாகவேசோளராஜன்  
 ((1224/ந8.440 இருந்தகோவிக் கல்புகுந்திடுமாம்  
 ((1225/ந8.441 புகுந்ததடம்கண்டுபயந்திடையர்  
 ((1226/ந8.442 புத்திகலங்கியே நின்றனராம்  
 ((1227/ந8.443 முகுந்தன் அருள்படி ஈதனவே  
 ((1228.0/ந8.444 முன்னேவிதிஎன்றுஇருந்தனராம்

691/1228.1 அப்படியே பலனாரும்  
 692/1228.1 ஆடுமாடும் கொன்றறுத்து  
 693/1229/ந8.445 கொன்றிப் படிவரும் வேளயிலே  
 694/1230/ந8.446 கோன்களெல்லாம் கூதம்மில்

++ Variant to 694  
 ++ N10.1230 கோபாலரல்லாம்கூடிம்மில்  
 ++ N8.446 இடைய ரெல்லோரும் தான்கூடி

695/1231 ஒன்றி(த்)தெருந்தவர் தான்போக

++ Variant to 695  
 ++ N10.1231 ஒன்றாய் திரண்டுதான்போகவென்று

696/1232 ஒருமித்தார் யிடயரெல்லாம்

697/1243-5 கொங்கமார் கூடியே தாங்கு மடமில்லாமல் கூடினார் செம்பியனாட்டிலே  
 698/1246-8 வாள்ந்த மனயில்க் களவு வந்ததில்லை யிது வரயும் மாடாடு சேடம்மொளிய ஆச்சுதே.  
 ++ Variant to 698

++ N10.1247 மாடாடு சொத்தளியலாச்சுதே

699/1249-51 ஆச்சுதே யினி னாமன் யெல்லோரு மிக கூடி அரசனை காண வென்று அவர்களும்  
 700/1252-3 விரவாக வரும் யிடயர் அவருடய பேரேது விளம்பவே கேளும்.

[[N10.51  
 ((1254-1263/~N8.450-460/~401-412<sup>6</sup>  
 ((1254 முத்துக்கோன்முருக்கோன்  
 ((1255 முன்னடி கோனாரும்  
 ((1256 முத்துமாலைபிறை சோடிகோன்களும்  
 ((1257 பிறைகூடிகோனுடனே பெரியமலை  
 ((1258 நம்பிக்கோன்.  
 ((1259 பேயாண்டி மாயாண்டி கோனாரும்  
 ((1260 மாயாண்டிகோனுடனேமதிசூதனக்  
 ((1261 கோனும்.  
 ((1262 மட்டக்கோன்கட்டக்கோன்  
 ((1263 நெட்டக்கோன்

701/1264-5/ந8.454 ஆண்டி கோன் பாண்டி கோன் அண்ணாமலை கோனும்  
 702/1266 அளகிய நம்பி கோன் மாலுகோன்

<sup>6</sup> List of names.

703/1267-8 நம்பிகோன் தம்பிகோனும் கோன் வேலுகோன்  
 704/1269 நயினாரும் நல்ல மாட கோனுடன்  
 705/1270-1 நல்ல மாடகோனுடன் பெரிய அணஞ்சான் கோனும்  
 706/1272 நாமகோன் மானுகோன் வேலுக்கோன்  
 707/1273 வேலுக்கோன் மாலுக்கோன் வீரவாகுகோனும்  
 708/1274-5 வீரவான வீரபாண்டி கோனுடன்

[[N10.51

((1276-7 பாண்டிக்கோன் ஆண்டிக்கோன்  
 ((1278 பள்ளிகோன் கோனாரும்  
 ((1279 பாரமேஸ்வரக்கோன் குமாரக்கோன்  
 ((1280 குமாரக்கோன் குற்றாலஅமராபதிக்கோன்  
 ((1281 கூத்தாடும்பிச்சாண்டிக்கோன்களும்

709 நெட்டை கோன் கட்டை கோன்  
 710 மட்டி கோன் ஆண்டிக்கோன்  
 711 வீரவான பிச்சாண்டி கோனுடன்  
 712/1282 பிச்சாண்டி கோனுடன்  
 713/1282 பெரிய மலை நம்பிக் கோனுடன்  
 714/1283 பிணமாலை பிறைகுடி கோனுடன்  
 715/1284 விடுமாடன் பேயாண்டி  
 716/1285 மாடன் கூளத் தடிமாடன்  
 717/1286-7 வீர உடன் வருகின்ற கோங்கன்மார்.  
 718/1288-9 கோங்கன்மார் கைதனிலே கடயாலும் தடிக்கம்பும்  
 719/1290 கொண்டு கூடினார் முகூந்தி வீதியிலே  
 720 வந்து நின்றான் வயி(ர)வனாத கோன்  
 721 மைத்துனன் சடைகுட்டி கோனாரும்  
 722 குட்டி கோனாரும் கோபாலன் குற்றாலன்  
 723 குருனாதன் யிருளப்ப கோனாரும்  
 724 ஆண்டி கோனாரும் பாண்டிதன் கூட்டமும்  
 725 அண்ணாமலை கோன் அளகிய நம்பிகோன்  
 726 சோட்ட கோனாரும் காட்டு கிடாகோனும்  
 727 சேமமொளியவே ஆச்சுதே மாடுகள்  
 728 மாடு ஆடு நிரயது போச்சுதே

[[N10.52

((1295 சொற்றணம்போச்சு சுகம் போச்சுதய்யய்யோ  
 ((1296 சோளராஜயம் மீள பயமாச்சோ

729 வலது கையில் கடயாலும் தூக்கினார்.  
 730/1297/ந8.457 கடயாலும் தடிக்கம்பும் தோளிலே  
 731/1298/ந8.458 கடு நடயாக கொண்டு புறப்பட்டார்.

[[N10.52

((1299/ந8.459 பக்கத்தில்படைபோலே இடையர்கள்  
 ((1300/ந8.460 பாண்டியன் சோளன்முன்பில்சொல்லவே

732/1301 வீரவாக வனிநடந்தேகியே  
 733/1302 வேந்தர் மண்டப வாசலில் வந்தனர்  
 734/1303 வாசலில் வந்து மன்னனை கும்பிட்டு  
 735/1304 வாய் பொத்தியே விண்ணப்பம் சொல்லுவார்  
 736/1310/ந8.461/ந2.413 ஆளுவாயே உலகம் அடங்கலும்  
 737/1310-11/ந8.461-2/ந2.413-4 அன்று சோளன் அசயா மணி கெட்டி

[[N10.53-4

((1312-1335 = [[N2.415-438]]  
 ((1312/ந8.463/ந2.415 வாழும்நாளையில் மக்களன்னவேதான்  
 ((1313/ந8.464/ந2.416 மாத்தானாகபிறந்தகுளந்தைகள்  
 ((1314/ந8.465/ந2.417 கோளரும்பியே ஆடுப்பசுக்களை  
 ((1315/ந8.466/ந2.418 கொன்றுதின்று எனக்குறித்தேகினார்  
 ((1316/ந8.467/ந2.419 நாளும்நாளும் வித்துக்கிடாக்களும்  
 ((1317/ந8.468/ந2.420 நலமான பொலிளருதும் கன்றும்  
 ((1318/ந8.469/ந2.421 பொலிளருதுமறக்காளைசுட்டியும்  
 ((1319/ந8.470/ந2.422 போர்பசும் மறக்காளைவாலனும்  
 ((1320 வலியகுட்டிசெட்டியார்மேற்பசு  
 ((1321 மாமறைப்பசும்கன்றும்காண்கிலேன்  
 ((1322/ந8.471/ந2.423 புலிகடுவாய்கள் தின்று தேயாமாக்கில்

((1323/ந8.472/ந2.424 போகாது முடையுண்டுஎன்பாராம்  
 ((1324/ந8.473 கள்வ்வரும்பாதையைகாண்கிலோம்  
 ((1325 கடுவாய் புலிதின்றதைகாண்கிலோம்  
 ((1326/ந8.479/ந2.431 வாய்ப்புதட்டி உடையவன் வந்தாக்கால்  
 ((1327/ந8.480/ந2.432 வார்த்தை யேது மரியாதைமரியாதைசொல்  
 ((1328/ந8.480 லுவோம்.

[[N10.54

((1329/ந8.481/ந2.433 கோப்பு கெட்டோம் குடிகெட்கோம் என்பார்  
 ((1330/ந8.482/ந2.434 கூண்டுநின்றுஇடையர் அருவாராம்  
 ((1331/ந8.485/ந2.437 சொல்லுவார்விழுவார் அழுவாராம்  
 ((1332/ந8.486/ந2.438 துங்கமாமுடிமன்னர்அப்போதிலும்  
 ((1333/ந8.487 இல்லையேதுலெக்கேதுசொல்லுவேன்  
 ((1334 செப்பும்வார்த்தையைகேட்டிடையர்சொல்  
 ((1335 லுவார்.

[[N10.54

((1343-1357  
 ((1343 இடையில்வந்துஅரசாண்டவல்லவன்  
 ((1344 என்றும்நீதிசுலத்துக்குகுரியவன்  
 ((1345 சடையிலேமதிதன்னைதரிவர்  
 ((1346 தையலுக்குஉலகல்லாம் ஈந்தவர்  
 ((1347 விடையில்லாமல்சடைதலையாகவே  
 ((1348 மிக்கமாமுடி ஈந்தகுலத்தவா  
 ((1349/ந8.487-8 தடையில்லாமல் வேடனுக்குச்சியே  
 ((1350/ந8.488 தக்கநல்லபுறாசென்றொதுங்கியே  
 ((1351/ந8.489 ஒதுங்கும்நல்லபுறாதனக்காகவே  
 ((1352/ந8.490 உத்த மேனி சதையை அறிந்தவா  
 ((1353/ந8.491 பதுங்கிடாமல் திராசிநிறைக்கொப்பாய்  
 ((1354/ந8.492 படிநிறையநிறுத்துகொடுத்தவா  
 ((55.1355 விதம்பெற்ற உங்கள்முதாக்கள்மேதினிக்குள்நின்ற  
 ((1356 நிலையதாகநிறுத்தினால் போலே  
 ((1357 நீரும் இப்படி அரசாண்டநாள்

[[N10.55

((1374-1375 = \*\*N1.742-3

[[N10.55

((1376 தலையில்லாதநூல் போல்மயங்குறோம்  
 ((1377/ந8.498 தரணிகாவலவாசோதிப்பாய் இப்போது  
 ((1378/ந8.501 சோதிப்பாய் என்று இடயர் அழுதிட  
 ((1379/ந8.502 சொல்லைகேட்டுஇருந்தான் அரசனும்  
 ((1380/ந8.503 நீதிக்குறைவந்தனச்சொல்லி  
 ((1381/ந8.504 நின்றநல்லதலையாரிமார்களும்  
 ((56.1382 காத்துபாத்துதிருவிளம்கெட்டதாய்  
 ((1383/ந8.506 களவுதானும்படியாமல்இருந்தாக்கால்

738/1384/ந8.507 வீதி(க்)கே வெட்டி ஆகினை சேவிப்பேன்.

739/1385/ந8.508 விடியமுன்நே னீ ரண்டிலொன்று சொல்லு

++ Variant to 739

++ N10.1385 விடியமுன்னேரண்டிலொன்று மெய்யன

740 சிதம்பரத்தின் மகதேவர் தன்னிடம்

741 திரு நடனம் செய்து முகித்தவர்.

\*\*742/1374 உலகிறோம் யெங்கள் ஆடு பசுக்களை

\*\*743/1375 ஒருனாள் கண்டதை ஒருனாளில் காணிலோம்.

[[N10.56

((1386 மெய்யதன்று அரசர்உரைத்திட  
 ((1387 மேவிநின்றதலையாரிமார்களும்  
 ((1388/ந8.513 வைகமும் கனகப்படைவீடும்  
 ((1389/ந8.514 வளைந்துசுத்தியேகாராதிருந்தாக்கால்

744/1390 நகரி அடிப்பவ(ர்)க்கு மேய்ப்பாரின் சொல்லி

++ Variant to 744

++ N10.1390 நய்யடிப்பார்உரைபார்எனச்சொல்லி

745/1391 னாடியே படைவீடு காற்க்க துடங்கினாரே.

746/1406/ந8.517 காற்த்திருப்பதறியாமல்

747/1406/ந8.517 கன சோளன் தன்னுடநே

748 கோத்திரத்தில் பிறந்தபிள்ளை

749/-1407/ந8.519/ந2.471 குளந்தை யுருவாகினரே

++ Variant to 749

++ N10.1407 = N8.519/N2.471 பார்த்திருக்கதாள் திறந்து

பருவரைபோல்உருவாகி

750/1408/ந8.520/ந2.472 ஆத்த வொண்ணா பசி யெளும்பி

[[N10.57

((1409/ந8.520 அவரிவரும்நடந்தனளே

((1410/ந8.521 நடந்திட வேகாத்திருப்பார்நாமும்இனி

((1411/ந8.521 இவரைநன்றாய்.

((1412/ந8.522 துடர்ந்திடுவோம் இவரைநன்றாய்

((1413/ந8.522 சோதிப்போம் களவைஎல்லாம்

((1414/ந8.523 வடம்தனையும் அறுத்ததறிந்த

((1415/ந8.523 மதயானைதிரிவதுபோல்

((1416/ந8.524 அடர்ந்தநல்லபசுக்களையும்

((1417/ந8.524 ஆடுகளைநின்றனராம்

((1418/ந8.525 அன்றுநன்றாய்கொன்றுதின்று

751/1418-9/ந8.525 அடங்காத பசியெளும்பி

752/1420/ந8.526 குன்றெடுத்து குடைபிடித்த

++ Variant to 752

++ N10.1420 குன்றெடுத்தோன்குலத்துதித்த

753/1421/-ந8.526 கோபாலன் தனை விளுங்கி

++ Variant to 753

++ N10.1421 கோபாலர்மக்களன்று

++ N8.526 கோன்சிலரைத்தான் விழுங்கி

[[N10.57

((1422 = N8.527/N2.479 மன்றரசர்மக்கள்தங்கள் மானிகைக்கே மீண்டனராம்

754/1423/ந8.528 மீண்டு அவர் காத்திருப்பார்

755/1424/ந8.528 மிக்க தலையாரிமார்கள்

++ Variant to 754-5

++ N8.528 சென்றிடவே காத்திருக்கும் தீரமுள்ள

தலையாரிகள்

[[N10.57

((1425 = N8.529 பூண்டுகள உள்ளதல்லாம்

((1426 = N8.529 பொய்யல்லமெய்யதன்று

756/1427/ந8.530 தாண்டியென்று சொல்லிடுகில்

[[N10.57/58

((1428 = N8.531 தலைபோமென்றுஉரைத்தனராம்

((1441 = N8.531 தலைபோம்என்றுஉரைத்தமொளி

757/1442/ந8.531 தானடக்கமாய் கேட்டு

758/1443/ந8.532 உலகின் மெளுகின் உருகி

++ Variant to 758

++ N10.1443/N8.527 உலையில் மெழுகனஉருகி

759/1444/532 ஒன்றொடிமார் தனக்குரைத்து

[[N10.58/59  
 ((1445/ந8.533 மலைஎடுத்துமார்பிலிட்ட  
 ((1446/ந8.533 மதியோடக்கும்விதிநமக்கு  
 ((1447/ந8.534 குலத்தொளிலேநாமும்மிந்த  
 ((1448/ந8.534 கூற்றுவரைபெற்றதல்லாம்  
 ((1449/ந8.535 பெற்றபலன் இத்தனையோ  
 ((1450/ந8.535 பிறப்பிலுள்ளபலாபலனோ  
 ((1451/ந8.538 ஒத்துமன்னர்மந்திரியும்  
 ((1452/ந8.538 ஓவியமும்உள்ளுடைந்து

760/1453/ந8.536 சுத்திலுள்ள ஆடுப்பசு  
 761/1453/ந8.536 சேமமொளிய திண்பிள்ளை.

[[N10.59  
 ((1454/ந8.539 பிள்ளைகள்மேல்எள்ளள வுபிரிசமுடன்  
 ((1455/ந8.539 நாமிருந்தால்.  
 ((1456/ந8.540 உள்ளகவானதல்லாம் ஒளியாதுலோக  
 ((1457/ந8.540 மெல்லாம்.

762/1458/ந8.541 தெள்ளுந் தமிழ் செம்பியந்தன்  
 763/1458-9/ந8.541 திருத்தேவி மனம் உருகி  
 764/1460/ந8.542 துள்ளி மனம் பதபதைத்து  
 765/1461/ந8.542 துடிக்க துடிக்க குளந்து தென்றார்.  
 ++ Variant to 764-5  
 ++ N10.1460-1 உள்ளமனம்பதைபதைத்துகும்புதே/  
 விதிநமக்கன்றாரே  
 ++ N8.542 துள்ளிமனம் பதைபதைத்து கும்புவிதி  
 நம்மையென்

766/1467/ந8.543 குளந்த வினை தன்னையே அரசர் மனதில் கொண்டு  
 767/1468/ந8.544 சோதித்து னாமும் விசாரிக்கிறோமென்னு

[[N10.59  
 ((1469/~ந8.545 தானந்தஇடையர்க்கு அருள் கொடுத்த  
 ((1470/~ந8.545 கோமான்.  
 ((1471/~ந8.546 தனது சிங்காசனம் தன்னை விட்டிட  
 ((1472 றங்கி

768/1473/ந8.547/ந2.499 நினைந்தனர் மனந்தனில் உணர்ந்து விணிகேசன்  
 ++ Variant to 768  
 ++ N10.1473/N8.547/N2.499 நினைந்தனன் மனந்தனில்  
 உணர்ந்தரசர் கோமான்

769/1475/ந8.548/ந2.500 நிலை நின்ற கள்வரே, நீதியுள்ளோர்களே  
 ++ Variant to 769  
 ++ N10.1475 நிலைநிற்குகளவரேநீதியிலுள்ளோரே  
 ++ N8.548/N2.500 நிற்கின்ற கோன்பார்த்து சொன்னாரே  
 நூலோர்.

[[N10.59/60  
 ((1476 = N8.549/N2.501 அனத்தம்வரும்மிந்தமகஉண்டானபோது  
 ((1477/ந8.550 அம்புவி இவராலே அளிந்திடுமேஎன்ன  
 ((1478/ந8.551 தினந்தவனும்செய்திஇதுஆகாதுஎன்ன  
 ((1479/ந8.552 செம்பியனும் வெம்பியொரு  
 ((1480 துன்பமோடிருந்தான்  
 ((1481 இருந்தபின்ராஜர் இதுதினமும்காணும்  
 ((1482 இன்றிரவுகாரியம்விசாரித்துணர்ந்து  
 ((1483 திருந்திடஅறிந்திடுவோம்நாமளினி நாளை  
 ((1484/~ந8.554 செய்யும்வகைபோலவேவிசாரிக்கி  
 ((1485/~ந8.554 றோம்மென்ன.  
 ~ந8.554: காரியம் இன்றைக்கு விசாரித் துணர்ந்து  
 ((1486/ந8.555 பொருந்தியே அரசுநீருந்திடகதிரேன்  
 ((1487/ந8.556 பொழுதுகுடதிசைவரபுகுந்தடைந்திடவே  
 ((1488/ந8.557 வருந்தஉலகல்லாம்இருள்வந்துமுடி  
 ((1489/ந8.558 வையகமெல்லாம்உண்டுறங்கும்சமயம்

770/1490/ந8.559 அந்த சாமம் அரசர் மகவை குளிப்பாட்டி

++ Variant to 770

++ N10.1490 அந்தசயத்தில்ராஜன்மக்களைகுளிப்பாட்டி

++ N8.559 அந்தநே ரம்கிள்ளி மகவை யாட்டியே

771/1491/ந8.560/ந2.512 அள்ளியே தொட்டினில் யேறியே த(ர)ராட்டி

++ Variant to 771

++ N10.1491/N8.560/N2.512 அன்பாய்திருதொட்டில் ஏத்தி தாலாட்டி

772/1492/ந8.561/ந2.513 புந்தியே தாசிமார் தங்களு(க்)கஞ்சியே

++ Variant to 772

++ N10.1492 புத்தியாய் தாதியர்தங்களுக்கஞ்சி

++ N8.561/N2.513 புந்தி மகிழ்கிற தாதிமார்க் கஞ்சி

773/1493/ந8.562 பொய்யுறக்கமாக உறங்கின்ற போதே

774/1493/ந8.562 பொய்யுறக்கமாக உறங்கின்றபோதே

[[N10.61

((1499/~ந8.563 முன்பனும் அவர்க்கினைய இசக்கிஅம்மைதானும்

((1500/~ந8.564 தம்பிரானும் எளுந்துஇருளோடே

++ Variant N8.563-4 முன்பினும் வர்க்கினைய மாநீலி தானும்

/ முன்பினிலெ முந்தருளி முடிருளி னோடே

775/1501/ந8.565 வந்தியே ஓடியே மாடாடுயெல்லாம்

++ Variant to 775

++ N10.1501 மானம்போல்ஓடியேமாடாடுகொன்று

++ N8.565 மந்திபோ லோடிமா டாடெல்லாம் கொன்று

776/1502/ந8.566 வாயார கவ்வி வயிறார தின்றார்.

++ Variant to 776

++ N10.1502 வாயார அள்ளி வயிறாரதின்றார்

++ N8.566 வாயார அவ்வி வயிறாரத் தின்றார்

777/1503/ந8.567 தின்றுயிருபேரும் புகளேப்பமிட்டு

778/1504/ந8.568/ந2.520 தேடினார் யிடயர் உறங்குமிடத்தே

[[N10.61

((1505 = N8.569/N2.521 கண்டார்இடையர்விமுந்தோடிவிட்டார்

((1506 = N8.570 கானாமல் இவர்தானும் நடந்து

((1507 = N8.571 விந்தைசேர் மணிவாசல் கோவிலுக்குள்ளோ

((1508 = N8.572 வீறானதொட்டில் வந்தேறவும் கண்டார்

[[N10.61/62

((1519/ந8.575 கண்டந்தராஜன் அதிகாலை இளகி

((1520/ந8.576 கடுகனகாவலவாவாவென்று அனைத்தார்

((1521/ந8.577 பூண்டரிகமானதிருமுகம்கறுத்து

((1522/ந8.578/ந2.532 புதல்வரோடு புதல்வியை எடுத்துவரச் சொன்னார்

779/1523/ந8.578 அண்டர் திரளான ஆடுமாடெல்லாம்

780/1524/ந8.580/ந2.533 அசயிட்டவாரென ஆரோடும் அருளி

++ Variant to 780

++ N10.1524 ஆசையிட்டதிவரன

++ N8.580 அசையிட்ட திவரெனவே

[[N10.62

((1524-5/ந8.580 ...அவர்மனதில் அறிந்து - ந8.580: அவர்மனதி லருளி

((1526/ந8.581 கட்டனைசனிநமக்கு இன்றுவிடுமன்ன

((1527/ந8.582 காலமிதுபோராதுபாலரிவரன்ன

781/1528/ந8.583/ந2.536 சண்டாள பாலகரை யின்று னாம் வைத்தால்

++ Variant to 781

++ N10.1528 சண்டாளபாலகரைஇன்றுவதைத்தால்

++ N8.583 சண்டாளப் பிள்ளைகளை இன்றுமுதல் காத்தால்

782/1529/ந8.584/ந2.637 சாவதுவே நம்முடய சீர்மை சனமெல்லாம்  
 783/1530/ந8.585 பண்டாயம் சுங்காம் பணங்கள் திரவியங்கள்  
 784 பரணிலே போய் விடும் (யி)வரிருந்தாக்கால்  
 785/1530/ந8.585 கொண்டு யிருபேரயும் முதுகாட்டினோடே  
 786/1531/ந8.586 கொல்லாமல் போட்டு வருவீறேயென்றார்.  
 787/1532/ந8.587 உரைத்த உடநே தலயாரிமார்கள்  
 788/1533/ந8.588 உடநே யெடுக்க பதறியே அஞ்சியே  
 789 அஞ்சியே பாலகர அவருடய சூகூம்  
 790 ஆருக்கும் தெரியாது பாலருட வளமை  
 791/1534 யெடுத்து திரு சோளனாடது கடந்து  
 792/1535 யிரு பேரயங் கொண்டு விடவேதான்  
 793/1536/ந8.589 நிரைத்த மரமும் கறடு ஓடயும் அடுத்து  
 794/1537/ந8.590/ந2.543 நிணலான வேப்பமரமுட்டிலே விட்டார்.  
 795 யிரத்த குளலுடய ரண்டதயுமிட்டு  
 796 யெப்படியும் தப்பி பிளயென்றுசொல்லி

[[N10.62

((1538 = N8.591 போட்டபொழுதில்தலையாரிமார்கள்

((1539 = N8.592/N2.545 புறப்பட்டுசோளன்திருமுன்பதிலேவந்தார்

797/1540/~ந8.593/~ந2.546 திரைகடல் ஒலியென உரைமொளி கேட்டு

++ Variant to 797

++ N8.593 நாட்டமு டன்கடல் ஒலியென வேதான்

798/1541/ந8.594 செம்பியனும் திகைத்திருந்தானே.

799/1554/ந8.595 திகைத்தவர்கள் தானிருக்க

800/1554/ந8.595 செம்பியனும் ஊரவரும்

[[N10.63

((1555/ந8.596 வகைத்திறம் சேர்மந்திரிமார்

((1556 மனம்தெளிந்தங்கிருந்தனராம்

((1557 = ~N8.597/N2.550 பனிக்குபனிகொள்ளவந்த எந்தாயார்

((1558 = N8.597/N2.550 பாவையரும் நீலனுமாய்

801/1559/ந8.598/ந2.551 முகத்தறஞ் சேர் மலர் வேப்பின்

++ Variant to 801

++ N10.1559/N8.598/N2.551 முகத்திறம் சேர்மலர்

802/1559-60/ந8.598/ந2.551 மூட்டகத்தே வாளந்தனராம்.

803 உகந்த புகள் நீலராசன்

804 உடன்வளர் ஆனைகள் போல

805/1561 ஆலியப் போலவன் வளர்

++ Variant to 805

++ N10.1561 ஆவினம் போல் தீலனோடு

806/1561 ஆயிளயும் பருவமதாய்

[[N10.63

((1563 வளர்த்தனளேமாவிசக்கி எந்தாயார்

((1564 வளரும்தங்கசிலையதுபோல்

((1565/ந8.599 மூட்டகத்தேவாழ்ந்திடும்நாள்

((1566/ந8.599 மொளிவாளாம் இசக்கியம்மை

807/1567/ந8.600 கேட்டிரோ அண்ணர்களை

++ Variant to 807

++ N10.1567 கேட்டருள்வீர் அண்ணரேகீர்

++ N8.600 கேட்டருளும் அண்ணாவே

808/1568/ந8.600 கிட்ட ஒரு யிடமிருந்தாள்

++ Variant to 808  
++ N10.1568/N8.600 கிட்டஒருஇடமிருந்தால்

809/1569/ந8.601 னாட்டிலுள்ளோர் நம நகைப்பார்.  
810/1570/ந8.601 நமக்கீனம் பறைந்திடுவார்  
811/1571/ந8.602 வாட்டமில்லாயிங்கிரும் நீர்  
812/1571/ந8.602 வாளுகிறேன் செங்காட்டில்  
813/1581/~ந8.603 செங்காட்டில் போவதற்கு

++ Variant to 813  
++ N8.603 நன்றுடனே போவதற்கு

814/1582/~ந8.603 சிவநே நீர் துயில் தாரும்

++ Variant to 814  
++ N8.603 நாயகனே உமதருளால்

815/1583/ந8.604 யின்று துயில் தாருமென்று  
816/1584/ந8.604 யிசக்கியம்மைதான் கேள்க்க  
817/1585/ந8.605 அன்று சிவநருளாலே  
818/1585/ந8.605 ஆகாச துயில் வரவே

[[N10.64

((1586/ந8.606 வந்ததுகில்தனைவாங்கி இசக்கிஅம்மை  
((1587/ந8.606 தானுடுத்தான்.  
((1588/~ந8.607 உடுத்தனனேநீலராஜன்உடன்பிறந்தார் இருபேரும், ந8.607: உறப்பாகத்  
துகிலுடுத்து உடம்பிறந்த அண்ணனுக்கும்  
((1589/ந8.608-9 சிறப்பாகதுகிலுடுத்து செங்காட்டில் அவள் வளர்ந்தாள்  
((1590/ந8.609 செங்காட்டில் அவள்  
((1591/ந8.609 அவள்வளர்ந்தாள்.  
((1592 சேயினையாள் இசக்கிஅம்மை

819/1599/~ந8.610 நின்ற நிலை பிரியாமல்  
820/1599/~ந8.610 நீலனு மோவேம் படியில்

++ Variant to 819-20  
++ N8.610 நின்றநிலை அறியாமல் நீலனுமோ வேம்படியில்

821/1600/~ந8.612/ந2.565 குன்றெனவே நின்று கொண்டு  
822/1600/~ந8.612/ந2.565 கூட்டமிட துடங்கிவாராம்.

++ Variant to 821-2  
++ N8.612 குன்றெனவே நின்றகொண்டு கொட்டமிடத்  
துடங்குவானாம்

[[N10.65

((1601/~ந8.613 துடங்கியதோர்நானையிலேதுஷ்டமிருகங்கள் எல்லாம்  
((1602 = N8.614/N2.567 அடங்கலுமோகொன்றுதின்று  
((1603 = N8.614/N2.567 அவ்வனத்தே அடங்கிநின்றார்

\*\*823/1644 ஆலமிட பாய்ந்ததென்னா  
\*\*824/1644-5 அவனத்தே தோன்றுவானாம்.<sup>7</sup>  
825 சதிப்படுத்தி கொண்டுபோன  
826 சதிகாற மாமறயோன்  
827 சந்தமில்லாகருங்காட்டில்  
828/1604-5/ந8.615/ந2.568 சாஸ்த்தா உண்ட வனத்தில்

++ Variant to 828  
++ N10.1604-5 தடங்கர் சூழ்உலகுபுகள்சாஸ்த்தாஉண்டவ் /  
வனத்தில்  
++ N8.615 தடங்கடல் சூழ் உலகுபுகழ் சாஸ்தாவுண்  
டவ்வனத்தில்

[[N10.65

((1606 = N8.616/N2.569 நடந்து தினம்பூசைபண்ணிநான்மறையோன்

<sup>7</sup> 823-4 are out of their actual order and should be placed after N1.846.



((1607 = N8.616/N2.569 வருநாளில்  
 ((1608 = N8.617/N2.570 வருநாளில் ஒருநாளில் மறையவனை எதிரெக

[[N10.65

((1609 = N8.618/N2.571 திருநாளன்று அகமகிழ்ந்துசெய்தபழவினையாலே  
 ((1610 = N8.619/N2.572 கருமேகம்போல்உருவாய்காட்டகத்தேநின்று  
 ((1611 = N8.619/N2.572 சொண்டு.  
 ((1612/~ந8.620 கடித்திறுக்கி எதிரேவரகண்டு அந்தமறை  
 ((1613/~ந8.620 யவனும்/ ந8.620: கருத்தாகப் பிடிக்கவரக் கண்டுஅந்த மறையவனும்

829/~1614/~ந8.621/ந2.574 பிடித்த துயில் நிலத்தில் விள

830/~1614/~ந8.621/ந2.574 பெருஞ் சருவமும் அரிகி

++ Variant to 829-30

++ N10.1614 பிடித்ததொருதீபமணி பெருஞ்சருவம்மும்  
 சோறும்

++ N8.621 பிடித்ததொரு தூபத்தட்டும் பெருஞ்சருகச்  
 சோறுடனே

831/1615/ந8.622/ந2.575 கெடுத்து வளி பிளைதோடி

832/1615-6/ந8.622/ந2.575 கீரி கண்ட பாம்பது போல

833/1617/~ந8.623/ந2.576 அடித்து மனம் தனைப் பதறி

++ Variant to 833

++ N10.1617 அடித்துடைகள்தான்பதறி ஐயன்கோவில்  
 புகுந்தொளித்தான்

++ N8.623 அடித்தமுது மறையவனும் ஐயனுட  
 கோயில்புக்கி

834 அய்யாவென்றோடு வானாம்.

835/1618/ந8.624/ந2.576 அய்யாவே மாபூதம்

836/1618/ந8.624-5/ந2.576 அடியேனயும் தின்ன வந்து

++ Variant to 835-6

++ N10.1618 ...அடியேனைதின்னவென்று

++ N8.624 அடியேனை யொருபூதம் அடித்துக்கொல்ல  
 வருகுதையா / ஐயாவே ஐயனாரே

[[N10.65

((1619 மெய்யாகவந்துநின்றுவிண்ணப்பங்கள் செப்புவானாம்

837 அந்த மொளிதனை கேட்டு

838 அய்யனாரும் யேகிவிட்டார்

839/1626/ந8.626/ந2.579 பொய்யாம வய்யனுந்தான்

840/1626-7/ந8.626/ந2.579 புகளும் குண்டோதரனை விட்டு

++ Variant to 839-40

++ N10.1626 பொய்யாமல்ஐயனும்தான்புகழும்துண்டோ /  
 தரனைவிட்டு

841/1628 கையோடே கைநெரித்து

842/1629 கதிர்ந்து பிடி(த்)தே யடித்தான்.

++ Variant to 841-2

++ N10.1628-9 கையோடகைஅறைந்து கருத்துடனே /  
 அடுத்துரைத்தான்

843/1630 அடித்தானே கைகள் ரண்டும்

844/1631 ஆடாமல் அசையாமல்

845/1632/ந8.627/ந2.580 பிடித்தானே யிசக்கியுடன்

846/1632-33/ந8.627/ந2.580 பிறந்தாரே கொல்லவென்று

++ Variant to 846

++ N8.627 பிறந்தவனை நெரித்திடவே

[[N10.66

((1634 = N8.628/N2.581 துடித்தானே ஐயன்விட்ட துய்ய

((1635 = N8.628/N2.581 துண்டோதரனாலே

((1636 = N8.630/N2.583 நீலன் அங்கே இறந்த போதுநீலிதமய  
((1637 = N8.630/N2.583 னைத்தேடி

[[N10.66

((1638 = N8.631 அண்ணனைத்தான்காணவென்று  
((1639 = N8.631/N2.584 ஆயினையாள் புறப்படுவாள்  
((1640 = N8.632/N2.585 அண்ணறுக்கு ஏற்றபண்டம்  
((1641/~ந8.632 அரியதரம் பொரிவிளங்காய்  
((1642~ந8.632 சாலமுடன் கொழுவடைகள்  
((1643/~ந8.632 சமைத்துஅம்மைதானடுத்து  
++ Variant to N10.1641-3  
++ N8.632 அண்ணருக்கு ஏற்றபண்டம் அடைவுடனே  
எடுத்துவர

((1644 = \*\*N1.823-4 ஆலமுடன்பாய்ந்ததன்ன அவ்வனத்தே  
((1645 = \*\*N1.824 தோன்றுவாளாம்.

[[N10.66

((1652 அன்னேரம் அவ்வனத்தில் அற்பப்பிசாகுகள்தான் கூடி  
((1653 = N8.633/N2.586 முன்னேசென்று அடிதொழுது  
((1654 = N8.633/N2.586 மேகனப்பெண்ணுசக்கிஅம்மையிடம்  
((1655 = N8.634/N2.587 பெண்ணேஉன்தமயனைத்தான்  
((1656 = N8.634/N2.587 புகழும்துண்டோதரனைவிட்டு

847/1657 யின்னேரம் உன்தமயனயும்  
848/1658/ந8.635/ந2.588 யிசமபுரம் யேற்றிவிட்டார்.

[[N10.67

((1666/ந8.635 என்றபோதுஇசக்கியம்மை  
((1667/ந8.638 யேங்கியவள்தானருதாள்  
((1668/~ந8.637/N2.590 இன்றிவரைமுடித்தவனை  
((1669/~ந8.637/N2.590 நானும்முடிப்பேனவே / ந8.637: நன்றியின்றி முடித்தவரை / நான்  
முடிப்பேன் இப்பொழுது

849/1670/~ந8.638/ந2.581 நின்ற ம(ர)த்தடிதனிலே  
++ Variant to 849  
++ N8.638 என்று மரத்தடிதனிலே ஏங்கியமு திவளிருக்க

850/1671 நேரிளயும் யிருந்தருதாள்.  
++ Variant to 850  
++ N10.1671 நெடுநேரம்இருந்தமுதார்

851/~1672 அன்று அவள் முடித்தகுளல்  
852/~1672 அவள் முடியாதிருந்தனளே  
++ Variant to 851-2  
++ N10.1672 அவீழ்த்தகொண்டைமுடியாமல்

[[N10.67

((1674 இருந்தருது அவளிருக்க இயல் பழகைஊரவர்கள்

853/1675 இருந்தனா ளறியாமல்  
854/1676/~ந8.639 யெளுபது பேர் கரயாளர்  
++ Variant to 854  
++ N8.639 அருகிருக்கும் பழகைநகர் ஆண்டிருந்த  
வேளாளர்

855/1677/ந8.640/ந2.593 திருந்த புகளய்யனுக்கு  
856/1677/ந8.640/ந2.593 திருக் கோவில் கெட்டவென்று  
857/1678/ந8.641/ந2.594 பொருந்தும் நல்லவன் காட்டில்  
858/1679/ந8.641/ந2.594 பொருப்பனவே வேப்பவெட்டி

++ Variant to 857-8

++ N8.641 பொருந்துவனம் அதிலேநின்ற புகழ்பெரிய வேம்பைவெட்டி

859/1680/ந8.642-3/ந2.595 அருந்த திரு கோவில் கெட்டி

860/1681/ந8.642-3/ந2.595 அவர் பளகைஊர் புகுந்தாள்.

++ Variant to 859-60

++ N10.1680-1 அளிந்த திருகோவில்கட்டி அவர்புகுந்தார் / பழகைநகர்.

++ N8.642-3 திருந்தமுடன் கோயில்கட்டி சென்றனராம் பழகைநகர்.

861/ந8.648 யெண்ணெயெல்லாம் யெண்ணியெண்ணி

862/ந8.648 யிடகாட்டில் தான் திரிந்தாள்.

863/ந8.649 சதிபருத்தி கொடுபோன

864/ந8.649 சதிகாற மாமறயோன்

865 செப்பமுள்ள மானாகன்

866 திருவயிற்றில் பிறக்கவென்று

867/-ந8.652 ஒப்பமுள்ள சிவனாரும்

868/-ந8.653 உரைக்கலுற்றார் அவன்வயிற்றில்

++ Variant to 867-8

++ N8.652-3 செப்பமுள்ள சிவனாரும் திரும்பிபார்த்து தேதுரைப்பார் / ஒப்பமுள்ள மாநாகன் உற்றசெட்டி மனைவயிற்றில்

869/ந8.654 சொல்படியே பிறக்கவென்று

870/ந8.654 சொல்லுவாராம் சிவனாரும்

++ Variant to 869-70

++ N8.654 சொற்படியே பிறக்கவென்று சிவனாரும்விடை கொடுத்தார்

871/1697/ந8.655 விண்ணுலகம் தனில் சேற்றந்த வேதியநேபிரமா

872/1698/ந8.656 மீளவே காவேரிபூம்பட்டணத்தில்

873/1699/~ந8.657 மண்ணுலகில் ஒருநீலி வலியபளவினையால்

874/1700/~ந8.657-8 வலியதொரு மான(ர)கன்

++ Variant to 873-4

++ N8.657-8 மண்ணுள்ள வர்மெய்க்கும் மாநாகன் செட்டி

875/1700/~ந8.657-8 மனவி திருவயிற்றில்

876/1701/~ந8.661 பண்ணைய மொளியாளுக்கு

877/1701/~ந8.661 யீரஞ்சி ஒன்றாய்

878/1702/ந8.662 பருவானுடன் மெய் நொந்து

879/1702/ந8.662 பெற்றெடுத்தாளே.

++ Variant to 878-9

++ N10.1702 பரிவினுடன்மின்னொந்து பெற்றெடுத்தாளே

880/1703/ந8.663 பெற்றெடுத்தது கண்டு

881/1703/ந8.663 வந்து மானாகன்

882/1704/~ந8.664 பிரமயுடன் சோதிரியை

++ Variant to 882

++ N10.1704 பிரிசமுடன் சோதிரிசிதன்னை

++ N8.664 பிரியமாய்ச் சோதிடன் தன்னை

883/1704/~ந8.664 தன்னை வரவளைத்து

884/1705/~ந8.665-6 சுத்த கிரகங்களோடு

885/1705/~ந8.665-6 பக்கவாரங்கள்

++ Variant to 884-5

++ N10.1705 உற்றகிரகமோடுபக்கவாரங்கள்

886/1706/ந8.665-6 சுத்தினால் பக்கமும்

887/1706/ந8.665-6 ஒக்கவே யெண்ணிப்

++ Variant to 886-7

++ N10.1706 பூதரியநாள்பக்கமொக்கவே எண்ணி

++ N8.665-6 பத்துரண் டானதோர் வீடுகள் அமைத்து /  
பாங்குட னேநவக் கோளும் நிறுத்தி

888/1707/ந8.667 கற்ற பல நூலறிவு  
889/1707/ந8.667 நன்னூலும் யெண்ணி

++ Variant to 888-9  
++ N10.1707 கற்றபலநூலறிவுகண்ணுலும்எண்ணி  
++ N8.667 கற்றபல நூல்களின் சாரமு ணர்ந்து

890/1708 கற்றவர் தொகுத்தவர்

++ Variant to 890  
++ N10.1708 கணித்தவர் தொகுத்தவர்

891 னாவிலுளிருந்தருளி

[[N10.69  
((1709/~ந8.669 கொற்றவரும்தான்புகளவணிகர்குலமதிலே / ந8.669: கொற்றவர்க்  
கடுத்தகுல வணிகரது நெறியை  
((1710/ந8.670 குருகுலதோதிரிஜிகூறலுற்றாரே

[[N10.69  
((1719/~ந8.671 கூறினேன்உம்மதலையோகமதுகேளும்  
((1720/~ந8.672 குவலயத்துஉன்வாழ்வுகுறை செல்வமாகும்

892/1721/ந8.673 ஆறினால் ஒருபத்து

893/1721/ந8.673 வயதாகுமுன்னே

894/1722/~ந8.674 அதிய மாதா பிதாவுக்கு மதிமோசம்

895/1723/~ந8.675 மீறிவரும் வயசு பதினாறு பதினேளி(ல்)

896/1724/ந8.676 மேலும் ஒருநீலி பனிகுள் விதியுண்டும்

897/1725/ந8.677/ந2.628 யேற்ற புகள் குளவே நீலி பலியாலே

++ Variant to 897  
++ N10.1725 யேதும் புகள்சேரும்ஒருநீலிபழியாலே  
++ N8.677/N2.628 ஏறுபுகழ் சேருமொரு இயக்கிபழி யாலே

898/1726/ந8.678 யெருபது பேர் கரயாளர் யிறக்க விதியுண்டும்

++ Variant to 898  
++ N10.1726 எழுபதுமனிதரும் இறக்கவிதிஉண்டு

899/1727/ந8.679 உண்டும் யிதுக்கு விதியேற்ற நலமில்லை

++ Variant to 899  
++ N10.1727 உண்டேஇதுக்கொருஉபாயமீதன்ன

900/1728/ந8.680 ஊர்வளி தனித்து போ கண்ணாது காணும்

901/1729/ந8.681 பண்டே பருத்த வயிரகொடி வேம்பின்

++ Variant to 901  
++ N10.1729 பண்டேபருத்தவைத்தகொடிவேம்பின்

902/1730/ந8.682 பத்திரம் நெடுங்கயில் யெடுத்திடவும் வேணும்

++ Variant to 902  
++ N8.682 பத்திரம் கையில் எடுக்கவும் வேணும்

[[N10.70  
((1731 = N2.636 உண்டேவிதிக்கொருவேறவிதியில்லை  
((1732 = N2.637 உத்தபடிஆமன்றுஉரைக்கலுற்றாரே

903 தண்டான மனதாயன் விண்டொருகு தீரன்

904 தானெங்கும் சார்த்திரம் தானவே சொல்லி

905 உண்டே நல்மொனியுரை கண்டவர் சொல்லி

[[N10.70  
((1739 = N8.687/N2.638 உரைத்ததை மனம்தனில் உணர்ந்துவணிகேசன்  
((1740 = N8.688/N2.639 உற்றார்தனக்குசலித்துயாரும்வருந்தி

((1741 = N8.689/N2.640 நிரைத்திடும் கடுகனய அறுகோடு  
 ((1742 = N2.640 சடைகாணி.  
 ((1743 = N8.690/ N2.641 நித்தன் அருள்படியேமக்கள்சலிப்பன்ன  
 ((1744 = N8.691/ N2.642 அரைவடம்தண்டைபணி அப்பணிதிரள  
 ((1745 = N8.692/N2.643 அத்தனையும் தானடுத்தமகனுக்கணிந்து  
 ((1746 = N8.693/N2.644 எடுத்தவர் இளைத்தவர் அடுத்தவர்தொடுத்தவர்  
 ((1747 = N8.694/N2.645 இசல்பதிசனத்தோடு இனத்தோடு  
 ((1748 = N8.694/N2.645 உரைத்தனர்.  
 ((1749/ந8.695/ந2.646 கவிப்புவர்க்குரெட்டின்பதைக்கன்  
 ((1750/ந8.696/ந2.647 கனவளைசவடியோடுகொடுத்தனன்விடுத்தனர்  
 ((1751/ந8.697 தெளிந்தனர்துதித்தனர் வரைத்தனர்நிரைத்தனர்  
 ((1752/ந8.698/ந2.649 தெருத்தோறும்வியப்புறநடித்தனர்சிரித்தனர்  
 ((1753/ந8.699/ந2.650 மணிமுரசுதவில்முறையும்நின்றுசேவிக்க  
 ((1754/ந8.700/ந2.651 மண்ணிமுளக்கமெனவையகமும்முளங்க  
 ((1755/ந8.701/ந2.652 கனகுரவைபார்க்கவே இந்திரலோகத்தார்  
 ((1756/ந8.702/ந2.653 கடலொலியதாமென்று கனகமகிழ்ந்தாரே  
 ((1757/ந8.703/ந2.654 தன்பதியநிகரானதந்தையோடுதாயார்  
 ((1758/ந8.704/ந2.655 சகலமும்ஒன்றாகவந்துசேவிக்க

906/1759/ந8.705/ந2.656 யிவைரோதாமும் கலந்து பரதவித்து

++ Variant to 906

++ N10.1759 இனவரோடுதாமும்கலந்துபாவித்து

++ N8.705/N2.656 இனவருடன் தாமும் கலந்து புசித்து

907/1760/ந8.706 யிளவரசன் ஆனந்தன் யென்று பேரிட்டார்.

908/1761-2/ந8.707 பேரிட்டு கண்டு மானாகன் தனக்கு

++ Variant to 908

++ N10.1761-2 பெயரிட்டுமுன்முறைநடந்துவரும்நாளில் /  
 பிள்ளைவயதன்றுகண்டுமானாகன்

[[N10.71

((1763/-ந8.709 வாரிட்ட அம்மைதனத்தாள் மகிழ்ந்து

((1764 வந்திருந்தஇனத்தோரும் சேர ஒன்றாக

909 புகளான் ஆனந்தன் வளருகிற நேரம்

910 வாக்குடனல்லதோர் பள்ளியில் வைக்க

911 வாத்தியார் தன்னை அளைத்தார் சினத்தில்

912/1765/ந8.711 நேரிட்டு விக்கிற வினாயகநருளால்

++ Variant to 912

++ N10.1765 நேரிட்டுஇருத்தியே அரனருளிநாலே

++ N8.711 நேரிட்டி ருத்தியே தீபமு மேற்றி

913/1766/ந8.712 நிறனாணி நெல் விடலை கடலை பயறவல் தேன்

914/1767/ந8.713 சீரிட்டு விக்கிற வினாயகநருளால்

915/1768/ந8.714 செல்வ குமாரனொரு பள்ளிக்கிருத்தி

++ Variant to 915

++ N10.1768 செல்வகுமார்பனைபள்ளிக்கிருத்தி

916/1769/ந8.715 பள்ளி புகுந்து படிப்பு துடங்குவானே.

++ Variant to 916

++ N10.1769 பள்ளிக்கிருத்திபலநூலும்வாசித்து

917 அரினமோ த்துசிநவென்று

918 அண்ணாவி ஓதி கொடுத்தாரே.

919 அளகுடய பாலனும் படித்தான்.

920 தம் அ ஆ இ ஈ உ வென்று

921 அஞ்செருத்தும் கற்று கொடுத்தாரே.

922 ஆதர உடனே படித்தானே.

923 எ ஏ ஐ ஒ ஓ <ஔ> கூ கா வென்று

924 ஆக யிருபது அகூரத்தை உன்னியே

925 அரிசவடி தான் படித்து கொடுத்தார்.

926 அரிவிரி கொன்ற வேந்தன்

927 அன்னயும் பிதா உடனே

- 928 ஆனை யேற்றம் கற்று கொடுத்தாரே.  
 929 அடிமுறைகளை தானும் கற்றுக் கொடுக்க  
 930 மல்லடவு சிரமமுடன்  
 931 மற்றுமுள்ள தொலிலுடனே  
 932 மானாகன் செட்டி மகன் படிக்க  
 933 வரிசை கணக்கும் கற்று கொடுத்தார்.  
 934 யிங்கிலிஸ் பாசைகளும்  
 935 யிதமான கொந்தங்களும்  
 936 யெல்லா வித்தை கற்று கொடுத்தாரே.  
 937 யிதமுடனே வாத்தியாரிடத்தில்  
 938 சந்தோஸமாய் வளியனுப்பி  
 939 தானும் வெள்ளி கோலுடனே

[[N10.71

- ((1770 = \*\*ந1.978/ந8.716 பாலகன்வயதுபதிநாறுபதினேளில்  
 ((1771 = \*\*ந1.979/ந8.717 வெள்ளிகோலுடன்கடும்சரக்குகொண்டு  
 ((1772 = \*\*ந1.981/~ந8.718 வித்துவாணிபம்செய்துவரும்நாளில்  
 ((1773 வள்ளிக்கிசைசந்ததிருமுருகனருளாலே  
 ((1774 மாமன்மகன்தன்னையும் வணிகாராலே பேசி  
 ((1775 அள்ளிகொடுத்து வெகுசந்தோசமாக

- 940/1776/ந8.722 ஆதிநூல் வளியாக ஆனந்தன்  
 941/1777/ந8.723 மணம் புணர்ந்தானே.

++ Variant to 940-1

++ N10.1776-7 ஆதிமுறைதூல்வழியே ஆனந்தன்மன்தனனே

++ N8.722-3 ஆதிமறை பிசகாது ஆனந்த னிருந்தான்.

- 942/1777/~ந8.723 மணம் புணர்ந்து யிருந்ததற்பின்  
 943/1778/ந8.723 வணிகர் குல ஆனந்தனும்

++ Variant to 942

++ N10.177/N8.723 மணம்புணர்ந்துஆனந்தனும்

[[N10.72

- ((1778/ந8.723 வாழ்ந்திருக்கும் நாளையிலே

- 944/1779 குணம் புணர்ந்த தகப்பனுக்கு  
 945/1780 கொடுமறணம் யெடுத்திடவே

[[N10.72

- ((1781 நிணம் பொதிந்தஉடல்கறுத்து  
 ((1782 நிலையனிந்துதடுமாறி  
 ((1783 இணஇணமாய்உடல்மெலிந்து  
 ((1784 இருக்கும் அந்தநாளையிலே

- 946 புணர்ந்த புத்திதன்னாலே  
 947 போதமெல்லாம் சொல்லுவானாம்.  
 948/1790 வாராய்னி ஆனந்தனே  
 949/1791 மணமுடித்திடு மகனே

[[N10.72/73

- ((1792 பூராயம்இல்லாமல்பூவையுடன்வாழ்ந்திருப்பாய்  
 ((1793 = N2.679 நேராகசொல்லுகிறேன்நினைவின்படிஉந்தனக்கு  
 ((1794 = N2.680 வாளானபருவத்திலே வயதுனக்கு  
 ((1795 கெணித்தபடி  
 ((1796 = N2.679 நேராகசொல்லுகிறேன்நினைவின்படி  
 ((1797 உந்தனக்கு  
 ((1798 வாளானபருவத்திலே வயதுனக்குகெணித்தபடி

- 950 கேளாயோ நீ புதல்வா  
 951 கெணித்த நுதல் வேதியனே  
 952 னாளாய் சிறுபுதல்வன்  
 953 நானு முன்னாள் கேட்டிருந்தேன்  
 954/1799/ந8.730/ந2.681 கோளான பேய் மகளால்  
 955/1799/ந8.730/ந2.681 குலைப்படுவாய் யென்றுரைத்தார்

[[N10.72/73  
 ((1800 என்மகனே  
 ((1801 தோளாமைமயல்லவாடாசொன்னதுமெய்என்வார்த்தை

[[N10.73  
 ((1810 குருவின்அருள்மறகாதே  
 ((1811 கொடியவரோடிணங்காதே.

956 மணி மருவு மலைமார்பா  
 957/1812-3/~ந8.759-60 வலு வேம்பின் பத்திரத்தை  
 958/~1812-3/~ந8.759-60 ஒரு பொருதும் நிகளாதே  
 ++ Variant to 957-8  
 ++ N10.1812-3 வலுவேம்பின் பத்திரத்தை /  
 வைத்துகொள்வாய் என்மகனே  
 ++ N8.759-60 வேளிவிதனில் தான்பிறந்த வேம்பினுட  
 பத்திரத்தை / வாழ்விதென்று நீநினைத்தால் வாராது  
 உயிர்ச்சேதம்

[[N10.73  
 ((1814 இதைஒருபோதும்மறவாதே

959/1815/ந8.737/ந2.688 ஊர்தனித்தும் போகாதே  
 960 தனித்து வளி நடவாதே  
 961 தங்கூரில் போகாதே  
 962 அபத்தம் செய்யும் பனிகாறன்  
 963 அவரோடு உறவாடாதே

[[N10.73  
 ((1816 புத்திசொல்லும்பெரியோரை  
 ((1817 புகழ்ந்திடும்நல்தாய்மாரை  
 ((1818 எவ்விடத்தில்கண்டாலும்  
 ((1819 எதிரேசென்றுஅடிபணிந்து

964 கனத்த முதல் தேடுதற்க்கு  
 965 கருதி புத்தி நினையாதே  
 966/~1820 யித்தலத்தில் நீ பினைப்பாய்  
 967/1821/~ந8.762 யென்று சொல்லி யிறந்தனரே.  
 ++ Variant to 967  
 ++ N8.762 நன்றியுடை மாநாகன் நாய்கருமோ  
 உயிர்துறந்தார்

968 சிறந்த புகள் ஆனந்தனும்  
 969 செட்டி சில காலமெல்லாம்  
 970/1830/ந8.766/ந2.717 மறந்தனரே தந்தை சொன்ன  
 971/1831/ந8.766/ந2.717 வலிய உபதேச மெல்லாம்  
 972/1832/ந8.767/ந2.718 யெல்லாந் தாமறந்தாலும்  
 973/1832/ந8.767/ந2.718 யேந்தியதோர் பத்திரத்தை  
 974/1833/ந8.768/ந2.719 வல்லாள ஆனந்தனும்  
 975/1833/ந8.768/ந2.719 மறவானாம் ஒருனாரும்

[[N10.74  
 ((1835 = N8.769/N2.720 பொல்லாததாசிமகள் பொன்னதயல்லாம்  
 ((1836 களற்றி.  
 ((1837 = N2.721 கல்லாலேகொன்றபழிகாலம்வந்துகுறுக்கிடுமாம்  
 ((1838 = N2.722 காலம்வந்துகுறுக்கிடவே  
 ((1839 கடும்சரக்குகஸ்தூரி

976 தந்தையர்க்கு சடங்கறுத்து  
 977 தானம் செய்து தவமளித்தான்.  
 \*\*978/1770/ந8.716 பதினாறு திரு வயதில்  
 \*\*979/1771/ந8.717 பார் வெள்ளி கோலெடுத்தான்.  
 980 கோலமிகு பட்டாடை  
 \*\*981/1772/ந8.718 கொண்டு விக்க து(ட)ங்கினரே  
 982/1837/ந8.770/ந2.721 கல்லாலே கொன்றபளி  
 983/1837/ந8.770/ந2.721 காலம் வந்து முடுக்கிடவே

984/1838/ந8.771/ந2.722 காலம் வந்து முடுக்கிடவே  
 985 கடும் சரக்கு கஸ்த்தூரி  
 986/1854/ந8.772/ந2.723 யேலம் யிஞ்சி பொற்பராகம்  
 987/~1854 யிசைந்த சந்தண குறடாம்

++ Variant to 986-7

++ N10.1854 ஏலயிஞ்சி புஸ்ப்பராகம் இலங்கியசண்ணக்குறடு

988/~1855/~ந8.773/ந2.724 நீலமொத்த கடவளயல்  
 989/~1855/~ந8.773/ந2.724 நிறவளசித் தாக்குடநே

++ Variant to 988-9

++ N8.773/N2.724 நீலமுடன் மாணிக்கமும் நேர்பெறுகோ  
 மேதகமும்

++ N10.1855 நீலமிக்கபட்டாடைநித்தனத்தோடேனவரம்

990/1856/ந8.774/ந2.725 கோல மிகு பட்டாடை

991 கொண்டு விக்க துடங்கினரே

992/~1857/~ந8.775 உடக்கியதோர் ஆனந்தனும்

++ Variant to 992

++ N10.1857 உறுதிகொண்டுஆனந்தன்

993 ஊளி விதிபடியாலே

994 ஓய்யார தொங்கலுடன்

995/1858/ந8.775 ஒரு தோளில் பக்கறயும்

++ Variant to 995

++ N8.775 ...ஒருதோளில் பையறைக்குள்

996/1859/ந8.776/ந2.726 அடக்கியதோர் அவல் பொரிசேர்

997/1860/ந8.776/ந2.726 அதியதாம் பலகாரம்

++ Variant to 997

++ N10.1860 அரிய தரம் பொரிவிளங்காய்

++ N8.776/N2.726 அரியதரம் பொருளினங்காய்

[[N10.75

((1861/ந8.777/ந2.727 கடுகனவேநடைக்கிசைந்த

((1862/ந8.777/ந2.727 கால்கிணங்கதோல்செருப்பாம்

998/ந8.778 மிடுக்குடய வெள்ளி கோல்

999/ந8.778 மேவியே பாக்கு சுருக்காம்

1000 சுருக்காம் வெத்திலை சுருக்காம்

1001 சுத்தி நவகறண்டவமாம்

1002/ந8.779 யிருக்கால் முக்கால் வெளுத்த

1003/ந8.779 யெண்ண சாய துப்பட்டியாம்

++ Variant to 1002-3

++ N8.779 இருக்கால்முக் கால்வெளுத்த

எண்ணெய்ச்சாயத் துப்பட்டியாம்

1004 துப்பட்டியாம் அதினிடயில்

1005 சேறந்தனல்ல அரஞாணமாம்

1006 கல் பதித்த மோதிரமாம்

1007 காதில் தங்க கடுக்கன்களாம்

1008 யிப்படியே ஆனந்தனும்

1009 யெடுத்து சந்தோஷமுடன்

1010/~1870 கொப்படியே தாண்டுவழி

1011/~1870 கோதயர்கள் தெருக்கடந்து

++ Variant to 1010-1

++ N10.1870 செப்படிவித்தைகாறர்சேணியர்கள்

தெருக்கடந்து

1012 முப்பொருதும் புகள் படைத்த

1013/1872-4/~ந8.787/ந2.737 முடுக்கில் வந்து தோன்றினரே

++ Variant to 1013

++ N10.1872-4 முடுக்கில்வந்துகுறுகினனே / முடுக்கில்

ஆனந்தன்வர முடப்பூனை / குறுக்கிடுமாம்



++ N8.787/N2.737 முடுக்கதிலா னந்தன்வர முடப்பூனை குறுக்கிடுமாம்

\*\*1014/1902 விலக்கிடுமாம் கோட்டானும்  
1015 மிக்க கட்டி சட்டி முயல்  
1016/ந8.789 யிடுக்கியொரு யிறுதலக்ஷி  
1017/ந8.789 யெதிராக் குசத்திவர

++ Variant to 1016-7  
++ N8.789 இடுக்கியொரு பறுதலைச்சி எதிரேயொரு குயத்திவர

1018/1875/ந8.788 அடுக்கிருந்து புதுப்பானை  
1019/1875 அதிய சட்டி தாளிகும்பம்  
1020/ந8.790 ஒருக்கமுள்ள முக்கறுவன்  
1021/ந8.790 ஒருவன் யெதிராக வந்தான்.

++ Variant to 1020-1  
++ N8.790 ஒருக்கமுள்ள முக்கறையன் ஒருவனெதி ராகவர

[[N10.76  
((1876 இடுக்கிஒருபம்பத்தலை  
((1877 ஏற்றகுசத்திஎதிரேவர  
((1878 ஆகவும்தான்குறிப்பறிந்து  
((1879 அஞ்சியவன்நடக்கையிலே

1022/1880 நாகமது படம்விரித்து  
1023/1880 நடைக்கு முன்னே தோன்றிடுமாம்  
1024/1881 மெல்ல வளு கால் தூக்கி  
1025/1882 மேவிவைக்கும் வேளயிலே.

[[N10.76  
((1895 காட்டானைகலைந்துவர  
((1896 காவலவன்வரும்நேரம்  
((1897 இருந்தாந்தல்புலம்பிவர  
((1898 இடந்தேநரிசூப்பிடவே

1026/-1899 சொல்லுதல்லோ பல்லி - பலன்

++ Variant to 1026  
++ N10.1899 பட்டகொப்பில் ஒருகெழுனிபல்லிபலன் சொல்லிடுமாம்

1027 குனுயத்தால் வினை உனக்கு  
1028/1900 கொல்லவென்று யிசுக்கி நிற்பாள்  
1029/1900 குலைப்படுவாளயின சொல்லுதே.

[[N10.77  
((1902 = \*\*ந1.1014 விவக்கிடுமாம் கோட்டானும்  
((1903 மிக்ககட்டிகரடியுடன்  
((1904 மலக்கிடுவாள்உனைக்கலக்கி  
((1905 வழிதனிலேபழிகொள்ளவே

1030/1906/ந8.807/ந2.758 நிக்ஷியமச் சாவியென்பாள்  
1031/1907/ந8.807 நீலியோடு கானகத்தில்

++ Variant to 1030-1  
++ N10.1906-7 நிச்சயம்மச்சாவிஎன்பாள் / நீலிநெடும்கானகத்தில்  
++ N8.807/N2.758 நிச்சயமச் சாவியென்று நீலியவ ளமுதமுது

[[N10.77  
((1919 = N8.805/N2.756 பச்சமுறும்பெண்களைப்போல்  
((1920 = N8.805/N2.756 பகட்டி உன்னை மடிபிடிப்பாள்

1032/1921/ந8.806/ந2.757 உக்ஷிதனில் மேல்பளவை

++ Variant to 1032  
++ N10.1921/N8.806/N2.757 உச்சிதமாய்பளகைநகர்

1033/1922/ந8.806/ந2.757 ஊருமட்டும் பின்துடர்வான்  
++ Variant to 1033  
++ N10.1922 ஊருமட்டும்உனைதூரத்தி

1034/1923/ந8.808/ந2.759 அகூனியா பிச்சளைதான்  
++ Variant to 1034  
++ N10.1923 அச்சனியபிச்சுடலை  
++ N8.808 அச்சொழியப் பிச்சுடலை

1035/1924/ந8.808/ந2.759 அலைகெடுவான் யின சொல்லுதே.  
++ Variant to 1035  
++ N10.1924 அலக்கனிப்பாள் என்ச்சொல்லுதே  
++ N8.808 அலக்கழிப்பாள் அதனாலே

[[N10.78  
(1925 சொல்லுதல்லோபல்லிபலன் - அதன்  
(1926 ச்ஊட்ச்சம்தன்னை அறியாமல்  
(1927 மீண்டுதல்லோந்லிபழி  
(1928 முடுகிடவேகடுநடையாய்

1036/1929 ஊளறியதோர் ஆனந்தன்  
1037/1930 ஊளி விதிபடியாலே  
1038/1931 யின்றவளி பெருங்காட்டில்  
1039/1932/-ந8.812 யிடவளிக்கே தோன்றுவாளே.  
1040/1933/-ந8.812 தோன்றி நின்றானிசக்கி  
++ Variant to 1039-40  
++ N10.1932-3 இடைவழிக்குஎன்தாயாகியஇசக்கி /  
அம்மை தோணுவாளே  
++ N8.812 அன்றுநிழல்அதில்த்துயின்ற அரிவையரும்  
தோன்றுவளாம்

[[N10.78  
(1934 = N8.813/N2.764 தோன்றினால் நீலிநல்லாள் - என்தாயார்

1041/1935/ந8.814/ந2.766 துடியிடைகேற்ற பட்டாடியுடன்  
1042/1936/ந8.817/ந2.768 பட்டாடை கொய்துடுத்தான்.  
1043 புகள செய்வாய்கள் கனிந்தொழுக

[[N10.78  
(1937/ந8.818/ந2.769 பசும் பொன் அரஞாணம்துவண்டிலங்க

1044/1938/ந8.819/ந2.770 யிட்டாளே முட்டாங்கை - செட்டி  
1045/1939/ந8.820/ந2.771 யெப்ப வருவாரென்றெண்ணி யெண்ணி  
1046/1940/ந8.823 கட்டான பூங்குளலாள்  
1047/1940-1/ந8.823 கமல முகத்திலே வேர்வை சிந்த  
1048/1942/ந8.821-2/ந2.772-3 பொட்டானதுவுமிட்டு  
1049/1942/ந8.821-2/ந2.772-3 போதவே கண்ணதில்  
1050/1943/ந8.822/ந2.773 மையுமிட்டாள்.  
1051/1944/ந8.825/ந2.776-7 தொட்டாள் களுத்திலே  
1052/1944-45/ந8.825,8/ந2.776-7,9 தங்க சூரியன் போலே திருத்தாலி  
1053/1946 திருத்தாலி தானிலங்க  
1054/1946-7 செம்புகள வாய்கனிந்தொளுக  
1055/1948 ஒருகாய் அதனிடயில்  
1056/1948-9 ஓய்யார தொங்கலும் தோளிலிட்டு  
1057/1950/ந8.830/ந2.780 யிட்டாள் சரப்பணிகள்  
1058 யேலங் குளலுக்கு யெண்ணயிட்டு

[[N10.79  
(1957 = N8.831-2/N2.782-3 மட்டாரும்பூங்குளலாள் - வாலசந்திரன்  
(1958 = N8.832/N2.783 போல்வந்துதோன்றுவாளாம்.  
(1959 தோன்றும் பெருவளிக்கு வெகுசூர்கொண்டு

((1960 மேனிசொரிசுளலாம்.

1059/1961 ஊன்றுங் கதிரவன் போல்  
 1060/1961-2 ஓடி உலாவும் கதிர் விளியின்  
 1061/1963 விளியாம் கனபணியாம்  
 1062/1963-4 வேடிகைகை காதாம் குமின் முக்காம்  
 1063/1965 மொனியாம் செவ்வாய் மலராம்  
 1064/1965-6 முத்து மாணிக்கம் போலே மதிமுகமாம்  
 1065/1967 மதிதங்கியே முகமும்  
 1066/1967-8 மங்கல ஞானும் நல்பொற் பணியாம்

[[N10.79/80

((1969 குதிகொண்டுஎழுந்ததுபோல்கும்பக்குடம்  
 ((1970 போல்இளந்தனமும்.  
 ((1971 தனமாம்இதன்நடுவேதள்ளிஎறும்பொழுகு  
 ((1972 கிட்டாப்போல்  
 ((1973 நிலைநின்றுகீழ்நோக்கி - நேரியரோமத்தின்  
 ((1974 ஒழுங்குகளகாம்.

1067/1975 ஆலால யிலைவயறும்  
 1068/1976 அன்பு தனத்திலே பொற்சுகனியாம்

++ Variant to 1067-8

++ N10.1975-6 அனகாம் ஆலி லைவயறாம் - புனல்ஆத்திச்  
 / சளிபோல்உந்திச்சுகனியாம்

1069 நூல் போல யிடை துவள  
 1070 கையில் நோக்கியே  
 1071 வேல் போல யிருவிளியாம்  
 1072 விளியும் துடியிடயும்  
 1073/1977 மெகூய பூச்சுகங்கை விச்சளகும்  
 1074/1978/~ந8.833 நளியாம் அன்ன நடயாம்

++ Variant to 1073-4

++ N10.1977-8 அழகாதுடியிடையும் - தாயாருட - கை  
 விச்சம் / நடையளகும்

1075/1979-80/ந8.834/ந2.785 நல்ல விரால் போல கணங்காலும்

++ Variant to 1075

++ N10.1979 இருகன்னிவிரால் போல் கணைக்காலும்

1076/1981/ந8.837 கணங்காலும் பாடகமும்  
 1077/1982/~ந8.838 காலில் சிலம்பு அலம்பிடவே

++ Variant to 1077

++ N8.838 தன்னிலே ஆழியாம் காற்சிலம்பாம்

1078/1983/ந8.836 மனம் போலுடன்கலர்ந்த  
 1079/1983/ந8.836 மஞ்சண வாயுடயளகும்

++ Variant to 1079

++ N8.836 எங்குமிட் டுமஞ்ச ணைபூசி

[[N10.80

((1985 உடையாதபச்சிலைபோல் தன்னை  
 ((1986 ஒப்பிரண்டுதிரண்டமுந்த

1080/1987 துடியான துகள் ரெம்ப

++ Variant to 1080

++ N10.1987 துடையானதுநிரம்ப - அவள்தோளில்மேல்

1081/1988 தொங்கலிட்ட ஒய்யாரமுமாய்

++ Variant to 1081

++ N10.1988 ஆவியதொங்கலுமாய்

1082/1989/ந8.841/ந2.792-3 மாயாத கை சுருளும்

++ Variant to 1082

++ N10.1989 மாயாத கைசுருளும் - எந்தாயார்

1083/1989-90/ந8.842/ந2.793 வாயிலொதுக்கியே பாக்களகும்

++ Variant to 1083

++ N10.1989-90 வாயில் ஒருக்கிய பாக்களகும்

1084/1991 தேயாத பொற்க்குடம் போல

++ Variant to 1084

++ N10.1991 தேயாத பொற்க்குடம் போல்

((1085 நனியாம் அன்ன நடயாம்

((1086 நல்ல விரால் போல கணங்காலும்

((1087 கணங்காலும் பாடகமும்

((1088 காலில் சிலம்பு அலம்பிடவே

((1089 மனம் போலுடன் கலர்ந்த

((1090 மஞ்சண வாயுடயளகும்

((1091 துடியான துகள் ரெம்ப

((1092 தொங்கலிட்ட ஓயாரமுமாய்

((1093 மாயாத கை சுருளும்

((1094 வாயிலொதுக்கியே பாக்களகும்

[[N10.80

((1992 செம்பத்தனம் போல்நமக்குறியும்

((1993 = N8.845/N2.797 குறியாம்கெறுவிதமாம் - ஆடும் கொப்பும்

((1994 = N8.846/N2.797 இரண்டுக்கைகாப்பளகாம்

1095/1995/ந8.847 நெறியுமதி தைத்தது போல

++ Variant to 1095

++ N10.1995 எறியும்கதிரவன் போல் - எந்தாயார்

++ N8.847 நெறியுந் திகைந்திடவே

1096/1996/ந8.848 ஒரு நீலியெதிர் வந்து தோன்றினாளே.

++ Variant to 1096

++ N10.1996 இசக்கிஅம்மைஎதிர்வந்துதோன்றினாளே

1097/2003/ந8.849/ந2.800 யெதிர் வந்த செட்டி

1098/2003/ந8.849/ந2.800 யக்கண்டிசக்கி(யம்)மன் மகிளந்து

1099/2004/ந8.850/ந2.801 யினி கெட்டி கெட்டி யென்று ஆடினாளே.

1100/2005/ந8.851/ந2.802 மதுரமொளி மடவார் மனது பிரிசமுற்று

1101/2006/ந8.852/ந2.803 மகதேவர் தஞ்சமென்று வாள்த்தினாளே.

1102 யிது நன்று நன்று பனியெங்கே போனாலும்

1103 விடேன் யென் பனி கொள்வேநென்று போற்றினாளே.

1104/2007 அதன்கனகமுதல் அவனி முளுதறிய

1105/2008 அதோ செட்டி வாறாநென்று ஆடினாளே.

++ Variant to 1105

++ N10.2008 அவன்செய்தபளிக்கன்றுஆடினாளே

1106/2009/ந8.855/ந2.806 ஆடினாள் பாடினாள் ஆனந்த வாய்சொரிய

1107/2010/ந8.856/ந2.807 அதோ செட்டி வாறாநென்றங் காடினாளே.

[[N10.81

((2011 = N8.857/N2.808 பாடினாள் ஆடினாள் பாவைதிந்தோமென்ன

((2012 = N8.858/N2.809 பழிகாகாறன்வாறான்என்றுஆடினாளே

1108/2013/ந8.859/ந2.810 ஓடினாள் சந்தோஸம் கொண்டு

1109/2013/ந8.859/ந2.810 உலகமெல்லாம் குலுங்க

1110/2015/ந8.860/ந2.811 உடயவரே தஞ்சமென்று போற்றினாளே.

1111/2016/ந8.861/ந2.812 துணை செய்வாய் மகதேவர்

1112/2016/ந8.861/ந2.812 துகுண்ணக்காறி நீ நல்ல

++ Variant to 1112

++ N10.2016 துஷ்றகாறிநானல்லவோ

1113/2017/ந8.862/ந2.813 சொல்லிக்கொண்டு பனியிப்போ

1114/2017-8/ந8.862/ந2.813 கொள்வேநென்றாள்.

[[N10.81

((2019-20 = N8.863/N2.814 இணைதன்பு கொண்டிருந்து என்னைமுன்னாள் கொன்றபழி.  
 ((2021-22 = N8.864/N2.815 எங்கே போனாலும் உம்மைவிடேன் என்றாள்.  
 ((2023 மனதுகரகமுற்று மாறிவிண்ணும்கடிக்கும்  
 ((2024 வாறுபோல் கொன்றபழிவாங்குவேனான்  
 ((2025 குணத்தண்ணன்பழியும்கோலவேம்பின்பழியும்  
 ((2026 கொழவேன்பழிகொள்வேன்என்றுகூறினாள்.

1115/2027-9/ந8.867-8/ந2.818-9 பனிகொள்வேன் கொள்வேநென்று பாரசிலம்பலம்ப பய்யவே  
 செட்டி முகம் னோக்கினாளே.

[[N10.82

((2030 = N8.869/N2.820 வள்ளிகுளத்தனமசையமார்பில்  
 ((2031 தனம் அசைய -

++ Variant to N10.2030 வனிதை முழலசைய மார்பில்  
 வடமசைய

((2032 = N8.870/N2.821 மணிச்சேலைமுந்திபுரண்டாடிடவே

1116/2033-5/ந8.871-2/ந2.822-3 அளிசேர் குடல்மடவார் ஆனந்தன் செட்டியக்கண்டு அன்னம்  
 போல் நீலியெதிராக தோன்றினாளே.

++ Variant to 1116

++ N10.2033-5 அணிச்சேர்குளம்மடவார்ஆனந்தன்  
 செட்டியைகண்டு/அன்னம்போல் எதிர்வந்து தோன்றினாளே

1117/2042-4/ந8.873-4/ந2.824 யெதிர் வந்து தோன்றியபின் யேங்கியே மனம் பதறி மதிசுன்றி  
 மெய்நடுங்கி

1118/2044-6/ந8.874-5/ந2.825-6 வாயலர்ந்து கால் பதறி விதி வந்து சூள்ந்து தென்று விரல்  
 வணிகன் ஆனந்தனும்

++ Variant to 1118

++ N10.2044 வாய்குளறி கால் பதறி / விதிவந்து ....

1119/2047/ந8.876/ந2.827 சதிவந்து சேற்றந்த தென்று செட்டி ஒக்கவே தள்ளாடப்பட்டனரே  
 1120/2054/ந8.877/ந2.828 தள்ளாடப்பட்டனரே தமிழ்வணிக பெருமாளே  
 1121/2055/ந8.878/ந2.829 முள்ளாடும் கரும்சூரைமுட்டடந்த காட்டோடே  
 1122/2056/ந8.879/ந2.830 துள்ளாடபடவேண்டி துணையுமில்லா தனில் பொறந்தீர்  
 1123/2057/ந8.880/ந2.831 வெள்ளாட்டிக்காகவல்லோ  
 1124/2058 விளிச்சா பெண் சாத்துகறிர்  
 1125/2059/ந8.881/ந2.832 யேன் காணும் உம்மோடே  
 1126/2059/ந8.881/ந2.832 னா நினைங்கி யிருப்பதெல்லாம்

[[N10.83

((2060/N8.882/N2.833 நான்தானும் அறிந்திருப்பேன்  
 ((2061/N8.882 நாதனேஎனைமறந்தீர்.

1127/ந8.884 தான் காண பயந்தீரே  
 1128/2068/ந8.884-5/ந2.836 சய்யல் கண்டால் தெரியாதோ  
 1129/ந8.885 சய்யல் கண்டால் தெரியாதோ  
 1130 தனப்பட யாரினப்படயார்  
 1131/ந8.886 நொய்ய மனத்தரசர் முகம்  
 1132/ந8.886 னோக்குவதும் னோக்காதோ  
 1133/2070/ந8.887/ந2.838 வெய்யில் நடை தானடந்து  
 1134/2071/ந8.887 வெப்பெடுத்து னாவுணர்ந்து

++ Variant to 1134

++ N8.887 வேர்வையுடன் நாவுலர்ந்தேன்

1135/2072/ந8.888/ந2.839 துய்ய மனதுடயவரே  
 1136/2073/ந8.888/ந2.839 சற்றே சுண்ணாம்பு தாருமென்றார்.  
 1137/2074/ந8.889/ந2.840 தாருங்காண் சுண்ணாம்பு  
 1138/2074/ந8.889/ந2.840 தந்து யினல் மீதிலிருந்து

[[N10.84

((2076 = N8.890/N2.841 சேருங்காண் என்னோடு  
 ((2077 = N8.890/N2.841 செட்டிகுலபெருமாளே.

1139 ஆதினமுள்ளதலம்  
 1140 ஆனதுண்டால் னாலு திக்கும்  
 1141 பாரினாம்முக்காட்டில்  
 1142 பதைப்பிறவே பறைந்திருக்க  
 1143/-ந8.892 பாரிர் னாமுக்காட்டில்  
 1144/-ந8.891 பதைப்பிறவே பறைந்திருக்க  
 1145/-ந8.893 துள்ளி முந்தி ஓடிவந்தான்.  
 1146/2078/ந8.894/ந2.845 சுண்ணாம்பு தாருமென்றான்.  
 1147/2079/ந8.895/ந2.846 பள்ள முண்டால் பாருமென்றான்.  
 1148/2080/ந8.895/ந2.846 பறைந்திருக்க வாருமென்றான்.

[[N10.84

((2081 வாருமவாரும்என்றுசொல்லி - எந்தாயார்  
 ((2082 வழிமறித்தான் இசக்கியம்மை

1149/2095 கள்ளமுண்டு யிவள் கய்யிலே  
 1150/2096 கண்ட வர்க்கும் தெரியாதோ

[[N10.85

((2097 தள்ளிமுந்திஓடிவந்தாய் - தார்குழலேதாராயோ  
 ((2098 ஆரடியோநீ எனக்கு - அப்பாலே போய்விட்டி  
 ((2099 கள்ளமனதுடையவளே - உன்கண்பகட்டுதெரியல்லையோ  
 ((2100 விள்ளாதே என்னுடணைவிணிலேநிபோய்விட்டி

1151/2107/ந8.897/ந2.848 தாளாயோ யென்றுரைத்தீர்  
 1152/2107/ந8.897/ந2.848 தமிழ் வணிக பெருமானே  
 ++ Variant to 1151-2  
 ++ N10.2107 தாளாதேபோய்விடன்றதமிழ்வணிகபெருமானே

1153/2108/ந8.898/ந2.849 பானான நிலத்திலிட்ட  
 1154/2108/ந8.898/ந2.849 பயிரது போலென்னை விட்டு  
 1155/2109/ந8.899/ந2.850 வானாதே நீர் போனால்  
 1156/2109/ந8.899/ந2.850 வலிய பள வினையுனக்கு  
 1157/2110/ந8.900/ந2.851 சூளாதோ செட்டியாரே  
 1158/2110/ந8.900/ந2.851 சூள்ந்தாக்கால் உமை விடுமோ  
 1159/2111/ந8.901/ந2.852 யினி விடுமோ செட்டியாரே  
 1160/2112/ந8.901 யென் கய்யிலகப்பட்டிரே  
 ++ Variant to 1160  
 ++ N8.901 என் கையிலே நீர்கிடைத்தால்

1161/2113/ந8.902/ந2.853 கனி மருவும் பூங்காட்டில்  
 ++ Variant to 1161  
 ++ N8.902 கனிகளும்பும் பூங்காட்டில்

1162/2113/ந8.902/ந2.853 கல்லாலே கொன்ற பளி  
 1163/2114/ந8.903/ந2.854 துணி மருவும் தோளானே  
 ++ Variant to 1163  
 ++ N10.2114/N8.903 துணிபடுவும் தோளமையும்

1164/2114/ந8.903/ந2.854 துணயுமத்து விட்டிரே  
 ++ Variant to 1164  
 ++ N10.2114 ஒருதுணையுமின்றிகெட்டிரே  
 ++ N8.903 துணையுற்று விட்டிரே

1165/2115/ந8.904/ந2.855 தனிவருமோ செட்டியாரே  
 1166/2115/ந8.904/ந2.855 தனித்து உம்மை போக ஒட்டேன்  
 ++ Variant to 1166  
 ++ N10.2115/N8.904 தனித்து இப்போ கெட்டிரே

1167/2125/ந8.905/ந2.856 போக ஒட்டேன் யென்றிசக்கி  
 1168/2125-6/ந8.905/ந2.856 புத்தியெல்லாம் தடுமாறி  
 ++ Variant to 1167-8  
 ++ N10.2125 போகவிட்டேன் என்றிசக்கிபுத்தியெல்லாம் /  
 அவன் கேட்டு

++ N8.905 போகவாட்டே னென்றியக்கி புத்தியுரைத் திடக்கேட்டு

1169/2127/ந8.906/ந2.857 ஆகட்டே நீலி பள  
1170/2127/ந8.906/ந2.857 அய்யா மொளி பொய்யாது

++ Variant to 1169-70  
++ N10.2127 அகப்பட்டேன் நீலிகையில் அய்யாமொழிதப்பாது  
++ N8.906 தாகமுடன் நீலிகையில் தானே அகப் பட்டேனே

1171/2128/ந8.909/ந2.860 நீலி யென்று அறியாமல்  
1172/2128/ந8.909/ந2.860 நினைந்தனநே மணம் புணர

++ Variant to 1171-2  
++ N10.2128 நீலிஎன்றதல்லாதநினைத்தநோம்புதான்புணர  
++ N8.909 நீலியென்ப தல்லாதே நினைத்தநேரம் புணர்வதற்கு

[[N10.86

((2129 என்றவார்த்தை தனை கேட்டு - எந்தாயார்  
((2130 இசக்கியம்மை ஏதுரைப்பாள்

1173/2139/ந8.910/ந2.861 பாலி யென்றும் சூலியென்றும்  
1174/2139/ந8.910/ந2.861 பக்குவப் பெண் அனுதாராம்.

++ Variant to 1173-4  
++ N10.2139 பாலியல்லசூலியல்லபக்குவப்பெண்நானல்லவோ  
++ N8.910/n2.861 பாலியல்ல சூலியல்ல பக்குவப் டனுதாரம்

1175/2140/ந8.911/ந2.862 வாலிபத்தில் னாநொரு பெண்  
1176/2140/ந8.911/ந2.862 வலிய அகப்பட்டேனே.

[[N10.86

((2141 = N8.912/N2.863 காலிமேய்தோன் அருள்படியே  
((2142 = N8.912/N2.863 கண்டவர்கால்வாங்குவாரோ

1177/2143/ந8.913/ந2.864 ஆரானும் விடுவாளே  
1178/2144/ந8.913/ந2.864 ஆனாக பிறந்தவர்கள்  
1179 நாணாமல் சுளுக்காமல்  
1180/~ந8.914 நளுக்காமல் திரிவாரோ

[[N10.87

((2145 ஆணாகபிறந்தவர்கள் அடிகள்பற்றிபின்துடர்வார்  
((2146 பிரியமுடன்உமைதுடர்ந்தேன் பிரிந்துஉம்மைபோவேனோ  
((2147 இருபேரும் இப்பொழுது இருந்திடவேவாரும்என்றாள்

1181/2158/ந8.916 வீணாக நடவாதே.

++ Variant to 1181  
++ N10.2158 வேண்டாத வார்த்தைகளை - வீணாகபறையாதே

1182/ந8.916 விளலி சும்மா போய் விட்டி.

[[N10.87

((2159 பூண்டாக்கால் உத்தரிக்க - போதாதுபெண்கொடியே  
((2160 காண்டாவனம்தனிலேகள்ளிநீலிவழிமறித்தாள்

1183/ந8.917 புருசமுடன் உமை துடர்ந்தேன்.

1184 பேருமில்லா போய் விடவோ  
1185/ந8.919 வரிசயுடனீருமிப்போ  
1186/ந8.919 மணமுடியாதேயிருந்தால்  
1187/ந8.920 கனிமருவும் சுடுகாடு  
1188/ந8.920 களுதயும் போல் பிரளேனோ  
1189/2161 தீண்டாதே பெண் கொடியே  
1190/2161 செட்டி பெற்ற கொம்பல்லவோ

++ Variant to 1190  
++ N10.2161 செட்டி பெட்ட / கொப்பல்லவோ

1191/2168 பெட்ட கொம்பென்றீரே.

++ Variant to 1191

++ N10.1191 பொட்ட கொம்பன்என்றீரே

1192/2169 பேர்பெரிய செட்டியாரே

[[N10.88

((2170 தப்பாதேளனைநகத்து - எந்தாயார்

((2171 சண்டையிட்டுநீலிசொல்வார்

1193/2172 வட்டிக்கிட்டு பாற்ப்பதற்கு

++ Variant to 1193

++ N10.2172 வட்டிக்குள்இட்டுபர்க்க

1194/2173 மண்டலத்தில் யெங்களம்மை

[[N10.88

((2174 கோட்டை கெட்டும் பணத்தாலும்

((2175 கினையாலும்பெரியவரே

1195/2176 பொட்டளகும் பாவினயும்

++ Variant to 1195

++ N10.2176 பொட்டளகும்பட்டுடையும்

1196/2177 பொன்னெருத்தும் ஒவ்வாது

++ Variant to 1196

++ N10.2177 பொன்னெருத்தும் தோழகும்

[[N10.88

((2177 பொண்ணெருத்தும்தோழகும்

((2178 ஒளியாமல் வழிதனிலே

((2179 உள்ளதல்லாம்தீர்த்துவந்தேன்.

1197/2180 கட்டளகும் பாவினயும்

1198/2180-1 கண்டா கொண்டாசை கொள்வார்.

[[N10.88

((2182 பட்டபட்டபாடதல்லாம்

((2183 பறைந்துநலம்பாராட்டி

1199/2184 செட்டிகுல பெருமாளே

1200/2185 செட்டியருகே வாருமென்றாள்.

[[N10.88/89

((2194 செட்டியுமோ இங்கேயில்லை - செய்தி

((2195 சொல்ல நேரம் இல்லை

((2196 வனிதையரே உனக்கேத்தமணவாளன்யார்போடி

1201/2197 உன் வலக்கைதான் பிடித்து

1202/2197 ஊரகத்தே தானிருப்பார்

++ Variant to 1201-2

++ N10.2197 உன்வலக்கைமுன்பிடித்தோன்ஊரிடத்தே

தானிருக்க

1203/2198 பின் வலக்கை யார்தருவார்

1204/2199 பெண்மதியால் கெட்டேநே

1205/2200 முன் வலக்கையானதென்ன

1206/2200-1 மோகன பெண் ஆனாலும்

++ Variant to 1205-6

++ N10.2200-1 முன்வலக்கரமுடையமோகனபெண்ணானாலும்

/ என்வலக்கையானதன்னநானுனக்காளில்லையடி

1207/2202 ஒத்து கேளாயிசக்கி

1208/2202 உனக்குறுதி சொல்லுகிறேன்



++ Variant to 1207-8

++ N10.2202 உத்துகொள்வாய்விணவி உனக்குறுதி சொல்லுகிறேன்

1209/2203 கொத்து கொட்டை மொகூறுமோ  
1210/2203-4 கொண்ட மோர் கடைவார்களோ

++ Variant to 1209-10

++ N10.2203-4 கொத்துகோட்டைமத்தறுமோ கொண்டுமோர் / கடைவார்களோ

[[N10.89

((தொத்துகுடம்மோரா மோதுணையாமோஎன்பிறகே

1211/2206-7 பத்தி கொண்டியாதே பனிகாறி மாயிசுக்கி

++ Variant to 1211

++ N10.2206-7 பத்திகொண்டு அடியாதே / பாதகத்திநீபோடி

1212/2214 யின்னேரம் போய் விட்டியென்றுரைத்தார் யிவ்விடத்தில்.

1213/2215 முன்னேரமானாலு முகம் திரும்பி யென்னுடய

++ Variant to 1213

++ N10.2215 முன்னேரம் ஆனாலும் முகம்திரும்பினன்னோடு

[[N10.89

((2216 பொன்னார்தனம்குலையபொருந்தியொருதலமிருந்தால்

((2217 அன்னேரம்தெரியுமென்ன - உம்.

((2218 ஆண்மையும் பெண்மையுமோ

1214/2224 அனியாயமோ கெடுவா அதட்டாதே போய் விட்டி

[[N10.90

((2225 அனியாயம் வழியுள்ளதடைகூறோவிடிவானோ

((2226 ஒனியாமல்வழியாகஉள்ளதல்லாம்தீர்த்து

((2227 வந்தேன்

((2228 இவனோடுவாதாடினால் இனிபிளைக்கமாட்டோம் என்று

1215/2229-30/ந8.955 தேயிராயம் போய் வெருண் திரண்ட மாகாட்டகத்தில்

++ Variant to 1215

++ N10.2229-30 செயிராயம் போல் உருண்டதிரண்ட / மலம் காட்டோடே

++ N8.955 செயிராயம் போலிருண்ட திரண்டமலைக் காட்ட்ஊடே

1216/2231-2/ந8.956 உயிராயம் தீர் வந்தான் ஒருதி யென்றோடலுற்றானே.

1217 ஓடுகிறான் செட்டி வணிகேசனவனும்

1218 உற்றதொரு பக்கறையும் தோளிலேயிட்டு

1219 காலில் வில்லை செருப்பு கலீர்கலீரென்ன

1220 கடுவாய்கிட்ட வந்தனரி காட்டிலே போவது போவது போல

1221 பதறியோடி வணிகேசன் பளக நகர் காட்டில்

1222 பாவி கண்ணில் னாமள வீணிலகபட்டேன்.

1223 ஆவி உயிர் போனாலல்லோ தெரியும் காண்

1224 அல்லாத பாவி அகல போவானோ.

1225 காரிகைக்கு யேற்ற கணவன் ஊர்திலேயுண்டும்

1226 கள்ளத்தனமாக யிவள் கொல்லவே வந்தாள்.

1227 கொல்ல வந்தாளென்று யென்னை பேசுறீர்.

1228 கொள்ள முதல் கொடுத்ததுண்டோ கள்ளமாகவே

1229 கள்ளமாக உம்முடைய மாமி யென்னுடய தாயார்

1230 கைமாலி செய்ததற்க்கு உம்மை னோவேனோ.

1231 கைமாலி யென்று பேசறாய் பெற்ற தாய்த்தான்

1232 காட்டுக்குள்ளே துடர் சொல்லி கூட்டிவிட்டானோ.

1233 விட்டதினால் தேடி வந்தேன் உம்மை தேடினார்.

1234 வெயிலாத்த போகுதில்லை மெல்ல நடவுங்காண்.

1235 வெயிலாத்த போகுதில்லை மெள்ள நடவுங்காண்.

1236 கட்டிலு தலையிணை மேலிட்டுறங்கி

1237 காட்டுக் குள்ளே நடந்தலுத்து கண்ணுறக்கமில்லை.

1238 கண்ணுறக்கமில்லை யென்றால் மாய யிசுக்கி

- 1239 காட்டுக்குள்ளே துடர சொல்லி கூட்டிவிட்டானோ.  
 1240 சூஷ்மில்லை உம்மை தேடிதுடந்து வருவேனாந்.  
 1241 சொல்லசொல்ல தட்டிவிட்டு போகாதே காணும்.  
 1242 போகாதே யென்று சொல்லி பின்துடராதே.  
 1243 பொட்டு குலய போறாய் விட்டுனாந் சொன்னால்  
 1244 சொன்னதெல்லாம் கேள்க்கவல்லோ உம்மே தேடினாந்.  
 1245 சூஞ்சுளத் திரிந்தலைந்தேன் பளக நகர் காட்டிலே  
 1246 உம்முடய தாயர் யென்மாமி ஓடிபோக சொன்னாள்.  
 1247 உம்மாலேயல்லோ நடந்து வார்றேன் காண  
 1248 காணும் காணும் யென்று சொல்லி பாவி வராதே.  
 1249 காட்டுக்குள்ளே வாறபோது கண்டேன் தடயை  
 1250 வாட்டமில்லை உன் முகத்தில் கண்டபோதிலே  
 1251 வட்டக்கண்ணை தானுட்டி நட்டமாக்காதே.  
 1252 நட்டமாக்க வந்தேனோ நலமாக்க வந்தேனோ  
 1253 னாயகவறிவார் காணும் போகாதே நில்லும்.  
 1254 நில்லுமென்று சொல்லி நிறுத்தாதே நீலி  
 1255 நெஞ்சுகள் பதறுதேடி அஞ்சி உன்னாலே  
 1256 அஞ்சி அஞ்சி செட்டிபிறகே யேறிட்டு பாற்த்து  
 1257 அய்யாவே யென செட்டி கூட அலறி ஓடுவாளாம்.

[[N10.90

- ((2238 = N8.957/N2.908 ஓடிசேசெட்டிபோகஉறுபுலிவாழ்மேருமேல்  
 ((2239 = N8.958/N2.909 தேடியேஇசக்கிஅம்மை என்தாயார்சிறந்தமுள்  
 ((2240 = N8.958/N2.909 காட்டினோடு  
 ((2241 = N8.959/N2.910 வாடியேமங்கைநல்லாள் வழியும்நான்அறி  
 ((2242 = N2.910 வேனன்ன  
 ((2243 = N8.960/N2.911 கூடியே வழிமறித்து என்தாயார்  
 ((2244 = N8.960/N2.911 கொடியிடைசிறித்துநின்றானே

[[N10.91<sup>8</sup>

- ((2245 = \*\*N1.1327 = N7.961/N2.912  
 ((2246 = \*\*N1.1328 = N8.962/N2.913  
 ((2247 = \*\*N1.1329 = N8.963/N2.914  
 ((2248 = \*\*N1.1329 = N8.964

[[N10.91

- ((2249 = \*\*N1.1331 = N8.967-8/N2.917-8  
 ((2250 = \*\*N1.1332 = N8.969-70/N2.919-20  
 ((2251 = \*\*N1.1332 = N8.970/N2.920  
 ((2252 = \*\*N1.1333 = N8.971-2/N2.921-2  
 ((2253 = \*\*N1.1333 = N8.972/N2.922  
 ((2254 = \*\*N1.1334 = N8.973/N2.923  
 ((2255 = \*\*N1.1334 = N8.973-4  
 ((2256 = \*\*N1.1335 = N8.975/N2.924  
 ((2257 = \*\*N1.1335 = N8.976/N2.924  
 ((2258 = \*\*N1.1336 = N8.977/N2.925  
 ((2259 = \*\*N1.1337/9 = N8.978/N2.925-6  
 ((2260 = \*\*N1.1340 = N8.981  
 ((2261 = \*\* N1.1341 = N8.982/N2.927  
 ((2262 = \*\*N1.1342 = N8.983/N2.928  
 ((2263 = \*\*N1.1343 = N8.984/N2.928

[[N10.92<sup>9</sup>

- ((2275-2300 = \*\*N1.1344-\*\*N1.1367 = N2.929 -N2.940

1258/2307/ந8.1015/ந2.949 ஓடிஓடி போற்றோ மனம்வொட்டி னாநும் வந்தேன்.  
 1259/2308-9/ந8.1016/ந2.950 போடி போடி யென்றீரே பூத்தான பட்டரே.

<sup>8</sup> The following lines of N10 are parallel lines to N1.1327-1343 that appear in N1 only at a later point.

<sup>9</sup> The following lines of N10 are parallel lines to N1.1344-1367 that occur in N1 only at a later point.

1260/2310-11/ந8.1017/ந2.951 வாடிவிட்டேரேண் காணும் குங்க்கலியம் தரித்தீரே.

++ Variant to 1260

++ N10.2310 வாடிவிட்டேரேண்கழுத்தில் மங்க்கலியம் / தரித்த அன்னாள்

1261 பாடு பட்டீர் நீருமென்று பதயாமல் போனதுண்டோ.

1262/2312/ந8.1019/ந2.953 பாதகத்தி பசுக்களுண்டு பளக நகர் ஊர் தூரம்

1263/2313-4/ந8.1019-20/ந2.853 யிரவயிட யெங்கள் மமை

1264/2314-5/ந8.1020/ந2.954 யிளயவனாம் பிள்ளைகளும்

++ Variant to 1262-4

++ N10.2312-5 பரதவித்துலுடவேண்டாம் / பழகைநகர் வெகுதூரம் / இரவையுடள்ளங்கள் அம்மைஇளையவரும்

1265/2316/ந8.1021/ந2.955 காயிடத்தே வான்ந்திருப்பா

++ Variant to 1265

++ N10.2316 தாய்இடத்தேவாழ்ந்திருப்பார்

1266/2317/ந8.1021 காளயரே உம்மாணை

++ Variant to 1266

++ N10.2317 தனிவணிகாஉம்மாணை

1267/2318/ந8.1022/ந2.956 விடியமுன் சென்றவதரித்து

++ Variant to 1267

++ N10.2318 விரைவுடன்போய்தங்கிவிட்டு

1268/2319/ந8.1022 விடிய முன்னே போவோமென்றார்.

\*\*1269/2377 மச்சு முண்டு கூடமுண்டும்

\*\*1270/2378 மாடம் உண்டும் திண்ணையுண்டும்

1271 வச்சியுண்டு போவோனாமள்

1272 வாருமென்று சித்தம் வைத்தாள்.

[[N10.94

((2329 = N8.1024 போவோம்என்றுசொன்னவளை

((2330 = N8.1024 பிரிந்தவனும்பாராமல்

((2331 = N8.1025 கையிலுறும்பத்திரமும்

((2332 = N8.1025 கன்பசும்பொன்தோளபோட்டு

((2333 = N8.1026 அய்யுறவாய்கடுக்கனிட்டு

((2334 = N8.1026 அவன்வாறபெருவழிக்கு

((2335 = N8.1028 மைவிளியாள்இசக்கியம்மை

((2336 = N8.1028 மனதுமெய்க்கவிட்டுத்தாள்

1273/2337 சித்தம் வைத்து வீடெடுத்தாள்.

1274/2338 சிறப்புடநே னாலுதிக்கும்

1275 கண்டானே னாலுதிக்கும்

1276 கயிசாலையும் மதிலும்

1277 வண்டாடும் பூஞ்சோலை

1278 வளவு தலை வாசல்களும்

1279/2339 உத்திரமும் பொற்பலகை

1280/2340 உகமயுடன் போதிகயாம்

1281 சித்திர வற்ற சாலைகளும்

1282 செம்பொன் மணி மேடைகளும்

1283/2341 குத்துமத்தும் திண்ணைகளாம்

1284/2342 தூங்குமஞ்சி அறப்புறயாம்

++ Variant to 1283-4

++ N10.2341-2 சுத்தரங்குமானிகையும்தூங்குமஞ்சி

அறப்புறயாம்.

1285/2343 யித்தாயும் யிசக்கியம்மை

1286/2344 யிமைக்குமுன்னுண்டாக்கி வைத்தாள்.

1287/2345 உண்டாக்கி வைப்பதயும்

1288/2346 உள்ளதென்று குறயாமல்

1289/2347 திண்டாடி ஓடிவரும்

1290/2348 செட்டி குல பெருமாளே

1291/2349 கண்டானே னாலுதிக்கும்

1292/2350 கயிசாலையும் மதிலும்  
 1293/2351 வண்டாடும் பூஞ்சோலை  
 1294/2352 வளவு தலை வாசல்களும்  
 1295/2353 பாத்தானோ யிவளிசக்கி

[[N10.95

((2354 பரதவித்துரதுசொல்வானாம்  
 ((2355 மாத்தானாய்இவள்இசக்கி

1296/2356 மானிடரில் ஒருவரில்லை  
 1297/2367 தோத்தாதோ ஊர்மனைதான்  
 1298/2368 துணையொருவர் வாறாரோ.

[[N10.95/96

((2369 அங்கம்பறக்குதடி  
 ((2370 ஆளிசிங்கவனத்தோடே  
 ((2371 மங்கையரேதுடராதே  
 ((2372 மனம்வேறுகலங்குதடி  
 ((2373 மலங்குவிரோநானிருக்க  
 ((2374 வாடுவிரோசெட்டியாரே  
 ((2375 அலங்காரமானிகையும்  
 ((2376 அங்குறங்கும்விடுகளும்  
 ((2377 = \*\*N1.1269, in N1 weiter oben  
 ((2378 = \*\*N1.1270  
 ((2379 கட்டில் உண்டு மெத்தையுண்டு  
 ((2380 கால்பிடிக்கதாதிஉண்டு  
 ((2381 = N8.1031 தங்கையுண்டுஎந்தனக்கு  
 ((2382 = N8.1031 தாய்வழியில் கிளையும்உண்டு  
 ((2383 = N8.1032 சிங்காரமாமுண்டு  
 ((2384 = N8.1032 சிறுசோறுகறிசமைக்க

[[N10.96/97

((2389 = N8.1033 கூடஉண்ணகொழுந்திஉண்டு  
 ((2390 = N8.1033 கூண்டிருக்கநானும்உண்டு  
 ((2391 = N2.968/N8.1034 பாடநல்லபுலவர்உண்டு  
 ((2392 = N8.1034 படுக்கநல்லமெத்தைஉண்டு  
 ((2393 ஆடநல்லபகடைஉண்டு  
 ((2394 அருகிருக்கநானும்உண்டு  
 ((2395 சூடநல்லபுலும்உண்டுதுணையிருக்கநானும் உண்டு  
 ((2396 = \*\*N1.1305  
 ((2397 = \*\*N1.1306  
 ((2398 கொதியாகஇருக்குதென்ற  
 ((2399 கூடஉண்ணகொழுந்தியர்கள்

[[N10.97

((2405 மச்சாவி என்றுசொல்லி  
 ((2406 மடியைசென்றேபிடித்தாள்

1299/2407 தலை வாசல் தனிலே நின்று  
 1300/2408 தாயினவே ஒரு கிளவி

[[N10.97

((2409 குலைகாறிமுளுநிலி  
 ((2410 கொடும்சூரம்உடையவள்தான்  
 ((2411 புலைகாறிதானொருதி  
 ((2412 கரும்புணையெப்போல்பதுங்கி

1301/2413 யிலை போலே தலையசைப்பாள்.  
 1302/2414 யேங்குவாள் கைநெரிப்பாள்.

++ Variant to 1302

++ N10.2414 ஏங்கிநெடுமுச்சறிவாள்

1303/2415 வான்ந்த மன மகளிற் கூர்த்து  
 1304/2416/ந8.1036 மருமகன் வந்தாரினவே

++ Variant to 1304

++ N8.1036 என்மருக னின்றுவந்தான்

\*\*1305/2396 சூள்ந்து நின்ற கொளுந்தியர்கள்

\*\*1306/2397 சோற்று கறிதான் சமைத்தார்.

[[N10.97/98

((2417 மாமியர்என்றொருதி

((2418 மறையசென்றுதான்ஒளிதாள்

((2419 = N8.1037 மதியாமல்போவார்களோ

((2420 = ந8.1037 மருமகனேவாரும்என்றாள்

1307/2421 சேற்றந்த மொளிதான் குறைந்து

1308/2422 செட்டியவன் தடுமாறி

1309/2423 மகூாவி மச்சாவி

1310/2423-4 யெங்கள் மனயில் வந்தாலாகாதோ

1311/2425 யேன் காணு மகூாவி

1312/2426 ஆகூியும் நீருமாக

++ Variant to 1312

++ N10.2426 அக்காளுமீருமாக

1313/2427 வான்ந்த னாள் யிது வரயும்

1314/2428 வந்ததுண்டோ மச்சாவி

++ Variant to 1314

++ N10.2428 வந்ததுண்டோஇத்தலத்தில்

1315/2429 சாந்தணியும் புயத்தானே

1316/2430 சடுதியிலே வாரும்மென்றாள்

1317/2431 காறந்த மரும கிளவியவள்

++ Variant to 1317

++ N10.2431 காந்தமலர்கிளவியவள்

1318/2432 கண்ணான மருமகனே யென்பாள்.

[[N10.98

((2437 சேர்ந்தவர்கள் தானனைக்க

((2438 = N8.1038 செட்டியவன்திகைத்தாதினறு

1319/2439/ந8.1039 மருமகன்தான் உனக்காரு.

1320/2440/ந8.1039/ந2.973 மாமியர் யினக்காரு.

1321/2441 உரிமயுள்ளோருனக்காரு.

1322/2442 உடயவள் தானிடக்காரு.

++ Variant to 1322

++ N10.2442 உற்றார்தானஎனக்கேது

1323/2443 கருமமெல்லா மனதடக்க

++ Variant to 1323

++ N10.2443 கருமமெல்லாம்மிகவடக்கி

1324/2444 காத்தடித்த பீடைகள் போல

1325/2445/ந8.1041/ந2.975 ஒரு மனப்பாடே பளகை

1326/2446/ செட்டி ஊர் னோக்கி ஓடலுற்றானே.

++ Variant to 1326

++ N10.2446 ஊர் னோக்கி அவனோட

[[N10.99

((2447/ந8.1042/ந2.976 வரும்வழியில் அவள்மறிக்க

((2448 வணிகேசன்அவனைவிட்டோடினானே.

\*\*1327/2245 செறுத்தனள் வந்து சிரித்தனள்

1328/2246 செட்டியார் முன்னே வந்து தோன்றினாள்.

1329/2247-8 தென் பளவை ஊர் தூரம் வம்பாவி போகாதே செட்டியாரே யிணிபோவதோ

1330 போவதோ வென்று வனி மறித்தாக்கால் போவதேன் செட்டியாரே நீர்

[[N10.99

((2457 = N8.1043, N2.977 வளைவதில் ஆனபோது மயங்கியேதியங்கிசெட்டி  
 ((2458 = N2.978 புகழ்இதனத்தாள் தங்கள்பூவையர்வீடோவென்ன  
 ((2459 = N8.1045, N2.979 ஊன்கிதம்கொண்டுசெட்டிஉள்ளங்கால் நிலம்பற்றாமல்  
 ((2460 = N8.1046 இளமயில்தின்பாள்என்றே ஏங்கினாந்திசைசகண்  
 ((2461 = N8.1046, N2.980 பூத்தானே.

[[N10.99

((2462 = N8.1047, N2.981 பூத்தானமேன் காட்டுகிறீர் செட்டியாரே  
 ((2463 = \*\*N1.1488 = N8.1048/N2.982  
 ((2464 = \*\*N1.1489 = N8.1049/N2.983  
 ((2465 = \*\*N1.1490 = N8.1050/N2.984  
 ((2469 = \*\*N1.1491 = N8.1051/N2.985  
 ((2470 = N8.1052 கோட்டிகொள்ளவேண்டாமடிகோமாளக்காறி  
 ((2471 = N8.1053 கண்டறியேன் உந்தனையும்காலம்தன்னிலே  
 ((2472 = \*\*N1.1492 = N8.1054/N2.988

((2478 = \*\*N1.1493 = N8.1055/N2.989  
 ((2479 = \*\*N1.1494 = N8.1056/N2.989-90  
 ((2480 = \*\*N1.1495 = N8.1061/N2.995  
 ((2481 = \*\*N1.1496 = N8.1062/N2.996

[[N10.100

((2487 = \*\*N1.1497 = N8.1063/N2.997  
 ((2488 = \*\*N1.1498 = N8.1064/N2.998  
 ((2489 = \*\*N1.1499 = N8.1065/N2.999  
 ((2490 = \*\*N1.1500 = N8.1066/N2.1000

[[N10.101

((2495 = \*\*N1.1501 = N8.1067/N2.1001  
 ((2496 = \*\*N1.1502 = N8.1068/N2.1002  
 ((2497 = \*\*N1.1503 = N8.1069/N2.1003  
 ((2498 = \*\*N1.1504 = N8.1070/N2.1004

[[N10.101

((2504 = \*\*N1.1505 = N8.1071/N2.1005  
 ((2505 = \*\*N1.1506 = N8.1072/N2.1006  
 ((2506 = \*\*N1.1507 = N8.1073/N2.1007  
 ((2507 = \*\*N1.1508 = N8.1074/N2.1008

[[N10.101

((2513 = \*\*N1.1509 = N8.1075/N2.1009  
 ((2514 = \*\*N1.1510 = N8.1076  
 ((2515 = \*\*N1.1511 = N8.1077  
 ((2516 = \*\*N1.1512 = \*\*N8.1058

[[N10.102

((2517 என்றுவணிகேசனோடுஇசக்கியம்மைதானும்  
 ((2518 ஏந்திளையாள் அழகுபெறவேதான்  
 ((2519 கொண்டைஉதறிகையால்முடித்து  
 ((2520 = \*\*N1.1412  
 ((2521 மங்கலானும்மணிமேல்கலையும்  
 ((2522 = \*\*N1.1466 மஞ்சணவாடைமணக்கவேபூசி  
 ((2523 பூசியேசந்தணம்போத நிமிர்ந்து  
 ((2524 புணுகோடு கஸ்தாரிபொட்டும்மிட்டாள்  
 ((2525 = N8.1083 செட்டியாரே கிட்டநிலுங்காண்என்ன  
 ((2526 = N8.1084 தேன்மொழியாள் நீலிஅம்மைதுடர்த்தாள்  
 ((2527 = \*\*N1.1416 = N8.1088/N2.1020

((2528 = \*\*N1.1419 = N8.1093  
 ((2529 = \*\*N1.1420 = N8.1094/N2.1026  
 ((2530 = \*\*N1.1421 = N8.1095/N2.1027  
 ((2531 = \*\*N1.1422 = N8.1096/N2.1028

[[N10.102

((2538-2542 = \*\*N1.1423-\*\*1427 =N8.1097-1101/N2.1029-1034  
 ((2543 = \*\*N1.1428 = N8.1102  
 ((2544 = \*\*N1.1430 = N8.1104  
 ((2545 = \*\*N1.1429 = N8.1103  
 ((2546-2549 = \*\*N1.1431-\*\*1434  
 ((2550/ந8.1107/ந2.1040 ஓக்ரயில் பிள்ளைதன்னையும்கொண்டு  
 ((2551/ந8.1108/ந2.1041 ஓடுவாள்செட்டிபிறகேதுடர்ந்து  
 ((2552/ந8.1109-10/ந2.1042 வேடிக்கையாக சந்தோசம் கொண்டு  
 ((2553/~ந8.1111/~ந2.1043 மெல்லமெல்லபிள்ளைதன்னையும்கொண்டு  
 ((2554/ந8.1111/ந2.1044 கொஞ்சிளடுத்துமுகத்தோடணைத்து  
 ((2555/ந8.1112/ந2.1045 கொண்டல்லோவாறேன்காண்செட்டியார்பிள்ளை  
 ((2556/ந8.1113/ந2.1046 பஞ்சிபோல்நீரும்பறந்தோடிபோற்றி  
 ((2557/ந8.1114/ந2.1047 பாலகன்கையில்இருக்கிறான்செட்டி

[[N10.103

((2565/ந8.1115/ந2.1048 உம்மைநினைத்துபால்உண்ணாதுபிள்ளை  
 ((2566/ந8.1116/ந2.1049 ஓடுகிறீர்பிள்ளைமுகத்தைப்பாராமல்  
 ((2567/ந8.1117/ந2.1050 கறமவிதியோகலியுகம்தானோ  
 ((2568/ந8.1118/ந2.1051 கண்ணாலும்பாரிரோபிள்ளைமுகத்தை

[[N10.104

((2569/ந8.1119/ந2.1052 பிள்ளைமுகத்தைபிரிந்துபாராமல்  
 ((2570/ந8.1120/ந2.1053 பேதலித்துஓடுகிறீர்செட்டியார்பிள்ளை  
 ((2571/ந8.1123/ந2.1056 ப்யநடவும்காண்செட்டியார்பிள்ளை  
 ((2572/ந8.1124/ந2.1057 பாலகனைகொண்டுநான்ஓடிவரமாட்டேன்  
 ((2573/ந8.1125/ந2.1058 கையைபிடியுங்காண்செட்டியார்பிள்ளை  
 ((2574/ந8.1126/ந2.1059 காலும்கடுத்துநடக்கபோகாது  
 ((2575/ந8.1127/ந2.1060 மெல்லநடந்துநீர்பிள்ளையைவாங்கும்  
 ((2576/ந8.1128/ந2.1061 மெய்ப்பானநல்லபளகைநகர்தாரம்  
 ((2577/ந8.1129/ந2.1062 அல்லனையகுளம்மாயஇசக்கி  
 ((2578/ந8.1130/ந2.1063 ஆண்பிள்ளை அமுதிட அவன்பிறகே  
 ((2579 எந்தாயார்ஓடிநாளே

[[N10.104

((2580/ந8.1131/ந2.1064 ஓடியேபழைகைநோக்கிஒருதரும்இல்லாகாட்டில்  
 ((2581/ந8.1132/ந2.1065 தேதிடநான் திரிந்தேனய்யேஎன்சிறுவனும்  
 ((2582/ந8.1132/ந2.1065 நானுமாக  
 ((2583/ந8.1133/ந2.1066 ஓடிநீர்போகவண்ணம் - ஒரு  
 ((2584/ந8.1133/ந2.1066 குளந்தையும் பெற்றடுத்தேன்  
 ((2585/ந8.1134 போடி என்று ஏசுவேண்டாம் - என்  
 ((2586/ந8.1135/ந2.1068 பிள்ளைதன்முகத்தைபாருமென்றாளே

[[N10.104

((2587 பிள்ளையை கக்கத்தில் இடுக்கிகொண்  
 ((2588 டு - எந்தாயாகியஇசக்கிஅம்மைசொல்  
 ((2589 கிறாள் - ஐயாசெட்டியாரே உம்மை  
 ((2590 காணாமல் பிள்ளை அமுகிறது இந்த

[[N10.105

((2591-2599 = \*\*N1.1517-\*\*1525 = N8.1135-1144 = N2.1068-1077

[[N10.105

((2604-2606 = \*\*N1.1526-\*\*1528 = N8.1145-1147 = N2.1078=1080  
 ((2607 இலங்கும்மகனிருக்க என்னானில்லும்  
 ((2608 நில்லும் (பிள்ளை)  
 ((2609 அறியாமனிதரைப் போல் அங்கம்பதைபதைக்க  
 ((2610 விடுகொண்டிவ்வனத்தில் விருந்தோடுகிறீர்

- ((2611 செட்டி.  
 ((2612 சிறியவயதில் நாமன் தேனும்பாலும்போலே  
 ((2613 குறியாய்இருந்தவர்க்கு கூச்சமேது  
 ((2614 செட்டி.

[[N10.106

- ((2620/ந8.1153/ந2.1086 பிள்ளைஉனக்கேதடிஇசக்கி  
 ((2621/ந8.1153/ந2.1087 பிள்ளைஉனக்கேதடி (பிள்ளைஉனக்)  
 ((2622/ந8.1155/ந2.1088 பிள்ளைஉனக்கேதடிபெற்றுதந்ததுயாரடி  
 ((2623/ந8.1156/ந2.1089 உள்ளபடிஉனக்குஉண்டானதோபெண்ணே  
 ((2624/ந8.1157/ந2.1090 கள்ளிகொப்பை ஒருபிள்ளையாக்கி  
 ((2625/ந8.1157-8/ந2.1090-1 கொண்டு - கனகஇந்திரஜாலத்தை  
 ((2626/ந8.1158 யாரறிவார்பெண்ணே (பிள்ளைஉனக்)  
 ((2627 தந்தைதாய்இல்லாமல் சகலபேரில்லாமல்  
 ((2628 எந்தப்படிபெற்றடுத்தாய் பெண்ணே  
 ((2629 இந்த செட்டிதன்னைலெக்காய்தான்குறித்து  
 ((2630 பயிங்கொடிஇசக்கிபாரில்நடவாதேபோ.  
 ((2631 கொண்டமனை யாளோடே கேளைதீரவில்லை  
 ((2632 பெண்டில்பிரிசனன்றுபிள்ளைகாணுமுன்னே.  
 ((2633 மண்டலத்தினீயும் வதைக்கவே நினைந்து  
 ((2634 கண்டகள்ளிகொப்பைகடுமுறித்துவந்தாய்

\*\*1331/2249/ந8.967-8/ந2.917-8 புகள் பனக நகரதிலே கண்டவர் போகா புதுமை காணும் பொய்யல்ல.<sup>10</sup>

\*\*1332/2250-1/ந8.969-70/ந2.919-20 பொய்யில்லவென்று மாய யிசக்கினி பேசாமல் யெனை நிறுத்தினால்

\*\*1333/2252-3/ந8.971-2/ந2.921-2 பொல்லாத பாவமிது வல்லாமைகாறினி போடினி மணவாளனிடத்திலே

\*\*1334/2254-5/ந8.973-4/ந2.923 மணவாள நீரல்லவோ செறுப்பதிலே தாலி கெட்டினீர்

\*\*1335/2256-7/ந8.975-6/ந2.924 ஒரு பலகயில் யிருபேரும் வலதுகை தொட்டு பிடித்ததும்

\*\*1336/2258/ந8.977/ந2.925 பிடித்தேனோ உன்னை மாய யிசக்கினி

\*\*1337/2259/ந8.978/ந2.925-6 பேசுறாயடி பேய் மகள்

\*\*1338 பிறமாணமாகவே வளிதனிலே வந்துனி

\*\*1339/2259/ந8.978/ந2.925-6 பேசுறாயடி மாய யிசக்கினி

\*\*1340/2260/ந8.981 யிசக்கி யென்று நீர் சொல்லவுமாம்

\*\*1341/2261/ந8.982/ந2.927 கெளுந்துதோ சொல்லானது

++ Variant to

++ N10.2261 எழுந்துதோநாவானது

++ N8.982 கெழுந்து தோவுரை யானது

\*\*1342/2262/ந8.983/ந2.928 யிடயிலே உம்மை விட்டு ஓடினால்

\*\*1343/2263/ந8.984/ந2.928 யேசுவார் யென்னை பெண்டுகள்

\*\*1344/2275/ந8.985/ந2.929 மண்டலந்தனிலே மாய யிசக்கினி

\*\*1345/2276/ந8.986/ந2.929 வளிதனிலே மருட்டாதெடி.

\*\*1346/2277/ந8.987/ந2.930 மாபாவி நீ யொருத்தி பளிகாறி நெட்டுறி

\*\*1347/2278/ந8.988/ந2.930 வளிதனிலே உன்னை கண்டேனாந்.

\*\*1348/2279/ந8.989/ந2.931 கண்டேனா நென்று பேசுறாயிந்த

\*\*1349/2280/ந8.990/ந2.931 காட்டிலே வந்த போதிலே

\*\*1350/2281/ந8.992/ந2.932 கற்மமே யிது முன்னுள்ளவர்கள் செய்ததோ

\*\*1351/2282/\*\*ந8.991/ந2.932 காட்டிலென்னுடன் ஆனவர்

\*\*1352/2283-4/ந8.993-4/ந2.933 வருவதென்னடி மாய யிசக்கினவனிவன்

\*\*1353/2284/ந8.994/ந2.933 யென் குலமதிகமே

\*\*1354/2285-6/~ந8.995 வளர் வயதில் பதினாறில் கலியாணம் செய்த

++ Variant to 1354

++ N10.2285 வாள்வயசுபதிநாறில் கல்யாணம் செய்தவன்.

++ N8.995 வயது ஈரெட்டில் வதுவை செய்திட்ட

\*\*1355/2287/ந8.996 வளமங்கை தானுண்டு ஊரிலே

++ Variant to 1355

++ N10.2287 மந்தைதானுண்டுஊரிலே

++ N8.996 வனிதை யுண்டுஎன் னூரிலே

\*\*1356/2288/ந8.997/ந2.935 ஊரிலே போனாலல்லோ தெரியுங்காண்

<sup>10</sup> The marked lines (\*\*) N1.1331-1367 identical with N10.91.2249-92.2300 appear in N10 prior to N1.1058.



\*\*1357/2289-90/~ந8.998 உம்முட ஞாயமும் யெஞாயமும்

++ Variant to 1357

++ N10.2289-90 உம் முட - நியாமும் என்நியாயமும்

++ N8.998 உம்மள்ஞாயமென் ஞாயமும்

\*\*1358/2291/ந8.999/ந2.936 உளவர் பதிவெகுதூரம் கடுநடயாய் ஓடாதெயும்

++ Variant to 1358

++ N10.2291 ஊர்பதிவெகுதூரம்கடும்நடையோடாதே

\*\*1359/2292/ந8.1000 உம்மாணை யென்பனி நிக்ஷ்யம்

\*\*1360/2293/ந8.1000/ந2.937 நிக்ஷ்யமென்று யிசுக்கி சொல்லவே

\*\*1361/2294/ந8.1002/ந2.937 பக்ஷி பறவைகள் க்ஷமாய்

++ Variant to 1361

++ N10.2294 பச்சிபறவைபோல்அச்சமாய்

\*\*1362/2295/ந8.1003/ந2.988 நிகராசன் வணிகேசன் அவனை முகம் பாராமல்

++ Variant to 1362

++ N10.2295 நிகரானவணிகேசன் அவன்முகம்பாராமல்

++ N8.1003 நிகரொவ்வாவணி கேசனவன் முகம்

\*\*1363/2296/ந8.1004 நிமராமலே குன்னி ஓடினாந்.

++ Variant to 1363

++ N8 1004 நேரிடாக் குன்னியோடினான்

\*\*1364/2297/ந8.1005/ந2.939 ஓடினாலும்மை விடுவேனோ காண்.

\*\*1365/2298/ந8.1006/ந2.940 ஒரு வாற்த்தை சொல்லுகிறேனே கேளுமே

\*\*1366/2299/1013-4 உலகம் அறியாத படி பனிகாறி வாறாளென்று

\*\*1367/2299-300/ந8.1014 உடனே கடுநடயாய் ஓடினானே.

++ Variant to 1366-7

++ N10.2299-300 உலகம்அறியாதபடிபழிகாறிவாறான்  
என்றுஉடனே / கடும்நடையாக ஓடினாரே

1368/2638/ந8.1167-8/ந2.1100-1101 போகலாகலாகு செட்டியாரே போகலாகலாகுமோ

1369/2639-40/ந8.1169-70/ந2.1102-3 போகலாகுமோ பெண்களாட வரை வேகமாக தேடி

1370/2640/ந8.1170/ந2.1103 முன்னே வந்தெதிர்த்தால் வேக மனத்தடக்கி

1371 விளுந்து யேன் ஓடுகிறீர் போ

[[N10.107

((2641 = N8.1171/N2.1104 ஏகபோகமாக நாமளிடுபேரும்

((2642 = N8.1172/N2.1105 ஈன்றடுத்தப்பிள்ளை முகம்பாராமல்

++ Variant to N10.2642

++ N8.1172/N2.1105 இருந்து வொருதலத்திற் பொருந்திப்பா  
ராமலே

1372/2643 யென்று காண்பெனென்று யேக்கம் தெளிய போறேன்

1373/2644/ந8.1173/ந2.1106 நின்றேன் காட்டில் நெடுனேரமாக தேடி

1374/2645-6/ந8.1175-6/ந2.1108-9 நன்றாய் வந்தெதிர்த்து நாமும் நீரும் கூடி ஒன்றாயிருந்து

1375/2646/ந8.1176/ந2.1109 உரைக்க கூடாமலே போக

++ Variant to 1374-5

++ N10.2645 நன்றாகவந்துவிட்டீர்நானும்நீரும்கூடி /  
ஒன்றாய் இருந்துஉரைபலதமிழ்ப்போ

++ N8.1175-6/N2.1108-9 நன்றாகவந்தெதிர்த்தீர் நானும்  
நீருங்கூடி ஒன்றாயி ருந்துஉரைக்கக்கூ டாமலே

[[N10.107

((2647 இன்றேஇருபேரும் இன்பமுடிநிருக்க

((2648/\*\*ந8.1149/\*\*ந2.1082 அறியமனிதரைப்போல்அங்கம்பதைபதைக்க

((2649/\*\*ந8.1150/\*\*ந2.1083 வெறிகொண்டிவ்வனத்தில் விழுந்தோடுகிறீர்செட்டி

((2650/\*\*ந8.1151/\*\*ந2.1084 சிறியவயதில்நாமள்தேனும்பாலும்போலே

1376/2652 உம்மை நம்பி பின்னே ஓடிவந்த யென்னை

1377/2653 பின்னும் பாராமலே பெண் பனி யேற்றவர்

1378/2654 யென்ன கொன்ற பாவம் யெங்கே போனால் விடும்

1379/2655 யினி யென்ன ஓடுவது யேனை செட்டியாரே - போ

[[N10.108

((2661 = N8.1177/N2.1110 பாவிதேடியேபின்துடர்ந்தபாவிதேடியே

1380/2662/ந8.1178/ந2.1112 பாவியன்றென்னை பகட்டாதே செட்டியாரே

++ Variant to 1380

++ N10.2662/N8.1178/N2.1112 பாவிதேடியே ஆவிபறக்குதடி

1381 சரலம் பேச மதகரசவரா வேறெ [...]ண்டும்

1382 ஆளி தனங்கள் செய்ய ஆமோ செட்டியாரே - போக

[[N10.108

((2663 = N8.1179/N2.1113 பஞ்சமாபாதகத்திபகட்டுகாறிபோடி

((2664 கோவியாகளன்னகாட்டிலேநீயும்

((2665 கொல்லவென்றன்னையும்கூடதுடர்ந்துவந்தாய்

((2666 = N8.1180/N2.1114 ஆவிசோருதந்தன் அங்கம்பறக்குதடி

((2667 = N8.1181/N2.1115 அய்யோ ஒருதிரில்லைசெய்யதுணை எனக்கு

((2668 சல்லிதனமும்மல்லதன்மைகெட்டவமும்மல்ல

((2669 வல்லிகொடியிடையாள்மாதஸ்த்திரியாருடன்

1383/2670/ந8.1182/ந2.1116 தல்லி தனமும்மல்ல தரங்கெட்டவமும்மல்ல

++ Variant to 1383

++ N10.2670 சல்லிதனமும்மல்லதரங்கெட்டவமும்மல்ல

++ N8.1182/N2.1116 சல்லித்த தனமும்மல்ல தான்கெட்ட

வமும்மல்ல

1384/2671/ந8.1183/ந2.1117 வல்லி கொடிக்கிசைந்த மகா மந்திர ரூபி

++ Variant to 1384

++ N10.2671 வல்லிகொடியிடையாள்மகாமந்திரரூபி

++ N8.1183/N2.1117 வல்லித் துடியிடையே மகாமந்திரரூபி

1385/2672/ந8.1184/ந2.1118 செல்வ பெண்ணு நீ தெய்வதிறிய ஒத்த - பாவி

1386 நல்ல பெண்ணும் நீயும் னானோ உனக்குலெக்கு - பாவி

++ Variant to 1385-6

++ N10.2672-3 செல்லதுரைபெண்நீதெய்வஸ்ரீயாள்பெற்ற / நல்ல பெண்பிள்ளை - நீ தானோஉல்கில்பாவி (பாவித)

++ N8.1184-5/N2.1118-9 செல்லத்து ரைப்பெண்ணை

நீ தெய்வஸ்ரீயாள்பெற்ற / நல்லபெண் பிள்ளைநீ நானோ உனக்குலெக்கு (பாவி)

[[N10.108

((2674 அய்யோதகப்பனுரைஅன்றுகேட்டில்லைகாண்

1387/2675 பொய்யா வளி நிமித்தம் பொருத்தந்தி பாற்த்தேனில்லை

++ Variant to 1387

++ N10.2675 பொய்யவழிநிமிர்த்தம்பொருத்தம்

பார்த்ததில்லை

1388/2676 மெய்யா யிருந்து தய்யா விளலிசக்கியுடன்

++ Variant to 1388

++ N10.2676 மெய்யால்இருந்தாயோவிளலிஇசக்கியும்

[[N10.108

((2677 கையில் அகப்படவும் கறுமவிதியோஇது

[[N10.109

((2684-2688 = \*\*N1.1537-1541 = N8.1186-1191/N2.1120-1125

[[N10.109

((2689/ந8.1192/ந2.1126 ஊரார்உறமுறையார்அன்னைசுற்றத்தார்கள்

((2690/-ந8.1193/-ந2.1127 ஊரில்உள்ளபேர்கள்தேடிவருவார்காண்

((2691/~ந8.1194/~ந2.1128 பாவிளைநென்றதாயர்எனைவளர்த்து  
((2692/ந8.1195/ந2.1129 பரிசுகெடவைத்தாள்பாலன் அமுதயயோ (பய்யநட)

[[N10.109

((2697-2698 = \*\*N1.1542 = N8.1196-1197/N2.1130-31  
((2699-2701 = \*\* N1.1543-45 = N8.1198-1201 = N2.1132-34  
((2704 = \*\*N1.1546/N8.1202 கடைக்குள்இருத்தியப்பரகடும்சரக்குமிழகு  
((2705/ந8.1203 காயம் ஈருள்ளிகடும்சரக்குந்தனக்கு  
((2706/ந8.1204 குளச்சவளயம்தான்பிறத்திலிடதேஎன்று  
((2707/ந8.1205/ந2.1139 கூண்டும்கடைக்கிருக்கவேண்டும்முதல்தருவார் (அளவேண்டாம்)

[[N10.110

((2708/ந8.1206/ந2.1140 பட்டுபணிப்புடவைஎட்டுதிசைமெய்க்க  
((2709/ந8.1207/ந2.1141 பஞ்சிபருத்திநூலும்களச்சியுனக்கு  
((2710/ந8.1208/ந2.1142 அடக்கிவாணிபங்கள்செய்யபோறதற்க்கு  
((2711-2712 = ~\*\*N1.1547 = ந2.1143

[[N10.110

((2713 = N8.1210/N2.1144 பிள்ளைதான்யோதோ வென்றுபேசுநீர் நெறியோ  
((2714/~ந8.1210 வென்ன.  
((2715 = ந8.1211/ந2.1145 கொள்ளைதான்கொடுத்ததுண்டோரஅத்தான்  
((2716 = ந8.1211/ந2.1145 குமரிதன் ஆசையுண்டோ.  
((2717 = ந8.1212/ந2.1146 கள்ளமேதுண்டோசெட்டிகனபிரியமோ  
((2718 செட்டி.  
((2719 = ந8.1213/ந2.1147 கிள்ளைபோல் பிள்ளைதன்னைகிழிமொழி  
((2720 = ந8.1213/ந2.1147 பெற்றேன் என்றாளே

[[N10.110

((2721/ந8.1214/ந2.1148 ஆண்பிள்ளைபெற்றுஎடுத்தேனேசெட்டி  
((2722/ந8.1215/ந2.1149 (அகலவேதள்ளிவிட்டுபோறீரோசெட்டி  
((2723/ந8.1216/ந2.1150 எந்தாயர்உம்மாமிகண்டால்பறைவாள்  
((2724/ந8.1217/ந2.1151 (ஏந்தும்குளந்தைஉமக்கல்லோபெற்றேன்  
((2725/ந8.1220/ந2.1154 போறீரேநான்பெற்றபிள்ளைமுகம்பாராமல்  
((2726/ந8.1221/ந2.1155 பெண்ணைகண்டால்பேயும்இரங்காதோசெட்டி  
((2727/ந8.1222-3/ந2.1156 மஞ்சணையுசிகெறுவிதமாக  
((2728/ந8.1223/ந2.1157 வாறவழியில் எதுத்தாயோ செட்டி  
((2729 = \*\*N1.1409 = N8.1224-5 = N2.1158 மஞ்சன்குளிக்கநீரதந்தபணத்தை

[[N10.111

((2730 மையிட்டுபொட்டிட்டுசூசூடிக்கொண்டேன்  
((2731 = \*\*N1.1411 = N8.1226= N2.1160 கையிலேகள்ளபணத்தையும்தந்தீர்  
((2732 = N8.1227/ N2.1161 காட்டில்விட்டோடிபோறீரே செட்டி

- 1389 தாவி விளுந்தோடினும் தாலிவைத்தால் விடுவேனோ  
1390 காவியரும் குளல் மடவார் கன்னியரும்  
1391 பின் துடர்ந்தாளே. [...] செட்டியாரே முகம் பாராதே நீர் போனால்  
1392 பாராதே நீர் போனால் பத்தி துடருவேனே.  
1393 துடந்தால் நீ யென்ன செய்வாய் தோகயேமா யிசக்கி  
1394 கடந்தே வனவாசம் கரயாளர் ஊரில் போனால் தெரியும்.  
1395 போனாலல்லோ தெரியும் புத்திகளான தெல்லாம்  
1396 வீணிலே பேசாதேயும் அடியாள் விருவது உள்ளமெல்லாம்  
1397 உள்ளது மெய் நீலி யிமாற்த்தம் ஒன்றும் அறியாய் நீ  
1398 கொள்ளயிடவே வந்தாய் கோட்டி கொள்ளாதேடி போ.  
1399 தள்ள கிளவியம்மா உன்தங்கயும் தான் விலக்க  
1400 உள்ளதறியாமல் யிடயில் ஓடிவந்தால் போமோ  
1401 போமோ நீ துடர்ந்தவர் பூவயே மாயிசக்கி  
1402 ஆமோ ரந்தனருளால் ஆளில்லை நீ போடி  
1403 போடியென்றே யுரைத்தீர் பொல்லாத பாவிமட்டே  
1404 நான் வீணிலே வந்தேனோ வெருவ வெருட்டுகிறீர்.  
1405 யிப்படி ஆகாது பாதகத்தி அப்பாலே நில்லு நில்லு.  
1406 தேடாத வீட்டுக்குள்ளே நீ யொரு செல்ல பிள்ளயிசக்கி  
1407 யிசக்கி யென்றே யுரைத்தீர் யென் கோலங்கள் காணல்லயோ  
1408 திசைக்க வேண்டாங்கான் அடியாள் தேட்டத்து கேற்றவன்காண்.  
\*\*1409/2729/ந8.1224-5/ந2.1158 மஞ்ச குளிக்க நீர் தந்த பணத்தை  
1410 வட்டமிட்டு தாரும் செட்டியார் பிள்ளை

\*\*1411/2731/ந8.1226/ந2.1160 கய்யிலே கள்ள பணம் தருவீரோ கொஞ்ச  
\*\*1412/2520 கோதை பெறும் மங்கல ஞாணனகு

1413 பகலிரவு தரித்த [...]ண்டாச்சுதே

1414 பலர் பணித்ததோர் காடு கண்டாயோடா.

1415 நீதாம்பறி தனிவளி போவா தேங்கையடா.

\*\*1416/2527/ந8.1088/ந2.1020 நீ தரும் பளிக்கல்லோ நீலி வந்தேனடா.<sup>11</sup>

\*\*1417 வந்தலடா யெலி வெகுண்டிருந்தளுது

\*\*1418 வயறெறியும் பூனை தானறியுமோ.

\*\*1419/2528/ந8.1093 யின்று யிருபேரு முன்னிருந்தமிடம்

\*\*1420/2529/ந8.1094/ந2.1026 யிதே தெறியுது பாருங்காண் செட்டி

\*\*1421/2530/ந8.1095/ந2.1027 பாருமென சொல்ல மாயயிசுக்கி

\*\*1422/2531/ந8.1096/ந2.1028 பதறியே ஆனந்தன் ஓடிவரும் நேரம்

\*\*1423/2538/ந8.1097/ந2.1029 வந்தாளவன் பிறகே மாய யிசுக்கி

++ Variant to 1423

++ N8.1097 வாருமென் றோடிப் பிறகாலி யக்கி

\*\*1424/2539/ந8.1098/ந2.1030-1 வளமாக வேதியனிருந்த தலத்தில்

++ Variant to 1424

++ N8.1098 வளமுட னன்றைக்கி ருந்தவி டத்தில்

\*\*1425/2540/ந8.1099/ந2.1032 சந்தோஸமில்லா நிலைநின்ற கள்ளியர்

++ Variant to 1425

++ N10.2540 சந்தோசமாகநிலைநின்றகள்ளிகள்

\*\*1426/2541/ந8.1100/ந2.1033 சலியாது கேள் நடுநிலை நின்ற கள்ளியர்

\*\*1427/2542/ந8.1101/ந2.1034 யிந்தா யொடிக்கிறேன் யிதோ முடிக்கிறேன்

\*\*1428/2543/ந8.1102 யென்றெடுத்தங்கே யெடுத்தாள் முறித்தாள்.

++ Variant to 1428

++ N8.2543 என்றோடி அங்கேமுறித்தாள்எடுத்தாள்

++ N8.1102 எழுந்தோடிச் சென்று முறித்தா னெடுத்தாள்

\*\*1429/2545/ந8.1103 யிக்கள்ளியை கள்ளிகை பிள்ளையாக்கி

\*\*1430/2544/ந8.1104 யென்றெடுத்தங்கே யிடுப்பிலே வைத்தாள்.

++ Variant to 1430

++ N10.2544 எடுத்தாள் அவளுடையஇடுப்பதிலே

வைத்தாள்

\*\*1431/2546 தோடு பிறாமணி வைத்த பஞ்சாயுதம்

\*\*1432/2547 சொரி காது யிங்கம்பி தோளிலடிபடவே

\*\*1433/2548 அடுப்பியிட்ட அண்து போலே

\*\*1434/2549 அளுது கதறி செட்டி அவன் பிறகால் ஓடுவானே.

1435 ஆடவரே செட்டியாரே

1436 ஆணல்லவோ பெற்றெடுத்தேன்.

1437 காட்டகத்தில் பெற்ற பிள்ளை

1438 கள்ளியல்லோ கன்னியரே

1439 கள்ளி பிள்ளை யாகிடுமோ.

1440 காசினிக்கும் யேற்றிடுமோ.

1441 கொள்ளைக்கா கொடுத்தீரோ.

1442 குட கெடுவான் செட்டியாரே

1443 வள்ளானார் தானறிவார்.

1444 மாதாமயும் யறிவார்.

1445 நல்ல குலமென்றிருந்தேன்.

1446 நாந் வார்க்க பட்டேநே

1447 பொல்லாத பாவியென்று

1448 புகள் மாலை குடுமுன்னே

1449 மண்ணாவாள் யென்தாயார்

1450 மன பொருத்தம் பாற்த்தாளில்லை

1451 பெண்டிருக்க வந்தாமக்கு

1452 பொட்டு குலைந்தாகி விட்டேன்.

1453 குண்டணிக்கு முத்த கள்ளி

1454 கோமாளி கூத்தாட

1455 பண்டு உன்னை கண்டறியேன்.

<sup>11</sup> N1.1416-1434 identical with N10.2527-2549 appear in N10 at an earlier point.

- 1456 பனிகாறி மாயிசுக்கி  
 1457 சண்டாள பாதகத்தி  
 1458 சனியனைப் போல துடராதே  
 1459 யென்று சொல்லி வணிகேஷன்  
 1460 யேந்தினைக்கு உபாயமிட்டான்.  
 1461 செந்தூர பொட்டுமிட்டான்.  
 1462 திருநீறு பூத்து[... ]மிட்டான்.  
 1463 சவ்வாது பொடியுமிட்டான்.  
 1464 அணிந்ததெல்லாம் சிவன் தகூம் ஆதிபரனருளாலே  
 1465 வளந்த கொண்ட பூ முடிந்தான்.  
 \*\*1466/2522 மஞ்சளும் பூசி கொண்டான்.<sup>12</sup>  
 1467 சரப்பணி பொன் மாலையிட்டான்.  
 1468 தாவடங்கள் மிக யணிந்தான்.  
 1469 பட்டரஞாண் நெத்திப்பிறை  
 1470 பாவை உக்ஷி பிறையும் வைத்தான்.  
 1471 யெண்ணவொண்ணா பணிகளெல்லாம்  
 1472 கூடியவனார் அருளுவாராம்  
 1473 நினைத்த தெல்லாம் யிவள்க்கு வரம்  
 1474 னீடுளி காலமட்டும்  
 1475 பணியணிந்து யிசுக்கியம்மை  
 1476 பிச்ச பொன்னால் தானிலங்க  
 1477 உள்வாதலை ஊருமட்டும்  
 1478 ஓடாமல் விடுவேனோ  
 1479 மடமடன வேர்வை சிந்த  
 1480 வணிகேசனோடே கூடி  
 1481 பெண்டாட்டி வேம்பானால்  
 1482 பெற்ற பிள்ளை பெரும் பகயோ  
 1483 பெரும் பகை பாராட்ட வேண்டாம்  
 1484 பெற்ற பிள்ளை முகம் பாருமென்றானே.  
 1485 ஓடுவானேன் கால் வருந்த செட்டியாரே  
 1486 உம்மை யொட்டி னாநும் வந்தேன் செட்டியாரே  
 1487 போடி போடி யென்றீரே செட்டியாரே  
 \*\*1488/2463/ N8.1048/N2.982 பெண்ணைக் கண்டால் பேயிரங்கும் செட்டியாரே<sup>13</sup>  
 \*\*1489/2464/ N8.1049/N2.983 யேற்ற பெண்காண் னாநுமக்கு செட்டியாரே  
 \*\*1490/2465/ N8.1049-50/N2.984 யென்னோடிணங்கி கொண்டால், தெரியும் செட்டியாரே  
 \*\*1491/2469/ N8.1051/N2.985 கண்டவனோ கொண்டவனோ மாய யிசுக்கி  
 ++ Variant to 1491  
 ++ N10.2469/N8.1051/N2.985 கொண்டவனோ கண்டவனோ  
 மாயஇயக்கி  
 \*\*1492/2472/ N8.1054/N2.988 காம சங்கிலி பூட்டாதெடி கள்ளி நீ போடி  
 \*\*1493/2478/ N8.1055/N2.989 கள்ளியென்று யென்னை பேசுநீர் செட்டியாரே  
 \*\*1494/2479/ N8.1056/N2.989-90 கற்ப்புடயாள் னாநல்லவோ செட்டியாரே  
 \*\*1495/2480/ N8.1061/N2.995 பிள்ளை நல்ல பெண்பிள்ளை பிராயம் காணும்  
 \*\*1496/2481/ N8.1062/N2.996 பேதலிப்பு பண்ணாதேயும் செட்டியாரே  
 \*\*1497/2487/ N8.1063/N2.997 பேதலிப்பு உன(க்)கேதடி மாய யிசுக்கி  
 \*\*1498/2488/ N8.1064/N2.998 பிறகே வர சொன்னேனோ பெண்ணரசே போ போ  
 \*\*1499/2489/ N8.1065/N2.999 ஆதரித்தேனோடிருக்க ஆத்தானமோடி  
 \*\*1500/2490/ N8.1065-66/N2.1000 கய்யறியா வெண்பத்திவம் அப்பாலே போம்  
 ++ Variant to 1499-1500  
 ++ N10.2490 ஆதரித்துன்னோடிருக்கஆத்திரமோடி /  
 அறியாமல்பின் பற்றாதே அப்பாலே போடி  
 ++ N8.1065-66/N2.1000 அதை அறியாமல் பின்பற்றாதே  
 அப்பாலேபோடி  
 \*\*1501/2495/ N8.1067/N2.1001 அப்பாலே போக வந்தேன் செட்டியாரே  
 \*\*1502/2496/ N8.1068/N2.1002 ஆணைக னீரல்லவோ செட்டியாரே  
 ++ Variant to 1502

<sup>12</sup> In N10.2522 at an earlier point.

<sup>13</sup> The marked lines (\*\*) N1.1488-1512 identical with N10.99.2463-101.2516 appear in N10 prior to N1.1331/N1.1368.

- ++ N10.2496 அருமைகணவன்நீரல்லவோசெட்டியாரே  
++ Variant to 1491 என் காணழகன் நீரல்லவோ செட்டியாரே
- \*\*1503/2497/N8.1069/N2.1003 தப்பாவின பேசுகிறீர் செட்டியாரே  
\*\*1504/2498/N8.1070/N2.1004 சங்கடத்தை தீருங்காணும் செட்டியாரே  
\*\*1505/2504/N8.1071/N2.1005 சங்கடம் உன(க்)கேதடி மாய யிசக்கி  
\*\*1506/2505/N8.1071-2/N2.1006 சற்றும் உடல் சுளுக்காதே சக்களத்திபோ  
++ Variant to 1506  
++ N10.2505 தையலேநீமளுப்பாதேசக்களத்திபோபோ  
++ N8.1071-2/N2.1006 உடல் சற்றும்நாண மில்லாமலே  
சக்களத்தியாய்
- \*\*1507/2506/N8.1073/N2.1007 பங்கபடுத்தாதேயடி மாய யிசக்கி  
\*\*1508/2507/N8.1074/N2.1008 பறக்குது யிறகு உயிர்பாவி யுன்னாலே  
\*\*1509/2513/N8.1075/N2.1009 யிறக்கு முன்னே யென்ன சேரும் சேரும் செட்டியாரே  
\*\*1510/2514/N8.1076 யேறிட்டு பாறத்தினக் கொரு முத்தம் தாரும்.  
\*\*1511/2515/N8.1077 மாறக்குமோ உம்மாசை மனதைவிட்டு  
\*\*1512/2516/\*\*N8.1058 மாயதுயர் தீருங்காண் பளவயாரே  
1513 மாய மாய மாய ரூபா விடமயில் பெண் பெருமாள்  
1514 பேடமயில் பெண் பெருமாள் பிள்ளை ஓக்காயில் வைத்து  
1515 ஓடயதுவுங் கடந்து உத்த மணலாறுமிட்டு  
1516 சக்கரை போல மொளி பேசி தன் பிள்ளை முகம் பாருமென்றாரே.  
(\*\*N1.1517-\*\*1525 = N10.2591-2599 = N8.1135-1144 = N2.1068-1077  
(\*\*N1.1526-\*\*1528 = N10.2604-2606 = N8.1145-1147 = N2.1078=1080  
\*\*1517/2591/ந8.1135-6/ந2.1068-69 பிள்ளை முகம் பாரும் செட்டியாரே - பிள்ளை  
\*\*1518/2592/ந8.1137/ந2.1070 பிள்ளை முகம் பாராமல் பெற்றாதனை பாராமல்  
++ Variant to 1518  
++ N10.2592 பிள்ளைமுகம்பாராமல் பெற்றதாய்பாராமல்  
++ N8.1137/N2.1070 பிள்ளைமு கம்பாராமல் பெற்றோர்  
தனைப் பாராமல்
- \*\*1519/2593/ந8.1138/ந2.1071 தள்ளி நடக்க மனம் தானாச்சுதோ செட்டி  
\*\*1520/2594/ந8.1139/ந2.1072 யெள்ளளவாகிலும் சற்றுமிரங்காதோ  
++ Variant to 1520  
++ N10.2594/N8.1139/N2.1072 எள்ளளவும் மனம்  
இரக்கமில்லாமலே
- \*\*1521/2595/ந8.1140 யினி யென்ன ஓடுவது யேனை செட்டியாரே  
++ Variant to 1521  
++ N10.2595 உள்ளம்தளர்ந்துநீரூடுகிறீர்செட்டி (பிள்ளை)  
++ N8.1140 எந்தனுள் எத்துயர் தீராமல் ஓடுறீர் (பிள்ளைமு)
- \*\*1522/2596/ந8.1141/ந2.1074 யெத்தா கோடி காலம் உத்த தவம் செய்தால்  
++ Variant to 1522  
++ N10.2596 எத்தனையோகாலம்உத்ததவம்செய்து  
++ N8.1141 எத்தனை யோகோடிக் காலந் தவம்செய்தால்
- \*\*1523/2597/ந8.1142/ந2.1075 பெற்றெடுப்பாரொரு பிள்ளைதனை செட்டி  
\*\*1524/2598/ந8.1143/ந2.1076 அத்தன்மை போலவே பெற்ற மகனோடே  
++ Variant to 1524  
++ N10.2598 அத்தனைபோலவேநான்பெற்றமகனோடே
- \*\*1525/2599/ந8.1144/ந2.1077 கத்திக் கொண்டு போக காறணமோ செட்டி - பிள்ளை  
\*\*1526/2604/ந8.1145/ந2.1078 கண்ணுங்காதளகும் கமல முகத்தளகும்  
++ Variant to 1526  
++ N10.2604 கண்ணும்கமுத்தழகும்கமலமுகத்தழகும்  
++ N8.1145 கண்ணுங்க ருத்தழகும் கமலமு கத்தழகும்
- \*\*1527/2605/ந8.1146/ந2.1079 பெண்ணுக்கரசி பெற்ற பிள்ளையல்லோ செட்டி  
\*\*1528/2606/ந8.1147/ந2.1080 யெண்ணுங் கலயுங் கற்று பள்ளிகிருத்தி

++ Variant to 1528

++ N10.2606 எண்ணும்எழுத்தும்கற்றுபள்ளிக்கிருத்த

1529/ந8.1148 யொரு ரெகசியமுண்டு சொல்வேன் - பிள்ளை  
 1530 வருவீர் வருவீரென்று வளி மேலே நின்றே  
 1531 நானும் வடக்கு வீட்டிலொரு மடவாணிவளாளே  
 1532 கருத்தாய் மருந்தயிட்டு கஞ்சி குடியலைத்து  
 1533 காட்டுக்குள்ளே ஓடிசெய்தாள் வாளாமலே போக - பிள்ளை  
 1534 பதறி ஓட சொன்னாள் பாவி பனிகாறிதாம் பரமசிவநே  
 1535 நடு கேளும் கேளும் அசணி வருகுது காண் செட்டியோதனக்கு  
 1536 அய்யோ கய்யை யெட்டி பிடித்து கொள்ளுதுகாணும் - பிள்ளை  
 \*\*1537/2684/ந8.1186-7/ந2.1120 பய்ய நடவும் காணும் செட்டியாரே பய்ய நடவும்காணு<sup>14</sup>  
 \*\*1538/2685/ந8.1188/ந2.1121-2 பய்ய நடவுங்காண் பளக நகர் ஊர் தூரம்  
 \*\*1539/2686/ந8.1189/ந2.1123 பாலன் உமை நினைந்து கதறி அளுகிறான்.  
 \*\*1540/2687/ந8.1190/ந2.1124 கய்யும் கடுக்குது காண் காலும் நோகுதுகாண்.  
 \*\*1541/2688/ந8.1191/ந2.1125 கதறியளுது பிள்ளை கருத்தாக தேடுது காண் - பய்[...]  
 \*\*1542/2697-8/ந8.1196-7/ந2.1130-1 அளவேண்டா மகநே னாகப்பா செட்டியகண்ணே.  
 \*\*1543/2699/ந8.1198/ந2.1132 அளவேண்டாம் விளவேண்டாம்  
 \*\*1544/2699-700/ந8.1198-1200/ந2.1132-4 அப்பச்சா கொடுவராத பாலுண்டு பளமுண்டு  
 \*\*1545/2701-3/ந8.1201 பஞ்சமுந்தமுண்டு சீனி சிங்கம் பளம் சிறந்த கனிகருண்டு  
 போதவாரியுண்ண புகள் தருவார் காணும்

++ Variant to 1544-5

++ N10.2699-701 ...அப்பச்சர்கொடுவந்த /

பாலுண்டுபழம்உண்டு பஞ்சாரம்உண்டு /

சீனிசிங்கம்பழம்தினயாய் அதியரசம் /

தேனும்மாங்கனியும்தினவேதந்திடுவார் (அழவேண்டாம்)

++ N8.1198-200 ...அப்பச்சர் கொடுவந்த / அரியதரமுடனே

பஞ்சசாரையுமுண்டு / பழவகை பலதுண்டு பாலகனே

உனக்கு / பட்சமுடனேஉந்தன் அப்பர்பிச்சித்தருவார்

(அழவே)

\*\*1546/2704,7,10/ந8.1202,5,9 அளகடைக்குளிருத்தி யுன்னை கடுஞ்சாக்கும் வேண்டி உனக்கு  
 பக்கறை முதலும் உன்னாணை தருவர்காண் அடக்கி வாணுபம்

\*\*1547/~2711-12/~ந8.1209/~ந2.1143 செய்ய ஆன பளகயில் போனால் தெரியும் அப்பான்

++ Variant to 1546-7

++ N10.2704,7,10-12 கடைக்குள்இருத்தியப்பர்கடும்சரக்கு

மிழகு/.../கூண்டும்கடைக்கிருக்கவேண்டும்முதல்தருவார்

(அளவேண்டாம்) /.../ அடக்கிவாணிபங்கள்செய்ய

போறதற்கு / பளகைஊரில் போனால் அல்லோதெரியுங் /

காண்என்றாளே

++ N8.1202,5,9 கடைக்குளி ருத்திவைப்பார் கடுஞ்சரக்

குமிளகு/.../கூண்டுக டைக்கிருக்க வேண்டமு தல்தருவார்

(அழவே)/.../அழகுப முகையூரில் போனால் லோதெரியும்

1548 மஞ்ச குளிக்க தந்த பணத்தை

1549 வட்டமிட்டு தாரும் செட்டியார் பிள்ளை

1550 உம்மை நினைந்து உருகுதே பிள்ளை

1551 உடப்பு பிறப்போடே பிறவாத நீரோ

1552 அறுத்தாக்கால் கெட்டாத சாதியல்லோ னாமன்

1553 அனுதாரோம் யில்லையே வணிகேசா உமக்கு

1554/2740/ந8.1218 குளந்தய கண்ட பொருதிலே செட்டி

1555/2741/ந8.1219 குத்தி வயிற்றிலடி(த்) தோடி போனாந்.

++ Variant to 1554-5

++ N8.1218-9 குழந்தையைக் கண்டபொ முதிலே நீரும் /

குத்திவ யிற்றில் டித்தல்லோ போறீர்

1556 போனான் பளக நகர்கிட்ட முடுக

1557 பொல்லாத பாவி அகன்று போவாளோ

1558 வீணிலே உயிர் கொடுக்க வா வந்தேன்

1559 வேறுவர கெட்டவளே மாய யிசக்கி

<sup>14</sup> N1.1537-45 = N10.2684-2703 = N8.1186-91, N8.1196-1199/ந2.1132ff.

[[N10.111

((2742 சையவிலேகண்டேன்பெண்ணேஉன்னை

((2743 சதியோமதியோஎன்னைதுடர்ந்தாய்

1560/2744/ந8.1230/ந2.1164 கண்ணும் விறியாத்து பக்கறயும் கொண்டு

++ Variant to 1560

++ N10.2744 கண்ணும்கறுத்துகாதும்அடைக்க

1561/2745/ந8.1231/ந2.1165 கணவர் காணுமலகாட்டோடே ஓட

++ Variant to 1561

++ N10.2745 காட்டிலேசெட்டி அலறியேஓட

1562/2746 ஓடை மணலாறு ஓடை கடந்து

1563/2747/ந8.1233/ந2.1167 உற்பளகையூர் தோப்பும் கண்டான்.

++ Variant to 1563

++ N10.2747 உற்றபழகைநகர்தன்னையும்கண்டார்

++ N8.1233/N2.1167 உற்றபழகையாங் காட்டிலே வந்து

1564/2748/ந8.1234/ந2.1168 தேறினாந் சிந்தை தெளிவாக செட்டி

1565/2749/ந8.1235/ந2.1169 சீவன் கரயேறலா மினியென்னா

1566/2750/ந8.1236/ந2.1170 நாவிலடி தோப்பு கடந்தே நடந்து

++ Variant to 1566

++ N10.2750 நாக லடி தோப்புதன்னையகடந்து

++ N8.1236/N2.1170 நாகலடித் தோப்பு தானுங் கடந்து

1567/2751/ந8.1237/ந2.1171 நல்ல தோர் செட்டி பிறகால் வரவே

++ Variant to 1567

++ N10.2751 நல்ல தோர்செட்டி ஓடிவரும்நேரம்

++ N8.1237/N2.1171 நடந்ததோர் செட்டி பிறகாலி யக்கி

1568/2752/ந8.1238/ந2.1172 யிசக்கி நடந்து வளியை மறித்து

++ Variant to 1568

++ N10.2752 இசக்கிதுடர்ந்துவழிமேல்மறித்து

++ N8.1238/N2.1172 ஏகித்து டர்ந்து வழிமேல் மறித்து

1569/2753/ந8.1239/ந2.1173 யிரு போக ஓட்டேன் யிருந்து போமென்றான்.

++ Variant to 1569

++ N10.2753/N8.1239/N2.1173 இனிபோக ஓட்டேன் இருந்து போவும்மென்றான்

1570 வளியை மறியாதே மண்ணவா(ய்) போடி

1571 மாலையிட்ட மணவாளன் தேடி வருவான்.

1572 தேடியல்லவோ வந்தேன் ஆடவரே உம்மை

1573 திரும்பி ஒரு வாற்த்தை செப்புங்காண்வென்றான்.

1574 மடமடன செட்டி யிதினிடயில்

1575 வருவது கேள்வனுட பிறகே

1576 மடி பிட்யாய் மாய யிசக்கி

1577 வருவது கேள்வனுட பிறகே

1578 கலீர்கலீரேன தண்டை சிலம்புகள்

1579 கைதனிலொரு குழந்தையுமாக

1580 திருதிடென யென மணவாளர்

1581 செப்பிட ஒரு வாற்த்தய கேளு

1582 தென்பளவை ஊரது காணும்

1583 தெரியு காண் மேற்கே யென்றார்.

1584 வம்பிலே உயிர் போகாது காணும்

1585 வாற்த்தை சொல்லும் கேளும் வணிகேசா

1586 தம்பியல்லோ பெற்று யெடுத்தேன்.

1587 தனிப் பளவை ஊரது கடயில்

1588 சகல வகையானது முண்டு

1589 சதங்கை சேறாடியு முண்டு

1590 தரன் [...] வகையானது முண்டு

1591 சகலது வேண்டிடு வோனாமன்

1592 பண்பு கெட்ட மொழி களுரைத்தாய்.

1593 பனிகாறி மாய யிசக்கி



- 1594 பரிசி கெட போறாய் நீதான்  
 1595 பளகையூர் தனிலே வந்தால்  
 1596 மிடவளியில் யென்னை விடு  
 1597 யெங்கயும் நீ ஓடிப் பிளை  
 1598 நில்லு நில்லு யென்று சொன்னாய்  
 1599 நிற்ப்பேனோ செட்டியாரே  
 1600 நெடுந்தாரமதனில் நடந்து  
 1601 நெஞ்சியது நோகுது காண்  
 1602 தகையேறி போவோம் வாரும்  
 1603 தளுத்த மாயினி லிருவும்  
 1604 யேலமே னாந் சொன்னதெல்லாம்  
 1605 யேறாதோ உன் செவியில்  
 1606 யீஸ்பரனாரறிவார் காணும்  
 1607 யிருபேரும் செய்த முறை  
 1608 யினவே வனி புலம்பி  
 1609 யேங்கி விளுந்தோ டலுற்றாரே.

[[N10.111/12

- ((2754 = N8.1240/N2.1174 செட்டிநான்ஏளைஇசக்கிநீபோடி  
 ((2755 = N8.1241/N2.1175 என்சிந்தைதளருதேஉம்மையும்கண்டு  
 ((2756 = N8.1242/N2.1176 கண்டுபொறுக்கஉனக்குதான்ஆனோ  
 ((2757 = N8.1243/N2.1176 காட்டிலேசெல்லதுடர்ந்தாயே

[[N10.112

- ((2768 = N8.1246 வந்தாயடிமாவிசக்கிவதைசெய்யவேதுணிந்து  
 ((2769 = N8.1247 வருவதன்மேல்நியாயமில்லைதிருவாணைநில்லு  
 ((2770 = N8.1248 நில்லுநில்லுஎன்றுஎன்னைநிறுத்தாதேசெட்டி  
 ((2771 = N8.1249 நேரிட்டுபார்த்தென்னோடுஒருவார்த்தை  
 ((2772 சொல்லகேளும்.  
 ((2773 = N8.1250 சொல்லுசொல்லுஎன்றுஎன்னைதுடர்ந்தாயே  
 ((2774 = N8.1250 இசக்கி  
 ((2775 = N8.1251 சூதுகாறிஇந்திரசால மாயக்காறி பேடி  
 ((2776 = N8.1252 சூதுகாறி என்று என்னை சொன்னீரே செட்டி  
 ((2777 = N8.1253 சொந்தமாகவைத்திருந்தஎன்னைமறந்தீரோ  
 ((2778 = N8.1254 வைத்திருந்ததுண்டோஉன்னைமாயஇசக்கி  
 ((2779 = N8.1255/N2.1189 வட்டில்போல்கண்ணுருட்டிமருட்டோதே  
 ((2780 போடி.  
 ((113.2781 = N8.1260/N2.1194 போடி போடி என்று என்னைபுரட்டாதேசெட்டி  
 ((2782 = N8.1261/N2.1195 பெண்பழிமிளவந்தபெண்ணராஜாள்நான்தான்  
 ++ Variant to N10.2782  
 ++ N8.1261/N2.1195 போனசென்ம பழிக்காய்வந்த  
 பெண்ணரசி நான்தான்

- ((2783 = N8.1262/N2.1196 துள்ளிதுள்ளிஓடிவாறாள்மாயஇசக்கி - உன்  
 ((2784 = N8.1263/N2.1197 சூட்ச்சமெல்லாம்நானறிவேன்சும்மாநீபோடி

[[N10.113

- ((2790 = N8.1264/N2.1198 கொல்லவந்தநீலிஎன்றீர்செட்டியாரே  
 ((2791 = N8.1265/N2.1199 குளந்தை முகம்பார்ப்பதற்க்குஆருண்டுசெட்டி  
 ((2792 சொல்லஒருவாற்ற்தையுண்டும்செட்டியாரே  
 ((2793 சென்றுஇளைப்பாறிபோவோம் செட்டியாரே  
 ((2794/ந8.1266/ந2.1200 காட்டில்என்னைவிட்டுபோறீர்செட்டியாரே  
 ((2795/ந8.1266/ந2.1200 என்னைகல்லடுத்துகொன்றபழிவினேபோகுமோ  
 ((2796/ந8.1268/ந2.1202 போகாதேநில்லும்என்றுமாயஇசக்கி.  
 ((2797/ந8.1269 செட்டிபிறகாலேஓடுவாளாம் பிள்ளையும்கொண்டு  
 ++ Variant to N10.2794-7  
 ++ N8.1266-9/N2.1200-2 காட்டிலெனைக் கொன்ற  
 பழி வினாகப் போமோ / கட்டுச்சாதம் உண்டிருந்து  
 போவோம்செட்டி யாரே / போகவேண்டாம் நில்லுமென்சு  
 செட்டியவ ரோட / பிறகாலே ஓடுவாளாம் பிள்ளையையும்  
 கொண்டு

[[N10.113

- ((2805 = N8.1272/N2.1206 சாகாதபிள்ளையுந்தன்சங்கடம்தீர  
 ((2806 = N8.1273/N2.1207 தாலிகெட்டிகொண்டவன்பிறகாலேபோடி  
 ((2807 = N8.1274/N2.1208 பிறகாலேபோடிஎன்றீர்செட்டியாரே  
 ((2808 = N8.1275/N2.1209 என்பிள்ளைமும்ஆர்பார்ப்பார்செட்டியாரே  
 ++ Variant to N10.2808  
 ++ N8.1275/N2.1209 பெற்றபிள்ளை முகம்பார்ப்பார்  
 ஆர்காணும் செட்டி

- ((2809 =N8.1276/N2.1210 உறவாகவந்தஇந்தபாலன்காணும்  
 ((2810 =N8.1277/N2.1211 உம்மாணைஒருவார்த்தைசொல்லகேளும்  
 ((2811 =N8.1278/N2.1212 பதைபதைக்கவார்த்தைசொல்லமாயஇசக்கி  
 ((2812-3 = N8.1279/N2.1213 பளகைநகர்ஊர்நோக்கிசெட்டிஓட / லுற்றாரே

[[N10.114

- ((2821 = N8.1280/N2.1214 உற்றதோர்செட்டியாரேஉமக்கல்லோபிள்ளை  
 ((2822/ந8.1280 பெற்றேன்.  
 ((2823 = N8.1281/N2.1215 இத்தனைநாமும்நாமள்இணக்கமாய்இருந்  
 ((2824/ந8.1282 தோம்இல்லை.  
 ((2825 = N8.1282/N2.1216 பத்தியேதுடர்ந்துவந்தேன்பழியதுவீணை  
 ((2826/ந8.1282 போமோ  
 ((2827/ந8.1283/ந2.1217 கர்த்தனார் ஆணையுண்டுசுடுநீர்போக  
 ((2828/ந8.1282 வேண்டாம்

[[N10.114/15

- ((2829 = N8.1284/N2.1218 தீரநான்வேண்டாம்என்றால்செட்டியே  
 ((2830/ந8.1284 உம்முடைய.  
 ((2831 பேரையேநிலைநிறுத்தம்பிள்ளைமுகம்பாராமல்  
 ((2832 = N8.1286/N2.1220 ஊரைவிட்டுபோறீர் உறவத்தீர் ஆனாலும்  
 ((2833 = N8.1287/N2.1221 ஆரைநம்பிநான்வந்தேன்அன்பற்றுபோறீர்இன்று

- 1610/2834/ந8.1288/ந2.1223 அறிந்து முறிந்து செட்டி  
 1611/2834-5 அல்லவென்றென்னை அகத்தி விட்டு  
 1612/2836/ந8.1290/ந2.1225 பறைந்தீர் நம்முரை விட்டு  
 1613/2837/ந8.1291/ந2.1226 பளக நகரத்தில் சொல்லுமுன்னே  
 ++ Variant to 1612-3  
 ++ N10.2836-7 பறிந்தீரேநம்ஊரைவிட்டு பழகைநகர்ஊர் /  
 செல்லுமுன்னே.

- 1614/2838/ந8.1292/ந2.1227 யெறிந்த புகளான  
 1615/2838-9/ந8.1292/ந2.1228 யெப்பு முண்டு மெத்த யிளையுமுண்டு  
 ++ Variant to 1614-5  
 ++ N10.2838-9 ஏந்தும்புகளானேஉமக்கெப்பும்உண்டு /  
 இளைப்பும் உண்டு

- 1616 பிறிந்தீரே யென்னை விட்டு  
 \*\*1617/2842/ந8.1299 பெற்ற பிள்ளை முகத்தையும் பாராமல்<sup>15</sup>  
 1618/2840/ந8.1296/ந2.1231 ஆகூகூகி பேச்சாச்சாகூகி  
 1619/2840-1/ந8.1297/ந2.1232 ஆலலோற்க்கும் நல்ல யிருக்காகூகி  
 ++ Variant to 1618-9  
 ++ N10.2840-1 ஆச்சாச்சு பேச்சாச்சு அல்லோரும்இருந்த  
 பெண்கள்.  
 ++ N8.1296-7/N2.1231-2 ஆச்சாச்சு பேச்சாச்சு - இங்கு /  
 அல்லோரும் நன்றாயி ருந்த பெண்கள்

1620/2842/ந8.1298/ந2.1233 பேச்சாகூகி உம்மாணை

- ((2842-3 = \*\*ந1.1617/ந8.1299 பெற்ற பிள்ளை முகம்பார்க்க / லாகாதோ)  
 ((2844/~ந8.1300/ந2.1235 ஆகாதனச்சொல்லியே அப்பர்ஆண்ட சொத்தோடு

<sup>15</sup> N1.1617 identical with N10.1620, second part of the line.

1621/2845-6/ந8.1302-3/ந2.1237-8 பொன்னும் விளக்க தொட்டாணை யிட்டீர்.

++ Variant to 1621

++ N10.2845-6 போகாது எனச்சொல்லியே பொன்னும் வெள்ளியும் / தொட்டாணையிட்டீர்

++ N8.1302-3/N2.1237-8 போகே னெனச்சொல்லியே....

1622/2847/ந8.1304/ந2.1239 வாக்கான வேச அய்யர்

1623/2847/ந8.1304/ந2.1239 மனம் வைத்தீரே உறவத்தீரே.

++ Variant to 1623

++ N10.2847 வாகானவேசையின்மேல்மனமதுதான்வைத்தீரே

++ N8.1304/N2.1239 வாகான வேசையரால் - நீரும் வைத்தீரே ரேவுறவற்றீரே

1624/2848/ந8.1306 நோகாதோ யென் மனந்தாம்

1625/2848-9/ந8.1307 நொந்தாலுமக்கு பலி யாதோ

1626/2850/ந8.1308 பலியாதோ யெலி யளுதால்

1627/2850-1/ந8.1309 பகூக்க வந்த பூனை விடுமோ.

1628/2852/ந8.1310 கலியோ கலியுகமோ

1629/2852-3/ந8.1311 காட்டுக்குள்ளே விளுந்தோடுகிறீர்.

++ Variant to 1628-9

++ N10.2852-3 கலியோகலியுகமோ - என்னைகாட்டுக்குள் / னேவிட்டு போறீர்.

++ N8.1310-11 கலியோ கலியுகமோ - என்னைக் / காட்டுக்குள் னேவிட்டு ஓடுகிறீர்

1630/ந8.1312 பொலி காறினா நுமக்கு

1631/ந8.1313 பொங்காமல் பாலு பொலிந்திருக்க

++ Variant to 1630-1

++ N8.1312-3 பொலிகாறி நானுமக்கு - பாலைப் / பொங்காமற் பொங்கிப்பொ லிந்திடுவேன்

1632/2858/ந8.1314 சலியாதோ யென் மனந்தாம்

1633/2859/ந8.1315 சந்தியில் பந்தாடலாகாதோ

1634/2860/ந8.1316 ஆறக்க முடயவள் காண

1635/2860-1/ந8.1317 அஞ்சி வயதிலே வாண்க்கப்பட்டேன்.

++ Variant to 1634-5

++ N10.2860-1 ஆக்கம்உடையவள்நான் அய்ந்துவயதில் வாழ்க / கை பட்டேன்

++ N8.1316-7 ஆறக்க முடையவள்நான் - உமக் / கஞ்சிவயதிலே வாழ்க்கைப்பட்டேன்

1636 னோக்கம் பலதானாள்

1637 நுன்பலம் சொல்லியே பின் துடர்ந்தாள்.

[[N10.116

((2862 = N8.1318 வாழ்க்கைபடாவதுமேல்வைத்தீரேஉறவைத்தீரே

((2863 = N8.1320/N2.1241 வைகத்தோர்தங்கள்முன்னே - நான்

((2864 = N8.1321/N2.1242 மைந்தனைவகைசொல்லுகிறேன்

((2865 = N8.1322/N2.1244 காக்கசிறையிருந்தேன்காத்தடித்துதானபூத்ததுபோல்

((2866 = N8.1324/ N2.1245 பாலனையும்பயின்றிடுத்தேன்- முகம்

((2867 = N8.1325/N2.1246 பாராமல்ஓடுகிறீர்.

((2868 ஓடுகிறீர்என்றுசொல்லி. ஒண்டோடியாள்

((2869 எந்தாயார்இசக்கியம்மை.

((2870 செட்டியைத்தான்துரத்திகொண்டு- எந்தாயாள்

((2871 தேன்மொழியாள்வருவதையும்

((2872 தட்டிவிழுந்தோடிசெட்டி - அவன்

((2873 தடுமாறிவருவதையும்.

((2874 பழகைஊர்கரையாளர்பார்த்தவர்கள்

((2875 எல்லோரும்.

((2876=\*\*ந1.1660 எல்லோரும்கூடியவர் இருக்கும்அந்த

((2877 நேரத்திலே.

((2878 இழைத்துஓடிவந்தசெட்டி - ஏங்கியவன்

((2879 தான்விழுத்தான்.

- 1638 துடந்தாளடந்தேறி செட்டி  
 1639 கொள்ள போறேன் செட்டியாரே  
 1640 படந்த புலி போலே  
 1641 பனக நகரதில் சொல்லுமுடனே  
 1642 மடந்தை கிளி மொளியாள்  
 1643 மாய யிசக்கியும் பின் வரவே  
 1644/ந8.1330 பனகை நகரடுக்க  
 1645/ந8.1331 பண்பான ஆத்தங்கரயமிட்டு  
 1646 உள் வரகரயாள்  
 1647 உற்றதோர் மாட்டுமந்தை கடந்து  
 1648 பதறி வணிகேசன்  
 1649 பக்கறை தோளிலடிபடவே  
 1650/ந8.1332 மடவார்கள் யிறந்து நிற்க்க  
 1651/~ந8.1332-3 வணிகேசன் வெகுண்டு வருகிறதை  
 1652 பதறி அவனோடி  
 1653 பண்டுள்ள முன்பு வளக்குகளை  
 1654 ஒருப்போலே தான்கூடி  
 1655 ஊரிலிளந்தாரி மார்களுடன்  
 1656 யிளைத்து வணிகேசன்  
 1657 யேங்கி மனமது தள்ளாடி  
 1658/2890/ந8.1336 குடம்தான் சமந்ததனம்  
 1659/2890-1/ந8.1337/ந2.1258 கோதை நல்லாளென்னை தின்னாமல்  
 ++ Variant to 1658-9  
 ++ N10.2890-1 குடம்தான்சமந்ததனம் - ஒரு கொங்கை  
 நல்லாள் / என்னைகொல்லவாறாள்.  
 ++ N8.1336-7 குடந்தான் சமந்தஸ்தனம் - உள்ள /  
 கோதைநல் லாளெனைத் தின்னவந்தான்

((2892/ந8.1338 இடம்தாரும்ஊரவரே - என்று ஏங்கியவனதான்

- \*\*1660/~2876/ந8.1342/ந2.1263 ஊராருடன் கூடி  
 1661 உத்த தலைவரி மார்குடனே  
 1662 பேரான் அம்பலத்தில்  
 1663 பேசும் கணக்கை பறைந்திருக்க  
 1664/ந8.1334 ஆரோ உயிர் காற்ப்பார்  
 ++ Variant to 1664  
 ++ N8.1334 அட்டா உயிர்காரும் - என்று  
 1665/ந8.1335 அடித்து துடயும் கொண்டே பதறி  
 ++ Variant to 1665  
 ++ N8.1335 அடித்துடை யுந்தொண்டை யும்பதறி  
 1666/2893/ந8.1341 விருந்தான் தறை தனிலே  
 ++ Variant to 1666  
 ++ N8.1341 கரையாளர் முன்னேவி முந்திடவே  
 1667 விண்ணாகெறங்கி உண்ணா கெரிந்தான் பத்திவிருந்திடவே  
 1668 தலப்பாவும் குலைந்து நிலத்தில் விள  
 1669 சேறந்து விருந்தவனை சூன்நின்றார் கெட்டிதா நெடுத்தார்.

[[N10.117  
 ((2894 ஆவிபதைக்குதய்யா அங்கமெல்லாம்துடிக்குதய்யா  
 ((2895 அடம் தேறிஓடிவாறாள்  
 ((2896 ஆங்கரஇசக்கியவள்.

[[N10.117  
 ((2902 விழுந்தவுடன் செட்டியவன் - உயிர்மறுகி  
 ((2903 மதிமயங்கி.  
 ((2904 அழுந்தியவன்தரைதனிலே அங்கும்இங்குமாய்ப்புரள  
 ((2905 இருந்தவர்கள்எல்லோரும்  
 ((2906 ஏதேதோஎன்றுஎண்ணி  
 ((2907 அவரவர்கள் முகம்பார்த்து  
 ((2908 ஆந்தலைப்போல்தான்முனித்தான்  
 ((2909 தூரரின்றுசெட்டியைத்தான்

1670/2910/ந8.1344/ந2.1265 கெட்டி யெடுப்பளவில்

++ Variant to 1670

++ N10.2910 தூக்கியவர்தானடுத்து.

((2911 ஆராரோஎன்றுசொல்லிஅவன்முகத்தைதான்துடைத்தார்

1671/ந8.1345/ந2.1266 கீளே கிடந்து யினகாமல்

1672 தட்டி முட்டி பாற்த்து

1673 தலைமுட்டு முடைந்தவநேது சொல்வான்.

1674/ந8.1346/ந2.1267 யெட்டி யெட்டி பாற்த்து

1675/ந8.1347/ந2.1268 யேக்கமும் தான்தெளிந்தேது சொல்வான்.

[[N10.118

((2923 ஏந்தினையான் இசக்கி - என்னை - பழி

((2924 வாங்கவென்றுஎண்ணி

((2925 கிட்டிஎனைதுடர்ந்துவாறாள்

1676/2926/ந8.1351/ந2.1272 யிசக்கி யென்று வணிகேசன் அவனுரைத்தபோது

++ Variant to 1676

++ N10.2926 கொலைகாறிஇசக்கிஎன்றானே.

++ N8.1351/N2.2.1272 இயக்கி இவள்காணு மென்றானே.

1677 யிருந்த காயாளரவர் யேங்கி பதறி விட்டார்.

1678 பதறி மனந் தெளிந்து உளவா காயாளரெல்லாம்

1679 பார் தொங்கல் வேட்டியது யிடுப்பில் கட்டி சமைத்தார்.

1680 யெதிர் அவள் வரட்டும் யெல்லா பேரும் னாமள் கூடி

1681 யெடுத்தா(ர்) தடிக்க கம்புகள் அடித்தவர்கள் முறிக்க

1682 முறிக்க வேணு மென்று சொல்லி காயாளரெல்லாம்

1683 மோகத்துடன் மறுவேசம் யெடுத்தாளிசக்கியம்மை

1684 யிடுக்கும் குளந்தை ளுக்கு பணிவகயை கேளும்

1685 யீசந்தனை நினைத்தானே திருமனதிலுன்ன

1686 அன்று சிவ னார்தாம் நினைத்ததுனகென்று

1687 அமைத்தபடி அரயில் அரளுண் மின்ன

1688 யெடுத்த மகனுக்கு இலம்பலபரட

1689 யேற்ற சொற்ற வானியோடு மோதிரமும் மின்ன

1690 பகல் ஒலிலிங்க பளபளன்று மின்ன

1691 சேசமாக யிசக்கியம்மை பூண்ட பணியெல்லாம்

1692 குளயகொண்டைக்குமேலே கொளுந்து பிஷி சூடி

1693 கூடை கம்பிகர சேலை நிலத்திலே துவள

1694 அழுந்த வாயில் பாக்கு வெத்திலை போட்டு மின்ன

1695 அன்ன(ம்) போல் காயாளர் முன்பில் வந்தானே.

1696/2936-7/ந8.1352/ந2.1273 யிசக்கி யென்றென்னை சொல்ல யெளுந்து தோனாவமக்கு

1697/2938/ந8.1353/ந2.1275 பதைக்கிறீர் வேசை அய்யோ பாற்த்த யாரனபிற்ற

++ Variant to 1697

++ N10.2938 தியங்கிநீர்வேசைகண்ணில்

++ N8.1353/N2.1275 தியங்கியே வேசை கையில் சென்றகப்

பட்டபோது

[[N10.118

((2939 /ந8.1353 சென்றகப்பட்டதாலே

((2940 = N8.1354 தயங்கியேஉடலஞ்சானும்தக்கதோர்கல்விதன்னால்

1698 யிசக்கிறீர் அய்யோ கெட்டேன் வெருட்டுறீர் யென்னபாவம்

1699/2941/ந8.1355/ந2.1276 மசக்கியே ஊரார கேள்க்க மங்கையும் திகைக்கலுற்றானே.

++ Variant to 1699

++ N10.2941 மயக்கியேஊராரோடே என் தாயார் மங்கைதான்

செப்பலுற்றானே

++ N8.1355 ...மங்கையும் உரைக்க லுற்றாள்.

1700/2942/ந8.1356/ந2.1277 கற்புள்ள திறிய செட்டி காளி யென்றிவளை சொன்னான்.

[[N10.119

((2944 = N8.1357/N2.1278 இற்புள்ளபுதுமைகண்டால்

((2945/ந8.1357/ந2.1278 என்னதான்சொல்லபோறேன்

1701 கற்ப்புள்ள திறியை யெண்ணி ஊராரும் கேட்டிருந்து  
 1702/2946-7/ந8.1358/ந2.1279 நற்ப்புள்ள யிசக்கி சொல்லும் வாற்த்தயை மிகவும் கேட்டு  
 1703/2948/ந8.1359/ந2.1280 கற்ப்புள்ள பனவயாரும் நடுவரும் திகைக்கலுற்றாரே.  
 விருத்தம்  
 1704/2949/ந8.1360/ந2.1281 யெந்த ஊரு யெந்த தேசம் யேதுகுடி யேதுகுலம்  
 1705/2950/ந8.1361/ந2.1282 தங்கள் தந்தைதாயாரூடனித்திரு பேரும் நீங்கள்  
 1706/2951-2/ந8.1362/ந2.1283 வந்த வரலாறெயல்லாம் வகப்படியே சொல்லுமென்று  
 1707/2953/ந8.1363/ந2.1284 அந்த முள்ள ஆனந்தனும் அடி தொளுது செப்புவானே

விருத்தம்

[[N10.119

((2955 = N8.1364 = N2.1285 அண்ணேபுகழும்பழகைநகர்வாழும்பெரியகரை  
 ((2956 = N8.1364 = N2.1285 யாளரே.  
 ((2957 = N8.1365 = N2.1286 அண்ணேஎனையும்காத்திடுங்கோ  
 ((2958 = N8.1365 = N2.1286 அடியேன்ஊர்வளப்பம் கேளும்

1708/2959/ந8.1366/ந2.1287 செட்டி பதினாயிர செட்டி யெண்ணாயிரம்  
 1709/2960/ந8.1366/ந2.1287 செட்டி யிளம் செட்டி நீட்டின்

++ Variant to 1708-9  
 ++ N10.2959-60 எண்ணாயிரம் செட்டிஇளம்செட்டி / ஏளாயிரம்  
 செட்டி இளந்தாரி  
 ++ N8.1366 எண்ணா யிரஞ்சே ரிளஞ்செட்டி ஏழா யிரமாம்  
 இளந்தாரி

1710 கைகளுக்கு நிறய சொற்றம் கொடுப்போம்

1711/~2961/~ந8.1367 ஊறக்கமுள்ள நற்குலத்தில் உள்ளத்தில் தான்பெரிய  
 1712/~2962/~ந8.1367 மாத்தமில்லா நகேந்திரன் மகனாந் காணுமாலவரே

++ Variant to 1711-2  
 ++ N10.2961-2 வண்ணர்வணிகர்குலத்துதித்தமாணாகன் /  
 செட்டிமகன்என்றானே  
 ++ N8.1367 மன்னர் பின்னர் குலத்துதித்த மாந கன்றன்  
 மகன்நானே.

விருத்தம்

1713/2963/ந8.1368/ந2.1289 நாகபிள்ளை யெங்களப்பா னாடறியவே யினக்கு  
 1714/2964-5/ந8.1369/ந2.1290 போகு முன்னே சொன்னதொரு புத்திதன்னை கேளாமல்

++ Variant to 1714  
 ++ N10.2964 போகு முன்னே சொன்னதொரு புத்திமறந்தே  
 / போனதால்.  
 ++ N8.1369 ...புத்தி மறந்துஎன்பொருட்டால்

[[N10.120

((2966 = N8.1370 = N2.1291 தாகமுடன்இடைகாட்டில்சரக்குவீற்க்க  
 ((2967 = N8.1370 = N2.1291 வரும்வழிக்கே.

1715 பாகாரும் மொளிமடவார் பனிகாறி முளு நீலி

1716/2968-9/ந8.1371/ந2.1292 யிசக்கி யென்னை கொல்ல வந்தாள் அடைக்கலமுண்டில்  
 பிளைப்பேன்.

++ Variant to 1716  
 ++ N10.2968-9 ஆகமுடன்ஓடிவந்தாள்இசக்கிஉங்கள் /  
 அடைக்கலம்உண்டால்பிளைப்பேன் என்றானே.  
 ++ N8.1371 ஆக முடனே இயக்கிவந்தாள் அடைக்கலங்  
 காருமென்றுரைத்தான்

விருத்தம்

1717/2970-1/ந8.1372/ந2.1293 செட்டி யவனுரைத்தபோது தேன்மொளி யிசக்கியம்மை  
 \*\*1718/2976/ந8.1375/ந2.1296 கட்டளகி யிசக்கியம்மை கைகுளந்தையுமிடுக்கி  
 1719/2972-3/ந8.1373/ந2.1294 யிட்ட முட்டாங்கு மனியாமல் யிச வரம்பும் குலையாமல்

[[ N10.120

((2974 பொட்டளகும்பட்டஏளுண்பூண்டுவந்த  
 ((2975 பணியளகும்  
 ((2976 = \*\*ந1.1718 = ந8.1375/ந2.1296 கட்டளகிஇசக்கியம்மைகருதியவள்

1720/~2977/ந8.1375/ந2.1296 செட்டியும் பனியாமல் செந்திருவாய் திறந்தாளே.

விருத்தம்

1721/2978/ந8.1376/ந2.1297 அண்ணரே கேளுங்கள் அடியாள் னாந் பட்ட சன்ன

1722/2979/ந8.1377/ந2.1298 மண்பிறந்த பூவுலகில் மனு பிறந்த வய்யகத்தில்

++ Variant to 1722

++ N10.2979 மண்ணளந்தமாலறிவார்மனுபிறந்தவையகத்தில்

1723/2980/ந8.1378/ந2.1299 பெண் பிறந்து னாநொருதி பெருக அகப்பட்டதெல்லாம்

++ Variant to 1723

++ N10.2980 பெண்பிறந்துநான்ஒருதிபெருகசளம்  
பட்டதெல்லாம்

++ N8.1378/N2.1299 பெண்ணா னொருத்தி நான்பிறந்து  
பெருகப்பட்ட சளன்கெல்லாம்

1724/2981-2/ந8.1379/ந2.1300 யெண்ண மெத்த செய்தி யெல்லாம் யெடுத்து கேளும் அண்ணே

++ Variant to 1724

++ N10.2981-2/N8.1379/N2.1300 எண்ணமெத்தஇருக்குது  
காண் / எடுத்துரைக்க கேளும் அண்ணே

பாட்டு

1725/2983/ந8.1380/ந2.1301 நாக செட்டி மகனிவர் காண்

1726/2984/ந8.1380 கற்பக செட்டி மகள் னாங்காண்

1727/2985/ந8.1381/ந2.1302 யெங்களுட மனயதிலே

1728/2985/ந8.1381/ந2.1302 யிவருடய அப்பகூதான்

1729/2986/ந8.1382/ந2.1303 பெண் பேசி வந்தாகள்

1730/2987/ந8.1382 பிரிசமுடன் யிவரப்பகூ

[[N10.120

((2988 = N8.1383 = N2.1304 ஆண்பொருத்தம்பெண்பெருத்தம்

((2989 = N8.1383 = N2.1304 அங்கத்திலுள்ளபொருத்தம்

((2990 = N8.1384 = N2.1305 அடக்கிளங்கள் அப்பச்சர்தான் ஆகாதஇவரனவே

1731/2991/ந8.1385/ந2.1306 கடைக்கிருக்க மதியறியான்

1732/2991/ந8.1385/ந2.1306 காவாலிகள் வரிவன்

[[N10.121

((2992 = N8.1386 = N2.1307 கூறிகொடுக்கறியான்கொடுத்தமுதல்வங்கறியான்

((2993 = N8.1387 = N2.1308 மாறிபறைந்தறியான்வந்தவரைசேர்க்கறியான்

((2994 சிறிசினத்திடுவான்சிறித்துவிளையாடறியான்

1733/ந8.1390 வெள்ளியுரை யறியான்

1734/ந8.1390 வெங்கலத்தின் மாத்தறியான்

1735/~ந8.1391 உள்ளபடி நிறை போட்டு

1736 உடி நறுக்க மதியறியான்

1737/~ந8.1392 யீயம் விலையறியான்

1738 யிரும்பு பித்தாளை யறியான்

1739/2995/ந8.1388/ந2.1309 வெள்ளி கோல் பிடித்தறியான்

1740/2996/~ந8.1388 வித்து வாணிபம் செய்தறியான்

[[N10.121

((2997 = N8.1389 = N2.1310 பள்ளிக்குஇருந்தறியான்பலகலைநூல்கற்றறியான்

((2998 = N8.1392 காசிபணம்முடிந்தறியான்

((2999 = N8.1392 கடும்சரக்குவிலையறியான்

((3000 இவருடையசந்தமெல்லாம்எங்கள்பாஅறிந்திருந்து

((3001 = N8.1394 கொடுப்பதில்லைபெண்ணிவர்க்கு

((3002 = N8.1394 கூறிவிட்டார்எங்கள்பப்

[[N10.121

((3011-2 = \*\*ந1.1755 = ந8.1396-7

((3013 = \*\*1756 = ந8.1397

[[N10.121-2

((3014 = \*\*N1.1743 = N8.1398

((3015 = \*\*N1.1744 = N8.1398

1741/3016 மனயாளென்றென் வீட்டில்  
 1742/3017 வந்திருக்க மதியறியான்  
 \*\*1743/3014/ந8.1398 கலியாணம் செய்த அன்றே  
 \*\*1744/3015/ந8.1398 காவாலி புத்தி கொண்டு  
 1745 கலியாணம் செய்ததுதான்  
 1746 காசினியோர் தானறியார்.  
 1747/3018 அசல் வீட்டில் போயிருந்து  
 1748/3019 அவளொருதி பனிகாறி.

[[N10.122

(3027 = N8.1406 என்னோடுபகைக்கவென்று

1749 யென் வீட்டில் வாராமல்  
 1750/3028/N8.1406 யேசாதி மருந்தயிட்டு  
 1751/3029/ N8.1402/ N2.1321 மருந்திடுமுனாளயிலே  
 1752 மன்னவரும் நானுமாக  
 1753/3030 பதமாக யிருக்கயிலே  
 1754/3031/ N8.1402/N2.1321 பாலகனை பெற்றெடுத்தேன்.  
 பாட்டு  
 \*\*1755/3011-2/ந8.1396-7 யெங்களம்மை மாபாவி யேந்தியயாள் டெட்டூறி  
 \*\*1756/3013/1397 பங்கப்பட யிவர்தமக்கு யினனு வாரி மாலையிட்டான்.<sup>16</sup>

++ Variant to 1755-6

++ N10.3011-12 எங்களம்மைமாபாவினைகெடுத்த  
 நெட்டூறி / கொடுப்பென்பெண்கொடுப்பென்என்று /  
 கூறிஎன்னைமாலையிட்டார்++ N8.1396-7 ...என்தாயார் / கொடுப்பென்பெண்  
 ணிவர்க்கெனவே கூறியெனை மாலையிட்டார்

1757/3032-3 கூத்தியிட்ட மருந்தாலே கொடுவிறி கொண்டோடி வந்தான்.

[[N10.122

(3034 = N8.1409 என்தாலியினைக்கவென்று

(3035 =N8.1409 இவர்பிறகேஓடிவந்தேன்.

1758 பாற்த்திருக்க மாட்டாமல் பத்தி வந்தேன் பளகயிலே  
 1759/3036-7/ந8.1410/ந2.1329 நாத்திசயும் உங்களுட னாமமெல்லாம் கேள்பதற்க்கு  
 ++ Variant to 1759  
 ++ N10.3036-7 நால்திசயும்உங்களுட / நாமமது  
 தளைப்பதற்க்கு  
 ++ N8.1410/N2.1329 நாற்றிசயும் உங்களுட நாமமது  
 கேட்பதற்க்கு

1760/3038/ந8.1411/ந2.1330 சாத்தினர் சொல்லி வளியனுப்பும் சந்தோசமாக அண்ணை.<sup>17</sup>

1761/3039/ந8.1411/ந2.1330 அண்ணையண்ணை பளக நகர் காயாளன்மாரே

++ Variant to 1760-1

++ N10.3038-9/N8.1411/N2.1330 சாத்திரைசொல்லியனுப்பும்  
 / சந்தோசமாய் பழகைஊராரே

1762 ஆணளகன் கோட்டி கொண்ட காரணத்தை கேளும்.  
 1763 பொல்லாத பாவி சொல்லனும் வாற்த்தய கேளாதே  
 1764 புத்தி யினாலுங்களை மருட்டுகிறாளண்ணை  
 1765 புத்தியதுதான் படித்து பட்டு கொடுத்தேனே.  
 1766 பொல்லாத பாவிக்கு கைபிடிக்கவும் கொடுத்தேன்.  
 1767 கையயி பிடித்தாளென்று சொல்லுகிறாளண்ணை

<sup>16</sup> N1.1755-6 should appear earlier, see N10.3002.<sup>17</sup> N1.1760-1779 is not found in the variants N10, N2, N8.



- 1768 காட்டுக்குள்ளே வாறபோது கோட்டி கொண்டாளென்னை  
 1769 கோட்டி கொண்டல்லவோ பிள்ளை பெற்றதை கண்டீரோ  
 1770 குவலயத்தில் அனபேற்க்கும் உள்ளமுறை காணும்  
 1771 ஊதாரியென்றென்னை சொல்ல னாணுதே உடம்பு  
 1772 உளவர் காயாளரே பளுதில்லாமல் கேளும்  
 1773 கேளுமென்று சொல்லுகிறாள் மாயிசக்கி யிவள்தான்  
 1774 கெட்டி காறியென்று சொல்லிவிட்டு கொடாதேயும்  
 1775 விட்டு கொடாதே படிக்கு தொட்டு கையதை பிடித்தீர்  
 1776 பாவம் கெட்ட வேயி பிறந்தாய் பனிகாறி யிசக்கி  
 1777 பண்டு உன்னை கண்டறியேன் பாதகத்தி உன்னை  
 1778 உன்னமுன்ன பேசுகிறாய் ஊர் பனகைதனிலே  
 1779 ஒத்திருந்ததறிவீரோ கத்தி கொள்ளலாமோ  
 \*\*1780/3187 தருமமுள்ளவரிடத்தில் தானாக சொல்லும் பலகையாரே<sup>18</sup>  
 \*\*1781/3189-90 சாங்கம் சொன்ன தெல்லாம் காண்போறீர் காணும்பளவயாரே  
 \*\*1782 அருமயுள்ளவர் அதிய நீலி காணும் பளவயாரே  
 \*\*1783/3193-4 அளிவாள கைதனிலே தள்ளி கொடாதிங்கோ பளவயாரே  
 \*\*1784/3195-6 தள்ளி கொடுப்பதென்ன பிள்ளை இரங்காதே அண்ணமாரே  
 \*\*1785/3197-8 தாலி கெட்டி கொண்ட கணவனிவர் காணும் பளவயாரே  
 \*\*1786/3199-200 அஞ்சி வயதிலென்னை கொஞ்சி மாலை யிட்ட கணவன்காணும்  
 \*\*1787 ஆகாதென்று யென்னை விட்டு போறார் காணும் பளவயாரே  
 \*\*1788/3203-4 கலியாணம் செய்யவில்லை கையும் பிடிக்கவில்லை அண்ணன்மாரே  
 \*\*1789/3205-6 மிடகாட்டில் தின்னவந்த யிசக்கி யிவள் காணும் அண்ணமாரே  
 1790 அறியாமலு தரை பேசுகிறாள் அண்ணன்மாரே  
 1791 ஆத்தி பாத்தி யெல்லாம் கூத்துகிறைத்துவிட்டார் அண்ணமாரே  
 1792 பண்டு யிவளை கண்டறியேன் அண்ணன்மாரே  
 1793 பாவி கய்யில் கொடுத்தால்  
 1794 ஆவி உயிர் போவுங்காண் பளகையாரே  
 பாட்டு  
 1795/3051/ந8.1412/ந2.1331 பளகை ஊராரே நடுவரே  
 1796/3052/ந8.1413/ந2.1331 பாக்கிய முள்ளவரே  
 1797/3053-4/ந8.1414/ந2.1332 வளமயாக வல்லோ வளக்கயும்ககளதளைக்க சொல்லும்  
 1798/3055-6/ந8.1416-7/ந2.1333 யிளம் பெண்ணிவள்தான் யிசக்கி மசக்குகிறாள்.  
 1799/3057/ந8.1418 களவு சூகூமுண்டால் நடுவரே கண்டு சூகூத்து யாரும்  
 ++ Variant to 1799  
 ++ N10.3057 /N8.1418 களவுசூட்சமுண்டால்நடுவரேகண்டு /  
 தூக்கி பறையும்
- பாட்டு  
 1800/3065-6/ந8.1420-1/ந2.1335 சூகூயம் பாற்ப்பதுண்டால் முளுதும் அணைகெட்டுப்  
 போனதென்ன  
 ++ Variant to 1800  
 ++ N10.3065-6/N8.1420-1/N2.1335 தூக்கிபறைவதல்லாம்  
 முழுவதும் / சுணைகெட்டு போனதுண்டால்
- 1801/3067-8/ந8.1422-3/ந2.1336 வாக்கறியாத செட்டி யினத்தள்ள மாகள் பேசுகிறாள்.  
 1802/3069-70/ந8.1424-5/ந2.1337 போக்கும் நீக்கறியான் கையய பிடித்த பலந்தானோ  
 1803/3071-2/ந8.1426-7/ந2.1338 முக்கிலே கோப(ம்) கொண்டு திரிவான் மொளிவானதற்  
 மொளிவான்.  
 ++ Variant to 1803  
 ++ N10.3071-2 முக்கிலேகோபம்கொண்டுதிரிவதால் /  
 மொழிவதவனறிவான்.
- பாட்டு  
 1804/3080-1/ந8.1428-9/ந2.1339 அறமவைத்து பேசுகிறாள் அவள் பேச்சை கேளாதிங்கோ  
 ++ Variant to 1804  
 ++ N10.3080-1 அறவச்சி பேசுகிறாள் இசக்கி - அவள் /  
 வாற்த் கேளாதிங்கோ.  
 ++ N8.1428 அறவச்சுப் பேசுகிறாள் - அண்ணரே / அவள்  
 வார்த்தை கேளாமல்
- 1805 உறவு ம்னாநறியேன் யிவளுட ஊரும் அறியேனாந்  
 1806 கறயுற்ற வேல்வினியாள் கன சூகூக காறியண்ணே  
 1807/3082-3/ந8.1430-1/ந2.1340 சிறயிலடயுமடா தேசம் அளியும் அண்ணே

<sup>18</sup> The lines of N1.1780-1789 appear in N10 only after N10.3186.

1808/ந8.1432-3 தேசம் நகயாதோ சிறியிலடைத்ததுண்டால்  
 1809 யெண்ணாமல் யெண்ணுதடி உனது யிந்திரசாலத்தை கண்டு  
 1810/3084-5/ந8.1444-5/ந2.1347 அண்ணாந்து பாராதே அங்கம் பறக்குதெடி  
 1811/3086-7/ந8.1446-7/ந2.1348 மண்ணவா நீ போடி உனை கொண்ட மணவாளன் தேடானோ  
 பாட்டு

1812/3093/ந8.1448-9/ந2.1349 தேடியல்லோ துடந்தேன் திருத்தாலி தானிலங்க  
 1813/3094/ந8.1450-1 நாடுகரையேறி நாங் கள்ளி ஆநேனே.

1814/3095-6/ந8.1452-3 பாடுபலதும் பட்டேன் யென்னை பரிசிகெடுத்தீரே.

1815/3097/ந8.1454-5 கூடிமுனாளொரு னாந் யிருந்த குணம் அறிந்தீரில்லை.

++ Variant to 1815

++ N10.3097/n8.1454-5 கூடிமுன்னாளிருந்த -  
 பளயகுணத்தையும் பார்த்தில்லை

1816/3098-9/ந8.1456-7/ந1.1353 யில்லாத பாவமல்லோ சொல்லி சொல்லி யெத்தாமாலவரே

1817/3100-1/ந8.1458 பொல்லாதவள் கய்யிலே பிடித்து கொடாதிருங்கோ.

1818/3102/ந8.1459 கல்லாரும் கானகத்தில் கள்ளி கள்ளி

1819/3103/ந8.1460 கைபிள்ளையாக்கி கொண்டு

1820/3104/ந8.1461 கொல்ல யின துடர்ந்தான்.

1821/3105/ந8.1462 கொல்லாமல் காத்திடுங்கோ.

பாட்டு

1822/3113/ந8.1463 காற்றருள் அண்ணர்களை

1823/3114/ந8.1464 கற்பு வளுகாமல்

\*\*1824/3117-8/ந8.1467-8 யேற்ற கணவனிப்படி சொன்னால் யினி னாநெங்கே போவேன்.

++ Variant to 1824

++ N10.3117 என்கணவன்வெறுத்தால் - இனிநான் / எங்கே  
 போவேனய்யா

1825/3115-6/ந8.1465-6 கோத்திரத்தில் பிறந்து யிவராலே கூறுகள் கெட்டேனே.

1826/3119-20/ந8.1469-70 மாத்தி கொள்ள போமோ மகதேவரமைத்தபடி

++ Variant to 1826

++ N10.3119-20 மாறிகொள்ளபோமோமகாதேவர் / வைத்த  
 படியல்லாது.

++ N8.1469-70 மாற்றிக்கொள் எப்போமோ - இனிமகா /  
 தேவர் விதிப்படியே.

[[N10.126

((3121 = N8.1471 தள்ளஎனைதுடர்ந்தேன்எனதுட

((3122 = N8.1472 சாதிவரம்பாலே

((3123 = N8.1473 கொள்ளையோ பாவமிதோவணிகேசர்

((3124 = N8.1474 கோட்டிகொள்ளுகிறார்

[[N10.126/7

((3132 = N8.1475 பத்திரகாளியைப்போல் இசக்கி

((3133 = N8.1476 பனகைநகர்காட்டில்

((3134 = N8.1477 ஏத்தியேகள்ளிகொப்பைகொண்டவள்

((3135 = N8.1478 என்னையும்தின்னவாறாள்

((3136 = N8.1479 குப்பத்துகள்ளிக்குள்ளே நேற்று - கொல்லவரும்

((3137 = N8.1480 பேய்க்கு.

((3138 = N8.1481 தப்பினைத்துவந்தேன் என்றுடைய

((3139 = N8.1482 தாலிதளைப்பதற்க்கு.

((3140 = N8.1483-4 பழகைநாட்டவரேஉங்கள்பட்டணத்தில் போட்டு

((3141 = N8.1485 சளம்வருத்தியேபெண்டுகள்

((3142 = N8.1486 தாலிபறிப்பறிப்பாள்.

((3143 = N8.1487-8 நீலிகள்ளிகொப்பை கைதனில் - நீட்டுறாள்

((3144 = N8.1488 பிள்ளையாக.

((3145 = N8.1489-90 கூலிக்குத்தியல்லோநானைகொள்ளையிடப் போறாள்

((3146 = N8.1491 மாதேவிபோலேவந்து - வளக்கிட்டு

++ Variant to N10.3146

++ N8.1491 மாதவி போலவிங்கே - என்னுடன்

((3147 = N8.1492 மல்லுபிடியாதோ.

((3148 =N8.1493 மூதேவிவெள்ளாட்டி இவள்கண்ணில்  
 ((3149 =N8.1494 முழித்தாலும்வெகுபாவம்.  
 ++ Variant to N10.3149  
 ++ N8.1494 முழித்தால் முழுத்தோசம்

[[N10.127/8  
 ((3156/ந8.1495-6 தட்டிபறைவதற்கு அண்ணனும் - தம்பியும்  
 ((3157/ந8.1496 இல்லாமல்  
 ((3158/ந8.1497-8 எட்டிஎட்டிநீட்டிசெட்டியார் ஈரஞ்சு  
 ((3159 போடுகிறார்  
 ((3160/ந8.1499-1500 கூத்திமகனேநீகுட்டிகுலம்என்றுபேசுகிறாய்  
 ((3161/ந8.1501-2 வார்த்தைக்குசித்தைஉண்டோ அஞ்சாறு வாங்கிகொள்ளாதே  
 ((3162/ந8.1507 செட்டிதொள்ளிலோடே இவருக்கு சேவுகம்  
 ((3163/ந8.1508 பாடம்உண்டு  
 ((3164/ந8.1509 முட்டுபுத்தியாலே செட்டியார்  
 ((3165/N8.1510 கொம்பன்மூக்கனல்லோராசி.  
 ++ Variant to N10.3165  
 ++ N8.1510 முர்க்கன்கொம் பேறியல்லோ

[[N10.128  
 ((3175 = \*\*ந1.1829 மானுலம்கெட்டவளே - மாய  
 ((3176 இசக்கிமானிலி  
 ((3177 ஆணுவத்தோடேஎனைதுடராதே  
 ((3178 = \*\*ந1.1830 என்அங்கம்பறக்குதடி

1827/3179-80/ந8.1511-12 தான் மானக்காறி உனக்கு சதிகற்றினே வேறில்லலோ.  
 1828/3181-2/ந8.1513-4 மானாகன் செட்டி மகவை வகை வணிதமக்கு மணிந்தானோ.  
 ++ Variant to 1828  
 ++ N10.3181-2 மானகன் செட்டி மகன்உனக்கு /  
 கைவெளிச்ச மண்ணாச்சோ  
 ++ N8.1513-4 மாநாகன் செட்டிமகன் - உனக்கு /  
 வாய்த்ததோர் மாபிள்ளையோ

\*\*1829/~3175 மானியம் கெட்டவளே உனக்கு மணவாளன் வேறில்லயோ.  
 \*\*1830/~3178 ஊன் படுத்தாதே உனைக்கண்டால் உள்ளம் பதறுதெடி

[[N10.128/9  
 ((3183/ந8.1515 உள்ளன்பு இல்லாவரோடிணங்கி  
 ((3184/ந8.1516 உறவுகொண்டாடுவது  
 ((3185 வாண்கனிந்திடும்வெள்ளலும் புதன்னை  
 ((3186 = N81518 நாய்கவ்வும்கதைபோலாச்சுதே

1831/ந8.1471-2 தள்ளதள்ள துடந்தேன் சாதி வரம்பாலே  
 1832 உள்ள விதியோ உள்ளி விதியோ யென்றானே.

[[N10.129  
 ((3187 = \*\*~ந1.1780 தறம்முள்ளவர்இடத்தில்சென்றால்  
 ((3188 பிளைகள் வராது.  
 ((3189 = \*\*~ந1.1781 சாங்கம் சொல்லிப்பழிகாணப்போற்றீர்காண்  
 ((3190 = \*\*ந1.1781 கழகையாரே.  
 ((3191 இடைகாட்டில் என்னைதின வந்தஇசக்கி  
 ((3192 இவள்காணும்பளகையாரே  
 ((3193 = \*\*~ந1.1783 ஏத்திகையில் என்னைதள்ளிகொடாதயும்  
 ((3194 = \*\*~ந1.1783 பழகையாரே.  
 ((3195 = \*\*~ந1.1784 தள்ளிகொடுப்பதல்லாம்உங்கள்பெற்றபிள்  
 ((3196 = \*\*~ந1.1784 னைக்கல்லோ அண்ணன்மாரே - என்னை  
 ((3197 = \*\*ந1.1785 தாலிகெட்டிகொண்டகணவர்இவர்காணும்  
 ((3198 = \*\*~ந1.1785 அண்ணன்மாரே.  
 ((3199 = \*\*ந1.1786 அஞ்சிவயதில் என்னைகொஞ்சி  
 ((3200 = \*\*ந1.1786 மாலையிட்ட - கணவன்காணும்  
 ((3201 ஆஸ்த்தியாத்திஎல்லாம்கூத்திக்கிறைத்துவிட்  
 ((3202 டார் - அண்ணன்மாரே.  
 ((3203 = \*\*ந1.1788 கல்யாணம்செய்யவில்லைநான்கையை  
 ((3204 = \*\*ந1.1788 பிடிக்கவில்லை அண்ணன்மாரே  
 ((3205 = \*\*ந1.1789 காட்டில்என்னைதினவந்தஇசக்கி

((3206 = \*\*ந1.1789 இவழ்காணும்பளகையாரே

[[N10.130<sup>19</sup>

- ((3212 காலிட்டபாடகமும் - நீலி  
 ((3213 கையில்குளந்தையும் முக்காடும்  
 ((3214 நீலவட்டவேல்விழியாள்  
 ((3215 நிலவைபெருந்தும்திருமுகத்தாள்  
 ((3216 கோல்முற்பால்தனமும்  
 ((3217 கொற்றவந்தேவிகுலமகள்போல்  
 ((3218 சோலைசுத்தும்அம்மலத்தில்  
 ((3219 அம்மைதோதகம்மாடதுடங்கினாளே  
 ((3220 பண்பாடவண்டுசுத்தும் - தென்பழகை  
 ((3221 பதிஊரவரே.  
 ((3222 பெண்ணோடுபிறந்தவரே - என்னைப்போல்  
 ((3223 பெண்பிள்ளைபெற்றவரே  
 ((3224 கண்பாரான் என்கணவன் - நடு  
 ((3225 காட்டில் ஓடிவந்தான்  
 ((3226 மாலையிட்டமணம்புரிந்து  
 ((3227 மந்திரகோடிவிரித்துடுத்து  
 ((3228 தாலிகட்டிஎன்கணவன் - காஸ்த்திரம்  
 ((3229 தப்பாமல்ஓமம்செய்து.  
 ((3230 ஆலவட்டம்வீசிவர - இவர்க் - அஞ்சி  
 ((3231 வயதிலேவாழ்க்கைபட்டேன்  
 ((3232 பென்றேன்ஒருகுளந்தை - என்  
 ((3233 பிள்ளையைகண்ணாலும்பாராமல்  
 ((3234 ஓடிவந்தார் அண்ணன்மாரே - உற்ற  
 ((3235 பிள்ளை பெற்றுஎடுத்தவரே  
 ((3236 பெண்ணோடுபிறந்தவரேபெண்ணைவைத்துவாழ்ந்  
 ((3237 தவரே.  
 ((3238 பிள்ளை - பெற்றடுத்தாலும்பிரிவதுண்டோ -  
 ((3239 கள்ளம் உண்டு இவர்கையிலே - என்னை  
 ((3240 காட்டிலேகொன்றபழிவிடுமோ  
 ((3241 தள்ளிபோறார்என்கணவன் - சாச்சிநடு  
 ((3242 சொல்லும் அண்ணன்மாரே  
 ((3243 ஏச்சிகமுத்தறுத்தான் - எங்கள்தாயார்  
 ((3244 மகனையும்சங்கரித்தான்.  
 ((3245 சங்கரித்தான்பங்கம்வைத்தான்  
 ((3246 சந்தியில் பந்தாட்டம்கண்டான்  
 ((3247 விட்டுபிரிந்தறியேன்நான்றே ஒருவர்  
 ((3248 முகம்கண்டறியேன்.  
 ((3249 கண்டறியேன்என்றபோது  
 ((3250 கரையாளர் சேரமயங்கிவிட்டாரே

விருத்தம்

[[N10.131

- ((3251 = N8.1523 விட்டார் மயங்கிகரையாளர்  
 ((3252 = N8.1523 மேலும்இவளைகண்டதில்லை  
 ((3253 = N8.1524 கூட்டாய்இருந்தபெண்ணிவளை  
 ((3254 = N8.1524 கறுத்தான் செட்டிவெறுப்பாக  
 ((3255 = N8.1525 நாட்டாத்துக்குள்தன்ருவது போல்நடுங்க  
 ((3256 = N8.1525 இவளைஉயிர்மடிப்பான்  
 ((3257 = N8.1526 வெட்டுவாய்கள்வன்இவன்ன்று  
 ((3258 = N8.1526 வெறுத்தார் சேரகரையாளர்

பாட்டு

1833/3259-60/ந8.1527-8 அன்ன நடயாள் யிசக்கி சொல்லும் வாற்த்தை

1834/3260/ந8.1528 அல்லோரும் கேட்டிருந்து

1835/3261-2/ந8.1529-30 ஆகம் குளிர்ந்து காயாளரெல்லாம் அப்போ மனமகிளந்தார்.

++ Variant to 1835

++ N10.3261 ஆகம்குளுந்துகரையாளர்எல்லோரும் /  
 அப்போது மனம்கிழந்து

<sup>19</sup> This long section (N10.3212-3250) is found nowhere else than in N10.

1836/3263-4/ந8.1531-2 புத்தி கெட்ட செட்டி மெத்தமுனாளில் புலப்பம் யிவர்க்கு யுண்டு  
 1837/3265-6/ந8.1533-4 பூவை நல்லாள் சொன்ன வாற்த்தயினாலே பிளயில்லை கண்டிரோ  
 1838/3267-8/ந8.1535-6 கண்டிரோ யென்று காயாளர் சொல்வதை காரிகையாள் கேட்டு  
 1839/3269-70/ந8.1537-8 கண்ணீரு மார்பில் ஓளுக யிசக்கியம்மை கய்யெடுதே துடைத்தாள்.  
 1840/3271-2/ந8.1539-40 துடைத்ததை பாற்த்து யிருந்த காயாளர் சொல்லுவாரப்போது  
 1841/3273-4/ந8.1541-2/ந2.1398 தோகை நல்லாள்வள் மாயயிசக்கி மேல் உபாயம் யிருக்கு  
 தென்றாள்.  
 1842/3275-6/ந8.1543-4/ந2.1399 மாயமும் வேறில்லை யென்னை பெற்ற தாயார் மண்ணாவாள்  
 செய்ததற்கு  
 1843/3277-8/ந8.1545-6 மனது கன்னி கொண்டு னானும் அளுதேன் மலக்கத்தை யார்  
 தெளிப்பார்.

++ Variant to 1843

++ N10.3277-8 மனதில் கவலைகொண்டு அழுகிறேன் /  
 மலக்கத்தை யார்தீர்பார்.

++ N8.1545-6 மன்னத்திற்கெள வைகொண்டு  
 நானுமிங்குவந்தேன் / மலக்கத்தை யார் தெளிப்பார்

1844/3279-80/ந8.1547-8 யென்னை கொண்ட மணவாளனிப்படி யினகோட்டி கொள்ளுகிறான்.  
 1845/3281/ந8.1549-50 யேசா பாதகத்தி யவளிடமிசல மருந்தானதினால்

++ Variant to 1845

++ N10.3281/N8.1549-50 ஏசாரிபாதகத்தி  
 அவளிட்டமருந்தின்விறியாலே

1846/3282-3/ந8.1551-2 மருந்தை தவிர்க்க வயித்தியருண்ணே டோவய்யக மானதிலே

++ Variant to 1846

++ N8.1551-2 ...வையகம் மீதினிலே

1847/3284-5/ந8.1553-4/ந2.1405-6 மாணிக்க முத்து வயிட்ஊரியத்தை வயித்தியர்க்  
 கீய்ந்திடுவேன்

1848 பொல்லாத பாவி மண்ணாரள யிந்த புத்தியெங்கே படித்தாய்

1849 பிரட்டும் உருட்டும் யிசக்கி உனக்கு சிரட்டை கிடைக்குமென்றான்.

1850 சிரட்டை கிடைப்பது யாபாரமானது செய்ய படித்தவ(ர்)க்கு

1851 சீமாட்டி யென்னை போல யெத்தானா க்ஷிமார் சேர்ந்து யிருக்கல்லயோ

1852/3286-7/ந8.46.1555-6 கண்ணை சிமிட்டி மொளிபடியாதே கைமாலிமா யிசக்கி

++ Variant to 1852

++ N10.3286-7 கண்ணைசிமிட்டி மொழிபறையாதே  
 கசுமாலிவெள்ளாட்டி

++ N8.1556 கசுமாலி நீலி

1853/3288/ந8.1557 காவலவன் வணிகேசனுரைத்திட கண்ணீரும் தாரைவிட்டாளே.

[[N10.133

((3289 எந்தாயார் இசக்கியம்மை கண்ணீர்சொரிந்து

((3290 நின்றாளே

1854/3297/ந8.1559 கைமாலியென்று சொன்னீரே

++ Variant to 1854

++ N10.3297 = N8.1559 கசுமாலிஎன்று

1855/3298/ந8.1559 கரயாளர் செவிகேள்க்க

[[N10.133.

((3299/ந8.1561 அண்ணர்களைகேட்டீர்களோ

((3300/ந8.1561 ஆகடுவான்சொல்வதல்லாம்

((3301/ந8.1562 என்னையுமோஇசக்கிஎன்றான் - ஏ அண்ணை

((3302/ந8.1562 என்பிள்ளையையும்கள்ளிஎன்றான்.

((3303/ந8.1563 நீலியுமோஉங்களாச்சி - ஏ சண்டாளா

((3304/ந8.1563 நெடுமறத்திலுங்கள்அக்காள்

((3305/ந8.1564 கள்ளியுமோஉங்களம்மை

1856 காசினியில் யெந்தனுடல்

1857 கருதியேருரு காணுமோர்

1858 அளுதுகொண்டு மாயிசக்கி

1859 அம்பலத்து முன்னே வந்து

1860 அளப்பளந்து விட்டிரே

1861 அளப்பளந்து விட்டிரே  
 1862 அல்லவென்று அதட்டுகிறீர்  
 1863 விள்கெடுவான் செட்டியாரே  
 1864 விதியின்படி கேட்டிரே  
 1865 களத்து குடி அயன்யெல்லாம்  
 1866/3306-7/ந8.1569 கரயாளர் அறிவோமென

++ Variant to 1866

++ N10.3306-7 உள்ளறிந்த்கரையாளர் / ஒன்று போலே  
 சொல்லுவாராம்

1867/ந8.1567 அளவறியா ஆண் குளந்தை  
 1868/ந8.1567 ஆர்மடியில் சொல்லுமென்று  
 1869/ந8.1568 களவறியலாமே பிள்ளை  
 1870/ந8.1568 கள்ள மென்று அறிந்திடலாம்

[[N10.133

((3299-3308 = N8.1561-1564/69

1871/3309/ந8.1570 யிள மதலை தனதறயில்  
 1872/3310/ந8.1570 யிறக்கு மென்றார் கரயாளர்

++ Variant to 1872

++ N8.1570 இறக்குமெனக் கேட்டவுடன்

1873 புகள் முலை பெண்பெருமாள்  
 1874 புதல்வனயும் ஊர்விட்டாள்.  
 1875/3318/ந8.1571 அரைதனிலே யிருந்த பிள்ளை  
 1876/3319/ந8.1571 அளகுடய பாலகனை  
 1877/3320/ந8.1572 தறையதிலே யிறக்கிவிட்டாள்.  
 1878/3321/ந8.1572 தாயாரும் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 1879/3322/ந8.1573 ஊர் விட்ட குளந்தயது  
 1880/3323/ந8.1573 ஊரவரே முகம் நோக்கி

++ Variant to 1880

++ N10.3323 =N8.1573 முகம் பார்த்து

[[N10.134

((3324 = \*\*N1.1883 = N8.1574

((3325 = \*\*N1.1884 = N8.1574

1881/3326/ந8.1575 ஆரை ஒட்டி போவோமென்று

[[N10.134

((3327 =N8.1575 அவரவர்கள்முகம்பார்த்து

1882 அளுதிடுமாம் பிள்ளையது

\*\*1883/3324/ந8.1574 தாரைவிட்ட கண்ணீரும்

\*\*1884/3325/ந8.1574 சதங்கை தண்டை கரைபுரள

++ Variant to 1883-4

++ N10.3324-5 = N8.1574 தாரையிட்ட கண்ணீரும் சதங்கை  
 தண்டை ஓலமிட

1885/3328/ந8.1576 நேரே செட்டி மடிதனிலே

1886/3329/ந8.1576 நீலிபிள்ளை யேறிடுமாம்.

1887/3330/ந8.1577 மடியேறி யிசக்கி பிள்ளை

++ Variant to 1887

++ N10.1887 = N8.1577 மடியேறி நீலி மகன்

1888/3331/ந8.1577 மகிள்ந்திருந்து சிறித்திடுமாம்.

[[N10.134/5

((3332 = N8.1578 குடியேறஇசம்புரம்

((3333 = N8.1578 கூடவணி கேசன்ஏறி

((3334 = \*\*N1.1897 = N8.1579 கடிமமும்பழகைநகர் - கரையாளர் எழுபது பேர்  
 ((3335 = N8.1580 அடியோடேமுடியோடேஅடிக்கவந்தநீலமகன்

1889/3336/ந8.1581 பொருந்தியே அப்பகூரென்று  
 1890/3336/ந8.1581 பூரிப்பாய் விளிக்க

++ Variant to 1890  
 ++ N10.3336 = N8.1581  
 பொருந்த அப்பன்தானனவே பூராயமாய்விழிக்க

1891 அருந்தவம் செய்தீரனவே  
 1892 அப்புவென்றே குளந்தை  
 1893/ந8.1583 பொருதித மொளி தானுரைக்க  
 1894/ந8.1583 பிள்ளை சொன்ன சொல்கேட்டு  
 1895 யிருந்த கரையாளரெல்லாம்  
 1896 யிதும் ஒரு கலியுகந்தாம்  
 \*\*1897/3334/ந8.1579 கடகமிளும் பனக நகர்

++ Variant to 1897  
 ++ N10.3334/N8.1579 கடிமமும்பழகைநகர் - கரையாளர்  
 எழுபது பேர்

1898 கரையாளர் செவி கேள்க்க  
 1899 மடியேறி யிசக்கி பிள்ளை  
 1900 மகிள்து யிருந்து சிரித்திடுமாம்.

[[N10.135

((3341 = \*\*N1.2031-2 = N8.1605 வீடுமுத்தம் அறியாதான - நான்மிகுந்தசந்திவிடுகண்டேன்  
 ((3342 = \*\*N1.2033 = N8.1606 நாடுகரைஅறியாதான - நடுபறைவர்  
 ((3343 = N8.1606 இடத்தில்வந்தேன்  
 ((3344 /~ N8.1607 பிளக்கடைநான்நடந்தறியேன் மிகுந்தசந்திவிடு  
 ((3345 கண்டேன்.  
 ((3346 ----  
 ((3347 /~ N8.1607-8 அழக்கோலும்முளக்கோலும் போட்டாட்டி  
 ((3348 = N8.1608 விட்டார்அண்ணர்களை.  
 ((3349 = N8.1610 காட்டுவழிநடந்தறியேன் - நான்  
 ((3350 = N8.1610 கரையாளர்விடுகண்டேன்.  
 ((3351 /ந8.1611 நாட்டுவழிநடந்தறியேன்நாணயக்கே  
 ((3352 டானேன்  
 ((3353 = \*\*ந1.2034 = ந8.1612 அம்பலமும்சந்திகண்டேன்  
 ((3354/ந8.1612 அரண்மனைகோவில்கண்டேன்  
 ((3355 = \*\*ந1.2027 / ந8.1613 சந்தியில்பந்தானேன்  
 ((3356 = \*\*ந1.2028 / ந8.1613 தலைகுலைந்ததூலானேன்  
 ((3357 = \*\*ந1.2029 / ந8.1614 எந்தரத்துபெண்டுகள்முன்னே  
 ((3358 = \*\*ந1.2030 / ந8.1614 ஏசுவென்றோடம்படுத்தேன்  
 ((3359/ந8.1615 அந்தமில்லாதாக்கிவிட்டான  
 ((3360/ந8.1615 அண்ணன்மாரே கேட்டிலையோ

1901 கொடிமை யுள்ள கரையாளர்  
 1902/3367/ந8.1583 கூடவங்கே தள்ளிவிட்டார்.

++ Variant to 1901-02  
 ++ N10.3366 = N8.1583 வரும்இசக்கிபிள்ளைதன்னை  
 ++ N3367 = N8.1583 வணிகேசன்தள்ளிவிட்டான்

1903/3368/ந8.47.1585 தள்ளிவிட தள்ளிவிட  
 1904/3369/ந8.1585 தாயருகே போகாமல்

++ Variant to 1904  
 ++ N10.3369 தாயாரிடம் போகாமல் - எந்தாயார்  
 ++ N8.1585 தாயருகே செல்லாமல்

1905/3370/ந8.1585 தள்ளிவிடும் பிள்ளையது

++ Variant to N1.1905  
 ++ N10.3370 = N8.1585 கள்ளிவிட்டபிள்ளையது

1906/3371/ந8.1585 கண் பிசைந்து அளுதிடுமாம்.

[[N10.136

((3372 = \*\*N1.1911 = N8.1586

\*\*1907/3380/ந8.1590 அளுத பிள்ளைதனை விரவாய்

\*\*1908/3381/ந8.1590 ஆயிளயும் சென்றெடுத்து

\*\*1909/3382/ந8.1591 பளுது வாராதே மகநே

\*\*1910/3382/ந8.1591 பதறினி அளவேண்டாம்.

\*\*1911/3372/ந8.1586 கண்டிருந்து கரயாளர்

++ Variant to 1911

++ N10.3372 = N8.1586 கண்டீரோ அண்ணர்களே

[[N10.136

((3373 = N8.1586 காலறுவான்செய்வதல்லாம்

\*\*1912/3392/ந8.1595 கறுத்தவர்களேது சொல்வார்.

++ Variant to 1912

++ N10.3392 காதனையார் கரையாளர் -

கறுத்தவனைபார்த்து சொல்வார்.

++ N8.1595 காதலையாக் கரையாளர் கறுத்தவனை  
பார்த்துரைப்பார்.

1913/3374/ந8.1587 பெண்டாட்டி வேம்பானால்

1914/3375/ந8.1587 பெற்ற பிள்ளை பெரும் பகயோ

1915 உண்டோ யிப்போது பாவம்

1916 ஓரிடத்தில் கண்டதில்லை

[[N10.136

((3376 = N8.1588 சண்டாளபாவி இவன்

((3377 = N8.1588 சம்சாரிதன்மகனோ

1917/3378/ந8.1589 திண்டாட தள்ளிவிட்டான்

[[N10.136

((3380-3382 =\*\* N1.1907-1910 =N8.1590-1591

((3383 =N8.1592 எட்டிபாராதென்மகனே

((3384 =N8.1592 என்கணவன்உன்தகப்பன்

((3385 =N8.1592.1 கொட்டினான்என்றுசொல்லி

((3386 =N8.1592.1 குரலோசைகாட்டாதே

((3387 =N8.1593 கட்டிஎடுக்கபுதல்வன்கதறிகுதறிஅனவே.

((3388 தள்ளிவிட்டபிள்ளையதுதானிருந்துஅழுதிடுமாம்

[[N10.137

((3392 = \*\*N1.1912 = N8.1595

\*\*1918/3395-6/ந8.1598 செட்டியே பெண் காணுமென்பார்.

1919/3393/ந8.1595 மூதேவி யிவன் கண்ணிலே

1920/3393/ந8.1596 முளித்தாலும் வெகு தோஸம்

[[N10.137

((3394 = N8.1597 ஆதேவியாளிவனே அரம்பைஅயிராணிஇவள்

((3395-6 = \*\*N1.1918 = N8.1598

1921/3397/ந8.1599 நல்லாற்க்கு பொல்லாரை

1922/3397/ந8.1599 நாயகனார் விதித்ததுண்டும்

++ Variant to 1922

++ N10.3397 நாதன்விதிப்படியே

1923/3398/ந8.1600 மல்லமருங்குளலாள்க்கு

1924/3398/ந8.1600 மணவாளன் போந்து



++ Variant to 1923-4

++ N10.3388 = N8.1600 வல்லாரும்குளலார்க்கு மணவாளன் போராது

1925 யிம்மடந்தை நமக்கானால்  
1926 யிவளை னாந் விடுவதில்லை  
1927/3399/ந8.1602 பொன் போலே நிறத்தாளே  
1928/3399/ந8.1602 பிறத்தகவிட மனம் வருமோ

[[N10.137

((3400 = N8.1616 பொழுதுகுடதிசவாயில்புகுந்தடையும்

((3401 = N8.1616 நேரமாச்சு.

((3402 = N8.1617 பழுதறவேகரையாளர்பார்த்துரைப்பார்எல்லோரும்)

1929 சித்திர கால்யிலங்கமதில்  
1930 சிறப்புடனே அடயு மென்றார்.  
1931/3403-4/1619 முத்தாரும் யிலங்கமதில் முன்பாக அடயுமென்றார்.

++ Variant to 1931

++ N10.3403-4 = N8.1619 இன்றிரவுஇலங்கமதில்இருவரையும் அடைப்போம்என்றார்.

1932 யிரு பேரயும் தானடைத்தா ரண்டிலொன்று அறிந்திடலாம்.  
1933/3405-6/ந8.1620 அடயுமென்று சொன்னபோது ஆயிளயாள் யிசக்கி சொல்வாள்

++ N10.137 Variant to 1933

++ N10.3405-6 = N8.1620 அடைப்போம்என்றுசொன்னபோது ஆனந்தன்செட்டிசொல்வான்

1934/3407-8/ந8.48.1621 பனிகாறன் கொன்றதுன்மல பாவம் விடாதுங்களயும்

++ Variant to 1934

++ N10.3407 பழிகாறிகொன்னதுண்டால்

++ N8.1621 படைவிட்டுள் பழிகள்செய்தால்

1935/3409-10/ந8.1623 ஒருவர்பனி ஒருவர் கொன்றால் ஒக்க பனி போவோமென்றார்.

++ Variant to 1935

++ N10.3409 = N8.1623 ஒருவர்தன்னைஒருவர்கொன்றால்

1936/ந8.1625 பனிபோவோம் மென்றீர் பாருலகில் யாரறிவார்.

++ Variant to 1936

++ N8.1625 பழிபோவோ மென்றீரே பார்தனிலே யாரறிவார்

1937 அடையாளம் தரவேணும் அண்ணர்களை யெந்தனுக்கு  
1938/ந8.1627 னல்லதென்று கரயாளர் னாயகியாள் கைதனிலே  
1939 உண்மையுள்ள பரல் கொடுத்தார் ஓடியவன் முகர்ந்துகொண்டான்.  
1940/3411-2/ந8.1628 பனிபோவோம் போவோமென்று பரல் கொடுத்தார் கரயாளர்  
1941/3413-4/ந8.1629 பரல் வாங்கி முடிந்த பின்பு பதறியந்த வணிகேசன்

++ Variant to 1941

++ N10.3413-4 பரல்வாங்கிஇசக்கியம்மை பைந்தொடியான் முடிந்தற்பின்

++ N8.1629 களிப்பாக பரல்வாங்கி காரிகையும்

முடித்துகொண்டான்

1942/3415/ந8.1630 திரவாயில் துரும்பது போல் செட்டியவன் தடுமாறி

++ Variant to 1942

++ N10.3415 சிந்தைகலங்கி மனம்நடுங்கி

++ N8.1630 சிந்தைநொந்து மதிமயங்கி

1943/3417/ந8.1631 தரைமீதில் உருண்டு செட்டி

1944/3418/ந8.1631 தடுமாறியேது சொல்வான்.

++ Variant to 1944

++ N10.3418 = N8.1631 தள்ளாடிநொந்தேதுசொல்வான்

1945/3419/ந8.1632 யிரையாகும் னாமனிமேல்

++ Variant to 1945

++ N10.3419 = N8.1632 இரையாவோம்நாமனினி

1946/3419/ந8.1632 மிசக்கி விட போறதில்லை

1947/3429/ந8.1634 வல்லாருமதனத்தாளே

1948/3430/ந8.1634 வளமயுட னீ துடர்ந்தாய்.

++ Variant to 1948

++ N10.3430 வலியதுடர்ந்தமாபாவி

++ N8.1634 வல்லாரும் ஸ்தனத்தாளே வம்பாக  
தொடர்ந்தாயே

1949/3431/ந8.1635 நல்லவளே உன்னோடே

++ Variant to 1949

++ N10.3431 நல்லவளேஉந்தனக்கு

1950/3431-2/ந8.1635 னாந் சொன்னது முளு பினைதாம்

1951/3433/ந8.1637 கொன்றுவிடு சடுதியிலே

++ Variant to 1951

++ N10.3433 கொல்லனைதான் சடுதியிலே

++ N8.1637 சொல்லுஎனை இப்போவென

1952/3434 கோரணி கொள்ளாதே.

[[N10.139

((3437 =N8.1638 வம்பளப்பாய்அளப்பார்காண்

((3438 =N8.1638 மாலையிட்டநாள்முதலாய்

((3439 =N8.1639 அன்பாகஓருநாளும் - ஆதரித்துவார்த்தை

((3440 சொல்வார்.

((3441 =N8.1640 துன்பங்களை பேசுகிறார் சுவாமிஇவர்அறிவார் காண்

((3442 =N8.1641 எல்லாம்இனிநல்லதுதான்இலங்குத்

((3443 /-ந8.1641 தில் போகவாருமென்றாரே

1953 கொம்பனயா னிசக்கியம்மை

1954 கோடி முகம் வாடியவள்

1955 பரல் கொடுத்து கரயாளர்

\*\*1956/3459/ந8.49.1648 பாவினயாய் தானனைத்தாரே.

++ Variant to 1956

++ N10.3459 பாவத்தைகைகரந்துகொண்டார்

++ N8.1648 பாவத்தைக்கை பேற்றுக்கொண்டார்

1957/3448/ந8.1642 யிலங்கமதில் போகவென்று

\*\*1958/3491/ந8.1672 யெருபது பேர் கரயாளர்

\*\*1959/3492-3/ந8.1673 யெல்லோரும் தானும் நடந்தாரே.

++ Variant to 1958-9

++ N10.3491-3 எழுபதுபேர்கரையாளுரும் / எல்லோரும் ஒரு  
போலே இலங்கத்துக்கு / வரும்நேரம்.

++ N1672-3 எல்லியக்கி ஆனந்தனும் எழுபது

வேளாளர்களும் / எல்லோரும் ஒருமுகமாய் இலங்கமதில்  
வருநேரம்

1960 மங்கயவள் தந்தனக்கு மணவாளன்போந்து

1961 ரண்டிலொன்று தானறிய வேணும்.

[[N10.139

((3449 =N8.1642 செட்டியவன்எழுந்திருந்து

((3450 =N8.1643 ஏங்கிமனங்கலங்கிவிழுவான்

((3451 =N8.1644 இடைகூத்துவந்ததுவேஎன்பான்.

[[N10.139

((3452 தாங்கியேகைபிடித்துசற்றேதாரம்

((3453 வாரும் என்று

((3453.1 சாவடைந்தபச்சியைப் போல்விழுந்தான்.  
((3454 சண்டாளபாதகத்தினன்றான்

[[N10.139

((3455 = N8.1645 மயங்கிதியங்கிசெட்டிமதிமறந்து  
((3456 மெய்நடுங்கி  
((3457/-N8.1646 வளக்காரிமார்க்கெடுத்தாரே  
((3458 வந்துவினைசூழ்ந்ததுவேபாவாம்  
((3459 = \*\*N1.1956 = N8.1648  
((3460 = N8.1648 பழகைஊர்கரையாளர்

[[N10.140

((3461/ந8.1649 பாரமனையாட்டிஇதை கேட்டால்  
((3462/ந8.1650 பதைபதைத்துவிழுந்துஅழுவானே  
((3463/ந8.1651 அழுவாரே அன்னைசுற்றம் பெற்ற  
((3464/ந8.1651 தாயார்கேட்டதுண்டால்  
((3465/ந8.1652 அடித்துபடிகல்லில்முட்டுவானே  
((3466/ந8.1653 ஆவிபோய்உயிரடங்கிவிடுமே  
((3467/ந8.1654 மைத்துனன்மாற்றும்உள்ள  
((3468/ந8.1654 சித்தப்பன்மார்கேட்டதுண்டால்  
((3469 வாணால்பதைபதைத்துவிழுவார்  
((3470/ந8.1656 வளக்காரிமார்க்கெடுத்தாரேஎன்பார்  
((3471/ந8.1657 ஆடும்இசக்கிக்கிரையாய்அகப்பட்டோம்  
((3472 நாமன்ன்று.  
((3473/ந8.1658-9 அங்கம்பறக்குதய்யோபாவி அனியாயமாக  
((3474/ந8.1659 கெடுத்தாரே  
((3475/ந8.1660 எங்கள்குலமானதிலே ஏல மேநான்  
((3476/ந8.1660 செய்ததுவோ  
((3477/ந8.1661-2 என்னையும்வளர்த்துகொடுத்தாரே - இசக்கிக்கு  
((3478/ந8.1662 தனக்குஇரையாக  
((3479/ந8.1663 கோவில்உடமைகளைகொள்ளையிட்டகுலம்தானோ  
((3480/ந8.1664 கொதிக்குதேஎன்உடல்கிடந்து  
((3481/ந8.1665 கூடவேகுலத்துடிக்குதய்யோ

1962/3482/ந8.1666 பகட்டிக் கரையாளர் பறய ஒட்டாமல் நீல

++ Variant to 1962

++ N10.3482 = N8.1666 பகட்டிக் கரையாளரை பறைய  
ஒட்டாமல் நீல

1963/3483/ந8.1667 பனிகாறி கைகுளந்தை பட்டேன் - பனி

++ Variant to 1963

++ N10.3483 = N8.1667 பழிகாறிகைக்குள்அகப்பட்டேன்

1964/3484/ந8.1668 பளவ ஊர் தளைக்கவே மாட்டாது.

[[N10.141

((3485 = N8.1669 என்றுசொல்லிசெட்டியவன்இலங்கம்நோக்கிவழிநடந்தான்  
((3486 = N8.1670-1 இலங்கம்தன்னில் போகவேன்று எழுபதுபேர்கரை  
((3487 = N8.1671 பாளர்.  
((3488 எழுந்திருந்துகரையாளர்எழுபதுபேரும்நடக்க  
((3489 அழுத்தமுடன் ஆனந்தனும்ஆயிளையும்தான்நடந்தாள்  
((3490 இசக்கிஅம்மையுடன்ஆனந்தனும்  
((3491 = \*\*N1.1958 = N8.1672  
((3492 = \*\*N1.1959 = N8.1673  
((3493 = \*\* N1.1959 = N8.1673  
((3494 = N8.1674 நடக்கவும்கால் ஏறாமல்நல்லதொருவணிகேசன்  
((3495 = N8.1675 தடம்புரண்டுதடுமாறிதக்கதோர்கள்முகம்பார்த்து  
((3496 = N8.1676 அனியாயமாகஎன்னைஅண்ணர்களைகெடுத்தீரே  
((3497 = N8.1677 கனிவாய்மொழியினயாள்கல்லறையில்சுழ்த்தறுப்பாள்  
((3498 = N8.1678 செட்டியவன்சொல்கேட்டுசீமாட்டி  
((3499 ஏதுசொல்வாள்.  
((3500 = N8.1679 மட்டச்சிபெற்றமகன்மடுவறுத்துபால்  
((3501 = N8.1679 குடிப்பான்.

- ((3502 = N8.1680 சன்னையறியாதசெட்டிசகடமதுசெய்  
 ((3503 = N8.1680 திடுவான்.  
 ((3504 = N8.1681 என்னையையும் என்பிள்ளையையும்  
 ((3505 இன்றிரவுகொன்றிடுவான்  
 ((3506 = N8.1682 உன்னை அவன்கொன்றாலும்  
 ((3507 /~ N8.1682 அவனைநீகொன்றாலும்  
 ((3508 அம்மையப்பர்தன்னைனை  
 ((3509 /~ N8.1683 அரியபழிநாம்தருவோம்.  
 ((3510 = N8.1684 என்றிலங்கம்தான்திறந்து இருவரையும்  
 ((3511 = N8.1684 உள்ளடக்கி

- 1965 தந்திரமதாக கேட்டு தாயாரும் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 1966 தன் முக(த்)தோடு அடித்து அளுதாளே  
 1967 யென் மகனே நீ புதல்வன் யேங்கி அளவேண்டாம்  
 1968 யிலங்க புரையில் பூட்டி வைத்து பாற்க்க  
 1969 யென் தலயில் விதிவசமோ யென்றாள்.  
 1970 யிலங்கமதனிலே செட்டி  
 1971 யிரு பேரையும் அடைத்து  
 1972 யெல்லோரும் கேட்டிரோ அண்ணன்மாரே  
 1973 யென்று சொல்லி ஆனந்தனும்  
 1974 யிலங்கமதில் போன பின்பு  
 1975 கண்டனய மொளிமடவார்  
 1976 காரிகையா யிசக்கியம்மை  
 1977 கேட்டிரோ ஊரவரே  
 1978 கீற்த்தி பெற்ற வாசகத்தை  
 1979 னாட்டிலுள்ளோர் கேற்றிடுமோ  
 1980 நாயகனார் சொன்ன மொளி  
 1981 காட்டகத்தில் கோட்டி கொண்ட  
 1982 கரும் மெல்லாம் அறிவீரோ  
 1983 பொல்லாதாள் னானொரு(த்)தி  
 1984 பூவுலகிலே பிறந்து  
 1985 தேடாத வீடது போல்  
 1986 இலத்தை கெட னாளாச்சே  
 1987 வாசலிலே புலம்பாதே  
 1988 வகுத்தவந்தான் யெளுத்துனக்கு  
 1989 யிட்ட மொளி சொல் கேட்டு  
 1990 யிருந்த காயாளரெல்லாம்  
 1991/3512/ந8.1685 வாட்ட மில்லா ஆனந்தனே  
 1992/3512-3/ந8.1685 மனயாளும் நீயுமாக  
 1993/3514/ந8.1686 யின்றிரவு யிலங்கமதில்  
 1994/3515/ந8.1686 யிருபேரும் படுத்திருங்கோ  
 1995/3516/ந8.1687 யென்று சொல்லி கரயாளர்  
 1996/3517/ந8.1687 யிலங்கமதை தான் பூட்டி  
 1997 கண்டனய மொளியாளே  
 1998 கலங்காதே யிருவுமென்றார்.  
 1999 யென்று சொல்லி கரயாளர்  
 2000 யின்பமுடன் மனை போனார்.  
 2001/3518-9/ந8.50.1688 அறுபத் தொன்பது கரயாளர்  
 2002/3518-9/ந8.1688 அவரவர்கள் மனை போனார்.

++ Variant to 2001-2

++ N10.3518-9 அறுபத்தி ஒன்பது பேரும் அவரவரும்  
 மனைபோனார்.

++ N8.1688 அறுபதுடன் ஒன்பதுபேர் அவரவர்கள்  
 மனைபோனார்.

- 2003/ந8.1689 அதிலே ஒரு கரயாளர்  
 2004/ந8.1689 ஒத்தாளாய் பாற்த்திருந்தான்.  
 2005 யிவனயுமோ மசக்கவென்று  
 2006 யேந்திளயும் உபாயம் கொண்டாள்.

[[ N10.142

((3522 = N8.1690 கரயாளர்இருப்பதல்லாம்கன்னிநல்-

((3523 = N8.1690 லான்மனதறிந்து

((3524 = N8.1691 ஒருவனுக்குஒப்பினையாய் ஒண்ணு  
((3525-6 = N8.1691 தலாள் ஏது சொல்வாள்

2007/3527/ந8.1692 நேத்து ராவு நித்திரயில்  
2008/3527-8/ந8.1692 நீருனாமும் கூட்டி

++ Variant to 2008  
++ N10.3527-8 நீரும்நானும் / கூடி நன்றாய்

2009/3529/ந8.1693 சேர்த்து கடங்களெல்லாம்  
2010/3529-30/ந8.1693 சொல்லி பறைந்திருந்தோமே.

++ Variant to 2009-10  
++ N10.3529-30/N8.1693 சொத்துகடன்களெல்லாம் சொல்லி  
பறைந்திருந்தோமே

2011/3531/ந8.1695 ஆற்றிலது கரைத்த புளி  
2012/3531-2/ந8.1695 ஆக்கிவிட்டாளே நாலும்

++ Variant to 2012  
++ N10.3531-2 ஆக்கிவிட்டு வந்தீரே.  
++ N8.1695 புளிபோல் ஆக்கிவைத்து வந்தீரே

[[N10.142

((3533 = N8.1694 வேத்துமுகம்பட்டீரே வேண்டம்என்று  
((3534 = N8.1694 எனைவெறுத்தீர்.

2013/3535/ந8.1696 கொண்டு வந்த அதியதரம்  
2014/3535/ந8.1696 பொரி விளங்கா யிருக்குது காண்.

++ Variant to 2013-14  
++ N10.3535 கொண்டு வந்தேன் அரியதரம் பொரிவிளங்காய்  
இருக்குது காண்.  
++ N8.1696 கொண்டுவந்த பலகாரம் கூடியிரு பேரும்தின்று

2015 தின்று தண்ணீர் குடிவாரும்  
2016 செட்டிகுல பெருமாளே.

2017/3536/ந8.1697 தின்று தண்ணீர் குடித்தாச்சு  
2018/3537/ந8.1697 செவியடைப்பும் தீற்த்தாச்சு.

++ Variant to 2017-18  
++ N10.3536-7 தின்றுதண்ணீர்குடித்தாக்கால் செவியடப்பு  
தீருமென்றான்.  
++ N8.1697 தின்று தண்ணீர் குடித்தாக்கால் செவியடைப்புத்  
தீருமென்றான்.

2019 கொன்றுவிடு சீக்கிறத்தில்  
2020 கோரணிகள் கொள்ளாதே.  
2021 முன் சினந்தாம் போகவில்லை  
2022 மூதேவி மருந்தாலே  
2023 கஞ்சி வைக்க அரிசியில்லை  
2024 கறிகேற்ற வகயுமில்லை  
2025 பஞ்சி மெத்த பாயுமில்லை  
2026 படுத்தாறங்க வீடுமில்லை  
\*\*2027/3355/ந8.1613 சந்தியில் பந்தி கானேன்  
\*\*2028/3356/ந8.1613 தலயிளந்த நூலானேன்

++ Variant to 2027-8  
++ N10.3355-6 சந்தியில் பந்தானேன் / தலை  
குலைந்ததூலானேன்

\*\*2029/3357/ந8.1614 யென்தரத்து பெண்கள் முன்னே  
\*\*2030/3358/ந8.1614 யேசவென்று உடம்பெடுத்தேன்

++ Variant to 2030  
++ N8.1614 இயக்கியென்பெயரெடுத்தேன்

\*\*2031/3341/ந8.1605 வீடுமுத்தம் அறியாதாள்  
\*\*2032/3341/ந8.1605 மிகுந்த சந்தி கண்டு விட்டேன்  
\*\*2033/3342/ந8.1606 ஆடுமயிடம் அறியாதாள்

++ Variant to 2033  
++ N10.3342 நாடுகரைஅறியாதாள்

\*\*2034/3353/ந8.1612 அம்பலமும் சந்திகண்டேன்  
2035 மாலையில்லிட்டமடகொடிமார்  
2036 வாளலய்யோ வய்யகத்தில்  
2037 தாலிகெட்டி கொண்டவனும்  
2038 தாரம் அளித்தால் ஆருதவா  
2039 வீடு கெட்டி கூடம் வைத்து  
2040 வெயிலு படாதே யிருந்தேன்  
2041 காடு வெட்டி பயிரேற்றும்  
2042 கரயாளன யிலங்கமது  
2043 கூடுவிட்டு உயிர் போன  
2044 கோலமுந்தான் ஆநேனே  
2045 யென்று சொல்லி யிசக்கியம்மை  
2046 யெடுத்தாளே பிள்ளைதன்னை

[[N10.143  
(3538 = N8.1698 கரையாளன்தான்கேட்டுகசுமாலிசெட்டியென்ன  
(3539 = N8.1699 வரையறவேமனதில்எண்ணிவார்த்தைதன்னை  
(3540 = N8.1699 கேட்டிருந்தான்

2047/3541/ந8.1701 மடகொடியா யிசக்கியம்மை  
2048/3541-2/ந8.1701 மகனயும் தாராட்டுவாளே.

++ Variant to 2047-8  
++ N10.3541 மனதறிந்து இசக்கியம்மை மகனரை  
தாலாட்டுவாளே.  
++ N8.1701 மனத்திறந்து நீலியம்மை மகனைத்  
தாலாட்டுவளாம்.

[[N10.143  
(3543 ஆராரோ ஆராரோ ஆரிவரோகண்ணேஆரிவரி  
(3544 ஆராரோ

2049/3545/ந8.1702 நின்றார் தன்மனமகனோ  
2050/35468/ந8.1702 நெடு நீலி பெற்ற கண்ணோ

++ Variant to 2049-50  
++ N10.3545-6 நீலகண்டன்தன்மகனோ - நெடுநீலிபெற்ற /  
கன்றோ.  
++ N8.1702 நீண்டோனின் தன்மகனோ நெடுநீலி  
பெற்றகன்றோ.

[[N10.143  
(3547 நீலன்மருமகனோ - நான் நேரினையாள்  
(3548 பெற்றகன்றோ

2051/3549-51/ந8.1703 கன்றாத கானகத்தில் கள்ளி பெற்றகண்மணியோ

++ Variant to 2051  
++ N10.3549-51 காண்டாவனம்தனிலே - மகனே நாகப்பனே/  
செட்டியகண்ணே - நான் கள்ளிபெற்ற / பாலகனோ.  
++ N8.1703 காண்டா வனந்தனிலே கள்ளிபெற்ற கண்மணியோ

2052/3552/N8.50.1704 கொப்பு சிலயானோ காட்டகள்ளி பெற்ற கண்ணோ

++ Variant to 2052  
++ N10.3552 = N8.1704 கொப்புசிலையானோ கொழுந்துவிடும்  
பாலகனோ

2053/3554/ந8.1706 முள் பொதிந்த மேனியனோ  
2054/3554-5/ந8.1706 முதுகள்ளி பெற்ற கன்றோ  
2055/3556/ந8.1707 பச்ச நிறத்தானோ பால் வடியும் மேனியனோ  
2056 வெட்ட வெட்ட தருத்தனோ  
2057 வேரோடும் பாலகனோ  
\*\*2058/3563/ந8.1712 பூவுலகில் மானிடற்க்கு  
\*\*2059/3563/ந8.1712 புது வேலியாக நின்றாய்

++ Variant to 2059  
 ++ N10.3563 புதுமையுடன் இப்போது  
 ++ N8.1712 புதுமையுடன் பொழுதும்

\*\*2060/3564/ந8.1713 காலிப் பயிர் திண்ணாமல்  
 ++ Variant to 2060  
 ++ N10.3564 காட்டில் இரைதிண்ணாமல்

\*\*2061/3565/ந8.1713 காத்து நின்ற கண்மணியோ  
 2062 மணவேலி காற்த்தவனோ  
 2063 மலக்கமெல்லாம் தீற்த்தவனோ  
 2064 வெயிலிலே நின்று கொண்டு  
 2065/3557/ந8.1708 வெத்தி பூ பூத்தவனோ  
 ++ Variant to 2064-5  
 ++ N10.3557 = N8.1708 வெட்டாவெழிதனிலே வெத்திப்பூ  
 பூத்தவனோ

[[N10.143  
 ((3558-9 = N8.1709 கட்டைதழுத்தவனோகவரிமாந்ஈன்றகன்றோ.

2066/3560/ந8.1710 உகூயிலே பூ பூத்து  
 2067/3560/ந8.1710 ஒளுங்காக நின்றவனோ

[[N10.144  
 ((3561 = N8.1711 எச்சில்உண்ணமாட்டாமல் என்மகனே  
 ((3562 = N8.1711 யாரடித்தாய்.

((3563 = \*\*ந1.2058 = ந8.1712  
 ((3563 = \*\*ந1.2059 = ந8.1712  
 ((3564 = \*\*ந1.2060 = ந8.1713  
 ((3565 = \*\*ந1.2061 = ந8.1713

2068/3566/ந8.1714 பாலுமுண்டு சோறுமுண்டு  
 2069/3567/ந8.1714 உணக்கு பசி யொரு னாள்வந்து  
 ++ Variant to 2069  
 ++ N10.3567 பசி தீரமாட்டாது.  
 ++ N8.1714 பசி தீர மாட்டாமல்

[[ N10.144  
 ((3568 நாலுநல்லநடுவர்முன்னே - எனக்கு  
 ((3569 நடு நீயாயம்சொல்லவந்தாய்  
 ++ Variant to N10.3569  
 ++ N8.1715 நாலுபேர் நடுவர்முன்னே நடுச்செல்ல வந்தகண்ணோ  
 ((3570 சனத்தால் பெரியவனோ - சாட்சி  
 ((3571 சொல்லவந்தவனோ  
 ((3572 இனத்தால்பெரியவனோ என்மகனே  
 ((3573 ஆராரோ.

2070 வேருமுண்டு தூருமுண்டு  
 2071 வெயிலிலே நிற்பதற்குக்கு  
 2072 கஞ்சி குடி அலயாத  
 2073 கண்மணியே நீ யுறங்கு  
 2074 அஞ்சி நீ அள வேண்டாம்  
 2075 உடன் பிறந்தாரில்லையப்பா  
 2076 ஊதாரியானே  
 2077/3574-5/ந8.1716 யென்று சொல்லி யிசக்கியம்மை  
 2078/3576/ந8.1716 யாந்தினயாள் தாராட்டுவானே.

[[ N10.144  
 ((3577 = N8.1717 வென்றியுள்ளகரையாளன் மெத்தமனம்தான்  
 ((3578 = N8.1717 மகிழ்ந்து.

2079 சென்று நின்ற கரையாளன்  
 2080 செப்பமுடனேது சொல்வான்.

2081/3579-82/ந8.1718-9 கற்ப்புடய வாணிகனுக்கு கண்ணிவன போந்து

++ Variant to 2081

++ N10.3579-82 பெண்ணொருதி இவளானால் / பெரும்கற்ப்புஉடையவள்தான் / செப்பமுள்ளமடக்கொடியை / சேர்த்தவள்தான் வணிகேசன்

++ N81718-9 பெண்ணொருத்தி இவளானால் பெரும்கற்பு உடையவள்தான் / வண்மையுடை பெண்ணவளை வதுவைசெய்தோ னிவனாகும்

2082/3583/ந8.1720 நற்புடய பெண்களுண்டும் நாட்டகத்திலனைபேரும்

2083/3583/ந8.1720 யிப்படி னாம் கண்டதில்லை யிவள்தனை போல் அளகுடயாள்

++ Variant to 2082-3

++ N10.3583 எழுபது பேர்பெண்டுகளு இவள் தனக்கு ஒவ்வாது

++ N8.1720 எழுபதுபேர் பெண்டுகளும் இவளழகுக் கொவ்வாது.

[[ N10.145

((3584 ஆகாதவணிகேசன் அவள்தனக்கு இவள்வாய்த்தான்.

++ Variant to N10.3584

++ N8.1721 அழகணியாம் வணிகேசன் அவள்தனக்கு வாய்த்தானே

2084 யிம்மடந்தை நமக்கானால் யிவளை னாம் விடுவதில்லை

[[N10.145

((3585 பாராளும்பரமசிவன்பாற்வதிதன்சியலனவே

2085/3586 யென்று சொல்லி கரயாளன்

2086/3587 இன்பமுடன் மனை போனான்.

2087/3604-5/ந8.51.1724 கரயாளன் போனதையும் காரிகயும் தானறிந்து

++ Variant to 2087

++ N10.3604-5 கரயாளன் போனதல்லாம் எந்தாயார் கன்னிநல்லான்மனதறிந்தாள்

++ N8.1724 கரயாளன் சென்றசெய்தி கன்னி இயக்கிஅறிந்து.

2088/3606-8/ந8.1725 யிது வேளை பனியெடுக்க யென்று சொல்லி யிசக்கியம்மை

++ Variant to 2088

++ N10.3606-8 வரை சேறும் இசக்கியம்மை வணிகேசனை கொல்லவென்று இது வேளைநல்லதென்று.

++ N8.1725 வரைசேறும் நீலியம்மை வணிகனைத்தான் கொல்லவென்று

[[ N10.146

((3609 = N8. 1726 = N2.1574 மூதேவிமந்திரத்தைசெட்டிமுகத்திலே ஏவுவளாம்

2089 பனிகாறன் வணிகேசன் படுத்தாறங்கும் வேளயிலே

2090/3610-12/ந8.1728-30 வணிகேசன் கையிலிருந்த பத்திரமும் நளுகிவிள

2091/3610-12/ந8.1728-30 பத்திரமும் நளுகிவிள பருமவினியால் உறங்கிவிட்டான்.

++ Variant to 2090-1

++ N10.3610-12 மாதேவியாவைவத்தவலுவான பத்திரத்தை. பத்திரம்தான்நகண்டுவிள பைந்தொடியாள் இசக்கியம்மை

++ N8.1728-30 மாதேவி யாலேவைத்த வலது கையில் பத்திரந்தான். சீதேவி போனபோது சிதைதனிலே விழுந்திடவே. பத்திரந்தான் நகண்டுவிழப் பைந்தொடியானியக்கியம்மை.

2092 ஓராட்டஓராட்ட உறங்கிவிட்டான் ஆனந்தனும்

2093/ந8.1727 மூதேவி வந்தடய முனியாமல் உறங்கிவிட்டான்.

++ Variant to 2093

++ N8.1727 மூதேவி வந்தணைய முகத்தூக்கம் எடுத்திடுமாம்



\*\*2094/ந10.3626/ந8.1734 சுத்திவலமாக வந்தான் சூரியனைதஞ்சுமென்றான்

++ Variant to 2094

++ N10.3626 சுத்திவலமாகவந்தான் தோகைபங்கா சாட்சிஎன்றான்.

++ N8.1734 சுற்றியெந்தன் பழிவாங்க சுவாமிவிடை தாருமென

2095/3613-4/ந8.1731 ஆதியார் நீ சாக்ஷி அம்மயுமை நீசாக்ஷி

++ Variant to 2095

++ N10.3613-4 ஆதிபராநீசாச்சிஅம்மையுமையவளே / சாட்சி

++ N8.1731 அத்தனே நீ சாட்சியென்றான் அம்மைஉமா சாட்சியென்றான்

2096/3615/ந8.1732 பாதிமதியுமணியும் பரமசிவர் சாக்ஷி யென்றான்.

++ Variant to 2096

++ N10.3615/N8.1732 பாலகனைகைலேந்திபரமசிவா சாச்சி யென்றார்.

2097 யென்பளி னாந் கொள்ளுகிறேன்

2098 யெல்லோரும் சாக்ஷி யென்றான்.

\*\*2099/3645 குமுகுமென குரவை யிட்டான்.

++ Variant to 2099

++ N10.3645 குமுகுமுன்றுகுரவையிட்டான்

[[N10.146

((3616-7 சாலமதில்பெண்பெருமாள் தார்குளலாந்குரவையிட்டான்

++ Variant to N10.3616-7

++ N8.1733/N2.1581 தாலமதிற் பெண்பெருமாள் தமிழ்பாடிக் குரவையிட்டான்.

((3618 வழையவழையவளயவந்தான்

((3619 மகதேவாசாட்சியென்றான்

((3620 என்பளிதான்ஓப்புகொள்ளஇறையவளே.

((3621 சாட்சிஎன்றான்

((3622 என்பேரில்குற்றம்இல்லைஇறைய

((3623 வளேசாட்சியென்றான்

((3624 முன்னாளில்அவன்செய்தபழி

((3625 இன்னாளில்வாங்கப் போறேன்

((3626-7 = \*\*N1.2094 = N8.1734

((3628 = N8.1735 ஏந்தியவன்களுத்தறுக்க ஏறினான்

((3629 = N8.1735 அவன்மாற்பில்

2100 கோதை நல்லாள் யிசக்கியம்மை

2101/3630-31/ந8.1736 நெஞ்சதிலே பாய்ந்தேறி

2102/3632/ந8.1737 நெடுங்குதிரி சேறாட

++ Variant to 2102

++ N10.3632 நெச்சிதனைபிளந்தான் நெடும்குருதி சோறோடே

++ N8.1737 நெஞ்சதையும் தான்பிளந்தான் நெடுவுதிரச் சேறோடே

2103/3633 தொண்டைதனை முறித்தான்

++ Variant to 2103

++ N10.3633 தொண்டைதனைபிளந்தான்

2104/3634-5/ந8.1738 துள்ளுதிரம் சேறாட

++ Variant to 2104

++ N10.3634-5 துள்ளுதிரம் சேறாட சொரிகுளலாள் வாரியுண்டான்

++ N8.1738 துள்ளுதிரச் சேறோட சொரிகுருதி வாரியுண்டான்

2105/3636/ந8.1739 அன்று மகன்தனை யெடுத்து

++ Variant to 2105

++ N10.3636 கொண்டுவந்த பிள்ளைதன்னை என்தாயார்  
++ N8.1739 கொள்ளும்பிள்ளை தன்னையவள

2106/3637/ந8.1739 அதிய கள்ளி கொப்பா நீக்கி  
++ Variant to 2106  
++ N10.3637/N8.1739 கோலகள்ளி கொப்பாக்கி

2107/3638/ந8.1740 அன்று நடு நீயல்லவோ  
++ Variant to 2107  
++ N8.1740 அன்றும்நடு நீயல்லவோ அழகு கள்ளிக்  
கொப்போநீ

2108/3638/ந8.1740 யின்று நடு நீ சாக்ஷி  
2109/3639-40/ந8.1741 நெஞ்சதிலே னாட்டி வைத்து  
2110/3641/ நேரிளயாள் யிசக்கியம்மை  
++ Variant to 2109-10  
++ N10.3639-41 செட்டியுட நெஞ்சதிலே சிறுகள்ளியை  
தானாட்டி / செட்டிபழிஎடுத்தாள், என்தாயார், தேன்  
மொழியாள் / இசக்கியம்மை  
++ N8.1741 ...எடுத்துநெஞ்ச தனில்நாட்டி

[[N10.147  
((3642 = N8.1742 = N2.1589 பூட்டிலங்கம்திறக்காமல்போகவேணும் என்று சொல்லி  
((3643 மூச்சதையும்விட்டபோது  
((3644 முகடதுதான்திறந்திடுமாம்  
((3645 = \*\*N1.2099 குழுமுன்றுகுரவையிட்டாள்  
((3646 குணமுடைய இசக்கியம்மை  
((3647 மஞ்சனையும்திருக்களுத்தாள் - என்தாயார்  
((3648 வரவளைத்தாள் தமையனையும்  
((3649 = N8.1743=N2.1589 தமயன் என்றநீலர்வரதங்கைஎன்றஇசக்கி  
((3650 அம்மையுமா.  
((3651 = N8.1744 உமைபாகர்துணையன என்தாயார்வே ஓவியமும் தமயனுமாம்  
((3652 அஞ்சணக்கண்வேல்விழியாள் - என்தாயார்  
((3653-4 இசக்கியம்மையும் - என் அப்பனநீலராஜரும்.

2111/3654 முகட்டு வளி ஆகாஸம்  
2112/3654/ந8.1745 மொய் குளலாள் தான் பறந்தாள்.  
++ Variant to 2111-2  
++ N10.3654 ஆகாசதேரில் ஏறினாரே  
++ N8.1745 அமைப்புடனே இலங்கம்விட்டு ஆவியெனத்  
தான்பறந்து

2113 ஊர் முளுது முடிக்கவென்று  
2114 உபாய மிட்டா ளிசக்கியம்மை  
2115 கரயாளர் தங்களும்  
2116 கயி மேலே கொல்லவென்று  
2117/3663/ந8.1747 ஆனந்தன் தாய் போலே  
2118/3663/ந8.1747 அதிய நரக்கிளவியப் போல்  
++ Variant to 2117  
++ N10.3663-4 ஆனந்தன்தாயாக என்தாயார் ஆதிநரை  
கிழவியை போல்  
++ N8.1747 ஆனந்தனின் தாயாக அதிகநரைக் கிழவியைப்  
போல்

2119/3664/ந8.1748 கய்யில் கம்பு தடியும் ஊன்றி  
2120/3664-5/ந8.1748 கக்குகக்கென்றே யிருமி  
2121 பஞ்சி வெட்டும் கிளவியப் போல்

[[N10.148  
((3666 = N8.1749 மெய்தளர்ந்துஇசக்கியம்மை - விழுவாரைப்  
((3667 போல்நடந்து  
((3668 செக்கச்சிவந்தஓர்கிழவியைப் போல்

((3669 ஆனந்தனைதேடி வந்தவள் போல் கரை

2122/3670 கரயாளர் தெருவில் வந்தாளே.

[[N10.149

- ((3684 = N8.1750-1 பக்கப்பழுத்தவந்தான்என்அம்மைபச்சிபோல் நரைத்து  
 ((3685 = N8.1752 செக்கசிவந்தவடிவுடையாளம்மை  
 ((3686 = N8.1753 செட்டிச்சிகோலம்கொண்டாள்  
 ((3687 = N8.1754-5 மக்களைபெற்றுஎடுத்துபேருமாறினபேர்களைப் போல்  
 ((3688 = N8.1756 கக்குகக்கன்றுருமிதடிக்கோலும்கையிலே  
 ((3689 = N8.1757 ஊன்றிகொண்டு  
 ((3690 = N8.1758-9 தடியும்ஊன்றிகொண்டுதாயார்தன்பழி  
 ((3691 = N8.1759 கொள்வேனன்று  
 ((3692 வடிவுடையாள் இசக்கியம்மை எந்தாயார்  
 ((3693 வழிகொண்டேடந்தாள்  
 ((3694 = N8.1760-1 முடிவுசெய்திடுவேன்பழகைமுதல்க்கரை  
 ((3695 யாளர்களை  
 ((3696 குடிகெடுத்துகுலம்அறுப்பேன்என்று  
 ((3697 கொண்டாடியேநடந்தாள்  
 ((3698 = N8.1762 கொண்டாடிகொண்டாடிபளகை  
 ((3699 = N8.1763 குறுக்குதெருவோடே  
 ((3700 = N8.1764 திண்டாடிதிண்டாடி பெற்றதாய்போல்  
 ((3701 திகைக்கலுற்றாளே

[[N10.149

- ((3702 = N8.1766 = N2.1605 பஞ்சிபோல்நரைத்துபாவையரைபோல்வடிவாய்  
 ((3703 = N8.1767 பரமசிவாசாச்சிஎன்றாள்  
 ((3704 = N8.1768 தள்ளாடிமெய்தளர்ந்துசமயத்தில்  
 ((3705 = N8.1768 உனைதேடி.  
 ((3706 = N8.1769 தனியேவந்துவிட்டேன்மகனே  
 ((3707 = N8.1770 கண்ணும்மருளுதேகாட்டில்வழியேநடந்து  
 ((3708 = N8.1771 = N2.1610 காலும்மேலும்நோகுதேமகனே

2123 பனகநகர் தெருவிலே வந்தடி பனிந்து யிசக்கியவள்

2124 பாங்கு பெற தெருவதில் கூடி

2125 தொண்ணூறும் பத்தும் சென்றது வண்ட நரக்கிளவியப்போல்

2126 துணிந்தவளும் யேது மொளி சொல்வாள் - துணி

2127/3709/ந8.1772 கொஞ்ச மெடர் நம்முடய கொடியுள்ள வாவ்வதுவும்

++ Variant to 2127

++ N10.3709 = N8.1772 கொஞ்சமடாநம்முடைய  
 கொடுமையுள்ள வாழ்வதுதான்.

2128/3710/ந8.1773 கோலமாகி விட்டாயோ மகனே

++ Variant to 2128

++ N10.3711 கோலமாக்கிவிட்டாயேமகனே

\*\*2129 யெருபது பேர் கரயளரை

\*\*2130 யிறந்த போது யிசக்கியம்மை

\*\*2131 யெருபது பேர் பெண்டுபிள்ளை

\*\*2132 யிவர்களைத்தான் கொல்லவென்று

\*\*2133 காட்டின் ஒரு புறமாக

\*\*2134 காரிகயாள் வந்தனளே

\*\*2135 யீச்பரனை தனை நினைந்து<sup>20</sup>

\*\*2136 யேலம் பால் கறந்து வைத்தாள்.<sup>21</sup>

\*\*2137 கள்ளி பால் ஆளாக்கு

\*\*2138 காஞ்சிரம் பால் ஆளாக்கு

\*\*2139 யேலம் பால் ஆளாக்கு

<sup>20</sup> After N1.2135 should have followed 2361-66.

<sup>21</sup> N1.2136 should follow 2366.

- \*\*2140 யெருக்கலம் பால் ஆளாக்கு<sup>22</sup>  
 \*\*2141 கோசலயாள் யிடக்கியப் போல்<sup>23</sup>  
 \*\*2142 கொடி யிடையாள் கோலம் கொண்டு  
 \*\*2143 மோருபாணை தலயில் வைத்து  
 \*\*2144 மொய்குளலாள் வளி நடந்தாள்.  
 \*\*2145 பளகையூர் தெருவதிலே<sup>24</sup>  
 \*\*2146/4056/ந8.1940/ந2.1775 பனிகாறன் கரயாளன்  
 \*\*2147/4056/ந8.1940/ந2.1775 அவர்களுடைய வீடு தோறும்  
 \*\*2148/4056/ந8.1940/ந2.1775 ஆயினயாள் தானளுது  
 ++ Variant to 2146-8  
 ++ N10.4056 கதறிகதறிஅழுதுகரையாளர்தெருவில் நின்று
- \*\*2149(+ந1.2379)/~4058/~ந8.1942/~ந2.1777 உண்டு வந்தேன் உங்கள் சோறு  
 ++ Variant to 2379  
 ++ N10.4058 கரையளன்மார் சோறு உண்டுவாழ்ந்தேனே  
 ++ N8.1942/N2.1777 கரையாளர் தந்தஅன்னம் உண்டுபிழைத்  
 தேனேயென்
- \*\*2150 உள்ளி விதி முடிந்தது வேர்<sup>25</sup>  
 \*\*2151/4188 அள வேண்டாம் பெண் கொடியே<sup>26</sup>  
 ++ Variant to 2151  
 ++ N10.4188 பளுதுமில்லை பெண்கொடியே
- \*\*2152 அளுதாக்கால் வந்திடுமோ  
 \*\*2153 போன போக்கு மோச்ச முண்டும்  
 \*\*2154 புத்தி கெட்டு புலம்பாதே<sup>27</sup>  
 \*\*2155 மோர் குடிக்க வாருங்கெடி<sup>28</sup>  
 \*\*2156/4206/ந8.1987 ஒரு மனயில் கூடுங்கெடி<sup>29</sup>  
 ++ Variant to 2156  
 ++ N10.4206 ஒருமனையில்கூடுமடி  
 ++ N8.1987 கதறாமல் ஒருவீட்டில் கட்டுடனே கூடுமென்ன
- \*\*2157/4221-4/~ந8.1992 சின்ன பிள்ளை ஒரு பக்கம் வைத்து<sup>30</sup>  
 ++ Variant to 2157  
 ++ N10.4221-4 ஆடவர்கள்போலிருக்கும்ஆண்பிள்ளை /கள்  
 ஒருபக்கமாய் / பெண்பருவமாய்இருக்கும்பெண்பிள் /  
 ளைகள் ஒருபக்கமாய்  
 ++ N8.1992 வந்தவுடன் அவரவரை வரிசையுடன் தான்  
 நிறுத்தி
- \*\*2158 சேய்யிளயே ஒன்றாக  
 \*\*2159 அனையேர்க்கும் புத்தி சொல்லி  
 \*\*2160 ஆயினையாள் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 \*\*2161 வட்டில் செம்பு யெடுப்பாரும்  
 \*\*2162 கிண்ணி வட்டில் கொடுவாரும்  
 \*\*2163 செம்பு கெண்டி யெடுப்பாரும்  
 \*\*2164 யென்று சொல்லி யிசக்கியம்மை  
 \*\*2165 யின்பமுடன் கூடுவாராம்  
 \*\*2166 மோர் குடிக்க வாருங்கெடி  
 \*\*2167 மொய் குளம்மார் யெல்லோரும்  
 \*\*2168 அனந்தரசி மனமதிலே

<sup>22</sup> After N1.2140 should have followed 2367.

<sup>23</sup> N1.2141 should have followed 2374.

<sup>24</sup> N1.2145 follows 2378.

<sup>25</sup> Here should have followed N1.2379.

<sup>26</sup> N1.2151-2177 scattered portions. N1.2151 should have followed 2417.

<sup>27</sup> After N1.2154 follows 2418.

<sup>28</sup> N1.2155 should have followed 2419.

<sup>29</sup> After N1.2156 follows 2420.

<sup>30</sup> N1.2157 follows 2205.

- \*\*2169 ஆயினைமார் கூடுவாராம்<sup>31</sup>  
 \*\*2170 வாறவிதி அறியாமல்<sup>32</sup>  
 \*\*2171 மங்கைமார் மோர்குடித்தார்.<sup>33</sup>  
 \*\*2172 குடித்த மோர் தங்குமுன்னே  
 \*\*2173 குலபனிகள் செய்குறாளாம்.  
 \*\*2174 பாவிகளே சூலிகளை  
 \*\*2175 பிசுப்பிள்ளை தகடிகளை  
 \*\*2176 கருக்கருவாய் தானறுத்து  
 \*\*2177 கருவதிலே யேறி கொன்றாள்.<sup>34</sup>  
 \*\*2178/4106/ந8.1960 பிசுப்பிள்ளாய் மோரடியோ<sup>35</sup>  
 \*\*2179/4107 பிணமாலை மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2180/~4109 கோளு சொல்லும் பண்டாரத்தி  
 \*\*2181 கோஸலயே மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2182 கண் சிமிட்டி மொளிபறயும்  
 \*\*2183 கசமாலி மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2184 பிள்ளை மனம் கன்ன வைத்த  
 \*\*2185 பேசுயம்மா மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2186 சின்னணஞ்சி மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2187 சிவகாமி மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2188 அடுத்தவர்க்கு தூதுஸெல்லும்  
 \*\*2189 அபிராமி மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2190 பிச்சபிள்ளாய்பிசுப் முத்து  
 \*\*2191 பளகையூரான மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2192 முத்தாசி மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2193 மோகன பிள்ளாய் மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2194 அணஞ்சி பிள்ளை மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2195 அபிராமி மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2196 சின்னணஞ்சி மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2197 சிவகாமி மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2198 முத்தாசி மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2199 சித்தாசி மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2200 அணஞ்சி பிள்ளாய் மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2201 அம்மை முத்து மோரடியோ<sup>36</sup>  
 \*\*2202 யெத்த நயோ பேரும் கூடி<sup>37</sup>  
 \*\*2203 யிவளுரில் கூடுங்டெ  
 \*\*2204 யென்று சொல்லி மாயிசக்கி  
 \*\*2205 யேற்ற மனைதனை கூடி<sup>38</sup>  
 \*\*2206 யிளந்தாரி பெண்களுடன்<sup>39</sup>  
 \*\*2207 யெல்லோரும் மோர் குடித்தார்.  
 \*\*2208 சின்னம் சிறு பிள்ளைகள் போல்  
 \*\*2209 சேய்யுளயும் மோர் குடித்தாள்.<sup>40</sup>

[[N10.150<sup>41</sup>

((3712/N8.1774 எங்கேஇருக்குகிறாய்என்மகனேஆனந்தனே  
 ((3713/ந8.1775 இருக்கிறாயோஇறந்தாயோமகனே (இரு)  
 ((3714/ந8.1776 பளகைஊர்கரையாளர்தெருவதிலேமுட்டிடுவாள்  
 ((3715/ந8.1777 பாவிக்கெடுத்தானே என்பாள் (பாவி)  
 ((3716 கரையாளர்கால்மாட்டில்கன்னிநல்லாள்  
 ((3717 பாய்ந்திடுவாள்  
 ((3718 கண்ணேடும்முகத்தோடும்அறைவாள் (கண்)  
 ((3719 பனிகாறர்கரையாளர்பழிஏத்து

<sup>31</sup> After N1.2169 should follow 2424.

<sup>32</sup> N1.2170 should follow 2429.

<sup>33</sup> After N1.2171 should follow 2430-1.

<sup>34</sup> After N1.2177 should follow 2440.

<sup>35</sup> N1.2178 should follow 2394.

<sup>36</sup> After N1.2201 should follow 2395.

<sup>37</sup> N1.2202 should follow 2423.

<sup>38</sup> After N1.2205 follows 2157.

<sup>39</sup> N1.2206-9 should follow 2431.

<sup>40</sup> After N1.2209 should follow 2432.

<sup>41</sup> The following lines N10.3712-3825/N8/N2 are not found in N1.

- ((3720 கொண்டீரே.  
 ((3721 பரமசிவன்நடுவில்லையோபாவி (பரம)  
 ((3722/ந8.1780 என்மகனைதான்பிடித்து இசக்கி  
 ((3723/ந8.1780 கையில் கொடுத்தீரே  
 ((3724/ந8.1781 ஏங்கியவன்முகத்தோடுஅறைவாள் (ஏங்கி)  
 ((3725/ந8.1782 பாதகத்திமாவிசக்கிபளிகாறிகைதனிலே  
 ((3726/ந8.1783 என்பாலகனைகொடுத்தீரேஐயோ (என்)  
 ((3727 என்மகனைதான்பிடித்துஇசக்கி<sup>42</sup>  
 ((3728 கையில்கொடுத்தீரே  
 ((3729 ஏங்கியவன்முகத்தோடேஅறைவாள் (ஏங்)  
 ((3730 பாதகத்திமாவிசக்கிபழிகாறிகைதனிலே  
 ((3731/ந8.1783 என்பால்கனைகொடுத்தீரேஐயோ (என்)  
 ((3732/ந8.1784 எழுபதுபேர்கரையாளன்எல்லோரும்ஒருபோலே  
 ((3733 இசக்கிகையில்கொடுத்தீரே ஐயோ (இச)  
 ((3734/ந8.1786 பழகைநகர்ஊரவரேபாலனுடபழியாலே  
 ((3735/ந8.1787 பழகைநல்லூர்தானும்முடிவாகும் (பழகை)  
 ((3736/ந8.1788 என்மகனேஆனந்தனேஏலமேநான்விலக்கின  
 ((3737/ந8.1788 கொல்  
 ((3738/ந8.1789 ஏனடவாநீகேளாமல்வந்தாய் (ஏனடவா)  
 ((3739/ந8.1790 பொன்பணங்கள்தேடுதற்க்குபோகாதே  
 ((3740/ந8.1790 என்றேனே  
 ((3741/ந8.1791 புத்திதட்டிவந்தாயேமகனே (புத்தி)  
 ((3742/ந8.1792 என்மேலேஇட்டபணிஎண்ணவுமோதுலையாது  
 ((3743/ந8.1793 இத்தனையும்விற்புண்டாயேஅப்பா (இத்)  
 ((3744/ந8.1794 உண்ணாமல்நீமகனேமண்ணாவாஇசக்கி  
 ((3745/ந8.1794 கையில்  
 ((3746/ந8.1795 உயிர்கொடுக்கவந்தாயேமகனே (உயிர்)  
 ((3747/ந8.1796 கண்ணீருமார்பொழுககதறியவள் அழுதிடுவாள்  
 ((3748/ந8.1797 களுத்தில்நான்சேலைபோட்டுஇறப்பேன் என்றாளே

[[N10.151

- ((3749/ந8.1798 புலம்பியேமுட்டிடுவாள்தெருவில்புழுதிபுரண்டிடவே  
 ((3750/ந8.1799 குலம்பெரியமகனேஇனத்தவர்கூடிஇருக்குகிறார்  
 ((3751/ந8.1800 அலம்பலையார்மகனேஉனைபறந்துஅம்மைதரிப்பேனோ  
 ((3752/ந8.1801 மலங்கவைத்தென்னைவிட்டுமாதாரம்  
 ((3753/ந8.1801 செல்வானே  
 ((3754/ந8.1802 மகனேஉனைப்பெறநான்திருப்பதிமாதிருச்  
 ((3755 சந்தூரில்  
 ((3756/ந8.1803 பகல்ஒருசந்தியுண்டுவிதமும்பத்திமை  
 ((3757/ந8.1803 யோடிருந்து  
 ((3758/ந8.1804 குமரகுருபரனாம்சரவணகுக்கப்பெருமானை  
 ((3759/ந8.1804 அன்னாள்.  
 ((3760/ந8.1805 அமர்த்துதிசெய்யவே எனக்குஅருமை  
 ((3761/ந8.1805 யாய்தந்தபிள்ளை  
 ((3762-3809 = N8.1806-1835  
 ((3819 மருமகன்தான்எனக்காருமாபாவிசரையாளரே  
 ((3820 பாகாரும்மொழிமடவாள்பதறிநின்றுஅருதிடுவாள்  
 ((3821 எல்லோரும்கரையாளர்இலங்கம்தன்னில்போகவென்று  
 ((3822 கொள்ளைவெள்ளம்பாய்ந்தாப்போல்  
 ((3823 கொடியிடையாள்ஆனவளும்  
 ((3824 கரையாளர்முன்னடக்க - எந்தாயர்காரினை  
 ((3825 யாள்பின்னடக்க  
 ((3826 எழுபதுபேரில்ஒருவன்ஒருகொண்டுஉளப்போனான்

2210 கூட்டவே யெல்லாரும்<sup>43</sup>

2211/3827 அறுபத்தொன்பது கரையாளர்

2212/3827-8 அவிரிலங்க மதனிலே வந்தார்.

++ Variant to 2211-12

++ N10.3827-8 அறுபத்துஒன்பது பேரும் அவிரிலங்கம் / தனி  
 லேவந்தார்.

2213/3829 யிலங்கமதை தாள் திறந்து

<sup>42</sup> N10.3727-3731 is a repetition of N10.3722-6.

<sup>43</sup> N1.2210 follows line 2128.

2214/3829 யெல்லோரும் பாற்ப்பளவில்

++ Variant to 2213-4

++ N10.3829 இலங்கமதுதான்திறந்துளல்லோரும்தான் பார்த்தார்

[[N10.154

((3830 வாசலிலேவந்துநின்றுமதிமறந்துகரையாளர்

2215/3831 ஆடறுத்த களம் போலே

2216/3831 அவனில் பட்ட உருதிகள் போல்

++ Variant to 2215-6

++ N10.3831 ஆடறுத்தகளம்போலே அமரில்பட்டஉதி / ரமல்லாம்

2217/3833 பாடு கண்ட செட்டிதனை

2218/3833-4 பைந்தொடியை கண்டுதில்லை.

[[N10.154

((3835 வாடிவிட்டார்கரையாளர்வளக்குரைத்து

((3836 கெட்டோம்என்று

2219/3837 உயிர்விடுவோ னாமளினி

2220/3837-8 ஊரதிலே போய் விடவே

2221/3839 பாதகத்தி கிளவியவள்

2222/3839-40 பாவியவள் விடுவாளோ.

++ Variant to 2221-2

++ N10.3839-40 பழிகாறிகிளவியவள்பாவியும்பாவியும்தான் / விடுவாளோ

2223/3841 அடித்துதள்ளி முடுக்கிடலாம்

2224/3841 ஆயிளயே கிளவிதன்னை

2225/3842 இசக்கி கய்யில் கொடுத்த பரல்

2226/3843 யில்லை யென்று போய்யிடுமோ

++ Variant to 2225-6

++ N10.3842-3 ...பரல் / இல்லையென்றால் போய்விடுமோ

[[N10.155

((3844 தாயாகவந்தவழும்தலையில் அடித்தே அழுவாள்

2227/3854 தாயாக வந்தவனாம்

2228/3854 தலயிலடித்தே வினாவாள்.

++ Variant to 2227-8

++ N10.3854 தாயாகவந்தவரும்தலையில் அடித்தே அழுவாள்

2229/3855 யெங்கேசென்றால் காண்பேநெடா

2230/3856 யென் மகநே ஆனந்தனே

2231/3857 மதிப்பே னாந் யென்று சொல்லி

++ Variant to 2231

++ N10.3857 மரிப்பேனான்என்று சொல்லி

2232/3857 வயிற்றிலடித்தே யளுதாள்.

2233/3858 குட்டிடுவாள் மோதிடுவாள்.

++ Variant to 2233

++ N10.3858 முட்டிடுவாள்மோதிடுவாள்

2234/3859 முகத்தோடே தானறைவாள்.

2235/3860 செங்கைவளை ஓலமிட

2236/3860-1 தெருவதிலே புரண்டருவாள்.

2237/3862 அளுதளுது கிளவியவள்

2238/3862-3 அவன் பளியை மீள்வேநென்றாள்.

2239/3864 பளகை நல்ல ஊரையெல்லாம்

++ Variant to 2239

++ N10.3864 பழகைநகர் ஊரைஎல்லாம்

2240/3865 பாளாக்கி விடுவே நென்றாள்.

2241/3866 மலங்காதே கிளவியம்மா

2242/3866-7 மகன் பளியை னாங்கள் தாறோம்.

++ Variant to 2241-2

++ N10.3866-7 மலங்காதே கிழவியம்மா உன்மகன் / பழிதாறோம் என்றார்

2243/3868 பளிதாரும் பளிபோறோம்.

2244/3868-9 பயிந்தோடியே பாற்க்கின்றார்.

++ Variant to 2243-4

++ N10.3868-9 பழிதாறோம்பழிதாறோம்பைந்தோடியே / பார்த்திரு என்றாள்

2245/3870-1 அறிவு கெட்ட கரயாளர் அவரவர் கய்யிலே

2246/3872 வாள் னாட்டி சாவாரும் மருனாட்டி சாவாரும்

++ Variant to 2246

++ N10.3872 வாழ்நாட்டிசாவாரும்மருனாட்டிசாவாரும்

2247/3873-4 நஞ்சி தின்று சாவாரும் னாண்டுகொண்டு சாவாரும்

2248/3875-6 அறுப தொன்பது பேரும் அத்தலத்திலே மாண்டார்.

2249/3877 உள் போன கரயாளன் ஒருவனயும் கொல்லவென்று

2250/3877-9 ஒருவனயும் கொல்லவென்று உபாயமிட்டாளிசக்கியம்மை

++ Variant to 2249-50

++ N10.3877-9 உள்போனகரயாளன்ஒருவனயும் / கொல்லவென்று / உபாயமிட்டாள் இசக்கியம்மை

2251/3881 கரயாளன் மகளாக

2252/3881 கஞ்சி கொண்டு போகவென்று

2253/3882 அகூதிலே வாற்த்தது போல்

2254/3882-3 அவனுடய மகளை போலே

++ Variant to 2253-4

++ N10.3882-3 அச்சம்அடையாளமும்அவனுடைய / மகள் போலே

2255/3884 காரிகையாளிசக்கியம்மை

2256/3884-5 கன்னி சிறுபிள்ளை போல்

2257/3885 கோலங் கொண்டாளே.

2258/3891/ந8.1836/ந2.1671 கோலங் கொண்டாள்

2259/3891/ந8.1836/ந2.1671 சிறு பிள்ளை போலே

2260/3892/ந8.1837 கொடியிடை மாயிசக்கி

2261/3893/ந8.1838/ந2.1673 கொண்டைக்கு மேலொரு மல்லிகைமுல்லை

2262/3894/ந8.1839/ந2.1674 கொளுந்து மலர் கூட்டி

2263/3895/ந8.1840/ந2.1675 பாடகம் தண்டை சிலம்பு புலம்பிட

2264/3895-6/ந8.1841/ந2.1676 பைந்தொடி மாயிசக்கி

2265/3897/ந8.1842/ந2.1677 பைம்பொன் மணிமுத்து தாவமின்ன

2266/3898/ந8.1843/ந2.1678 பதைக்க சேவடி மின்ன

++ Variant to 2265-6

++ N10.3897-8 பய்யவேதண்டைகாலில்கலீரன்ன / பதைக்கன் சவடிகொஞ்ச

++ N8.1843/N2.1678 பையப்பார் மீதில் நடக்கப் பளீரெனப் / பதைக்கன் சவடி கொஞ்ச

2267/3899/ந8.1844/ந2.1679 கண்ணதில் மய்யிட்டு நெத்தியில்

2268/3899-3900/ந8.1844/ந2.1679 பொட்டிட்டு களுத்தினில் மஞ்சணயாய்

2269/3901/ந8.1846-7 காலன் கரயாளன் தன் மகளைப் போல்

2270/3901-2/ந8.1847/ந2.1682 கன்னியர் பட்டுடுத்து

++ Variant to 2269-70

++ N10.3901-2 காலன்கரயாளன்தன்மகள்போலே கட்டினாள் / பட்டுதன்னை.

2271/3903/ந8.1848/ந2.1683 முத்துபோல் பல்லும்

2272/3903/ந8.1848/ந2.1683 முருக்கிதள் வாயும்



2273/3904/ந8.1849 மேனி தளதளன<sup>44</sup>

++ Variant to 2272-3

++ N10.3903-4 முத்துபோல்பல்லும்முருக்கிதள்வாயும்  
என்தாயார் / முகமும்தளதளன.

++ N8.1848-9 முத்துந்போற் பல்லும் முருக்கிதழ் வாயும் /  
முகமும் மினு மினென

\*\*2274 பதறி பதறி மனம் கலங்கி செட்டி பாக்கம் பாக்க முளிப்பாகி<sup>45</sup>

\*\*2275 சிதற்றுடன் மனது கலங்கி சிந்தை கலங்கிவிட்டானே.

\*\*2276 குமரகுருபரா யென்ன கோடிமனம் கலங்கி விட்டான்.

\*\*2277 பதறி மனம் கலங்கிவிட்டான் பாவி கெடுத்தாளே யென்றான்.

\*\*2278 யெலியின குஞ்சிபோல் பதுங்கி யிடகாட்டிலே வந்து மனம் கலங்கி

\*\*2279 கடுவாய்கண்டவர் போலே அஞ்சி கலங்கி மலங்கிவிட்டானே.

\*\*2280 தொட்டுயிடியாளென்றேன் பதறி கிட்ட வராமல் முடுகி

\*\*2281 பட்டு கொடுக்கவே யிவள்க்கு பளிதான் கொடுக்க பிறந்தேன்

\*\*2282 யெட்டி போவோமென்று உன்னி செட்டி கொள்வாள் நம்மையென்று

\*\*2283 முட்டுக்காறி யென்று செட்டி விட்டுபோகாளென்று கெட்டி

\*\*2284 தட்டுமுட்டுதலைகொண்டு கட்டுவிட்டேநென்று யெண்ணி

\*\*2285 விட்டுவிட்டாளென்று தலை தட்டுமுட்டு கொள்ளுவானாம்.

\*\*2286 கண்டாளவன் படும் பாட்டை காரிகை மாய யிசக்கி

\*\*2287 செட்டி திண்டாடும் வாற்த்தய கண்டு சிந்தகனி கூர்ந்த தேவி

\*\*2288 வந்து அகப்பட்டாநென்னா பளிவாங்காமல் நாந் விடுவேனோ.

\*\*2289 தள்ளாடி உள்ளம் கலங்கி கதிரவன் கண்ட தாமரை போலே

\*\*2290 உள்ளே உடலும் விறைத்து

\*\*2291 செட்டி ஒக்கவே தள்ளாட பட்டனே.<sup>46</sup>

\*\*2292 யெளுபது பேர் கரயாளர்

\*\*2293/3932/ந8.1875 யிசக்கி கயில் கொடுத்தீரே.

++ Variant to 2293

++ N10.3932-3/N8.1875 இன்றளிய செட்டிதன்னை  
இசக்கிகையில் / கொடுத்தீர்களே

\*\*2294/3934/ந8.1876 பாதகத்தி இசக்கியாலே

\*\*2295/3934/ந8.1876 பனகநகர் அளிந்துவிட்டோ

++ Variant to 2294-5

++ N10.3934/1976 பாதகத்திநீலியாலே பழகநகர்  
கரையாளர்

\*\*2296/3935/ந8.1877 தோதக கூத்தாடுதற்க்கு

\*\*2297/3935-6/ந8.1877 தொல்லைக்கா வருத்தி வைத்தீர்.

\*\*2298/-3937/ந8.1878/ந2.1712 ஆகாத கரயாளர்

\*\*2299/-3937-8/ந8.1878 அவர்கள் உயிர் போவதற்க்கு

++ Variant to 2298-9

++ N10.3937-8 ஆகதக்க பேர்களல்லாம் அழிந்துஉயிர் /  
போவதற்க்காய்.

++ N8.1878 ஆகதக்க பேர்களல்லாம் அழிந்துஉயிர்  
போவதற்க்காய்

\*\*2300/3940-1/ந8.1879/ந2.1713 பாவி மட்டை இசக்கி கய்யில்

\*\*2301/3940-1/ந8.1879/ந2.1713 பளிகார பரல் கொடுத்தீர்.

++ Variant to 2300-1

++ N10.3940-1/~N8.1879 வேகமுடன்பரல் கொடுத்  
தீர்வேல்விழியான் இசக்கி / கையில்

\*\*2302/3942/ந8.1880/ந2.1714 கொடுத்தினால் பலனுமில்லை

\*\*2303/3942/ந8.1880/ந2.1714 கொன்றாளே பாதகத்தி

\*\*2304/3943-4/ந8.1881 பாதகத்தி கொன்றுவிட்டு பறந்துவிட்டான் ஆகாசம்

++ Variant to 2304

++ N10.3943-4 வருவாக்கிகொன்  
விட்டான்

<sup>44</sup> According to N10.157: after N1.2273 should follow N1.2442.

<sup>45</sup> N1.2274-2291 should follow line 1119.

<sup>46</sup> N1.2292 should follow N1.2469, see N10.158f.

++ N8.1881 ...வானகத்தே பறந்துவிட்டாள்

\*\*2305 கொன்றாளே பாதகத்தி கோலமுந்தா ஆனோமே  
 \*\*2306/3948/ந8.1885/ந2.1720 அனாத குரல் ஆத்தாமல் அவர் போனாரிலங்கமத்தில்  
 \*\*2307/3949/ந8.1886/ந2.1721 இலங்கமதை தாள் திறந்து  
 \*\*2308/3949/ந8.1886/ந2.1721 யெல்லோரும் பாற்ப்பளவில்  
 \*\*2309/3950/ந8.1887/ந2.1722 கலங்காத கரயாளர் கண்டாரே படுகளத்தை  
 \*\*2310/~3951/ந8.1888 படுகளத்தை கண்டபோது பாவி வர ஒட்டாமல்  
 \*\*2311/3952/ந8.1889 அவர்களுட கால் மாட்டில் அடித்தனது கிளவியவள்  
 ++ Variant to 2310  
 ++ N10.3951-2/N8.1888-9 சவமானசெட்டிதன்னைதையலவள்  
 கண்டபோது / அவரைவரஒட்டாமல்அதட்டியமுதாள்கிழிவி

\*\*2312/3953/ந8.1890/ந2.1725 அனாதகுரல் ஆத்தாமல் அவரவரே யிறந்துவிட்டார்.  
 \*\*2313/3962/ந8.1894/ந2.1729 செத்தாலும் குடிகேடு  
 ++ Variant to 2312-3  
 ++ N10.3962 நான்செத்தாலும்குடிகேடு

\*\*2314/3964-5/ந8.1895/ந2.1730 இருந்தாலும் யிளுக்கல்லவோ.  
 ++ Variant to 2314  
 ++ N10.3964-5 இத்தலத்தில் இருந்தாலும் / இனத்தோர்க்கு  
 இளுக்கல்லவோ  
 ++ N8.1895 இத்தலத்தி லிருந்தாலும் இகத்தோர்க்கு  
 இழுக்கல்லவோ

\*\*2315/3966/ந8.1896/ந2.1731 சாகமதி அறியேநே  
 \*\*2316/3966/ந8.1896/ந2.1731 சங்கயுள்ள யென் மகளே  
 ++ Variant to 2315-6  
 ++ N10.3966 சாகமதிநீயுரைப்பாய்தார்குழலேஎன்மகளே  
 ++ N8.1896/N2.1731 ...குழலே என்றிடவே

\*\*2317 அவதான காட்டுகுள்ளே  
 \*\*2318 ஆர் பிடிப்பார் கல் பாய்த்து  
 \*\*2319/3967/ந8.1897 கோபமுள்ள அய்யாவுக்கு  
 ++ Variant to 2319  
 ++ N10.3967 /N8.1897கோபமுள்ளோர்சாகவென்றால்

\*\*2320/3968/ந8.1897 கொளுமுனைதான் பஞ்சமில்லை.  
 \*\*2321 வாய்க்கவில்லை யென் மகளே.  
 \*\*2322 வயக்காட்டில் ஒருவரில்லை.  
 \*\*2323/3973/ந8.1900 வேறொருவர் வந்தாலும்  
 \*\*2324/3973/ந8.1900 விதனமுண்டு அப்புனக்கு  
 \*\*2325/3976/ந8.1902 நல்ல வேளை கஞ்சி கொண்டு  
 \*\*2326/3976-7/ந8.1902 னாலும் வந்தேன் பேரெடுக்கு  
 ++ Variant to 2325-6  
 ++ N10.3976-7 நல்வளமாய்கஞ்சிகொண்டுநானும்வந் / தேன்  
 பேரெடுக்க

\*\*2327/3980/ந8.1904 ஆபத்துக்கு பாவமில்லை  
 \*\*2328/3980/ந8.1904 அப்பகூரே பதறாதே.  
 \*\*2329/3981/ந8.1905 சீவனுக்கு வந்தாலும்  
 \*\*2330/3982/ந8.1905 தெனிய வேணும் னாட்டினுள்ளோர்  
 \*\*2331/~3983/~ந8.1906 னா னிருக்க நீ நடுங்க  
 \*\*2332/~3984/~ந8.1906 நடுக்கமுண்டோ அப்பகூரே  
 ++ Variant to 2331-2  
 ++ N10.3983-4/N8.1906 மங்கையர்நானிருக்க / மலங்களுயம்  
 உண்டோவென்ன

\*\*2333/3985/ந8.1907 செங்கை வளை ஓலமிட  
 \*\*2334/3985-6/ந8.1907 சென்றெடுத்தாள் கலயத்தை  
 \*\*2335/3987/ந8.1909 கலப்பை கொளுவானதிலே  
 \*\*2336/3987-8/ந8.1909 கரயாளன் பாய்த்திறந்தான்.  
 \*\*2337/3989/ந8.1910 கரயாளன் யிறந்ததற்ப்பின்  
 \*\*2338/3990/ந8.1910 காரிகயாள் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 \*\*2339/~3991/ந8.1911 மயில் போலே துடியிடயாள்

- \*\*2340/3991-2/ந8.1911 வான் பளகை ஊரில் வந்தாளே.  
++ Variant to 2339-40  
++ N10.3991-2/N8.1911 வரைபோன்றதனத்தளகிவந்தாள் / ஊரதிலே
- \*\*2341/4013/ந8.1912 அவ்வூரில் வாறபோது ஆயினயாளிசக்கியம்மை  
\*\*2342/4014/ந8.1912-3 அவள் மனது புகள்ந்தேது சொல்வாள்.  
++ Variant to 2342  
++ N10.4014 அம்மை - அவள்மனதுசந்தோசமாக (அவள்)  
++ N8.1913 அவள்மனது புகுகிதந்தாள் கொண்டு (அவள்)
- \*\*2343/4015/ந8.1914 யி(வ்)வூரில் கரயாளர் யெல்லோரும் யிறந்தாநென்று  
\*\*2344/4016/ந8.1915 யிளவுகள் ஓசையது கேட்டாள்.  
\*\*2345 ஐயயோ கரயாளர் யெல்லோரும் யிறந்தியளே  
\*\*2346 அவள் மனதில் கன கிருபை கொண்டாள்.  
\*\*2347/4017/ந8.1916 நல்லது காண கரயாளர் னாசமாக போனாரோ.  
\*\*2348/4018/ந8.1917 னாமளினி உபாயமிடவேணும்.  
\*\*2349 போனாக்கால் ஒரு போலே உகமுடிந்து போகவேணும்  
\*\*2350 பிளைத்தால் ஒருப்போல் பிளைக்கவேணும்  
\*\*2351 ஆனாலும் யிசக்கி கொன்ற பேரெடுக்க வேணுமென்றால்  
\*\*2352/4021/ந8.1919 அவ்வூரு சனங்ளெல்லாம் கொல்ல  
\*\*2353/4022-3/ந8.1920 தாயான தாம் பெருக்கம் தந்ததாய் அன்னஅத்தம்  
\*\*2354/4024/ந8.1921 தடுமாறி நின்று அலையாமல்  
\*\*2355/~4025/~ந8.1922 ஊரோடும் வேண்டும்  
\*\*2356/~4025/~ந8.1922 ஒக்கவுந்தான் முடிக்கவென்று  
++ Variant to 2355-6  
++ N10.4025 ஊரோடும் வேரோடும் கிளையோடு  
++ N8.1922 ஊரோடும் வேரோடும் கிளையோடும் முடிக்க வென்று
- \*\*2357/4026/ந8.1923 உபாயமிட்டாளிசக்கியம்மைதானும்  
\*\*2358/4027/ந8.1924 யேதேது செய்வோமென்று  
\*\*2359/4027-8/ந8.1924 யெண்ணாமல் யெண்ணி கொண்டு  
++ Variant to 2358-9  
++ N10.4027-8/N8.1924 ஏதேதுஉபாயம்என்று எண்ணி மனம்(உபா) / புண்ணாகி
- \*\*2360/4029/ந8.1925 யிடைகாடு ஒரு பிறமாய் வரவே<sup>47</sup>  
++ Variant to 2360  
++ N10.4029/N8.1925 இடைகாட்டில் ஒருபுறமாய்வந்து (இடை)
- \*\*2361/4030/ந8.1928 காயாத கள்ளிப்பால் யிருனாளி னானாழி<sup>48</sup>  
\*\*2362/4031 கய்யாலே கறந்தாளே யிசக்கி  
\*\*2363/4032-3 யேலம் பால் னாநாளி யெப்படினாந் கறப்பேநென்று  
++ Variant to 2363  
++ N10.4032-3 ஏலம்பால்ஆறுநாளிஎப்படிநான்கறப் / பேன் என்று
- \*\*2364/4034 யெண்ணியபடி கறந்துமாச்சே.  
++ Variant to 2364  
++ N10.4034 எண்ணினாள்பால்கறந்து ஆச்சு (எண்ணி)
- \*\*2365/4035 ஆவின் பால் ஆர் தருவார் அரனாரே யிப்போது  
++ Variant to 2365  
++ N10.4035 ஆவின்பால்ஆர்தருவார்அரனாரேதாருமென்றாள்
- \*\*2366/4036 அவள் நினைத்தபடிதான் கறந்துமாச்சே.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Probably the lines N1.2129-50 are scattered lines that have to be inserted after 2360.

<sup>48</sup> N1.2361 should follow 2135.

<sup>49</sup> After N1.2366 should follow 2136.

- ++ Variant to 2366  
++ N10.4036 அவள்நினைத்தபடி ஆவின்பால்கறண்தாள்
- \*\*2367/4040 பச்சனாவி பரசரணம் பரமசிவர் தானாமென்று<sup>50</sup>  
\*\*2368/4041 பனிகொள்ளபோறேனாந்யென்னா  
++ Variant to 2367-8  
++ N10.4040-1 பாசானம்பச்சநாவிபரமசிவாஅருளும்என்றார் / பனிகொள்ளசீக்கிரமேஎன்றாள் (பனிகொள்ள)
- \*\*2369/~4046 அத்தாயும் ஒன்றாக பாத்திரத்திலிட்டபடி  
++ Variant to 2369  
++ N10.4046 அளகானபாத்தில்இட்டாள் (அளகா)
- \*\*2370 ஆயினயாளிசக்கி ஒரு கோலம்  
\*\*2371/4047/ந8.1934/ந2.1769 ஒக்க ஒரு பாத்திரத்திலிட்டபடி மோராக்கி  
\*\*2372/4048 உகந்து மோர் குடுக்க யது யெடுத்தாள்.  
++ Variant to 2372  
++ N10.4048 உகந்துஒருமோர்குடுக்கைகளுத்தாள் (உக)
- \*\*2373/4049 அவ்வேசம் தான் போட்டு ஆயினயாளிசக்கியம்மை  
++ Variant to 2373  
++ N10.4049 ஆவேசம்தான் போட்டு ஆயினயாள் இசக்கி யம்மை
- \*\*2374/4050 அளகுடய யிடகூயப் போலானாள்.<sup>51</sup>  
\*\*2375/4051/~ந8.1936/ந2.1771 பண்டுமுன்னால் பளகயிலே மோரு விக்கும்  
++ Variant to 2375  
++ N10.4051 பண்டுமுன்னாள்பளகையிலேபாலுமோருவிற்க்கும்  
++ N8.1936/N2.1771 பண்டுபழ கைநகர்க்கு பாலுமோரு கொண்டுவிற்க்கும்
- \*\*2376/4052/ந8.1937/ந2.1772 யிடச்சியப் போல் பளகிய யிடகூயி போலானாள்.  
++ Variant to 2376  
++ N10.4052 பளகினதோஇடச்சியைபோலே (பள)  
++ N8.1937/N2.1772 பழகினதோ ரிடைச்சியைப்போ லாகி (பழகின)
- \*\*2377/4053/ந8.1939 கண்ணினால் நீர்கள் சாட காரிகயாள்  
++ Variant to 2377  
++ N10.4053/N8.1939 கண்ணதிலேநீர்சொரியகாரிளையாள்
- \*\*2378/4054-5 யிசக்கியவள் கடயாலில் மோர் தூக்கி கொண்டாள்.  
++ Variant to 2378  
++ N10.4054-5 கடையாவின்பால்தூக்கிக்கொண்டு (கடை)
- \*\*2379(+ந1.2149/~4058/~ந8.1942/~ந2.1777 உண்டேனாந் உங்களுட சோறுகறி தின்று வந்தேன்.<sup>52</sup>  
++ Variant to 2379  
++ N10.4058 கரையளன்மார் சோறு உண்டுவாழ்ந்தேனே  
++ N8.1942/N2.1777 கரையாளர் தந்த அன்னம் உண்டுபிழைத் தேனையென்
- \*\*2380 உள்ளிவிதியல்லாது உண்டோ.  
\*\*2381 யிடச்சியவள் தெருதெருவாய் யேற்ற கிளவி போலே  
\*\*2382 யியவுடன் கரயாளர் தெருவில் வந்தாளே.  
\*\*2383/4084/~ந8.1954 யெருபது பேர் குடியிருக்கும்  
\*\*2384/4084-5 யியல் பளகை நகரில் வந்தான்.

<sup>50</sup> N1.2367 follows after 2140.

<sup>51</sup> N1.2375 follows 2144.

<sup>52</sup> N1.2379 should follow 2150.

++ Variant to 2383-4

++ N10.4084-5 எழுபதுபேர்குடியிருக்கும் பழகைதன்னில் / வந்தாநின்று.

\*\*2385/4086-7 தடுமாறி சந்தியிலே தானிருக்க வெகுநேரம்  
 \*\*2386/4088 அனாத குரல் அல்லாதே ஆரொருவர் அறிவாரோ.  
 \*\*2387/4089 யிடவளியில் போனதுண்டால்  
 \*\*2388/4089 யெவரும் வந்து கேள்க்கமாட்டார்.  
 \*\*2389/4091/ந8.1954/ந2.1789 கரயாளர் தெருவில் வந்து  
 \*\*2390/4092/ந8.1954/ந2.1789 கன்னியரும் யிசக்கியம்மை  
 \*\*2391/4095/ந8.1956/ந2.1791 அனந்தாயி வெயிலுகந்தா  
 \*\*2392 அம்மை முத்து மோரடியோ  
 \*\*2393/4122 மாது கண்ணி புதுமாடி

++ Variant to 2393

++ N10.4122 மாறுகண்ணிபுதுமாடி

\*\*2394 மந்திர கண்ணி மோரடியோ<sup>53</sup>

\*\*2395/4128/ந8.1962/ந2.1797 யிப்படியே பேர் கூறி<sup>54</sup>

++ Variant to 2395

++ N10.4128 இப்படியேபேர்கூறி எந்தாயார்இசக்கி

\*\*2396/4129/ந8.1962 யிடகூயர் தெருவில் வந்தாளே.

++ Variant to 2396

++ N10.4129 அம்மை இடச்சியைபோல்நின்றாளே

++ N8.1962 இடைச்சியவள் நிற்கையிலே

\*\*2397/4134/~ந8.1963 யேநென்று கேட்பவ ரொருவருமில்லை.

++ Variant to 2397

++ N10.4134 என்று கேட்டுஇடச்சியைவாவென்பார்இல்லை

++ N8.1963 நற்புடனே ஒருவர்வந்து நன்மைதின்மை

கேட்கவில்லை.

\*\*2398/4137 வாவென்று சொல்லி அனைப்பாருமில்லை

++ Variant to 2398

++ N10.4137 வாவென்று சொல்லிவருகிறபேர்களும் இல்லை

\*\*2399/4138/ந8.1965/ந2.1800 மங்கயர் கூடி அனாதிடவேணும்

++ Variant to 2399

++ N10.4138 மங்கையர்கூடிஇருந்துஅளவேணும்என்றாள்

++ N8.1965/N2.1800 அரிவையர் கூடியிருந்துஅழவேணும்  
 நாமள்

\*\*2400 யென்று சொல்லியந்த மாய யிசக்கி.

\*\*2401 யெல்லாரும் கூட அனாதிடும் வேளை

\*\*2402/4148/ந8.1974 கட்டம் செய்தோர் பாவி பட்டுயிறக்க

++ Variant to 2402

++ N10.4148/N8.1974 கஷ்ட்டம்செய்தவநெட்டுரமாகஇறந்தார்

\*\*2403 கயிலாச பதவி கிடைக்குமே தாயே

\*\*2404 அனாதால் ஒருவர் முளிக்கவு மாட்டார்

\*\*2405 அமர்த்துங்கோ வென்று கட்டி அனைத்தாள்.

\*\*2406/~4160/ந8.1978 நட்டம் வாராதெடி தாய்மாரே நீங்கள்

++ Variant to 2406

++ N10.4160 நஷ்ட்டவந்தாக்கால்திட்டிஅமுதால்வருமோ

\*\*2407 நாச்சியரே நீங்கள் அனாதது போதும்

\*\*2408/4171 அனாதனாது யிடகூயவள்

\*\*2409/4172 அவனாக்கு புத்தி தெளிவு சொல்லி

<sup>53</sup> After N1.2394 follows 2178ff. with a list of names.

<sup>54</sup> N1.2395 should follow 2201.

- \*\*2410/4173/ந8.1980 பதறாதே பதறாதே  
 \*\*2411/4174/ந8.1981 பாவியரே கய்யை விடு  
 \*\*2412/4174/ந8.1981 கய்யை விடு யினிமேலும்  
 ++ Variant to 2410-12  
 ++ N10.4173-4 பதறாதேபதறாதேபழகைநல்லூர்பெண்டுகளே / கதறாதேகதறாதேகையவிடுகையவிடு
- \*\*2413 கனமோஷம் சேற்றந்திடுவார்.  
 \*\*2414/~4146/ந8.1972 அனூதாக்கால் வருவாரோ.  
 ++ Variant to 2414  
 ++ N10.4146 ஏங்கிஅமுதாக்கால்தூங்கினபேர்வருவாரோ
- \*\*2415 அற்ப பாவமாகுதெடி  
 \*\*2416/4182/ந8.1984/ந2.1819 எருபது பேர்இறந்தாலும்  
 \*\*2417/4183 யிருக்குதெடி பெண்டுபிள்ளை.<sup>55</sup>  
 ++ Variant to 2416-7  
 ++ N10.4182-3 எழுபது பேர்இறந்தாலும் இன்னும் / மக்கள்இருக்குகிறார்
- \*\*2418/4205 வாருமெடி யிடச்சியரே<sup>56</sup>  
 \*\*2419/4205 மங்கயரே புத்தி சொல்லு<sup>57</sup>  
 ++ Variant to 2418-9  
 ++ N10.4205 வாருமடிமங்கையரே
- \*\*2420 மோர் குடித்து பசி தீற்த்து<sup>58</sup>  
 \*\*2421 மொய் குளலே பேசிடலாம்  
 \*\*2422/4209-10/ந8.1988 முத்தரசி வீடதிலே  
 \*\*2423/4211-12/ந8.1989 மொய் குளலார் தான் கூடி<sup>59</sup>  
 ++ Variant to 2422-3  
 ++ N10.4209-12 எழுபது பேர்கரையாளர் / இவரில் ஒருமுதலானோர் / அவர்மனையில் கூடுவாராம் / ஆயினமார் எல்லோரும்
- \*\*2424/4213/ந8.1990 கிண்ணி வட்டில் யெடுப்பாரும்<sup>60</sup>  
 ++ Variant to 2424  
 ++ N10.4213 /N8.1990 வட்டில்மொந்தைகொடுவாரும்
- \*\*2425/4215 கெண்டி செம்பு யெடுப்பாரும்  
 ++ Variant to 2425  
 ++ N10.4215 கொண்டிசெம்புகொடுவாரும்
- \*\*2426/4217 தாறா வட்டில் தவலை செம்பு  
 ++ Variant to 2426  
 ++ N10.4217 தாரைவட்டில்கொடுவாரும்
- \*\*2427 சருவமுடன் கிண்ணி வட்டில்  
 \*\*2428/4228 ஒருமுடிவாய் தானே விட்டாள்  
 ++ Variant to 2428  
 ++ N10.4228 ஒக்கவும்பால்பகர்ந்துவிட்டாள்
- \*\*2429 ஓவியமாய் யிசக்கியம்மை<sup>61</sup>  
 \*\*2430/4229/ந8.1995 யிசக்கியென்று அறியாமல்

<sup>55</sup> After N1.2417 should follow line 2151.

<sup>56</sup> N1.2418 should follow 2154.

<sup>57</sup> After N1.2419 follows 2155.

<sup>58</sup> N1.2420 follows 2156.

<sup>59</sup> After N1.2423 should follow 2202.

<sup>60</sup> N1.2424 follows 2168.

<sup>61</sup> After N1.2429 follows 2170.

\*\*2431/4230/ந8.1995 யெல்லோரும் மோர் குடித்தார்.<sup>62</sup>

\*\*2432/4231/ந8.1996 மோர் குடிக்கும் வேளையிலே  
++ Variant to 2432  
++ N10.4231 பால் குடிக்கும்....

\*\*2433/~4232/~ந8.1996 விறையலது பொறுக்குதில்லை.  
++ Variant to 2433  
++ N10.4232 பரதவித்துவிழுவாரும்  
++ N8.1996 பதைபதைத்து விழுவாரும்

\*\*2434 ஆகமது விட்டதினால்  
\*\*2435/4233/ந8.1997 அடித்தினுக்கும் காலுகய்யை  
++ Variant to 2435  
++ N10.4233 கால்விறைத்து கைவிறைத்து கண்  
விறியாத்திடவே  
++ N8.1997 ...கண்விறைத்துச் சாவாரும்

\*\*2436 வெட்டினாக்கும் உடம்புகள்க்கும்  
\*\*2437 மெள்ளவே பால் குடியுமெடி.  
\*\*2438 அடிமுறியும் உடலினுக்க  
\*\*2439/4237-8/ந8.1997-8 ஆக உயிர் முடிந்திடவே<sup>63</sup>  
++ Variant to 2439  
++ N10.4237-8 இறந்தனரேகரையாளர் / எழுபதுபேர்  
பெண்டுகளும்  
++ N8.1997-8 சாவாரும் / இப்படியே இறந்தபின்பு

\*\*2440 அவர்களுட சிறுபிள்ளையை  
\*\*2441 வேடிக்கை வீச்சுமுட்டாங்கு மிட்டு விரவுடநே நடக்க<sup>64</sup>  
2442/3905-6/ந8.1850 கஞ்சியும் கொண்டு கரயாளனை தேடி கண்ணியர்தான் வரவே<sup>65</sup>  
++ Variant to 2442  
++ N10.3905-6 கஞ்சியும் கொண்டு கரயாளனைத்தேடி /  
என்தாயார் காரினையாவரவே

2443/3907-8 கண்மணி யென்மகள் வாறாளே யென்று கரயாளர் பாற்த்து சொல்வாரே.  
2444 யேறிட்டு பாற்த்திவளை  
2445 மரதகமே கண்மணியே  
2446 யேது சொல்வார் கரயாளர்  
\*\*2447/3912/ந8.1859 மகளே நீ வருவதென்னா  
2448/3909/ந8.1856 மனயைமறு வீட்டில்  
2449/~3910/ந8.1856-7 மகளே நீ போகாதாள்  
++ Variant to 2448-9  
++ N10.3909-10/N8.1856-7 மங்களமாகமறுமனைசெல்லாத /  
மங்கையர்க்கரசி

[[N10.157  
(3911/ந8.1858/ந2.1692 மாறுபடாதஎன்கண்ணைமணியே  
(3912 = \*\*ந1.2447/ந8.1859/ந2.1693 மகளே நீ வருவதென்னா

2450 கரயாளன் மகனினவே  
2451 காசியோரறியார்கள்  
\*\*2452/~3914/ந8.1862-3 உளவுகல் மனதிலே  
\*\*2453/~3914/ந8.1862-3 ஒண்ணுதலே வந்தென்னா  
++ Variant to 2452-3  
++ N10.3914 உளவுதலம்தன்னில்கஞ்சிகொண்டு ஓடி  
வருவானேன்

<sup>62</sup> After N1.2431 should follow 2206-9.

<sup>63</sup> After N1.2439 follows 2172-77.

<sup>64</sup> According to N10.171: after N1.2441 should follow 2470.

<sup>65</sup> According to N10.157: N1.2442 should follow N1.2273.

++ N8.1862-3 உழவுத்த வந்தனி லேகஞ்சி கொண்டு நீ ஓடி வருவானேன்

2454/~3913/~ந8.1860-1/~ந2.1694-5 ஊரிலாவலாதியுண்டோ

++ Variant to 2454

++ N10.3913/N8.1860-1/N2.1694-5 ஊரதிலே வளக்கானது உண்டோ என்ஓவியமே மகளே

2455 ஓன்றொடியே சொல்லுமென்றார்.

2456 ஆவலாதி பேசிடலாம்

2457 அப்பு நீ கஞ்சி குடி

2458 கஞ்சியது குடித்திடலாம்

[[N10.158

((3914 = \*\*ந1.2452-3 = ந8.1862-3 உளவுதலம் தன்னில்கஞ்சிகொண்டு ஓடி வருவானேன்

2459/~3915-6/~ந8.1864 கண்மணியே சொல்லுமென்றார்.

++ Variant to 2459

++ N10.3915-6/N8.1864 காரியமேதேனும் உண்டானால் சொல்லு / கண்மணியேமகளே

[[N10.158

((3917/ந8.1866 காலன்கரையளன்மகள்போல்வந்த ((3918/ந8.1867 காரிகைசொல்லுவானே

[[N10.158

((3919-20/~ந8.1868 எந்தனைதான் பெற்று வளர்த்த இயல்புடைய / எந்தகப்பா.

2460/3921/ந8.1869/ந2.1703 சொன்னாக்காலென்ன பலன்

2461/3921-22/ந8.1869/ந2.1703 சொல்லாவிட்டாலென்ன பலன்.

[[N10.158

((3923/N8.1870 என்ன உரைசெப்பிடவே ஏதுரைப்பான்

((3924/ந8.1870 கரையாளன்

((3925/ந8.1871/ந2.1705 அன்னமேநீ உள்ள செய்தி ஆதரவாகப்பறைவாய்

2462/3926/ந8.1872/ந2.1706 பறைந்திடவே னாநுனக்கு

2463/3926-7/ந8.1872/ந2.1706 பாவி ஒருதி பிறந்தேன்.

2464 பிறந்ததினால் யெனக்குகஞ்சி

2465 பெலனாக கொண்டு வந்தாய்.

2466/3928/ந8.1873/ந2.1707 மறந்து போகுதே யினக்கு புத்தி

2467/3929/ந8.1873 வாய்திறந்து பேசுமுன்னே

2468/3930/ந8.1874 நன்று நடு பறைந்தீர்களே

2469/3930-1/ந8.1874 னாட்டிலயும் யிருந்தீர்களே.<sup>66</sup>

++ Variant to 2468-9

++ N10.3930-1/N8.1874 நன்று நடு சொன்னீர்களே நாடறிய இருந்தீர்களே

[[N10.158

((3932-3938/9 = \*\*ந1.2293-2299 = ந8.1875-1878

[[N10.159

((3940-3944 = \*\*N1.2300-2304 = N8.1879-1881

((3945/N8.1882/n2.1716-7 இன்றுதயம் ஆனதிலே இயல்வணிகன்தாயனவே

((3946/ந8.1883/ந2.1718 வந்து ஒருகிளவியவன் வயத்திலே அடித்தழுதான்

((3947/ந8.1884/ந2.1719 உழவர்பதிதோறும் முறை உரைத்திடவே கரையாளர்

((3948-3962 = \*\*ந1.2306-2313 = ந8.1885-1894/ந2.1720-1729

((3963/ந8.1894/ந2.1729 செங்கையுள்ள என்மகளே

((3964-5 = \*\*ந1.2314 = ந8.1895/ந2.1730

<sup>66</sup> After N1.2469 should follow 2292, see N10.158d.



[[N10.160

((3966-3968 = \*\*N1.2315-2320 = N8.1896-1897  
 ((3969/N8.1898 கலப்பையில்இறந்தாலும்கலாசம்கிடைத்  
 ((3970/ந8.1898 திடுமே.  
 ((3971/ந8.1899 மலக்கமதேன் அப்பச்சரேமகனிருக்க  
 ((3972/ந8.1899 இப்போது  
 ((3973 = \*\*N1.2323-4 = N8.1900  
 ((3974/N8.1901 காரணவந்தேடிவைத்தகட்டிநிதி  
 ((3975/ந8.1901 போலாக.  
 ((3976-7 = \*\*ந1.2325-6 = ந8.1902  
 ((3978/ந8.1903 இல்லைஇந்தவயல்காட்டில்இறக்கமதி  
 ((3979/ந8.1903 சொல்வாரில்லை  
 - ((3980-3992 = \*\*N1.2327-2340 = N8.1904-1911

[[N10.161

((4013-4016 = \*\*N1.2341-44 = N8.1912-1915

[[N10.162

((4017-4018 = \*\*N1.2347-8 = N8.1916-7  
 ((4019/N8.1918/N2.1753 அல்லவேஇசக்கிகொன்றாள் என்றபேர்  
 ((4020/ந8.1918/ந2.1753 எடுக்கவென்றால்  
 ((4021-4030 = \*\*ந1.2352-2361 = ந8.1919-1928  
 ((4031-4036 = \*\*ந1.2366  
 ((4037/-ந8.1929 ஏலம்பால்காஞ்சிரம்பால்எண்ணியதோர்வகை  
 ((4038 களல்லாம்  
 ((4039 இத்தனையும்கறந்தாள்என்தாயார் (இத்த)  
 ((4040-4041 = \*\*ந1.2367-8

[[N10.163

((4042 காயாம்புமேனிநல்லாங்கடுவாய்நாக்கும்அருள  
 ((4043 கைதனிலேவந்துசேர்ந்ததுபோல் (கைதனி)  
 ((4044 ஆக இதல்லாம்கூட்டி அன்னநடையாள்இசக்கி  
 ((4045 யம்மை  
 ((4046 = \*\*-ந1.2369  
 ((4047 = \*\*ந1.2371 = ந8.1934 = ந2.1769  
 ((4048-50 = \*\*ந1.2372-4  
 ((4051-4053 = \*\*ந1.2375-2377 = ந8.1936-1939/ந2.1771-1773  
 ((4054-55 = \*\*ந1.2378  
 ((4056 = \*\*-ந1.2146-8 = ந8.1940 / ந2.1775  
 ((4057/ந8.1941/ந2.1776 கன்னியரும்ஏதுமொழிசொல்வாள் (கன்னி)  
 ((4058 = \*\*-ந1.2379 (+~ந1.2149) = ~ந8.1942/-ந2.1777  
 ((4059 இதுவரைக்கும்  
 ((4060 கண்ணோடும்முகத்தோடும்அறைவாள் (கண்)  
 ((4061/ந8.1944 நன்றுநடுவில்லாமல்மண்ணாவாகெடுத்தாளே  
 ((4062/ந8.1945 நான்பிழைத்தபிழைப்புகளும்போச்சே (நான்)  
 ((4063/ந8.1946 மண்ணாவாஇசக்கிஎன்றுஅண்ணாவிசுரையாளர்  
 ((4064/ந8.1947 மாயமும்தனறிந்தாரில்லை (மாய)  
 ((4065/ந8.1948 என்றுசொல்லிசற்றுநேரம்இருந்தமுது இசக்கியம்மை  
 ((4066/ந8.1949 ஏனனவேகெட்பாரும்இல்லை (ஏனனவே)

[[N10.164

((4067/ந8.1950 அமுததருதுஇருந்தாலும்ஆரனவேகேட்ப்  
 ((4068/ந8.1950 பாரில்லை.  
 ((4069/ந8.1951 ஆகையினால்வீடுதோறும்சென்று (ஆகை)  
 ((4070/ந8.1952 அவரவர் பேருசொல்லிஅனைத்திடவேணும் என்று  
 ((4071/~ந8.1953 என்தாயார்இசக்கியம்மை  
 ((4072/ந8.1953 கோலம்கொள்வாளே

++ Variant to N10.4071-2

++ N8.1953 ஆயிழையாள் கோலங்கொள்ளு வாளாம்  
(ஆயிழையாள்)

[[N10.164

((4084 = \*\*N1.2383 = ~N8.1954  
 ((4085-4088 = \*\*N1.2386

((4089 = \*\*N1.2387-8  
 ((4090 அவர்வர்கள்பேரு சொல்லிஅழைப்பிக்கவேணும் என்று  
 ((4091 = \*\*ந1.2389 = ந8.1954/ந2.1789  
 ((4092 = \*\*N1.2390 = N8.1954/N2.1789  
 ((4093/N8.1955 அரைகுறையாய் பேரு சொல்லிஅழைப்பாளம்  
 ((4094 இசக்கியம்மை  
 ((4095 = \*\*ந1.2391 = ந8.1956/ந2.1791  
 ((4096/-ந8.1957 குளந்தைபெற்றமடக்கொடியே மோரடியோ  
 ((4097 குட்டிபிள்ளாய் மோரடியோ  
 ((4098/ந8.1958 முத்துபிள்ளாய் மோரடியோ  
 ((4099 மொய்குளலேமோருகொள்ளு  
 ((4100/ந8.1959 பத்தினிபெண்ணாய்இருக்கும்  
 ((4101/ந8.1959 பண்டாரத்தி மோரடியே  
 ((4102 கண்சிமிட்டிமொழிபறையும்  
 ((4103 கறுத்திபிள்ளாய் மோரடியோ  
 ((4104 பஞ்சமெத்தை போட்டுறங்கும்  
 ((4105 பரமாயிமோரடியோ  
 ((4106 = \*\*ந1.2178 = ந8.1960  
 ((4107 = \*\*ந1.2179 = ந8.1960  
 ((4108 பச்சைதின்னிபிச்சையிடா  
 ((4109 = \*\*ந1.2180  
 ((4110/-ந8.1961 புதுமாலைமோருகொள்ளு  
 ((4111/ந8.1961 பூவணஞ்சிமோரு கொள்ளு  
 ((4112 கணவனைதான்வணங்காத  
 ((4113 கள்ளிகளேமோரடியோ  
 ((4114 பல்விளக்கிமுகம்களுவா  
 ((4115 பாவையரேமோரடியோ

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((4116 அறிதிபிள்ளாய்மோரடியோ  
 ((4117 அமராபதிமோரடியோ  
 ((4118 பூமாலைமோருபிள்ளாய்  
 ((4119 பொன்னிறத்தாள் மோருகொள்ளு  
 ((4120 வடிவபிள்ளாய் மோருகொள்ளு  
 ((4121 மாடத்திமோரடியோ  
 ((4122 = \*\*2393  
 ((4123 மங்கையரேமோரடியோ  
 ((4124 குலாவி மொழிதானுரைக்கும்  
 ((4125 குட்டிபிள்ளாய் மோரடியோ  
 ((4126 சொக்கநாச்சிபிச்சைபிள்ளை  
 ((4127 துடியிடையேமோரடியோ  
 ((4128 = \*\*2395 = ந8.1962 = ந2.1797  
 ((4129 = \*\*~2396

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((4134 = \*\*~ந1.2397 = ~ந8.1963  
 ((4135 ஏற்றதெருவெல்லாம்சுத்திஅலைந்து  
 ((4136 பார்த்தோம்  
 ((4137 = \*\*ந1.2398  
 ((4138 = \*\*ந1.2399 = ந8.1965 = ந2.1800

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((4139/N8.1966/N2.1801 ஒவ்வொருவீட்டிலுருத்தியைகட்டிஅழுது  
 ((4140/ந8.1967 ஒன்றுபோலேஇளவுகொண்டாடி வேணும்  
 ((4141/ந8.1968 பய்யபளகைவடக்குதெருவிலேவந்து  
 ((4142/ந8.1969 பட்டபாடுசொல்லிபய்யவேகெட்டிஅழுதாள்  
 ((4143/ந8.1970 அழுதகரையாளர்பெண்கள்கண்ணீரை  
 ((4144/ந8.1970 துடைத்து  
 ((4145/ந8.1971 ஆவிகெட்டியவள்ஏதுமொழிசொல்லுவாளாம்  
 ((4146 = \*\*ந1.2414 = ந8.1972  
 ((4147 இட்டவிதியல்லால்ஏத்தம்கிடைத்திடுமோதான்  
 ((4148 = \*\*ந1.2402 = ந8.1974  
 ((4149/ந8.1975 கள்ளிஇசக்கியம்காட்டிலேவிட்டோடி போனாள்  
 ((4150 பொல்லாப்புசெ ய்தவர்ஒன்றுபோலே  
 ((4151 இறந்தார்.  
 ((4152 பொட்டுகுலைந்ததுஇசக்கிஅம்மையும்  
 ((4153 அப்பாலேபோனாள்

((4154 கல்லுக்கும்சொல்லுக்கும்எங்கும்கதை  
 ((4155 யாய்நடக்கும்  
 ((4156 சாசினியோர்கள்நகைக்கவும்பேறுகள்  
 ((4157 பெற்றீர்  
 ((4158/ந8.1976 வட்டிசுளந்தைகள் மக்களும்இங்கேஇருக்க  
 ((4159/ந8.1977 வாய்விட்டழுதாக்கால்போய்கரையேறவும் மாட்டார்  
 ((4160 = \*\*ந1.2406 = ந8.1978  
 ((4161/ந8.1979 நண்ணுதல்மாறேகுரலைஅமையும்  
 ((4162/ந8.1979 என்றுசொன்னாள்  
 ((4163 எந்தாயார்இசக்கியம்மையவன்சொல்ல  
 ((4164 ஏங்கிஅழுதபேரல்லாம்தூங்கிவிளபோற்றீர்  
 ((4165 என்றானே

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((4171-4174 = \*\*ந1.2408-2412  
 ((4172 = \*\*ந1.2409  
 ((4175 ஒருபோலேஅழுததுண்டால்  
 ((4176 உன்னாணைபாவமடி  
 ((4177 அனியாயம்சூழ்தடிஅறம்பாவம்மாதடி  
 ((4178/ந8.1982 ஏங்கிநீங்கள் அழுததுண்டால்  
 ((4179/ந8.1982 இறந்தவர்இடவழியில்நின்றிடுவார்  
 ((4180/ந8.1983/ந2.1818 தூங்கிநீங்கள் அழுததுண்டால்  
 ((4181/ந8.1983 சொற்க்கம்சேரமாட்டார்கள்  
 ((4182 = \*\*ந1.2416 = ந8.1984 = ந2.1819  
 ((4183 = \*\*ந1.2417  
 ((4184 மக்களுண்டுமக்களுண்டு  
 ((4185 மங்கையரேமலங்காதே  
 ((4186 எழுபதுபேரும்போனார்கள்  
 ((4187 இசக்கியும்போனாள்காண்

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((4188 = \*\*~ந1.2151  
 ((4189 பாவையரேபதறாதே  
 ((4190 குலைகாறிஎன்றுசொல்லி  
 ((4191 கொடியிடைமார்அறியாமல்  
 ((4192 இனிஏதுசெய்வோமடிஎன்னுடைய  
 ((4193 இடச்சியரே

((4202/ந8.1986 பதறாதேபெண்டுகளே  
 ((4203 பால்குடிக்கவேணும்என்றாள்  
 ((4204 மனம்இரங்கிகரையாளார்  
 ((4205 மங்கையர்கள்எல்லோரும்  
 ((4205 = \*\*~ந1.2418-9  
 ((4206 = \*\*~ந1.2156 = ந8.1987  
 ((4207 கூடும்என்றசொல்கொடியிடைமார்  
 ((4208 எல்லோரும்  
 ((4209-10 = \*\*~ந1.2422 = ~ந8.1988

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((4211-12 = \*\*~ந1.2423 = ~ந8.1989  
 ((4213 = \*\*~ந1.2424 = ந8.1990  
 ((4214 வாய்த்தகலம்கொடுவாரும்  
 ((4215 = \*\*ந1.2425  
 ((4216 கிருபையுள்ளமடவாரே  
 ((4217 = \*\*ந1.2426  
 ((4218 தளுவைவட்டில் கொடுவாரும்  
 ((4219 வீட்டிலுள்ளவைககள்எல்லாம்  
 ((4220 மெல்லியர்கள்கொண்டுவந்தார்  
 ((4221-4 = \*\*~ந1.2157 = ~ந8.1992  
 ((4225 பால்குடிக்கும்சுளந்தைகளை  
 ((4226 மொய்குளமேமடியில்வைய்யும்  
 ((4227 துடுக்குஒருவர்க்குபால்பகுந்தாப்போல்  
 ((4228 = \*\*~ந1.2428  
 ((4229 = \*\*ந1.2430 = ~ந8.1995  
 ((4230 = \*\*ந1.2431 = ந8.1995  
 ((4231 = \*\*ந1.2432 = ந8.1996  
 ((4232 = \*\*~ந1.2433 = ~ந8.1996

[[N10.171

((4233 = \*\*ந1.2435 = ந8.1997  
 ((4234 நஞ்சுண்டகெண்டைகள்நடுநடுங்கிசாவாரும்  
 ((4235 மஞ்சுண்டகூந்தலன்  
 ((4236 மாதர்களும்தைந்தர்களும்தை  
 ((4237-38 = \*\*-ந1.2439

2470/4239-40 ஆயினாயன் கொல்லவென்று<sup>67</sup>

++ Variant to 2470

++ N10.4239-40 எழுபதுபேர்சிறுபிள்ளையைஇனிஎன்தாயார் /  
கொல்லவேணும் என்று

[[N10.171

((4241 அதிலேஒருபாலகனை  
 ((4242 ஆயினாயன்கண்டடுத்து  
 ((4243 பிறாமணக்குடிதெருவதிலேஒரு  
 ((4244 தின்னையிலே கிடத்திவிட்டு  
 ((4245 மற்றும் உள்ளபிள்ளைகளைஎன்தாயார்  
 ((4246 மகிமையுடன்ஏது செய்வான்

2471/4247 சுண்ணாம்பும் சோறுமாக

2472/4248 திரட்டியவன் தான் கொடுத்து

[[N10.171

((4249/-ந8.1998 கரையாளர்சிறுபிள்ளையைஎன்தாயார்

2473/4250/ந8.1998 கொன்றாளே பாதகத்தி

++ Variant to 2473

++ N10.4250 கைமேலேகொன்றுவிட்டான்

++ N8.1998 இப்படியே இறந்தபின்பு இளங்குழந்தை  
தன்னையுமோ

2474 கொடும் நீலி யிசக்கியம்மை

2475/4251/ந8.2000 யெல்லோரும் யிறந்தபோது

++ Variant to 2475

++ N10.4251/N8.2000 எல்லோரும் இறந்தபின்பு - என்தாயார்

[[N10.171

((4252/ந8.2000 இசக்கியம்மை குரவையிட்டான்

\*\*2476/4256 யேற்ற நரி ஓடவிட்டான்.

++ Variant to 2476

++ N10.4256 பகல நரி ஓடவைத்தான்

2477/4253 பனகையூரானதிலே

2478/4253-4 பகல் தீ கொளுத்தி விட்டால்

++ Variant to 2477-8

++ N10.4253-4 பனகநகர்தெருவதிலேபகலதீ / கொடுத்தி  
வைத்தான்

[[N10.171

((4255 பழகைநகர்தெருவதல்லாம்  
 ((4256 = \*\*-ந1.2476

[[N10.172

((4257/ந8.2002 அண்ணருடபழியுடனே  
 ((4258/ந8.2002 அருள்வேம்பின்பின்பியும்கொண்டேன்  
 ((4259/-ந8.2003 ஒருபழிக்குமுன்னூறு பழிஉகந்து  
 ((4260 கொண்டேன்கொண்டேன்என்றான்  
 ((4261 என்றுசொல்லிஇசக்கியம்மை  
 ((4262 ஏந்தினையான்அன்னேரம்  
 ((4263 கொண்டாடிதமயனையும்

<sup>67</sup> N1.2470 should follow N1.2441, see N10.171.

((4264 கூடவங்கேவரவளைத்து  
 ((4265/ந8.2003 முன்னடுத்தபழியதற்க்காய்  
 ((4266/ந8.2003 முன்னூறுபழியும்கொண்டேன்

2479 யென்பெருமாள் துணையெனவே  
 2480/4280/ந8.2004 கூஸபரனார் கயிலயிலே  
 2481/~4279/ந8.2004 கயிலாழ புரமதிலே

++ Variant to 4280-1

++ N10.4279-80/N8.2004 கோலவற்றணகைலையிலே /  
 குருபரனார் இடமதிலே

2482 கரைக் கண்டனாரிடமதிலே  
 2483 சிவனுடய கயிலயிலே

[[N10.173  
 ((4281/ந8.2005 சீலமுள்ள திருமுகத்தாள்

2484/4282/ந8.2005 சென்றாரே யிருபேரும்.

++ Variant to 2484

++ N10.4282/N8.2005 சென்றுநின்றுதான்தொழுது

2485 பகவதி அன்ன யிசக்கி கதை முற்றிவிட்டது.

[[N10.173  
 ((4283 ஈஸ்பரரேமகதேவா  
 ((4284 ஏற்றவரம்தாருமய்யா  
 ((4285 எந்தனுக்கும்என் அண்ண  
 ((4286 னுக்கும் ஏற்றவரம்தாருமென்றாள்  
 ((4287 வாருமம்மாஇசக்கியம்மாவரம்  
 ((4288 உங்களுக்குசொல்லுகிறேன்  
 ((4289 பூலோகம்மானதிலே  
 ((4290 போய்இருந்துபூசையுண்ண  
 ((4291 பெருமையுடன்வரமும்தந்தேன்  
 ((4292 வாழ்மயிலேஇசக்கியம்மா  
 ((4293 சான்றோர்குலம்க்களையும்  
 ((4294 தன்மையுடன்காத்திடுவீர்  
 ((4295 கலியுகத்தைகாத்திடுவீர்  
 ((4296 காரிளையேஇசக்கிஅம்மா  
 ((4297 வன்னியடிமறவனோடு  
 ((4298 வாய்த்தபூசையுண்டுடுவீர்  
 ((4299 உங்களைநம்பிநீறுஇட்டால்  
 ((4300 உற்றபிணிதீர்த்துவிடும்

[[N10.174  
 ((4301 அள்ளிதிருநீறுவிட்டால்  
 ((4302 அரியபிணிதீர்த்துவிடும்  
 ((4303 வாரிதிருநீறுஇட்டால்  
 ((4304 வாய்த்தபிணிதீர்த்துவிடும்  
 ((4305 தீராதபிணிகளல்லாம்தீர்த்து  
 ((4306 விடும்உங்கள்நீறுஇட்டால்  
 ((4307 கொல்லவரம்வெல்லவரம்  
 ((4308 குலைபளிகள்செய்யவரம்  
 ((4309 மதத்தாரைமதமடக்க  
 ((4310 வாய்த்தவரம்தந்தோம்  
 ((4311 என்றார்  
 ((4312 ஏறிபோகவாகனமும்எந்த  
 ((4313 னக்குவேணும்என்றாள்  
 ((4314 என் அண்ணனுக்குகுதிரைவாக  
 ((4315 னமும்  
 ((4316 ஈஸ்பரரேதாரும்என்றார்  
 ((4317 ஆகாயதேரதுவும்ஆயிளைக்  
 ((4318 குதான்கொடுத்தார்

[[N10.174  
 ((4319 ஆகாயதேரேறிஆயிளையாள்  
 ((4320 இசக்கியம்மை  
 ((4321 வெள்ளகுதிரையிலேநீலராஜன்

((4322 தானேறி  
 ((4323 வன்னியடிமறவனுமோ  
 ((4334 வலதுபக்கம்துடர்ந்துவர  
 ((4335 கைலாசமலைதனையும்  
 ((4336 காரிளையாள் சுற்றவந்தாள்  
 ((4337-4346<sup>68</sup>

[[N10.176  
 ((4347/ந8.2004 கோலவறணைகையிலே  
 ((4348/ந8.2004 குருபரனார் இடமதலே  
 ((4349/ந8.2005 சீலமுள்ளதிருமுகத்தாள்  
 ((4350/ந8.2005 சென்றுநின்றுதொழுத  
 ((4351 னளாம்  
 ((4352 எம்பெருமாள்துணையெனவே  
 ((4353 இசக்கிஅம்மையுடன்  
 ((4354 நீலருமாய்  
 ((4355/ந8.2007 நம்பிக்கையாய்துதிபுரிந்து  
 ((4356/ந8.2007 நாடிவரம்தான்வாங்கி  
 ((4357ந8.2008 ஊருருராய்மனிதரிடம்  
 ((4358 ஊட்டுணவுகொள்ள  
 ((4359 வென்று  
 ((4360/ந8.2009 கார்மிடத்துஅண்ணனையும்  
 ((4361/ந8.2009 கனிந்துநமஸ்க்காரம்செய்தாள்

[[N10.177  
 ((4362/ந8.2010 தெச்சணத்தில்வந்துநின்று  
 ((4363/ந8.2010 தெய்வமென்தான்வாழ்ந்து  
 ((4364/ந8.2011 பச்சமுள்ளோர்தனைகாத்து  
 ((4365/ந8.2011 பாவிகள்க்குசிச்சைசெய்தாள்  
 ((4366/ந8.2012 வேப்பமரமுடதிலேஎன்தாயார்  
 ((4367/ந8.2012 வேணுதலாள்கொறுவிருந்தாள்  
 ((4368/ந8.2013 காப்பானீலரோடு  
 ((4369/ந8.2013 கட்டுடனேபூசையுண்டார்  
 ((4370 வன்னியடிமறவனுமோ  
 ((4371 வண்மையுடன்பூசையுண்  
 ((4372 டாள்.  
 ((4373/ந8.2014 நரரிடத்தில்பூசையுண்  
 ((4374 டாள்  
 ((4375 நண்ணுதலாள் இசக்கி  
 ((4376 அம்மை  
 ((4377 பனங்கொட்டாவிளையதிலே  
 ((4378 பாவைநல்லாள்பூசை  
 ((4379 யுண்டாள்  
 ((4380 இந்தநல்லதலமதிலே  
 ((4381 ஏந்திளையாள்இசக்கி  
 ((4382 அம்மை.

<sup>68</sup> Here the text is praising the goddess before it returns to the fixed text repeating five previous lines.



## Abbreviations / Signs

### Abbreviations

Chap.	Chapter
Cil.	<i>Cilappatikāram</i>
Colloq.	colloquial
DEDR	see Burrow, T. and M.B. Emeneau 1960.
Dt.	District
ed.	edition, edited
em.	emendation
Engl.	English
ETL	<i>Encyclopaedia of Tamil Literature</i>
f	female
FFC	FF Communications
FRRC	Folklore Resource and Research Centre, St. Xavier's College, Pālaiyamkōṭṭai
Ger.	German
Hi.	Hindi
IAS	Institute of Asian Studies (Chennai/Madras)
IK	<i>Icakkiamman Katai</i>
K.K.Dt.	Kāṅṅiyākumari District
KM	kilometre
lit.	literally
LT	Literary Tamil
m	male
M.	Malaiyālam
Mbh.	<i>Mahābhārata</i>
Ms./Mss.	Manuscript/Manuscripts
N1	Nīli.1 (base text)
N2-10	variant texts
n.d.	no date
onom. expr.	Onomatopoeic expression, echo word
OUP	Oxford University Press
pt.	point
Pura	<i>Puranānūru</i> (ed. Cāminātaiyar 1971)
Rām.	<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>
repr.	reprint
Sect.	Section
Skt.	Sanskrit
SR	S. Svayamburajan
ST	Spoken Tamil
Ta.	Tamil



TL	<i>Tamil Lexicon</i> (6 vols. with supplement)
T.M.P.	T. Muthucami Pulavar
T.N.	Tamilnadu
transl., tr.	translation, translated
U.V.C.	U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar
v./vv.	verse/verses

### Signs (in the Edition and Translation)

*	changed order relative to the N1 text
◇	in the edited text: my emendation; solely in the footnotes
◇	in the translated text: i.e. «கரிமருஷம்», emendation on the basis of a variant. The translation is according to the emendation.
()	in the edited text: insertion by the copist of the manuscript
()	in the translated text: meaning implicit in the original text
[]	in the translated text: meaning not implicit in the original text, but rather added by the translator for better comprehension of the text
a, b, c, d	page division into four parts (a, b, and so forth)

## Glossary

Unless otherwise stated, terms are in Tamil.

<i>agrahāram</i>	Skt., Brahmin settlement
<i>ahiṃsā</i>	Skt., nonviolence
<i>akkā</i>	elder sister
<i>alaṅkāram</i>	decoration of an icon; more generally: embellishment
<i>alaṅkāra tīpārāṭaṇai</i>	ornamentation and worship of a deity with a light
<i>ammaṅ</i>	appellation of a female deity (marking her out as female)
<i>antāti</i>	(lit. “end-beginning”) a poetic style in which the last word of one verse becomes the first word of the next
<i>āppam</i>	eatables
<i>bali/pali</i>	Skt./Ta., sacrifice
<i>bhakti</i>	Skt., devotion
<i>cāmiṅvāḱku</i>	divine utterance
<i>cāmiyāḱi</i>	god-dancer
<i>cāmiyāḱṭam</i>	dancing (under possession of) the deity
<i>Ceṭṭi</i>	the merchant social group
<i>cumaitāṅki kal</i>	a stone formation upon which to set down loads
<i>darśana</i>	Skt., a devotee’s vision of a deity
<i>deva</i>	Skt., a divinity
<i>devadāsī</i>	Skt., female temple dancer (one of whose main functions is to light lights for the gods)
<i>devatās</i>	Skt., minor deities
<i>dṛṣṭi</i>	Skt., evil eye
<i>gopuram</i>	Skt., tower
<i>ilaṅkam</i>	a building
<i>kācu</i>	a unit of currency
<i>kalam</i>	a unit of measure for grain
<i>Kālī/Kālī</i>	Skt./Ta., the name of a pan-Indian Śaiva goddess
<i>kaḷḷi</i>	a milky sap-bearing shrub/weed ( <i>Euphorbia tirucalli</i> )
<i>kamukampū</i>	areca flower
<i>kaṅṅi</i>	virginal woman
<i>kāppiyam/kāvya</i>	Ta./Skt., long narrative poem
<i>Karaiyāḷar</i>	(see <i>Vēlāḷa</i> )
<i>katai</i>	story
<i>kaṭakam</i>	silver bangle
<i>kāṭu</i>	forest, wilderness
<i>koṭai</i>	gift, festival in honour of a local deity
<i>kōyil/kōvil</i>	temple, shrine
<i>kulateyvam</i>	lineage deity
<i>kuṅkumam</i>	red powder, vermilion
<i>kuravai</i>	a ululation sound made by flapping the tongue against the inside of the mouth
<i>kuṛi</i>	sign, prediction
<i>kuṭam</i>	pot
<i>liṅga</i>	Skt., phallus-shaped stone

<i>mañcaḷ</i>	turmeric
<i>mañcaṇai</i>	a mixture of yellow turmeric, <i>kuṅkumam</i> powder, and oil
<i>mangala</i>	Skt., auspicious (vs. <i>amangala</i> , “inauspicious”)
<i>maṇṭapam</i>	hall
<i>mantiravāṭi</i>	(lit. “one who [utters] mantras”) a sorcerer
<i>māppillai mañcappillai</i>	a kind of ritual
<i>māṭaṇ</i>	appellation for certain deities (marking them out as males)
<i>māṭṭkās</i>	Skt., mother goddesses
<i>mēkalai</i>	a waistbelt (an emblem of long life)
<i>mokṣa</i>	Skt., freedom from <i>samsāra</i>
<i>mudrā</i>	Skt., ritual hand gesture
<i>mūlasthāna</i>	Skt., foundation, base
<i>muni/muṇi</i>	Skt./Ta., sage, ascetic
<i>mūtēvi</i>	the goddess of misfortune
<i>nāñcil</i>	plough
<i>nāṭakam</i>	drama
<i>nātasvaram</i>	an oboe-like instrument
<i>nāṭu</i>	land
<i>nērccai</i>	thanksgiving gift
<i>nīm</i>	Hi., margosa ( <i>Azadirachta indica</i> , Ta. <i>vēmpu</i> )
<i>pālabhiṣeka</i>	the ceremonial pouring of milk
<i>pālai</i>	wilderness (a landscape associated with dryness)
<i>pantal</i>	canopy
<i>pantam</i>	flaming torch
<i>paral</i>	a token used when taking an oath
<i>paṭaiṭṭu</i>	offering
<i>patikam</i>	preface, introduction; stanza
<i>perampu</i>	staff, stick
<i>pēy/peya</i>	Ta./Prakrit, hungry spirit (the spirit of a dead person in limbo)
<i>pūṭam</i>	a platform
<i>poṅkal</i>	rice cooked in milk in an earthen pot until it boils over (symbolising abundance)
<i>prasāda</i>	Skt., a food offering for gods, upon being returned to the devotee
<i>pūjāri/pūjāri</i>	Skt./Ta., non-Brahmin priest
<i>pūkkuli</i>	fire walking
<i>pūppaṭaiṭṭu</i>	flower offering
<i>pūppaṭukkai</i>	flowerbed
<i>pūtam/bhūta</i>	Ta./Skt., demon
<i>puṭṭu</i>	eatables
<i>rākṣasa</i>	Skt., demon
<i>sati</i>	Skt., the self-immolation of a widow along with her deceased husband
<i>tālampū/tālai</i>	screw pine ( <i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i> , Skt. <i>ketakī</i> )
<i>tāli</i>	marriage badge; a conventionally recognised emblem of maturation in matrilinear systems
<i>taluk (Engl.)</i>	Hi. <i>tāllukā</i> , an administrative unit below the district level
<i>Tamiḷakam</i>	Tamil country
<i>taṅkai</i>	younger sister
<i>tīrthaṅkara</i>	Skt., fordmaker
<i>tuvaḷai</i>	kid goat
<i>vacaṇam</i>	narrating in rhythmic prose
<i>vēcai</i>	harlot
<i>vēl</i>	spear
<i>Vēlaḷa/Karaiyāḷar</i>	landowning peasant-farmer
<i>vēmpu</i>	margosa ( <i>Azadirachta indica</i> , Hi. <i>nīm</i> )
<i>viḷaiyāṭal</i>	play, amusement
<i>villuppāṭṭu</i>	bow-song
<i>virāl</i>	a species of fish
<i>yakṣīs</i>	Skt., a type of semi-god

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