Note that the page numbers are in cursive type when the reference is to an illustration and a main passage.

```
Abhijñānaśākuntala, 296n82
adultery, 51, 55, 60, 222-224, 223n12, 254, 293n65,
  360. See also Icakki; polygyny; yakṣī
Aiyanār, 14, 167, 279. See also Cāstā
akam, 228
alankāram (ornamentation) moment, 356; and emotions,
  337, 338; as a form of recognition, 338; as generating
  self-recognition, 319-321; in the Icakkiyamman
  Katai, 59, 60, 172-174 (N1.1039-96), 173n167,
  174n179, 187 (N1.1460-76), 193 (N1.1683-95), 230,
  309; in the ritual, 273n10, 289, 290–292, 302,
  308-309, 309n156, 311n169, 316, 319-321, 324, 337,
  338, 342, 350, 351-352, 356, 360. See also
  recognition
Alli, 50
Alliyaracānimālai, 50, 251
Ammaiyappar (Siva) temple: ritual link to Naţukātţu
  Icakki temple, 277, 278, 284, 285, 286, 349; textual
  link to Icakki's stories, 20, 51, 145 (N1.5), 148
  (N1.109), 149 (N1.130-31), 154n53, 289, 304
Ampikā: compared with Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, 244n100;
  as being a Jain yakṣī/iyakki, 31n16, 244, 244n98; with
  two children, 31n16, 244
aṇanku, 33-34, 33n26, 54, 332n292; definition of,
  33n24
animal sacrifice: coconut as substitute for, 265; for
  Icakki, 16, 257, 259n207, 272, 286, 289, 297–298,
  312, 317; and moment of killing, 334; for Nīli in Cil.,
  28-29, 53
arul: definition of, 33n22, 169n144, 293n72, 334
Assmann, Jan, 2
auspiciousness: of devadāsī, 149n26, 253; of mañcaṇai
  paste, 300; of sexual intercourse, 293n73; of turmeric,
  317. See also inauspiciousness
Auvaiyār, 13n30, 170n151, 190n284, 263, 264,
  265n256, 269
Auvaiyār nōnpu, 225
avvai viratam, 334n316, 335. See also Auvaiyār nonpu
baby: in arm of goddess, 260; birth of, 13, 150, 151, 160;
  on Cetti's lap, 46, 200 (N1.1887-8); created by
  goddess, 335; equated with death, 18; between
  Icakki's fangs, 260, 355; iconographic meaning of
```

three (babies), 282, 355; and impregnation by south

wind, 13; inner potency of, 333; kalli plant turned into

(baby), 10, 59, 60, 222; kid goat as surrogate for, 313;

```
killed, 33, 48; preference for female (baby), 150
  (N1.188-89); psychic disposition of, 15
barrenness: anguish caused to women by, 222-224;
  definition of, 222n6; and maternity as central themes
  in the villuppāttu tradition, 310n161; and self-
  impregnation, 222, 223. See also Icakki
Beck, B.E.F., 173n169, 206n389, 223n15, 225, 238n52,
  291n61, 293n65, 332n288, 335n319
Bhagavatī, 13n32, 15, 166n119, 217, 236; Nīli as a
  multiform of, 240; transformation of shrines into
  places of, 217n479, 250nn149, 150
Bhairava alias Vairavan: attendant of goddess, 279
bhakti: and Icakki, 266n259, 341; forms of, 235n21;
  Saiva (bhakti) literature and Nīli, 54
bhūta. See pūtam
biological continuity: blocking of, 60, 281, 334,
  346-347; stability, identity, and, 346-347
birth. See baby
Blackburn, Stuart, 1n4, 2, 7, 9n19, 11n25, 12, 13nn27,
  28, 29, 16n43, 19n46, 40, 50n131, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61,
  166n118, 176n186, 189n271, 206n390, 221, 223,
  224, 235, 236nn25, 31, 237nn38, 41, 238, 239nn55,
  56, 241n73, 254, 255, 256n198, 259, 269n274, 279,
  291nn56, 57, 293n71, 297n93, 301, 302, 303n127,
  304n133, 305, 308, 310, 314n190, 316n193,
  317n197, 325, 326, 328n259, 331n286, 332n292,
  334n310
blood: (blood) drinking by the goddess, 311-312, 333,
  338, 339, 352; as giving new life, 313–314, 333–335,
  339; and milk akin, 333n307. See also animal
  sacrifice
body: aspects of body, 292n65; concept of, 292,
  292n62; demonic aggressor's attack on, 332; entering
  (body) of someone else, 153 (N1.275); external use
  of internal parts of, 335; flowery, 324; the goddess's,
  293–294, 294n78, 295–296, 299; the goddess's
  emergence in a, 293, 321; the goddess's expression
  through her, 293-295, 296-297; interaction of mind
  and, 347; leaving the, 153 (N1.275); and liminality,
  306, 328; multiple possession of and oscillation
  between (bodies), 296; sensuous experiencing of,
  347; ucci as centre of, 306n143; and
  unconsciousness, 301. See also female body
botanical markers: ritual connotation of, 322-324; as
  ritual key elements, 296, 322, 337. See also plants;
```

ritual

bow-song bards/singers: interviews held with, T.Muthucami Pulavar (T.M.P.), 10, 15–16, 21, 24, 25, 32, 76, 83, 89, 93, 102, 104, 110, 116, 118, 122, 127, 137, 143, 154, 158, 166, 173, 185, 235, 255, 259, 268, 269, 292, 302, 307, 308, 317, 320, 322, 326, 330; G. Muttuletcumi and G. Gopikriṣṇaṇ, 166, 255, 257, 272, 282, 283–284, 298, 299, 303, 320, 325–326, 327, 329; S. Svayamburajan, 257, 259, 260, 290, 307, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330

bow-song tradition: and autonomy of goddess, 259; (bow-song) bard compared with *mantiravāti*, 326; (bow-song) bard possessed, 320; definition of, 7*n*6; (bow-song) as hunter, 306, 326, 326*n*252, 327; Icakki as feared goddess in, 252; and Icakki worship, 233; as making the goddess emerge, 341; Nīli story preserved in, 1, 7, 233; and royal courts, 7*n*8; scope of bardic freedom in, 11; (bow-song) singer's dependency, 327*n*257; violation—revenge—death—deification at the core of, 251. *See also* texts; *villuppāṭṭu* 

breasts: purpose of designed, 300, 337

brother. See sister-brother

Buddhism, 235–236; and *yakṣī*, 181*n*218, 227*n*39, 242, 247, 248, 249

Buddhist, 30, 30*n*11, 35, 36*n*46, 164*n*103 Bühnemann, Gudrun, 243*n*91, 296, 323*n*235

cakra: flowerbed as, 296; goddess immobilised on, 304, 329n274; and sorcerer, 296

cāmivākku, 264

*cāmiyāţi*, 264; and flaming torch, 301; and gender, 294*n*78; sexually suggestive behaviour of, 296

Caṅkam poetry: ancient pass via Āralvāymoli mentioned in, 262n240; justice of king in, 164n103; *kalli* plant inhabited by deity in, 228; significance of plants in, 227; *tālai/kaitai* flower in, 322; terms in usage in, 128n1069, 154n54, 244; *vēmpu* trees inhabited by deities in, 227n37

Carrithers, Michael, 236n22, 243n92

Cāstā, deity, 167 (N1.828; 855-6), 236-237, 269, 279, 359

cattle and sheep: and hungry spirits, 60, 162 (N1.653–661)

Cemponkarai: cumaitānki kal in, 255

Cetti, 9, 60, 168-169, 222-224, 230; murder of, 226

Cettiyār: social group of, 238, 277, 278

*Cētupati Viraliviţutūtu*, 46, 47, 150*n*34, 152*n*41 children. *See* baby

Cilappatikāram: theme of revenge in, 57n5, 341. See also Nīli

Cīvakacintāmaņi: yakṣī figure in, 246-247

cocks, chicken: head of, 289n48. See also animal sacrifice

coconut: divinatory spinning of, 335; equated to foetus, 335*n*321; equivalent to human head, 335*n*321

concepts: of body, 292, 292*n*62; of *dṛṣṭi*, 255*n*195; of fertility in translocal *IK*, 149 (N1.137, 171, 217), 229; of honour, 223*n*14; of hot and cool, 229*n*50, 261*n*237, 323*n*234; of in-between, 328, 348; of interiority operative upon interiority, 335; of interiority/distance vs. exteriority/intimacy, 280, 324, 334, 337–338; of inversion in conceptualisation of child, 333, 333*n*306; of multiple self, 274*n*22, 301*n*117, 311*n*170, 318–319; of outside-in, 292, 319, 333–338; of positive emotionality and intimacy, 347; of

regeneration, 328; of self-fertilisation, 324; of time, 275nt9

cooling: flowerbed as, 293, 293*n*70, 295, 295*n*82; lemon as, 290, 300, 323*n*234; tree as, 229*n*50; vs. heating up, 310

Cort, John, 235, 236n22, 243n92

cosmos: of goddess, 273pt2

Crapanzano, Vincent, 301n118

creativity: bardic, 10–11, 59, 361–475; of ritual specialists, 2, 281

cross-cousin marriage, 19, 224*n*22, 238*n*47. *See also* matrilineal tradition

cross-fertilisation: between literary and oral tradition, 27–55; between ritual and text, 342; of translocal *IK* by other texts, 253*n*175

Csordas, Thomas, 274, 318n202, 331n285

Cukkuppāṛai Tēriviļai: Icakki shrine of, 251, 259*n*207, 260, 268, palm-leaf manuscript of, 9, 12, 13, 15, 188*n*264

cūlam, 28, 252n174, 260, 261

cumaitānki: definition of, 255; and Icakki, 255–256; and pregnant women, 255; and untimely death, 255; and yakṣī in popular belief, 255. See also deification

Cuṭalaimāṭaṇ: attendant of goddess, 263–265, 266, 267–268, 279; bow-song and ritual for, 350–352; and Icakki, 186n256; and Maravar/Tēvar community, 278, 292, 302, 307; as part of bow-song birth stories, 58n6; traits of, 279

Damasio, Antonio, 319*n*214, 336*n*331, 337 dance: with areca whisk, 310; and control, 297; with fire

dance: with areca whisk, 310; and control, 297; with fire torch, 300–301, 310–311; and harmonisation, 298; as uniting body and mind, 337; and violence, 297

Daniel, E. Valentine, 148nn22, 23, 274n22

death story, 57–58

deification: of Palaiyanūr Nīli, 252; and revenge, 57; of virgin or pregnant woman who died an untimely death, 154n53

demon: bloodthirstiness of, 312; emotions of, 274*n*14, 330; as real entity, 330; and seduction, 60, 274pt6. *See also pēv* 

devadāsī: and auspiciousness, 253n176; fertility and, 149n26; link between yaķī, Icakki, and, 252n174, 345–346; motif of, 253; Vēlālas and, 252n174

disguises: Icakki as cowherd woman, 212 (N1.2373–74); Icakki as daughter, 208 (N1.2251-57); Icakki as murderer, 10, 206 (N1.2100–4), 222–223; Icakki as old mother of Ceţţi, 10, 207 (N1.2115-22); Icakki as seductress, 173 (N1.1040–1096), 222; Icakki with child as Ceţţi's wife, 10, 60, 187 (N1.1460-76), 222–223; kaļļi milkweed as child, 10, 60, 186 (N1.1429)

distraction (vs. attraction): concept of, 300 divinatory spinning, 357; nexus between rolling on

flowerbed and, 300, 315. See also coconut; māppiļļai mañcappiļļai

drumbeat: and possession, 291, 293, 294, 294n76, 296–297, 301n118, 305, 327; and production of endorphins, 294n76; as vivid sensual perception, 337 Dubianski, Alexander, 33n24, 34, 228n40, 276n39

emotions: and *alaṅkāram* moment, 337, 338; and demons, 274*n*14, 330, 334*n*308; and reproductive disorder, 347

encyclopaedic apparatus: of translocal *IK*, 10–11, 361–475

environmental condition (dryness of land/hot season): and empty state of goddess, 261, 276, 281

eroticism: in text, 26, 38, 39, 40, 46, 50, 54, 55, 247*n*124, 251, 253*n*175; in ritual, 254, 260, 274, 280, 292*n*65, 294, 295, 310, 318, 321–324, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 347; and violence, 280*n*62

ethics of care: demand for, 206*n*390, 222, 229; oaths involving, 223

eye-opening ritual, 286-287

female body, 131*n*1104; beauty of, 152 (N1.260), 156 (N1.402), 291*n*61; hair and, 173*n*169; and public space, 204 (N1.2029-40); and reproductive capacity, 254–255, 256; sexual aspects of, 292*n*65; and sexual maturation, and arrival of south wind/a twelve-year stay in sacrificial fire, 14; weakness of, 151 (N1.211), 158 (N1.510), 159 (N1.525), 160 (N1.592), 168 (N1.878). *See also karpu* 

fertility: claims of, 224; of paramount importance, 223. See also Icakki

fire torch: in ritual, 300–301, 310–311, *356* flagstaff: in Icakki stories, 22, 258

flowerbed, 350-352, 355; and alankaram moment (selfrecognition), 321-322; as altar-like, 293; as area of regenerative processes/creation of erotic harmonies, 292n65; 294, 324; arrangement of pandanus and areca flowers on, 295; botanical markers as ritual key elements, 322-324, 337; circumambulation of, 311*n*168, 321*n*222; cooling effect of, 293, 295–296n82; as culturally powerful expression, 296n82; definition of, 292n64; description of ritual of, 292–295, 311, 316; and the female body's reproductive capacity, 324; and finding the pandanus flower, 294, 321; of internal dynamic, 337; as key element in transformative process, 347; as locus of goddess's play, 266, 293; and love-making, 295-296, 295*n*82; as manual, 292*n*65; nexus between divinatory spinning of coconut, unveiling of breasts, and rolling on, 300, 314, 335; reflections on, 295-296, 321-324; rolling on, 294, 324; self-containment of ritual of, 339; and self-fertilisation, 324; and self-procreation, 296, 321–324, 347; as sexually vital body, 293, 295; tantric elements in, 296; as three-dimensional movement, 324; three layers of, 293; as womb-like, 296; as yantra, 296, 324. See also body

flowers: act of ritual flowering, 290; emotional-cognitive effect of floral decoration, 292, 319, 337, 338; as language of sexual maturation, 290, 309. *See also alaṅkāram*; flowerbed; plants

forest: cultivated forest, 348n5. See also wilderness fragmentation, 259, 328, 329

Freeman, Rich, 26n93, 38, 296n90, 311

311-312

fusion, 253, 305–306, 325–329, 341–343; as ritual turning point, 306, 332; as unspaced plane, 305, 328. *See also* interaction; ritual depth

Gennep, Arnold van, 150*n*31, 156*n*61, 160*nn*89, 90, 169*n*147, 170*n*153, 215*n*459 goats: offered to goddess, 284; sacrifices of, 297,

goddess: androgynous concept of, 324, 334; as independent of Siva, 57, 236; virginal, 28, 60,

154*n*53, 251, 252*n*172, 256, 259-260, 259*n*212, 265. See also Icakki

guardian deity: Icakki as, 269; in local stories as, 258; being subordinated to Icakki, 263, 269, 278–279

Handelman, Don, 169n144, 172n165, 238, 272, 273, 275, 284n22, 294n78, 306n141, 319, 324nn238, 243, 328n266, 330n281, 335n317, 339

Hardgrave, Robert, 234n10, 237n39

Hardy, Friedhelm, 164n109, 223n14, 306n141

Hārītī: a child-devouring Buddhist deity, 248. See also yakṣī

Hart, G., 227, 296n84, 324

healing: definition of, 318*n*202; as an external impetus, 281, 289, 318, 333; involving erotic and violent forces, 274, 325–329, 347; and ritual depth, 332; as self-transformation, 318

heat: attracted by coolness, 229*n*50; concept of, 261*n*237; and demons, 229*n*50; goddess of, 261, 317; as kindling eroticism and fertility, 310–311; metaphors for, 289, 293

Hiltebeitel, Alf, 57, 271*n*1, 335*n*Hinduism: and *yakṣī*, 249*n*Hinüber, Oskar von, 10*n*23, 227*n*Honko, Lauri, 11*n*24, 21, 57, 275*n*28, 323, 335*n*honour: women's personal, 222. *See also* oaths humans, and plants. *See* plants

Icakki (yaksī): and adultery, 204 (N1.2021-22), 222–224, 254; her association with hot season and dry land, 261, 276; and barrenness, 222, 255; and Bhagavatī, 166n119, 217; and Cetti (merchant), 9-10; and child-eating, 257-259; and child-granting, 334–335; as composite spirit of pregnant women and virgins of untimely death, 2, 251, 255-256, 341; as creative virginal mother, 334, 336, 347; and Cuțalaimāțan, 186n256, 263-265, 266, 267-268, 279; as devadāsī, 9; and her devadāsī-mother, 9, 154 (N1.316); and domestic life, 222, 334-336; eyeopening of newly made (Icakki), 286; fertile version of, 334; and fertility, 2, 221, 222, 254, 255n195, 276, 281, 287, 288, 289, 299, 300, 310, 311, 314, 324, 334, 335, 338, 339, 346, 348; and Hārītī, 248; as herself being possessed, 306, 306n144; in iconography, 259–261; and mantiravātis, 283n11; and mātrkās, 248-249; and memorial stones, 255; murderous version of, 9, 206 (N1.2100-4), 222-223; and Nātārs, 237; nexus between Vēlālas, yaksī, and, 252n174; and Nīli as two figures, 250–254; residing in Palavūr village, 277; residing in the wilderness, 280; and self-induced engendering, 221-222; and sorcery, 153 (N1.277-79), 172 (N1.1027), 212 (N1.2361-2369), 283n11, 298n101, 306n142, 329-332, 351; as stone, 280; as subordinated deity, 269; and the sufferings of women, 194 (N1.1722-24), 221–222; and Vēļaļas, 9–10, 237–239; as virgin, kanni, 259-260; and women, 222; as woodenslab, 261, 280; and tree worship, 261; and yakṣī, 241–250. See also body; disguises; Nīli

Icakkiyamman: in Appānṭainātar Ulā of Anantavicayar, 243pt6

Icakkiyamman Katai (IK): and Nīlacāmi Katai, 25n82; synopsis of, 9–10. See also story ilankam, 201 (N1.1929-30)

inauspiciousness: of women who die childless, 255*n*195 interaction: of body and mind, 347; between local and classical tradition, 27–55; between religious traditions, 235; between village and Icakki-in-the-wilderness, 285; between *villuppāṭṭu* text and ritual, 341–343

interiority: goddess as stone consigned to distance and, 280; as operative upon interiority, 335; vs. exteriority and intimacy in possession, 267–268, 272, 295, 313–314, 324, 327–328, 334, 334*n*314, 338

intestine: as interior, 335

intimacy: concept of, 347; in ritual, 267, 272, 281, 295, 313–314, 324, 327–328, 334, 334*n*314, 338; between sister–brother, 225–226; in story, 10, 50, 117*n*870, 153*n*46, 176*n*186, 183 (N1.1374), 184*n*236, 192, 223, 226, 229

*iruppu*: formation of bow-song group, 284 *iyakki*: Jain *iyakki* Ampikā, 244. *See yakṣī* 

Jain, 23n69, 31n16, 32, 34–36, 36n46, 37pt8, 53, 53n144, 54, 235nn15, 18, 19, 21, 236nn22, 23, 242n89, 243–244, 246–247, 249n142, 250–251, 279n56

Jainism, 30*n*11, 35, 36*n*46, 235, 235*n*15, 236*n*23, 243; and *yakṣī*, 242*n*89, 243–244, 246–247, 249*n*142, 250, 251

*Jātaka*, 164*n*103, 181*n*218, 212*n*441, 227*n*39, 248, 248*nn*133, 134

*kalli* plant: as composite of violent relations, 334*n*308; as esoteric exchange, 223; as growing in dry *pālai* land, 228; identified with humans, 228; as impartial judge, 206 (N1.2108-9); inhabiting deities, 228; as punitive agent, 222–223; related with infertility/unborn life, 229; related with motherhood, 228; turned into child, 186 (N1.1429)

Kamparāmāyaṇam/Kampan's Irāmāvatāram, 40n71, 280n62, 295n82, 296n84

*kamukampū*, 351–352; arrangement of, 295, 299–300; dance with, 310; dipped into boiled water, 316; ritual meaning of, 264, 323–324

kāñciram peg: in Icakki's head, 304; plucked out by pregnant wife, 307; pushed in by mantiravāti, 307; as tool of sorcery, 304

Kanniyākumari district: marriage system of, 239; sacred geography of, 236

Kapferer, Bruce, 272–273pt1, 274nn13-17, 19, 20, 274pt6, 276nn32, 34, 292n64, 294n78, 298, 302n124, 326n252, 328n258, 329n269, 330n279, 331n287, 332n296, 334, 334n309, 335n321, 338n343, 342

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār (Śaiva saint-poetess): as  $p\bar{e}y$ , 31; similarities between Jain *iyakki* Ampikā and, 244*n*100 Karaiyāļar. *See* Vēlāļa

*karpu*: as superior female virtue, 36*n*46, 145 (N1.3), 198 (1822-23); vs. righteousness as superior male virtue *katai*. *See* story

*kaṭakam*, 285*n*27; goddess's paraphernalia unworn, 280, 285; return of, 336, *353*; taken to *koṭai* festival, 285; worn by *cāmiyāṭi*, 291, 302*n*125, 305, 313

Kathāsaritsāgara, 242, 295n82

kātu: anthropomorphic figure of Icakki residing in (naţukāţu), 276; interchangeable with pālai, 228n42, 276n39; as locus of murder, 60, 276n39. See also forest; wilderness

Kersenboom-Story, Saskia, 40n71, 149n26, 252n174,

253*n*176, 255*n*195, 261, 309*nn*157, 158, 159, 310*n*162

killing: as being ambiguous, 334. See also animal sacrifice

Kinsley, David, 248, 249, 252n173, 254n180, 309n155, 311n165

knife: as losing its power, 308*n*154; in right hand, 260; and unveiled breasts, 300

Köpping, Klaus-Peter, 292*n*62, 328*nn*263, 264, 265, 332*n*295

Kōṇārs: in *Icakkiyamman Katai*, 60, 163–164; in other Icakki stories, 258; in ritual, 277, 302, 312, 313; shrines run by, 268

Korravai: and Icakki in ritual, 254; and Marava warriors, 254n180; and Nīli, 28, 31, 53, 240, 253; and *pālai*, 276n39; unsolved questions regarding fertility aspect of, 28n5, 254n180

koțai festival. See ritual

kōvil/kōyil of Icakki, 261–268, 268–269, 280; transformed into Bhagavatī temple, 217n479, 250n150

Kreinath, Jens, 2n10

Kūļappa Nāyakkan Viralivitutūtu, 45–47, 55, 153n45, 154n52

Kulke, Hermann, 31nn14, 17, 227n35

Kumārasambhava, 295n82 kuravai, 264; definition of, 293n71; meaning of, 59, 264n251, 293n71; occurence in translocal IK, 150

(N1.171), 160 (N1.599), 206 (N1.2099), 216 (N1.2475); in other Icakki stories, 257, 258, 304; and revenge, 216 (N1.2475); in ritual, 264, 293, 294, 296, 311

kuri, 335

Lakṣmī: *devadāsī* in translocal *IK*, 152 (N1.235-6) left hand: as division of community, 238–239, 277 liminality, 306, 328, 348. *See also* body local informants: E. Aruṇācalam, 265–266;

Pakialeţcumi, 254, 320; Ca. Palaniyā Pillai, 233, 271, 278, 304; M. Panţu Pillai (pūjārī), 263, 264; Peter A. Rāj (archivist), 250, 266; Rama Subha, 263, 264; P. Tankarāj Nāṭār, 12, 268; (Nāṭār) Tiru Kānti, 251, 269; Uṭaiyār Pillai, 233, 271, 277, 281, 283, 303, 304, 342; Veyilukanta Perumāļ Pillai (pūjārī), 186, 233, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293,

294, 296, 298, 301, 302, 309, 310, 311, 313, 316,

322, 323, 338

local story (vs. translocal story), 9–10, 303, 306, 325, 341–343, 346; of Kuttuppirai Icakki, 258; of Mēlānkōṭu Icakki, 259*n*208; of Naṭukkāṭṭu Icakki, 257, 304; relationship between ritual and, *307*, *315*, 341–343; of Tenkanputūr Icakki, 257–258

Ludden, David, 233*n*6, 234*nn*10, 11, 235*nn*13, 14, 237*nn*40, 43, 253*n*175, 262, 278*nn*45, 46, 281*n*3 lullaby, 204–205 (N1.2047-78)

mai, magical paste, 282, 331n288 Malamoud, Charles, 348n5 mañcal nīrāṭṭu, 185 (N1. 1409), 316–317 mañcaṇai, 291; meaning of, 337 Manimēkalai, 30–31

*mantiravāti*: as personifying ritual order, 329*n*274; rivalry between bow-song bard and, 330*n*278. *See also* sorcery

manuscripts, 7–21 māppiļļai mañcappiļļai: and divination, 313-314; as peak of rituals, 334-336, 357 margosa/vēmpu, Hi. nīm (tree): as considered female, 166n116; as cooling, 229; as home of hungry spirits, 60; (margosa) leaf-plough story type, 8; motif of (margosa) leaf-plough, 9; as protective weapon, 229; role of, 60; as royal emblem, 8n10marumakkattāyam: definition of, 224n24. See also matrilineal tradition Masilamani-Meyer, Eveline, 297n96, 298n100, 335n321 matrilineal tradition, 15n35, 239, 251; definition of, 8n13; as regional, 15n36Mēlānkōtu: Nīlā and Cenpakam (two Icakkis) settled in, 256; royal family of, 251 memorial stone. See cumaitānki memory: evoked by correct wording, 326-327, 328; of female, 60; local story as system of, 325, 329, 332, 346; loss of, 230; of siblings, 60; and violence, 332 middleness: concept of, 276; as locus of interaction, 172n165milky sap tree. See kalli Mīnākṣī (goddess of Maturai): as goddess of boundary temple in Kanniyākumari, 236 Mines, Diane, 254n182 Möbius framing, 273 mukula mudrā, 260; definition of, 260nn224, 227 mūlasthāna: of Icakki, 277; of Kālī-Nīli, 33 Muppantal, 261-267 Muppiṭāri Amman/Mukāmpari temple of Tālakkuṭi, 13n30, 251, 278n50, 322n226 mūtēvi, 17, 204 (N1.2021-22), 290 Muthucami Pulavar, T. See bow-song bard Muttulețcumi, G. See bow-song singer Nabokov, Isabelle, 318n203, 331n288 Nāṭārs, 234n10; as bow-song bards, 253n175, as dominant social group, 234 nērccai: definition of, 289; Icakki terra-cotta figure as, 338, 355 Nichter, Mark, 224n23, 226n32, 227n36, 324n240 Nīlacāmi Katai: interwoven with IK, 25n82 Nīlakēci, 23n69, 34-36 Nīli: and her deification, 252; and Durgā, 28, 240, 252n173; in encyclopaedias, 48–49; and Icakki two basically autonomous figures, 250-254; and Icakkiyamman worship, 252; and Kālī, 23-24, 31-33; in kāppiyam literature, 27–31, 53–54; and Korravai, 28, 31, 53, 240, 253; memorial stone of, 23; in oral tradition, 51-53, 55; in pirapantam literature, 45-47,

Nīli Katai. See Icakkiyamman Katai

oaths, 10, 201 (N1.1935); breaking of, 223, cosmic concern of, 223; as male virtue, 223; Vēļāļas stand for, 10, 223

55; and "revenge" theme/vow of, 185 (N1.1397),

222-224; in Saiva tradition, 32-33, 37-38, 54; as

54; and Tiruvālankātu, 55, 354; in Toņṭaimaṇṭala

Catakam, 42-43, 54-55; in Ziegenbalg's account,

sister of Nīlan, 160 (N1.599-600); in Tiruppukal, 39,

Obeyesekere, Gananath, 198n335, 235nn15, 16, 19, 236n23, 250n149, 292n64, 308n151 O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger, 222n6, 230

Olivelle, Patrick, 227n39 omen: in translocal IK, 172 (N1.1010-26), 360 Orr, Leslie, 235, 235n15, 236n22, 243nn92, 94, 244n99, 248n136, 249n142, 250n148, 251n155 outside-in. See concepts

pālai: landscape of, 276

Palaiyanūr-Tiruvālankātu, 7, 17–18, 20, 22, 23–25, 31, 32–33, 35, 38, 40–41, 42–43, 47, 48, 53–54, 55, 233, 251-252, 345, 354; and Palaiyanūr Nīli, 23, 54, 250; and Tēvāram, 54, 55. See also Nīli

Palavūr, 277

pandanus/tālampū, 293, 295, 321-324, 337, 350

paral token, 201 (N1.1939)

Pārvatī: as avenger for Nīli (in N7), 18

paṭaippus: three, 311n171

Patmanāpan: hero and supporter of Mārttāntavarmā of Tiruvitānkūr, 256

Patmanāpapuram, 256

patrilineal tradition: definition of, 8n14; Nāṭārs and, 237, 239; region of, 15n36; Vēļāļās as partially part of, 239

patronage: of Icakki worship, 236-239

Pennaraciyar Katai, 12–16; as indigenous southern story, 251; and matriliny, 251; relationship between IK and, 345

Peri, N., 248nn130, 131

Periyapurānam, 37

pēy: definition of, 274pts5, 6; in local story, 329–332; in ritual, 286, 311, 318; in translocal IK, 9. See also demon; pūtam

pirampu: purpose of, 285

plants: ritual role of, 293, 295, 322-324, 336-338, 349-353; textual role of, 60, 221, 227-229. See also kaļļi; kamukampū; margosa/vēmpu; pandanus/

pleasure, 52, 55, 184 (N1.1382), 185 (N1.1409), 188 (N1.1509), 188n270, 191 (N1.1615), 203 (N1.2008), 295*n*82, 317; as strategy of ritual, 336-338

polygyny, and adultery: and childlessness, 222n7; definition of, 222n7; marital system of, 239; and reproductive competition, 222n7; theme of, 43, 48, 204 (N1.2021-2), 222-224; and women's suffering, 222n7-8,254

poṅkal, 290

possession: and bow-song, 306, 326, 326*n*252, 327; of bow-song bard, 320; and dance, 297, 298; and drumbeat, 294, 294nn75, 76, 301n118; and fire torch, 267, 300-301, 310-311, 337, 351, 356; by goddess, 320, 321; goddess herself possessed, 306, 306n141, 328-329; inducing, 294n76, 306, 326; multiple, 296; and pregnancy, 329-332; vocabulary of, 306n141. See also drumbeat; fusion

pregnancy: description of labour pain, 158-160 pregnant women: endangered by Cuțalaimāțan, 279; endangered by Icakki, 257, 329-332; susceptibility to spirit possession of, 255, 331. See also possession Pūnkan Iyakki: in Purancirai Mūtūr, 243n94, 245pt7.5 pūppaṭaippu/pūppaṭukkai. See flowerbed

puram, 228

Puranānūru, 8n10, 128n1069, 164n103, 228, 262n240, 279n56

Purușā Tēvi, 12-16

pūtam/bhūta, 238, 244–245, 323n230; androgynous concept of, 227n36; Icakki called, 280, 285, 286, 291, 301n117, 336, 353; (pūtam) pairs of sister and brother, 224n23, 226n32; and pēy as interchangeable, 318n203; and reproductive problems, 318
Pūtattār: guardian deity of goddess, 269, 278, 284–285;

rituals for, 287, 290, 299, 315, 349-352; story of, 315

Rajam, V.S., 33*n*24 Ramanujan, A.K., 319*n*215, 338*n*344 Rao, V. Narayana, 13, 168*n*136, 223*n*18, 238, 239, 251*n*162

recognition: and *alaṅkāram*, 319–321; and procreation, 321, 338, 347; and ritual 264, 291, 309, 310, 318, 319-321, 338n344; as theme in Icakki's stories, 17 (N7), 60, 176 (N1.1128-32), 184 (N1.1390-91), 186 (N1.1435-36), 192n292, 222n7, 224, 230, 302; as theme in other myths/tales, 279, 319n216, 338n344. *See also alaṅkāram* 

recording: audio, xiii–xiv, 12, 21, 257*n*201, 267*n*265; interviews held on basis of; 265*n*254; video, 21, 266, 272, 308

regeneration: and revenge, 325; and violence, 298, 328, 333–334

Reiniche, Marie-Louise, 226n32, 279n54, 284n24 reorientation, 318, 325, 328–329; and ritual depth, 332 reproduction of life, 335n319, 346; blockage of, 2, 206n393, 281, 303, 306, 319, 328, 330n281, 334, 338n344, 339, 342, 346–347; and fertility clinics vs. rituals, 348; importance of, 222n7, 223, 253n177, 254, 287, 331n283, 348; and spirit possession, 255, 304, 318, 331n286, 331–332. See also fertility; self

revenge, 32, 237, 256; indirect, 226, 330*n*281, 330–331; justified, 253*n*177; and *kuravai*, 216 (N1.2475); in other Icakki stories, 12, 13, 14, 15, 329–330; plant as emblem of, 228–229; and possessing spirits, 332; and regeneration, 320*n*217, 325; and story type, 57, 251; in translocal *IK*, 2, 10, 18, 19, 22, 30, 45, 55, 57, 58, 60–61, 156*n*61, 168*n*132, 169 (N1.896), 175, (N1.1102-03, N1.1111-14), 175*n*181, 183 (N1.1359), 186*n*256, 206 (N1.2097-98), 207*n*390, 208, 211*n*424, 212 (N1.2368), 217 (N1.2477-78), 222–223, 226, 228, 278, 303

right hand: as division of community, 238, 277; in iconography of goddess, 260, 280; notion of, 260–261, 261*n*228, 280

ritual: and text, 341-343

ritual (koțai festival): and animal sacrifice, 297–298, 311-313, 317; and body, 287, 292, 292nn62, 65, 293-297, 301, 301nn117, 118, 120, 305-306, 310, 312, 314, 317*n*197, 319*n*214, 320–321, 324, 332, 335n317, 337, 347; and dance, 296-297, 298, 301, 302, 307, 311, 337; efficacy of, 274pt5, 329, 336-338, 339, 347; and emotions, 268, 275, 292, 294n76, 306, 319, 319n214, 320, 324, 330, 337, 338, 347; and eroticism, 254, 260, 274, 280, 292n65, 294, 295, 310, 318, 321–324, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 347; of eye-opening, 286, 289n52, 349; failure of, 294n80; and food, 290, 311–313; framing of, 273; as an indigenous commentary, 275–276; inner logic of, 273, 317–336; introductory notes to, 272–276; karukkal pūjā, 299–300, 337, 351; markers/signposts of, 336-338; modularity of, 273pt2; organisation of, 338-339; and plants, 292-296, 310-311, 319,

321–324; and pleasure, 336–338; and regeneration, 292*n*65, 298, 333–334; and reorientation, 325–336; repetition of components of, 337; and selforganisation, 339; and self-procreation, 321–324, 347; sequence of, *349*–*353*; and spirit possession, 325–329; tantric elements in, 296; and text sources, 341–343; of thanksgiving, 273pt4; three cycles of, *349*–*353*; turning point of, 306, 332; and *villuppāṭṭu* function, 337

ritual depth: and challenge/tension, 328; and fusion, 328; and reorientation, 332; as unspaced plane, 328. *See also* fusion

Roth, Gerhard, 336

Schalk, Peter, 30*n*11, 235*nn*15, 17, 18, 244*n*98 Schmithausen, Lambert, 227*n*39 seduction: notion of, 274pt6; and *pēys*, 274pt6 self: definition of, 274–275pt7; and fragmentation, 259, 328; (self-)induced engendering, 222; multiple (self), 274*n*22, 301*n*117, 311*n*170, 318–319; (self-) procreation, 296, 321–324, 347; (self-)recognition, 319–321. *See also alaṅkāram*; flowerbed self-created child: as composite of violent relations,

334*n*308 self-fertilisation: and flowerbed ritual, 324; and story,

223 self-proclaimed centre, 263*n*245 seven mothers, seven sisters, 334*n*313; *māṭṛkā*s,

sexual act: as ritual act, 293n73

248-249

sexuality: and inverse sexual intercourse, 223; and military elite, 55*n*153; and reproduction, 222–224; and self-impregnation, 222. *See also* female body

Shulman, David, 2, 17n45, 23–24, 31, 33nn22, 24, 40n71, 46–47, 50, 55n153, 147n14, 169n144, 172n165, 198n334, 230nn54, 55, 253n175, 274n22, 294n78, 306n141, 319, 320, 321n219, 324n240, 335n317

sister–brother: avenging death of (brother), 45, 168 (N1.860–861), 168n132, 175n181, 217n476, 359; bond of, 60, 221, 224–227, 345, 359; death of brother upon sister's death, 9, 156 (N1.405); importance of (brother), 221n4; in matrilineal (and devadāsī) tradition, 8n13; memory of, 60; reunification of, 10, 206 (N1.2110-12); (brother's) role, 224; shared identity between, 226, 226n32. See also pūtam

sisters, 15, 318*n*205; elder sister, 15–16, 259, 266, 268–269; younger sister, 15–16, 259, 266, 268–269, 280, 306*n*145, 332

snakes: in flower, 323

sorcerer. See mantiravāti

sorcery: definition of, 329*nn*269, 273; in local Icakki story, 329–332; in other stories, 334*n*316; in translocal *IK*, 153 (N1.277-79), 172 (N1.1027), 212 (N1.2361-2369)

spirit possession: definition of, 330*n*279; reproduction and, 255, 318, 331*n*286, 331–332; women's susceptibility to, 331–332

split goddess: in *villuppāṭṭu* tradition, 3, 254, 259, 281, 319, 324, 339, 347

story: background of, 23; genre of, 57; interpretation of, 221–230 migration of, 7, 252, 268*n*269, 345–346; narrative core of, 8, 54, 55, 346; narrative style of,

- 59; Nīli and Icakki on level of, 253; opening of, 58; performance style of, 59; as reflections on social reality, 275*n*29; as ritualised text, 7, 24, 57, 289; structure of, 60; and Tiruvālankāţu, 55; title of, 58; type of, 57–58; of type female leader–violent invasion–suicide–deification, 251; of type violation–death–deification–revenge, 57; and Vēļāļas, 54, 342*n*10. *See also* local story; translocal story strategy: of indirect assault, 330; of ritual specialists,
- suicide: of Ampikā, 244n100; of brother, 9, 42, 60; of Cankaman's wife, 29; of King Venkalavan, 14; of Peṇṇaraci, 14; of Puruṣā Tēvi, 14; of Vēļāļas, 10, 208n402
- Svayamburajan, S. *See* bow-song singer sword–fire type (vs. margosa leaf–plough type), 8–9; motif of. 8
- Syed, Renate, 229nn46, 50, 322nn226, 227, 229, 323n230
- synchronisation. See fusion

274, 281, 289, 336-338

- tālampū/tālai, Pandanus odoratissimus, 293–295, 321–324, 337; areca flower crossed with, 295, 324; finding of, 294, 311, 316, 350. See also flowerbed tantric elements: in flowerbed ritual, 296; in local story, 304
- Tenkanputūr, 268
- Tēvāram, 24, 25, 32-34, 37, 54, 279n56
- texts: cross-fertilisation between, 27–55, 253*n*175; interaction between ritual and, 275, 341–343; transmission of, 10*n*23; vs. mental text, 21*n*54. *See also* story
- text sources. See manuscripts
- time: concept of, 275; and moment of fusion, 305, 328 *Tiruppukal*, 26, 39–40, 54, 55
- Tiruvālankātu. See Palaiyanūr-Tiruvālankātu
- transformation: of childless couples, 314, 334–336; of goddess, 274, 318–339; of kid goat's blood, 333–334, 339; of religious identity of Tamil Jain goddesses (yakṣīs), 250; of wilderness into cultivated forest, 297, 348n5
- translocal *IK* (vs. local story), 9–10, 24*n*74, 250, 253, 275, 282, 303, 304, 306, 325, 325*n*249, 329, 332, 341–343, 346; relationship between ritual and, *307*, *315*, 341–343
- Trawick, Margaret, 224, 225, 226, 290n55, 292n65, 296n84, 300nn109, 111, 324n239, 331nn283, 287, 333n307
- tree: cutting of, 167–168 (N1.854-861), 227, 258; deities/pēys residing in, 60, 167–168 (N1.854-861), 258; as female, 166n116; female and male aspects of, 226; and humans, 169 (N1.901-02), 227–229; yakṣī and, 242. See also plants
- trident. See cūlam
- turmeric (mañcal), 169n143, 174 (N1.1073), 185 (N1.1409), 187 (N1.1466), 261, 266, 282, 291n61, 316, 317, 338
- Turner, Victor, 228, 328
- *tuvaļai* (kid goat): drinking blood of, 333–334; as feeding goddess, 333–334; as human surrogate, 311–314, 333
- twins: capacities of, 162 (N1.647-664), 162*n*99; Nīlī and Nīlan as, 9, 18, 60, 158, *227*

varattu pāttu, 307

- Vēļāļas/Veļļaļas, Piļļais, 236*n*27; as bow-song bards, 253*n*175; as dominant social group, 234, 276–277; as patrons, 237, 277
- Vēlar (potter): ritual function of, 284, 285–286, 288–289, *349*; social group of, 285
- vettuppatta vātai, 58n6, 256, 286
- *viļaiyāṭal*: as act of self-procreation, 324, 347; goddess's, 293, 321–324
- *villuppāṭṭu*, 1*n*4, 354; fusion of ritual and, 305–306, 325–329, 341–343; genre of, 57, 59; relationship between ritual and, 307, 315, 341–343; in ritual performance, 67–217, 283–284, 288, 289, 298–299, 302–306; and ritual sequence, 349–351. See also bow-song
- violation—death—deification—revenge: as alternative form of violation—revenge—death—deification in *Cilappatikāram*, 57, 251; as at the core of the bowsong tradition, 251; story type of, 57
- violence: and dance, 297; and eroticism, 280*n*62; and memory, 332; men's aggression against women in text, 298*n*101; and Nīli, 253–254; as overshadowing sexual maturity, 306; and regeneration, 298, 328, 333–334; as transformative dynamic, 334, 334*n*309
- virginity: of goddess, 259-260
- virtue: *karpu* as female (virtue), 36*n*46, 145 (N1.3), 198 (N1.1822-23); moral obligation/oath as male (virtue), 223
- *viţutūtu*, 27, 45–47, 55, 150*n*34, 152*n*41, 153*n*45, 154*n*52
- vow: Nīli's, 185 (N1.1397), 222-224
- wilderness: village and, 348n5
- womb, 14, 18, 22, 150 (N1.167), 158 (N1.516), 159 (N1.540, 544), 160 (N1.562, 574-7, 596-7), 168 (N1.865-6), 221n5, 225n27, 228, 256, 282; coconut as, 335n321; flowerbed as, 296, 324n239; and mouth, 331n283; ritual transfer to women's, 333, 339, 347; and spirit possession, 331n286
- yakṣī: and adultery, 242, 242n89, 245; ambivalent traits of, 242; in Buddhism, 242; characteristics of, 241–250; and crossroads, 245; and cumaitānki (memorial stone), 255–256; and devadāsī, 252n174; devours children, 248; and enticement, 245; and fertility, 242; Hārītī's status as, 248n129; in Jainism, 243; and magic, 246; and mātṛkās, 248–249; Maturai and Kāñcipuram as areas of early worship of, 245n113; in Tamil kāppiyams, 244–247; tantric practices of attracting, 242–243; and tree, 242
- yantra: flowerbed as, 296, 324; and self-procreation, 296, 324
- yatcakānam/yakṣagāna: Nīli in genre of, 21-22
- Ziegenbalg, Bartholomaeus, 43–45, 226, 318*n*203 Zvelebil, Kamil V., 27, 29, 32, 37, 39, 40, 42, 45*n*98, 47*n*107, 50, 276*n*39 Zydenbos, Robert, 243*n*92, 250*n*149