CHAPTER 3

INFLUENCE OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA ON ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The manner in which the **Rāmāyaṇa's** influence took its hold on the culture of the Tamils is still the subject of research. If Kampar created the **Rāmāyaṇa** in Tamil, Oṭṭakkūttar completed it. Opinions vary regarding the age of composition of this epic. Some place it in the 9th century A.D. while others think that it belongs to 12th century. This has been discussed in Chapter 2. Yet, the **Rāmāyaṇa** story is not new to the Tamils. There are evidences to show that the influence of the **Rāmāyaṇa** has existed ever since the Sangam period. The aim of this chapter is to compile and discuss the literary evidences.

Chronologically, Tamil literature may be classified into three main divisions as ancient, medieval and modern.[1] Of the literary texts that fall within these divisions, only those that belong to the first two, namely ancient and medieval texts which contain references to or the influence of the **Rāmāyaṇa** are dealt with in this chapter. (See Appendix: Table 1). Besides, since this study is about the **Nālāyirat Tivyap Pirapantam**, references to the **Rāmāyaṇa** that are found in the hymns of the *āḻvārs* have been avoided here.

3.1 ANCIENT PERIOD

3.1.1 Sangam Literature (500 B.C. – 300 A.D.)[2]

(i) Akanāṉūṟu

The **Akanāṉūṟu,** placed first in the list of **Eṭṭuttokai** (Eight Anthologies)[3] contains 400 verses of *akam* or love poetry.

In its first section known as **Kaḷirṟuyāṉainirai**, the poet Maturait Tamiḻk Kūttaṉār Kaṭuvaṉ Maḷḷaṉār refers to a **Rāmāyaṇa** incident. This reference is contained in the following lines:

> Like the banyan with many aerial roots, on the shores of the large roaring sea near the very ancient point (of Tiruvaṇai) belonging to the Pandyas with the valorous spear, fell quiet for the consultation of Rāma, ever victorious in battle. (*Akam*. 70:13-16)

This **Rāmāyaṇa** incident is used as a comparison. During courtship, the hero came with ardour and love, to meet his heroine. He braved many obstacles to do so. This caused gossip in the village. But once the couple got married, the gossip stopped like the birds stopped their noise when Rāma held his consultation under the banyan tree. This was mentioned to the heroine by her friend.[4]

Once when Rāma was on the southern shores of India, he held a discussion with the *vāṉara* chiefs under a banyan tree. The birds on the tree made great noise but Rāma, with his divine quality made them quiet so that the noise did not cause any hindrance to their meeting.[5]

Here, the birds stopping their noise is used as a comparison to the ceasing of the gossip.

(ii) Puṟanāṉūṟu

The fourth text listed in the Eight Anthologies is **Puṟanāṉūṟu**[6] which deals with *puṟam* or matters other than love. In this also, a poem by Ūṉpoti Pacuṅkuṭaiyār contains a reference to an incident from the **Rāmāyaṇa**.

> When the violent *asura* abducted Sītā
> Who accompanied Rāma (capable) of great anger,
> Her beautiful jewels were dropped to the ground.
> Like the red-faced monkey hoardes
> That found and wore them. .....

It is said that Sītā, when abducted by Rāvaṇa, wished to let Rāma know her whereabouts. So she removed the pieces of jewellery she was wearing and threw them down one by one. The jewels thus scattered were picked by the monkeys in the forest. But since they did not know which jewel is worn on which part of the body, they wore them on the wrong limbs.[7]

This is used as a comparison to explain the generosity of a Chola king and the ignorance of a poor *porunaṉ's* relatives. The King Ceruppāli Erinta Iḷaṅcēṭcenni gave various ornaments and wealth to a *porunaṉ* who sang his praises. The *porunaṉ*'s relatives receiving them, wore finger rings on their ears, ear-ornaments on their fingers, waistband round their necks and necklaces round their waists, so that it made those who saw them, laugh.[8]

(iii) **Kalittokai**

In the list of eight anthologies, the seventh is the **Kalittokai** also known as **Nūṟṟaimpatu Kali** (150 *Kali* verses).[9] In this text, a verse in the *kuṟiñci* section sung by Kapilar, mentions an incident related to a **Rāmāyaṇa** character, Rāvaṇa.

> The wet-haired Shiva who bent the Himalayas as a bow,
> Sat with Uma on the tall hill.
> Once, the ten-headed, King of the *asuras*
> Placed his large arms beautified with bangles
> Under the mountain, but unable to lift it
> (or let go) he suffered .....[10]

Here, Rāvaṇa's effort to lift the Himalayas where Shiva lives, is used as a simile.

A hero prolongs his secret courtship without making arrangements for their marriage. One day, the friend of his heroine decides to talk to him alone so as to induce him to think of marriage. She says to him, "Rāvaṇa, the king of the *rākshasas*, placing his strong hands under the Himalayas where Lord Shiva sits tried to lift it. But he was unable and suffered (pain). Similarly, an elephant in rut seeing the *vēṅkai* tree covered with flowers and resembling a tiger, became angry and thrust its tusks under the tree and tried to fell it. But the tusks were caught in the trunk of the tree that stood firm. Unable to free itself the elephant trumpeted loud, its voice resounding along the slopes. O Lord of the hill-slopes with such elephants! Listen to what I have to say!" Here, the elephant's act of piercing the tree-trunk till its tusks got caught in it and its cry of anger and pain are compared to Rāvaṇa slipping his hands under the Himalayas and his cry of pain when he could not withdraw them.

(iv) **Paripāṭal**

The Sangam anthology called **Paripāṭal** or **Eḻupatu Paripāṭal** (70 verses in *paripāṭal* metre) is the last in the list of **Eight Anthologies.**[11] In this collection, the poet Nappaṇṇaṉār mentions that the story of Akalya was painted in the temple of Tirupparaṅkuṉram.

In his poem on Cevvēḷ or Murukaṉ he describes the Tirupparaṅkuṉram, the hill belonging to the Pandyas and sacred to Murukaṉ. Devotees who climb the hill and go round the temple, seeing the painting say,

> This is Indra as cat, she is Akalya.
> He is Gautama; due to his anger
> (she) turned to stone"[12]

This is a clear reference to the story of Akalya whose beauty attracted Indra who seduced her in the form of her husband Gautama. When the sage who returned earlier than was expected, Indra turned himself into a cat and tried to leave the scene. But Gautama cursed both of them and by that curse Akalya was turned to stone. Later, when the dust from the feet of Rāma touched her, she regained her feminine form.

(v) **Maturaikkāñci**

The sixth text in the list of **Ten Idylls** known as **Pattuppāṭṭu** in Tamil, is the **Maturaikkāñci.**[13] In this idyll, Māṅkuṭi Marutanār sings the praises of the subjects, just rule and valour of the Pandya King, Talaiyālaṅkāṉattuc Ceruveṉra Pandyan Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ. While describing his valour, the poet compares him to the sage Agastya.

O Valiant King, who is a decendent of Agastya.
Also comparable to that ancient, eminent sage
on the (Potiyil) hill with waterfalls,
who made the King of the South (Rāvaṇa)
To move further south.[14]

This is a reference to the ancient story that once, when Rāvaṇa ruled the southern realm, he tyrannized his subjects. So Sage Agastya entered into a musical competition with the *asura* who was able to win Shiva's grace with his singing. But in the contest the sage was able to melt the Potiyil hill[15] with his singing. Having lost, Rāvaṇa ran away to Lanka. Preventing Rāvaṇa from ruling the Pandya Kingdom is a great, courageous act. Since Rāvaṇa ruled the southern regions, he is also known as *Teṉṉavaṉ* (the Southerner). This name is found in other texts as well.[16] However, this incident is not found in the **Rāmāyaṇa**.

3.1.2 Ethical Literature (100 A.D.-500 A.D.)[17]

(i) **Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu** (400 Proverbs)

In the list of the 18 ethical literature this text of 400 Proverbs composed by Muṉṟurai Araiyaṉār is placed third.[18] In this anthology of 400 verses containing proverbs, the **Rāmāyaṇa** incident where Vibhishana the younger brother of Rāvaṇa takes refuge with Rāma is mentioned.

Vibhisana who follows *dharma* (*aṟam*) advises Rāvaṇa to free Sītā. But Rāvaṇa would not listen. So after all efforts, he leaves Lanka and takes refuge with Rāma, the champion of *dharma*. Finally he was crowned King of Lanka.

The younger brother of Lanka's King.
Becoming the friend of Rāma wearing garlands
of gold.
Gained the lordship of Lanka itself.

Who has not gained greatness by befriending
the great?[19]

This advice is of greater significance to kings who should listen to the advice of wise men with experience. Here Vibhishaṇa is used as an example of a prince who gained by befriending the good and the wise.

3.1.3 Ancient Epics (100 A.D.-500 A.D.)[20]

(i) Cilappatikāram

The first epic in Tamil, the **Cilappatikāram** was composed by Ilaṅkō Aṭikaḷ in the second century A.D.[21] This work also contains references to some **Rāmāyaṇa** incidents.

Kōvalaṉ, having lost his wealth, leaves Mātavi and returns to Kaṇṇaki. Both leave Pukār for Maturai. On the way they meet the Jaina nun Kavunti Aṭikaḷ and continue their journey with her. At one place they meet Kōcikaṉ who brings a letter from Mātavi. He tells them that the city of Pukār is saddened by Kōvalaṉ's departure, just like Ayodhya was saddened by the departure of Rāma who obeyed his father's words.

Like Ayodhya (distressed by) its separation
From the Victorious One (Rāma) who
Went to the forest, difficult to cross,
Thinking, "Obeying my father is the best act;
All else, even the Kingdom, is trifle."[22]

Here, Kōvalaṉ leaving Pukār with his wife and the sorrow of the people of that city is compared to the helpless sorrow of the people of Ayodhya when Rāma went to the forest with Sītā and Lakshamaṇa.

Later in the epic Kavunti Aṭikaḷ relates to Kōvalaṉ the pains of life that one goes through and tries to point out that his situation is not so intolerable. While saying these, she uses the **Rāmāyaṇa** story. She says,

> "Tirumāl, the father of the Lord of Vēdas (Brahma),
> At his father's command, left with his wife,
> Then losing her, experienced great sorrow
> Do you not know this?"[23]

Rāma is mentioned as Tirumāl and He Himself had suffered because of His separation from Sītā. Hence Kōvalaṉ who has his wife with him should consider himself more fortunate.

In another instance in the **Cilappatikāram,** Rāma is identified with Tirumal. When Kaṇṇaki was entrusted in the care of Mātari, they go with the latter to the outskirts of the city of Maturai. Kōvalaṉ then leaves for the city with one of the anklets of Kaṇṇaki to be sold there. But there, due to the deceit of a goldsmith, he is killed and Mātari notices certain ill omens. Wishing to avoid calamity she arranges a *kuravai* dance to worship Tirumāl, the deity of the cowherds. During this dance they also sing the praises of Tirumāl mentioning his victories in his different *avatāras*.

> With his brother he went to the forest, reddening
> His two feet that crossed the three worlds.
> He destroyed the Fortress of Cō and the
> defences of ancient Lanka.[24]

This tendency is also found when the victory of the Cēra King Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ is praised. The three wars that Tirumāl is said to have participated in are mentioned. They are the *deva-asura* war after the churning of the Milky Ocean, the war in

Lanka which has the sea as its moat, and the Bharata war in which he was the charioteer.[25] This king's war with the Arya kings is said to have lasted only 18 *nāḻikais*.[26] The epic **Cilappatikāram** again compares this to the three wars mentioned above. "The war between the *devas* and *asuras* lasted 18 years; that between Rāma and Rāvaṇa lasted 18 months; the Bharata war (between the Pandavas and Duryodhana) lasted 18 days; but that between Cēraṉ Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ and Kanaga-Vijaya took 18 *nāḻikais*.[27]

(ii) **Maṇimēkalai**

The **Maṇimēkalai** composed in the 7th century[28] may be considered the second Tamil epic. This work by Cittalaic Cattanar also contains references to **Rāmāyaṇa** incidents.

Kāyacaṇṭikai, a woman belonging to the Vidyadhara class of beings, was afflicted by the disease *yāṉaittī* which caused insatiable hunger. When she met Maṇimēkalai, she related her problem and begged for help. In order to explain the seriousness of her hunger, she uses an incident in the Rāma story.

> When the Tall One born on earth (as Rāma)
> and unconscious of the divinity
> Blocked the seas, difficult to overcome,
> All the high hills brought and thrown in
> by the monkeys
> Entered the stomach of the sea resided by the deity.

This is a reference to Rāma as an *avatāra* of Neṭumāl or Vishnu, in human form with the respective characteristics. But the monkeys bringing hills and rocks to fill the sea to form a bridge is used as a comparison. Just as the sea takes in all the

things – large and small – thrown into it, all the food that she ate could not satisfy her hunger.[29]

Maṇimēkalai, reaching Vañci, meets the exponents of various religions and philosophies and requests them to explain the finer points of their teachings. The exponent of Logic mentions the various laws of logic. One such is the Law of Elimination which he explains with an example from the **Rāmāyaṇa**.

> To say "Rāma won", it also means that
> Rāvaṇa who is *adharmic*, lost.[30]

While enumerating the different parks and gardens the Campāti Vaṉam is also mentioned. It is said to be the park where Campāti (the brother of Jadāyu) who lost his wings because they were burnt by the angry heat of the sun.[31] "The beautiful large sea-ghat at Kumari built by the monkeys"[32] clearly refers to the monkeys building a bridge for Rāma to cross over to Lanka.

3.2 MEDIEVAL PERIOD

3.2.1 Devotional Literature (600 A.D. – 900 A.D.)[33]

Tiruñāṉacampantar and Tirunāvukkaracar of the 7th century and Cuntaramūrtti Nāyanār of the next century are three of the *Nāyanmārs* or Shaiva preceptors. The hymns they sang are collectively known as **Eṇṇāyiram Tēvāram** (8000 *Tēvāram* hymns).[34] These devotional hymns also contain references to the **Rāmāyaṇa**.

(i) **Tēvāram**

a) Campantar's **Tēvāram**

Tiruñāṉacampantar in his *patikams* (i.e. 10 stanzas sung on the same temple or sacred spot) with the exception of only a few has presented references to Rāvaṇa in the eighth verse.[35] For example in the 85th *patikam* of the second **Tirumuṟai**, popularly known as the **Kōḷaṟu Tiruppatikam**, in the eighth verse he sings,

> The King of Lanka surrounded by the seven
> seas or troubles will not cause distress.
> The deep sea is good – they are very good
> indeed to the devotees.[36]

The Pandya Queen Maṅkaiyarkkaraci and the Minister Kulacciraiyar come to know that Tiruñāṉacampantar and Tirunāvukkaracar (also known as Appar) have come to Tirumaṟaikkāṭu. So they send some wise men as messengers to invite Tiruñāṉacampantar to the Pandya Kingdom so as to re-establish Shaivism in the country. When the *nāyaṉār*, accepting the invitation prepares to leave, Appar Cuvāmikaḷ tries to prevent him. He explains that the Jains who had a great hold in the Pandya King are deceitful and adds that the day of travel is inauspicious. Campantar pacifies Appar by saying that the asterisms (*nāḷ*) or planets (*kōḷ*) cannot cause any harm to the devotees of God. In this context he says,

> The Lord Who burnt Kāma, wearing the Ganges and the crescent in His hair, resides in my heart. Therefore Rāvaṇa, the King of Lanka surrounded by the seven seas or the deep sea cannot cause any harm to me or other devotees. But, freeing themselves from their evil nature, they are duty-bound to do only good.[37]

Here, the *nāyaṉār* points out that even one who has done great wrong can attain salvation if he realises his mistakes and takes refuge in God with a pure heart. To

explain this Campantar uses an incident in the life of Rāvaṇa. The *rākshasa* king, filled with ego, tried to lift Mount Kailash but he suffered the consequence. Then with pure devotion he praised Lord Shiva and was saved.

In another *patikam*, the saint mentions the Shiva-worship performed by Rama at Tiru Rāmēsvaram. Rāma, returning from his war in Lanka reaches the spot known today as Rāmēsvaram. He wishes to worship Shiva and cleanse himself of the sin of killing Rāvaṇa who was also a devotee of Shiva. Hanuman leaves for Kāci (Varaṇasi) to bring a *Shivalinga* but was delayed. So Rāma used a *linga* that Sītā made by heaping the sand on the sea-shore for his worship. This is found in the following verse:

> The Incomparable Lord ever residing at
> Rāmēsvaram and worshipped by Rāma
> Who paved a way by closing the wave-filled
> Ocean with a bridge,
> Removed the sin of severing (Rāvaṇa's) ten
> Heads shining with excellent crowns
> When this Matchless One's feet are worshipped
> With fresh flowers and praises, all sorrows
> Are destroyed.[38]

In another verse in the same *patikam* Rāvaṇa's disregard for the *dharmic* rule of not desiring another's wife and the punishment he had to face are mentioned along with Rāma's worship of Shiva.

> Isn't He – Who dances with the snake at His
> Waist moving in unison, at Rāmēsvaram
> Embraced by the fragrant waters of the sea –
> The Lord worshipped by the Archer (Rāma)
> Who destroyed the mount-like shoulders of
> Rāvaṇa
> Ignorant of the rule (of conduct)
> And driven by much lustful desire.?[39]

This incident of Rāma worshipping Shiva at Rāmēsvaram is mentioned in the other verses of this *patikam* as well; excepting the first and fifth verses.

In another *patikam*, sung at Tiruppuḷḷirukku Vēḷūr, Rāma is said to have destroyed Rāvaṇa who killed Jadāyu.[40]

Similarly, Tiruñāṉacampantar mentions how Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Cāmpavāṉ And Hanuman worshipped Shiva who resides at Tiruvucāttāṉam.[41] The *patikam* sung at Tirukkaṇṇār Kōyil refers to the curse Indra received from the sage Gautama and how the Lord of the *devas* worshipped Shiva at this temple and was relieved of it. He also came to be known as the "One with a 1000 eyes."[42]

b) Apppar's **Tēvāram**

In most of his *patikams*, Appar presents information regarding Rāvaṇa in the last stanza.[43] During his travels from temple to temple, he reaches Tiruppukalūr and sings the praises of the Lord and His feet at the temple. Then he visits Appūti Aṭikaḷ and performs the miracle of causing the Aṭikaḷ's son who died of snake bite to be revived. Later he visits many temples. One such is Tiruccōṟṟutturai. While singing Shiva residing there, he says,

> He who holds the shining battle-axe and
> resides at Cōṟṟutturai
> Pressing His toe crushed the twenty
> shoulders and (ten) heads
> Of the King of Lanka confused him and
> defeated his purpose (of lifting the mount).
> The shining moon in His hair is
> beautiful for Our Lord. Is it not so?[44]

Furthermore, in his *patikam* sung at Rāmēsvaram he mentions Rāma's worship of Shiva at that place.[45]

c) Cuntarar's **Tēvāram**

The **Tēvārams** sung by Cuntaramūrtti Nāyaṉār also contain references to incidents from the **Rāmāyaṇa**.

The Saint having visited many temples like Tiruviṭai Marutūr, Tiru Nākēccuram, Civapuram and worshipping the Lord residing there with his verses, came to Tirukkalaya Nallūr. In the *patikam* he sings there he says,

> "If you ask, 'Which is the town of the Pure Lord,
> Who pressed His single toe on the mount,
> Breaking the ten heads and twenty shoulders
> Of the King of Lanka till he cried out loud
> It is Tirukkalayanallūr.[46]

It is noteworthy that the same incident is mentioned in other *patikams* as well.[47] In fact one of them contains some additional information:

> You pressed the King of sea-girt Lanka
> Under the huge mountain
> To reveal true knowledge to him. Then
> Hearing his melodious song aimed to please,
> You granted him the lovely sword and a
> Long life.[48]

(ii) Tiruvācakam

The **Tiruvācakam** which, together with the **Tirukkōvaiyār**, forms the 8th Tirumuṟai contains devotional songs sung by Māṇikkavācakar in the 8th century A.D.[49]

When the saint was in Tillai, the spring season set in. This intensified his great love for Lord Shiva and sings like a maiden separated from her Lord – He addresses the *kuyil* in ten stanzas (*Kuyil Pāṭṭu*).[50] In the second verse he says,

> All the seven, beautiful worlds praise Him,
> Every form is His Form.
> To the lovely Mandotari of the sea-girt southern
> Lanka
> He granted His mighty, gracious Bliss. With your
> Sweet voice, sing O Kuyil
> Him who resides at Perunturai, the Lord of
> South Pāṇṭi Nāṭu.[51]

Maṇdōtari (also known as Vaṇdōtari), the wife of Rāvaṇa is mentioned here as a great devotee who has obtained the grace of Shiva. The same information is found in another part of this text, namely *Tiruvārttai.*[52]

In another verse, the saint refers to the incident in which Rāvaṇa had his shoulders crushed by Shiva. Noticing the lustre of the town Tillai and the greatness of the Lord who resides there, Māṇikkavācakar feels the blissful union of his soul with the Lord. He sings,

> The divine feet that crushed the shoulders
> of the haughty valiant *asura*,
> Rest with their unique distinction on my
> head.
> So I rejoice that I have no bonds to cause
> births
> And hold fast to the Lord of bright,
> bustling Tillai.[53]

The crushing of Ravana's shoulders have a specials significance in Shaiva philosophy. He is the embodiment of ego (*āṇava*) and the punishment is the result of God's grace that cures him of his ego. The brightness of Tillai is the pure

knowledge of God. Hence Māṇikkavācakar rejoices that he too may obtain the Lord's grace so that his ego will be subdued and thereby be freed from repeated births. This incident is used here as a comparison.

(iii) *Kallāṭam*

The author of **Kallāṭam** is Kallāṭaṉār who belonged either to the 9th or 10th century A.D.[54]

This is a text that uses the different themes of love poetry to sing the various acts of grace performed by Lord Shiva. Though it contains only one reference to the **Rāmāyaṇa** incidents, it is a very concise narrative of Tirumāl's *avatāra* as Rāma in just 15 lines.

> When the *devas* defeated by the *asuras*, entreated,
> He incarnated as the son of Dasaratha,
> Completed the *yāga* of the sage (Visvāmitra)
> Made an old stone become Akalikai
> Broke the bow in Janaka's capital
> Married his daughter and snatched the bow of Paracurāma.
> Commanded by his cunning (step) mother
> "Go to the forest", he went
> Followed by his wife and younger brother,
> Rowed by the great Guha he crossed the river,
> Killed the *asuras* – Kavantaṉ, Karāti and Mārīcaṉ
> and performed rites for the eagle with helpful wings.
> He befriended the Son of the Wind and aimed
> An arrow (each) for seven trees, Vāli and the dark sea.
> He bridged the sea and killed the *asura* (Rāvaṇa)
> Then granting Lanka to his (Rāvaṇa's) younger brother
> He entered the city and accepted the crown.[55]

This passage does not mention specific names but only the necessary incidents in their chronological order. When related with the names of places and characters

involved, it contains the story of Rāma from the cause for his birth up to his coronation after defeating Rāvaṇa.

Indra and the other *devas* were attacked by Rāvaṇa and other *asuras* and defeated. So they beg for help from Tirumāl who incarnates himself as the son of Dasaratha, the King of Ayodhya. At the request of the sage Visvāmitra, he protects and helps to complete his sacrificial rites successfully. Then, on the way to Mitilai the capital of King Janaka, he was able to redeem Akaliya from her husband Gautama's curse which turned her into a stone. At Janaka's court Rāma broke the bow pointed out by Janaka and married his daughter Sītā. When returning home, he subdued Paracurāma who holds the scorching battle-axe and takes his bow.

Later, his step-mother Kaikēyi orders him to go the forest for 14 years. He does so, followed by his wife and younger brother. On reaching the banks of the Ganges, the hunter-boatman Guha rows him across the river. During his stay in the forest, he kills *asuras* like Kavantaṉ, Karaṉ and Mārīcaṉ. He also performs the funeral rites for the eagle Jadāyu who had helped with his wings (by trying to save Sītā when she was abducted). Then he befriends Hanuman, the son of the wind-god and demonstrates his ability to kill Vali who had deviated from *dharma* and to help Sugrīva. He aimed an arrow that pierced seven *marā* trees. After killing Vāli he builds a bridge across the sea to go over to Lanka where he kills Rāvaṇa and makes the *asura's* younger brother Vibhishaṇa the King of Lanka. Finally he returns to Ayodhya and accepts the crown and the responsibility of kingship.

This narration in the text mentions clearly that Rāma is an incarnation of Vishnu and the main purpose of the incarnation – which is to destroy *adharma*. But many other incidents that are considered important, like the abduction of Sītā can only be inferred. The author uses words and phrases to fill in the details. Rāma performs the last rites for Jadāyu with wings that have performed good deed and the good deed in relation to Rāma is Jadāyu's effort to save Sītā during her abduction. Again this passage is a description of Tirumāl and his greatness and not meant to be a narration of the epic story.

3.2.2 Epic Literature (900 A.D.-1200 A.D.)[56]

(i) Cīvakacintāmaṇi

The author of this large work which is the second in the list of the Five Great Epics (*Aimperuṅkāppiyam*) in Tamil is Tiruttakka Tēvar. This **Cīvakacintāmaṇi** is the story of Cīvakaṉ who married eight women and finally renounces life. It is a Jain work of the 9th century A.D.[57] Here too Rāma's skill in archery is mentioned.

After marrying Kāntaruvatattai, Kuṇamālai, Patumai, Kēmacari and other women, Cīvakaṉ is separated from them. He arrives at the town Ēmamāpuram in the Mattima country. There, he sits near a pond in a park and broods over his separation from his wives. At that time, the prince of that town Vijayan meets him and enquires about his hometown and other such matters. Then Vijayan, seeing a ripened fruit on the mango tree tries repeatedly to shoot it down with his arrow but fails. Cīvakaṉ, seeing this brings it down with a single arrow. Vijayan wondered at his archery.

"It is only heresay that Rāma with long
arms is a great archer
Whose aim (i.e. arrow) pierced through seven
marā trees. None has seen.
I shall make him happy that his heart does
not wish to leave me."
Thinking thus, he left the park of blooming *kurā*
trees and entered the palace with him.[58]

Here Cīvakaṉ's skill in archery is brought out by comparing it with Rāma's ability to use the bow.

3.2.3 Various *Pirapantam* Works (700 A.D.-1300 A.D.)[59]

(i) Mūvarulā

This title, meaning literally "The Procession of Three" sings of the royal procession of three Chola kings, namely Vikirama Chola, his son Kulōttuṅka Chola II and grandson Rājarāja Chola II. This work by Oṭṭakkūttar composed in the 12th century A.D.[60] contains many references to the **Rāmāyaṇa**. Another interesting aspect is that the Chola line considered to be of the solar race (*cūriya vamcam*) is associated with the Ikshvaku line which also belong to the solar race.

While singing the greatness of the ancestors of Kulōttuṅka and his son Rājarāja II, Emperor Kākunta who rode Indra as a bull[61] and Dasaratha who defeated Campāran, the owner of ten chariots[62] are mentioned. Raghu of the Ikshvāku race is mentioned only in the poem on the last of these Chola kings.[63] Rāma who subdued the southern sea with his arrow and built a bridge by filling the sea with rocks from hills is also said to be an ancestor of Rājarāja II.[64] This incident is used often to bring out the strength and ability of Rājarāja II.[65] The people who saw King Kulōttuṅka II during the procession, express the view that he

resembled Rāma. They do this by merely referring to incidents in the **Rāmāyaṇa** without mentioning names.

> This is he who broke the unique bow at Mitilai
> In antiquity (in Rāmāvatāra) that caused
> the Lady sorrow.
> Not giving in, you went, bridged the sea and
> Removed the blessed family's disgrace
> (caused by Sītā's abduction).[66]

The defeat of Rāvaṇa is also implied in a verse which mentions the flag with the *yāḷ* belonging to the south.[67] The *yāḷ* is the royal symbol of Rāvaṇa.

(ii) Kaliṅkattupparaṇi

In the 11th century A.D. Kulōttuṅka I and his army chief Karuṇākaraṉ wage war on Kaliṅga and are victorious. The poet Cayaṅkoṇṭār sings this victory in the work **Kaliṅkattupparaṇi**. He also uses aspects of love poetry in this work. He creates imaginery situations like the one in which the wives of the king and the army chief are annoyed by the delay and shut their doors. The poet imagines himself to be the peace-maker between the angry wives and the husbands who have been locked out and says,

> O Ladies
> Who hear about the strength of the fierce,
> successful bow of the graceful Lord Who
> destroyed Lanka!
> Please open (the door) when the fight of
> Karuṇākaraṉ who destroyed Kaliṅga
> in the battle-field is sung.[68]

Here, Rāma is referred to as "the graceful Lord" which means Karuṇākaraṉ in Tamil. He and his victory over Lanka are used to bring out the greatness of the army chief Karuṇākaraṉ and his victory over Kaliṅga.

(iii) **Tañcaivāṇaṉ Kōvai**

The **Tañcaivāṇaṉ Kōvai**, like other *Kōvai* literature contains 400 verses of love poetry. It traces in order of sequence the various situations in the love of a hero and his lady-love using the traditional characters of love poetry. This was composed by Poyyāmoḻiyār in the 12th century A.D.[69] using the county where the generous patron Tañcaivāṇaṉ lived, as the location.

A maiden in love, unable to disclose her feelings to her family, elopes with her hero. Her mother, nurse (*cevilittāy*) who has brought her up and others are anxious and shed tears. The nurse goes looking for her and comes across some footsteps near the Potiyil hills which is within Tañcaivāṇaṉ's country. She is able to differentiate the heroine's footsteps from the others. In this verse, the Potiyil hill is not mentioned by name but as "the hill that melted to music."[70] This is a reference to the incident in which the sage Agastya, during his contest in music with Rāvaṇa caused the hill to melt. Thus he defeated the tyrannical *asura* and caused him to leave the southern regions of the Tamil country.

3.2.4 Religious Texts (1100 A.D.-1700 A.D.)[71]

(i) **Villi Pāratam**

This great epic relating the story of the ***Mahābhārata*** in Tamil was composed by Villiputtūrār in the 14th century A.D.[72] This work also contains some references to incidents from the **Rāmāyaṇa**.

When Duryodhana plans to defeat the Pāṇḍavas by cheating in a game of dice in order to take away all their possessions Vidura expresses his disagreement with the proposal. He says,

> With (your) father's command Taruman̲ and
> his brothers
> Will renounce their kingship and go to the
> scorching forest;
> All this and good life will be yours. If the king
> with lovely
> Fresh garlands were to ask, it will not
> entail sin or blame.[73]

Here, Rāma renouncing his right to rule the Kōsala Kingdom and going away to the forest with his wife is implied and Taruman̲ (Yuthisthira) is shown to be as noble and obedient even to his uncle.

In another verse, the younger brother Arjuṇa is said to have no one else to compare with but Rāma. Arjuṇa, wearing bark garments and taking his bow and arrows goes northwards to perform penance. The poet describes him as follows:

> He has no comparison but the son of Dasaratha
> - who has a meditative mind
> And is famous as the example of all the
> virtues.[74]

In one of the chapters (**carukkam**) Hanuman appears as an important character himself. During their stay in the forest the Pāṇḍavas accompany the sage Urōcama on a pilgrimage and finally reach the Kantarppa Hill. There, a beautiful gold-coloured lotus fit to adorn the crown of Indra falls in front of Draupati. Attracted by it she asks to have a flower like that and Bīma goes in search of it. His movements are said to resemble those of Hanuman.

Like the messenger of the great Rāma destroying
the gardens in the enemy *asura's* Lanka,
He (Bīma) went: Earth and mountains trembled; the
tall trees of the forests fell uprooted;
Animals an birds were struck; they shuddered
became confused and fell distressed.
He roared like thunder and crossed the
large, lovely Kāñcaṉavaṉam.[75]

In this verse, Bīma's journey in search of the lotus is compared to Hanuman's movements in Lanka so as to bring out the strength of Bīma. The destruction he caused is said to resemble the destruction of Asōkavaṉam in Lanka. Having travelled in this manner Bīma meets Hanuman who introduces himself and even grants Bīma a boon. Then the *Rāmadūta* shows his immense form and advises the Pāṉdava on the path to follow and the means to obtain that flower.[76]

Besides, during his pilgrimage Arjuṉa is said to have worshipped the Lord of Srirangam who was worshipped twice by Rāma who had destroyed Lanka before.[77] Vīṭumaṇaṉ's prowess in war was feared by others because it was like that of Rāma.[78] Another verse refers to Rāvaṇa as the King of the *asuras* and describes the different parts of his body.[79]

(ii) Kūrma Purāṇam

The **Kūrma Purāṇam** was originally composed by sage Vyasa in Sanskrit. It was written in Tamil by a Pandya King Ativīrarāma Pandya. Scholars are of the opinion that he lived during the late 16th and early 17th centuries.[80] When the *devas* and *asuras* churned the milky ocean, Tirumāl took the *kūrma* (turtle) form to prevent the hill used as a churning rod from sinking. Then he distributes the nectar

and finally enlightens Nārata, Indra and the king of Avanti named Intirat Tuyman, on the supremancy (*paratva*) of Shiva. Hence the name.

References to incidents in Rāma's life and the ancestral line of Rāvaṇa are found in seven chapters (*adhyāya*) of this *purāṇam*. The birth of Rāma, his departure to the forest, the killing of Rāvaṇa, Rāma establishing a Shivalingam, his coronation, the sage relating the ancestral line of Rāvaṇa and Rāma reaching Vaikuṇṭam are related in this work.[81]

3.2.5 Prose Commentaries (1200 A.D.-1500 A.D.)[82]

(i) Commentaries by Peruntēvaṉār

The name Peruntēvaṉār[83] is found in the list of poets who composed the **Sangam anthologies** and the special preface (Ciṟappup pāyiram) to the **Tirukkuṟaḷ** known as the **Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai**. The famous commentator mentions that the **Bhārata** and the **Rāmāyaṇa** existed in Tamil. From his **Yāpparuṅkala Virutti Urai** may be known that there was a **Rāmāyaṇa** written in the *pahṟoṭai veṇpā* metre. His **Vīracōliya Urai** discloses the existence of a **Rāmāyaṇa** in the *veṇpā* metre and the anthology called **Āciriyamālai** mentions the **Rāmāyaṇa** in the *āciriyam* metre.[84]

(ii) Commentaries of Naccinārkkiniyar

Naccinārkkiniyar who was well-versed in Tamil literature and grammar is considered to be an eminent commentator. He belongs to the period later that the 13th century A.D. He too mentions the **Rāmāyaṇa** in the *āciriyam* metre.[85] In his

commentary to a verse in the **Tolkāppiyam** he quotes certain lines from a poem, the source of which is not mentioned.

> Rāma guarded the religious sacrifice of the sage,
> Great in penance who completed his efforts well,
> And reached the ancient city of Mitilai. Even then,
> The mind of Sītā with modest eyes was inclined (to him)
> Not hearing the thunderous sound of the fast bowstring.
> She awoke and fainted, distressed like a snake
> That had heard thunder.[86]

This versed is used to show Sītā's love for Rāma even before the bow was broken and seems to resemble Kampar's description of the situation.

3.2.6 Purāṇa Literature (1500 A.D.-1800 A.D.)[87]

(i) *Taṇikaippurāṇam*

This is considered to be one of the best Tamil works of the 18th century. It was composed by the sage Kacciyappar in epic style.[88] It sings the glory and acts of grace of Lord Murukaṉ who resides in the temple at Tiruttaṇikai. The chapter, *Irāman Aruḷpeṟu Paṭalam,* some **Rāmāyana** incidents are found. Rāma, accepting his father's command goes to the forest. There Sītā is abducted by Rāvaṇa and during his efforts to save her, he seeks and obtains the favour of the sage Agastya. Later he also worships Shiva, obtains *Shiva-jñāṉa* or Knowledge of Shiva from Murukaṉ at Tiruttaṇikai and finally returns to Ayodhya.[89]

(ii) **Kumarimuṉai Talapurāṇam**

Inspite of the many tidal waves that have covered the southern regions of India, Kaṉyā Kumāri (or Cape Comorin) stands firm, attracting various researchers. *The purāṇam* on the Mother Goddess Kaṉyākumāri Bhagavati who

resides there mentions that Rāma, hearing that going round her would grant success does so before crossing to Lanka.[90]

(iii) Tiruvaruṭpā

Vaḷḷalār Ramalinga Adikal instructed the art of "the great life without death." It is believed that he was born in 1823 A.D.[91] The anthology of his verses called **Tiruvaruṭpā** is divided into six sections called *Tirumurais*. This text also contains references to the **Rāmāyana.**

Vaḷḷalār mentions the manner in which the holy name of Sri Rāma should be uttered and the benefits obtained by doing so. Besides, Rāma is worthy of great esteem because he worships the *Shivalinga*. Therefore, worshipping Rāma is like worshipping Shiva Himself.[92] He explains that the problems of life on earth follow man and Rāma is to be worshipped to remove those problems and sorrow.

(iv) Kucēlōpākkiyāṉam

This story about Kucēla known as ***Kucēlōpākkiyāṉam*** is a part of the story of **Bhāgavatam.** It is believed to have been composed by Tēvarācap Piḷḷai who was born in 1837 A.D.[93] This work also contains references to the **Rāmāyaṉa**.

Kucēla, his wife Cucīlai and the 27 children live in the section for sages, in a village near Maturai (in the north). Due to his poverty, the insistence of his wife and his love for his children, he leaves for Dvāraka to ask for help from Krishna, who was once his classmate. There he receives the total hospitality of Krishna who had not forgotten the old times. But unable to disclose the purpose of his

visit, Kucēla returns home. When he nears his village, due to the grace of Krishna, his clothes and ornaments change to gold and gems; his thin body fills out and looks like a king of kings. He was made to ride a chariot and he neared his village which now seemed to look like Aḷakāpuri. Some women who saw his arrival and appearance compare him to the sage-king Janaka.

> Noble men, when attaining great wealth
> Or abject poverty,
> Never lose their calm excellence, like Janaka
> Of great strength.[94]

On reaching home he finds that his hut has now become a mansion and his family wearing fine clothes and ornaments. One day, locking the door of his inner apartments, and reflects on his wealthy state, he becomes afraid and prays to Tirumāl to free him from the misery of his wealth. He concentrates on the ten incarnations of Tirumāl and worships Him, thinking of his auspicious characteristics. Doing so, Kucēlar thinks of Vishnu's seventh *avatāra* as Rāma. The poet sings this in seven verses.

Here the story of ***Rāmāvatāra*** begins with the birth of Tirumāl as Rāma, the son of Dasaratha and Kōcalai. The snake Ātisēsha, Tirumāl's conch and wheel (*cakra*) are born as Lakshmaṇa, Bharata and Satrughna. Later, Rāma killed Tāṭakai, protected the sacrificial rites of the sage (Vishvāmitra) and removing the curse on Akalya made her regain her original form as a woman. Then, going to Mitilai, he broke the bow of Shiva, married Sītā and returned to Ayodhya. There, according to his step mother Kaikēyi's command, he went to the forest, followed by Sītā and Lakshmaṇa. In the forest he gains the friendship of Guha, the leader of the hunters.

Then, reaching Cittirakkūṭam, Rāma receives Bharata who comes in search of him and gives him his *pātukai*. After this he goes to Dandaka forest where he kills Virātaṉ. When he hears of the decision of Sage Carapaṅka who is in his late throes of death to die only after seeing and worshipping Rāma, he obliges the sage. Then paying homage to sage Agastya, at the hermitage Rāma reaches Pañcavaṭi. This is followed by Rāma's meeting with Jadāyu, the disfigurement of Sūrpaṉakha and Rāma killing Karaṉ who comes to her aid and other *asuras*.

Following this, Rāma kills Mārīcaṉ who appeared as the illusory golden deer, performed the final rites for Jadāyu who fell prey to the sword of Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā, kills Kavantaṉ, accepts the homage paid by the maiden Cavari and reaches the Mataṅka Hill.

Then, he befriends, Sugrīva, shoots his arrow through seven *sāl* (shorea robusta)trees and kills Vāli. Surrounded by the monkey hordes, he comes to know through Hanuman the place where Sīta is imprisoned and builds a bridge by aiming an arrow into the sea. Reaching Lanka, he kills the *asuras*, including Indrajit, Kumbakarṇaṉ and Rāvaṇa and crowns Vibhishaṇa as king. He frees Sītā, returns to Ayodhya and becomes king of the land.

In short, the seven verses mention all the **Rāmāyaṇa** events in brief.

3.3 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing pages, it may be concluded that **Rāmāyaṇa** incidents are not new to the Tamils. This chapter shows that they have been referred to in

Tamil literatures including the Sangam works which are the most ancient in Tamil (see 3.1.1). It is also evident that the Tamils had known the basic story even by the time Vālmīki composed his epic (see 2.7.1). Besides, the study shows that Tamil literatures refer also to some incidents not found in Vālmīki's work (see 3.1.1 (i), (ii), (iii) and (v); 3.2.1 (i) a), b) and c) and (ii); 3.2.3 (iii); 3.2.6 (i), (ii) and (iii). Based on these findings it may be deduced that **Rāmāyaṇa** events were popular among the Tamils and they emerged as useful references in their literatures. Moreover, the concept that Rama is an *avatāra* of Tirumāl is also evident from this study. It is the general opinion of scholars that Vālmīki depicted Rāma as a human hero. Hence the depiction of Rāma as an *avatāra* in the Tamil literature of the same period (see 3.1.1 (i)), is certainly worthy of special attention. Thus the Tamils have played a great role in showing Rāma as Tirumāl himself.

Table 1 : Tamil Literary Texts

- (3.1) Ancient Period
  - (3.1.1) Sangam Literature (500 B.C. – 300 A.D.)
    - (A) Ettuttokai
      - (i) Akanāṉūṟu
      - (ii) Puṟanāṉūṟu
      - (iii) Kalittokai
      - (iv) Paripāṭal
    - (B) Pattuppāṭṭu
      - (v) Maturaikkāñci
  - (3.1.2) Ethical Literature (100 – 500 A.D.)
    - (i) Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu
  - (3.1.3) Ancient Epics (100 – 500 A.D.)
    - (i) Cilappatikāram
    - (ii) Maṇimēkalai
- (3.2) Medieval Period
  - 3.2.1 Devotional Literature (600 A.D. – 900 A.D.)
    - (i) Tēvāram
    - (ii) Tiruvācakam
    - (iii) Kallāṭam
    - (iv) Nālāyirat Tivya Pirapantam*
  - 3.2.2 Epic Literature (900 – 1200 A.D.)
    - (i) Cīvakacintāmaṇi
  - 3.2.3 Various Pirapatam (700 – 1300 A.D.)
    - (i) Mūvarulā
    - (ii) Kaliṅkatupparaṇi
    - (iii) Tañcaivāṇaṉ Kōvai
  - 3.2.4 Religious Texts (1100 – 1700 A.D.
    - (i) Villi Pāratam
    - (ii) Kūrma Purāṇam
  - 3.2.5 Prose Commentaries (1200 – 1500 A.D.)
    - (i) Commentaries of Peruntēvaṉār
    - (ii) Commentaries of Naccinārkkiniyar
  - 3.2.6 Purana Literature (1500 0 1800 A.D.)
    - (i) Taṇikaippurāṇam
    - (ii) Kumarimuṉai Talapurāṇam
    - (iii) Tiruvarutpā
    - (iv) Kucelōpākkiyāṇam
- (3.3) Modern Perio

*This is discussed in Chapter 4.

Endnotes

1. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru. New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, pp. 25-26 and 118.

2. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Ibid., p. 25.

3. Cuntara Canmukanar. 1990. Tamil Nūl Tokuppuk Kalaik Kalañciyam. Chennai: Manivasagar Patippakam, p. 224.

4. Ibid., pp. 157 and 158; Akanānūru: Kalirruyānai Nirai. 1945. With N.M. Venkatacamy Nattar's Commentary. Chennai, p. 167.

5. Vālviyar Kalañciyam. 1991. Vol. 4, p. 121: Kanthasamy, N. 1994. Caṅka Ilakkiyattil Pakti. Kuala Lumpur: Thirumagal Publications, p. 66.

6. Cuntara Canmukanar. 1990. Tamil Nūl Tokuppuk Kalaik Kalañciyam, p. 259.

7. Vālviyar Kalañciyam. 1991. Vol. 4, p. 121.

8. Puranānūru. Avvai S. Duraisamy Pillai's Commentary. 1951. Chennai: The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tirunelveli. Ltd., p. 370.

9. Cuntara Canmukanar. 1990. Tamil Nūl Tokuppuk Kalaik Kalañciyam, p. 332.

10. Kalittokai: 38: 1-5.

11. Cuntara Canmukanar. 1990. Tamil Nūl Tokuppuk Kalaik Kalañciyam, p. 323.

12. Paripāṭal: 19: 50-52.

13. Cuntara Canmukanar. 1990. Tamil Nūl Tokuppuk Kalaik Kalañciyam, p. 190.

14. Maturaikkāñci: 40-42.

15. Poyyāmoḷip Pulavar. 1952. Tañcai Vāṇan Kōvai with Cokkappa Navalar's Commentary. Chennai, pp. 284-285.

16. Maturaikkāñci: 40-41.

17. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru, p. 25.

18. Cuntara Canmukanar. 1990. Tamil Nūl Tokuppuk Kalaik Kalañciyam, p. 368.

19. Munruraiyanar. 1948. Palamoli Nāṉūru with M. Rajamanikkam's Commentary. Madras. Verse 258.

20. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru, p. 25.

21. Cauntarapandiyan, S. 1988. Tamilil Kāppiyaṅkal. Chennai: Star Publications, p. 5.

22. Cilappatikāram: 13: 63-65.

23. Ibid., 14: 46-49.

24. Ibid., 17:35: 2-4.

25. Ibid., 26: 237-238.

26. One *nāḻikai* = 24 minutes. Please see, Kriyāvin Tarkālat Tamiḻ Akarāti Tamiḻ-Tamiḻ-Āṅkilam. Reprinted with correction. June 1992. Chennai: Cre-A Publisher, pp. 618-619.

27. Cilappatikāram: 27: 6-10.

28. Cauntarapandiyan, S. 1988. Tamiḻil Kāppiyaṅkaḷ, p. 7.

29. Maṇimēkalai: 17: 9-12.

30. Ibid., 27: 53-54.

31. Ibid., 3: 53-54.

32. Ibid., 5: 37.

33. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Tamiḻ Ilakkiya Varalāṟu, p. 25.

34. Ibid., p. 103.

35. Vāḻviyaṟ Kaḷañciyam. 1991. Vol. 4, p. 121.

36. Tirumuṟai 2: 85: 8.

37. Ibid., 2: 86: 8.

38. Ibid., 3: 10: 6.

39. Ibid., 3:10:4.

40. Ibid., 2:43:10.

41. Ibid., 3:33:1.

42. Once, Indra overcome by his lustful desire for Akalya, united with her. Knowing this, her husband Gautama cursed him so that Indra had 1000 vaginas on his body. Later, Indra worshipped Shiva and the vagina marks on his body were turned into eyes. So he came to be known as *Kaṇṇāyiram* (1000 eyed). Ibid., 1:101:7.

43. Vāḻviyaṟ Kaḷañciyam. 1991. Vol. 4, p. 212.

44. Tirumuṟai 4:85:10.

45. Ibid., 6:61:11.

46. Ibid., 7:16:7.

47. Ibid., 7:20:8., "Our Ancient Lord who pressed the *rāksasa*'s heads and feet."

48. Ibid., 7:55:9.

49. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Tamiḻ Ilakkiya Varalāṟu, p. 111.

50. Tiruvācakam: *Kuyiṟpattu*.

51. Ibid., *Kuyiṟpattu*: 2.

52. Ibid., *Tiruvārttai*: 5.

53. Ibid., *Kulāppattu*: 7.

54. Ramaswamy Naidu, S. 1954. Tamililakkiyam, p. 85.

55. Kallāṭam: 95:24-38.

56. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru, p. 25.

57. Cauntarapandiyan, S. 1988. Tamilil Kāppiyaṅkaḷ, p. 233.

58. Cīvakacintāmaṇi: 7:87.

59. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru, p. 135.

60. Ibid., p. 145.

61. Mūvarulā: 2:3 & 3:10.

62. Ibid., 2:9 & 3:12.

63. Ibid., 3:9.

64. Ibid., 3:12

65. Ibid., 3:84, 310 and concluding verse.

66. Ibid., 2:116 and 117.

67. Ibid., 2:376.

68. Kaliṅkattupparaṇi: 2: *Kaṭaitiṟappu*: 64.

69. Poyyamolippulavar. 1952. Tañcai Vāṇaṉ Kōvai. Introduction, p. 6.

70. Ibid., pp. 284 and 285.

71. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru, p. 188.

72. Cauntarapandiyan, S. 1988. Tamilil Kāppiyaṅkaḷ, p. 445.

73. Villipāratam: *Sapā Paruvam*: 2:33. With K. Rajagopalachariyar's Commentary. 1970. Vol. I. Chennai.

74. Ibid., Vol. II. *Araṇya Paruvam*: 1:29.

75. Ibid., Vol. II. *Araṇya Paruvam*: 3:17.

76. Ibid., Vol. II. *Araṇya Paruvam*: 21-68.

77. Ibid., Vol. I. *Āti Paruvam*: 7:19.

78. Ibid., *Ati Paruvam*: 1:142.

79. Ibid., *Sapā Paruvam*: 1.

80. Ativeera Rama Pandiyar. 1961. Kūrma Purāṇam: *Pūruva Kāṇṭam*. Tanjavur, xx.

81. Ibid., Chapters: 21-27.

82. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru, p. 26.

83. Kumaraswami, A. 1917. Tamilp Pulavar Carittiram. Sri Lanka: Published by Sivaramalingaiyar, pp. 140-141.

84. Vālviyar Kalañciyam. 1991. Vol. 4, pp. 120-121.

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87. Varadarajan, M. 1972. Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru, p. 26.

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89. Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 903-920.

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92. Ibid., *Tirumuṟai 2*: Title 101: Verses 1939-1948.

93. Devaracapillai. Kucēlōpākkiyāṇam. T. Cankuppulavar's Commentary. 1995. Chennai: The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tirunelveli. Ltd. Please see forward, p. 2.

94. Ibid., Verse 551.