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1919

EDITORIAL PREFACE

Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.

No section of the population of India can afford to neglect her ancient heritage. The treasures of knowledge. wisdom, and beauty which are contained in her literature. philosophy, art, and regulated life are too precious to be lost. Every citizen of India needs to use them, if he is to be a cultured modern Indian. This is as true of the Christian, the Muslim, the Zoroastrian as of the Hindu. But, while the heritage of India has been largely explored by scholars, and the results of their toil are laid out for us in books, they cannot be said to be really available for the ordinary man. The volumes are in most cases expensive, and are often technical and difficult. Hence this series of cheap books has been planned by a group of Christian men, in order that every educated Indian, whether rich or poor, may be able to find his way into the treasures of India's past. Many Europeans, both in India and elsewhere, will doubtless be glad to use the series.

The utmost care is being taken by the General Editors in selecting writers, and in passing manuscripts for the press. To every book two tests are rigidly applied: everything must be scholarly, and everything must be sympathetic. The purpose is to bring the best out of the ancient treasuries, so that it may be known, enjoyed, and used.



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THE HERITAGE OF INDIA SERIES

HYMNS OF THE SALVARS

BY

J. S. M. HOOPER, M.A. (Oxon.)

(late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Principal of Wesley College, Madras)



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TO THE MEMORY

OF

R. M. H.

March 4th, 1878-March 21st, 1918

PREFACE

It has not been easy to decide the principle on which to select from the large amount of material available in the Hymns of the Alvars. It would have been comparatively simple to choose nothing but pieces naturally attractive, an anthology of the best according to a Western literary standard; but it has seemed to me more valuable to attempt to convey an impression of other elements which have not so frequently found their way from Indian languages into English. This is one of the reasons for including the very difficult Tiruppallandu, and for giving what would otherwise appear disproportionate space to the last two selections -the Tiruppāvai and the Tiruviruttam-which are sufficiently long to give the Western reader a consecutive view of the qualities of the hymns and of the type of devotion fostered by them. The stanzas are numbered throughout as in the original Tamil.

A metrical form, rather than prose, has been chosen for most of the translations, because it appears to me that the strong emotional element in the hymns is better brought out in verse than in prose. But no attempt has been made to reproduce the metres of the original Tamil, which are altogether foreign to English ears, and the actual forms used have no relation to any Tamil verse forms.

Among those to whom I am under obligations in connection with this little book, I would specially refer to Dr. J. N. Farquhar, the planner of the 'Heritage of India' series. It was at his instance that I undertook this work, and his zeal

movement in India. In that movement a few great names stand out: the Bhagarad Gītā, Rāmānujāchārya, and the founders of the later sects in North India which owe their inspiration to him, may be taken as the landmarks, so far as the Vaishnavite movement is concerned: while on a line of its own, owing its inspiration very largely to the Gītā, but directing its devotion to Śiva rather than to Vishnu, is the Śaivite bhakti movement, with its hymns of the Dēvāram and the Tiruvāchakam. Bhakti itself, the attitude of fervent devotion to God, may of course be found wherever men turn in eagerness of desire, or in extremity of despair, away from themselves and their own reasonings to the One; but the historical student has to be content with such references to this attitude and experience as he can find in literature and ritual.

Thus, before the Gitā, it has been pointed out that in the Vedas, the grace of Varuna already provides the ground for such loving devotion as is later to find expression in the bhakti movement. In the later literature of the Brahmanas (? 800-500 B.C.) Vishnu, though only one of many gods, already has something of the attractiveness that marks the sun-gods in many mythologies. It is significant that if there is any error in the ritual of sacrifice, it is Vishnu who is invoked. In the ritual of marriage, too, he has an important place, and thus comes near to man in the most intimate and friendly relations of life. By far the most important reference to Vishnu in this connection is the legend which was later to find a place as the story of one of the ten avatāras of Vishnu—the legend of how he, when all the other gods were helpless, redeemed the earth from the Asuras. He was the dwarf Vamana who was contemptuously offered as much of the earth as he could compass in three strides. Straightway he swelled to the form of Tri-Vikrama, and with his first step bestrode the earth, with a second the highest heaven, and then failing to find a place for the third stride, he placed his foot on the head of Bali, the king of the demons. Vishnu thus stands out from among his fellowgods as the one who actually did something for the redemption of the world, the one upon whose grace, therefore, man

has some right to count. How far this view of Vishnu was coherently held in the days before the appearance of the $G\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$ is a question that would carry us far beyond the scope of our present study; but in any case the $G\bar{\imath}t\bar{a}$ took this belief and gave it literary form and a more philosophical background.

The Bhagavad Gītā (200 B.C.-A.D. 200), whatever the sources from which it sprang, is for all practical purposes the source of the bhakti movement in India. It contains elements philosophically irreconcilable with one another, and inconsistent with what are commonly held to be the fundamentals of Indian thought, but from the first its position has been sure; it speaks to the heart of man, and offers salvation to all the four castes on terms that are readily understood. Its teaching has been used to buttress many later theories of God and the universe, but for the purpose of our enquiry it will be enough to point out three or four lines laid down in it, which the later bhakti movement has steadily followed.

In the first place, it takes the Absolute, the Brahman-Ātman of the *Upanishads*, and identifies it with Vishnu, one of the gods of the pantheon, hitherto at most on a level with Brahmā and Šiva. Vishņu and the Absolute are now convertible terms, and the Absolute becomes a gracious and. to some extent, knowable God. In the second place, it takes the warrior Krishna, who has hitherto been at most a partial incarnation of Vishnu, and makes him a full incarnation; he that has seen Krishna has seen Vishnu, has seen the Absolute. In the third place, it lays down as a way of release from rebirth (which release remains throughout the goal of religious endeavour; though in the work of the Alvars, as we shall see, there are hints of another possible goal), a method that is open to all. The Way of Knowledge, $J\bar{n}\bar{a}na$ $M\bar{a}rga$, as prescribed in the Up_{ani} shads, is recognised as effective, but it is obviously limited to the few. The Way of Works, Karma Marga, is recognised, and if prescribed duties are done Without desire for reward, and without attachment to the fruits of the action, release will come. But as effective as either of them is the new Way of Devotion to Krishna, Bhakti Marga. Those who have followed the Bhakti Marga have contemplated the attractive figure of Krishna, and from many sides devotion has been lavished on him. He has made his appeal to the devout and to the sensuous alike, and in the love of Krishna, time and space, sin and rebirth, have alike been forgotten. This has been a sufficient gospel for many eager souls; but to those who have enquired how this comforting message can be reconciled with the Upanishad doctrine of an impersonal, actionless Absolute, the Gītā has had no satisfactory answer to give. The two conceptions are left side by side: the thinker, in the main, has been content to take the Upanishad doctrine as the food of his mind, while he has found emotional satisfaction in paving homage to a god incarnate, come to earth to help man in his need; he has tried not to notice the dissidence: while for the ordinary man the emotional satisfaction has been everything.

It was not until many centuries had passed that in Rāmānuja the binakti movement found a competent philosophical exponent. He attempted what to some appears the impossible task of reconciling in thought the conception of the impersonal Absolute and the gracious Helper of men; and he succeeded in the Visishtādvaita philosophy which he formulated, in providing the strongest alternative to the philosophy of Šankarāchārya which has been allowed to retain the reputation of orthodoxy. From Rāmānujāchārya, as irom a reservoir into which earlier streams had poured, the many subsequent bhakti movements branch out again, some with more of emotion, some with less; but all alike in accepting as substantially true his theory of the relation between God and man and the universe.

The work of the Ālvārs falls into its place between the Gītā and Rāmānuja. The Ālvārs provided the soil out of which Rāmānuja's teaching naturally sprang, and in which later it could bear fruit. He is not really (as has been erroneously asserted) the 'morning star' of the bhakti movement; that is a name far more fitly given to the Ālvārs; but in him, bhakti shines in the full splendour of a great philosophical exposition. The Ālvārs in their hymns assume the

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position of the *Gitā* with regard to Vishņu and Kṛishṇa, and in the type of devotion which they represent and stimulate they maintain bhakti as the great way of salvation.

The period during which they appear to have flourished is that in which South India made its chief contributions to the religious life of the country. From the seventh to the ninth centuries of the Christian era, not only they, but also the curiously parallel Saivite singers, emphasised bhakti, while at the same time (A.D. 788–850) Sankarāchārya was enunciating the Advaita philosophy, with its relentless emphasis on an Absolute without attributes, and the unreality of all manifestation. The bhaktas, holding a view ultimately inconsistent with this, were continually drawn away into this pantheistic position, and in their hymns we can trace the same inconsistency as is to be noted in the Gātā itself.

Before giving some account of the Alvars and their work, it will be well to consider briefly some of the other elements in the religious atmosphere which they breathed. We have seen that the thought of the $G\bar{\imath}t\bar{a}$ was one of the chief elements, but there was also in the early centuries the strong influence of the Buddhist and Jain movements. For our purpose it is not necessary to treat these separately. Both appear to have been in the nature of reactions against the attributeless Absolute by those who felt that if such be the Supreme Being, practical atheism is the only logical conclusion for men to come to. Both were strongly ethical and offered a way of salvation open to all, as distinguished from the narrow limits imposed by Hindu orthodoxy. The critical note was also struck by Buddhism and Jainism, and in this respect they opened the way to the later reform movements. There are two other respects in which they may be said to have prepared the way for the bhakti movement: (1) they used the vernaculars, and thus made a direct and successful appeal to the masses, a course in which they were followed by both the Saivite and the Vaishnavite bhaktas; and (2) they so completely moralised religion, excluding from it all the emotional glow that comes from devotion to God, and making it a matter of pure ethical teaching, that the hungry human heart was ready to turn to a religion that would give it someone to love and worship.

There was also the Advaita philosophy, dominant then and dominant still in Indian thought; but here it is only necessary to touch on two or three of the points in which it is particularly related to our subject. According to it the Way of Deliverance is the Way of Knowledge, for only so can the bondage of ignorance, producing the illusion of reality, be removed. Through ignorance comes rebirth, and man and god alike are bound by Karma; all action works itself out with impersonal justice, and there is no room for anything else. Thus bhakti, in any really valuable sense, is impossible, both because the Supreme Being is without attributes, unknowable, unapproachable, unapproaching, and because of this reign of impersonal retributive law. Bhakti involves a mutual relationship of love and trust, a relationship which to be valuable must be between the human soul and the One with whom finally we have to deal. But the utmost that is allowed in the Advaita system, and the Upanishads as expounded by it, is that Vishnu is a special form of the Absolute, worship of whom may be permitted as a concession to human weakness, until with full knowledge this illusion also disappears, and the One is all and in all. It is clear that a bhakti regarded thus from the superior elevation of philosophic enlightenment holds its position by a very insecure tenure; and it is this that bhakti has had to contend with, and from this that the Visishtadvaita philosophy aimed to deliver it. The philosophy, implicit in much of the work of the Alvars, and explicit in Ramanuja, maintains the personal existence of the Supreme Being, and emphasises his love and pity for the sinful beings who adore him. He is able to grant them an abode of eternal bliss in conscious communion with himself; while God alone exists and all else is manifestation, that manifestation (because God is immanent in it) is real and permanent, though subject throughout to the control of the one Brahman. These permanent and real attributes are 'chit' (individual souls) and 'achit' (matter). They are incapable of existing alone, and so do not interfere with the non-duality of the Absolute. They find their real existence in association with God.

Side by side with philosophy was the practice of polytheistic worship. The remote Absolute of the philosophers was clearly ill-suited to satisfy the craving of human affection for a god near at hand, and, perhaps even less, the imperative need of a god who could still the disorder of human fear. Hinduism as it developed tolerated, as of at least temporary value, the aboriginal cults in which men had found some satisfaction for these needs, and thus we find an increasing number of local legends of the gods incorporated into Hinduism through the Purānas, and attached to the greater gods of the pantheon. In particular, from the standpoint of this study, is to be noted the movement associated with the Pancharatras in the early centuries A.D. This was among the higher castes, and emphasised the worship of Vishnu in temples and by means of images. with an ancient non-Vedic ritual. It marked a great advance on indiscriminate polytheism, in that it insisted on all worship being directed to Vishnu; even the other gods of the pantheon were excluded, Naravana (identified with Vishnu) the primal cause, alone being the object of worship. This sect was for these reasons criticised as unorthodox: but it has always claimed orthodoxy, and has maintained caste and the observance of Vedic forms in domestic worship.

Mention must also be made of the similar cult of Saivism exercising at approximately the same time a very profound influence in South India. The two movements were directed towards rival gods, and to that extent were obviously rivals, and at times even enemies of each other; but, from another standpoint, they were most potent allies, both making a popular religious appeal through the use of the vernaculars, both insisting on an exclusive devotion to one god, and emphasising his grace, on the one hand, and the privilege of man's loving devotion, on the other.

In the Alvar hymns there are references to all these types of religion and thought, and it is impossible to appreciate the emphasis of the hymns without remembering the conflict in the midst of which they were produced

There are three main sources of our knowledge of the $\bar{A}1$ vars. First, the legendary lives of the saints; these are,

at the earliest, contemporary with Ramanuia, and are therefore some centuries later than the events they profess to relate, so that they cannot be relied upon if contemporary evidence contradicts them. They are, nevertheless, of great interest as being among the earliest attempts at the writing of history in South India. It is significant that they come when personal contributions begin to be made to religion: hitherto Indian religion had in the main gone its way with no outstanding names but that of Buddha; it had been an evolution of thought rather than a succession of prophets: but now the devotion of disciples was anxious to preserve every detail of the life and teaching of the revered guru, and these lives are the result. They obviously contain a large admixture of imagination, but they represent thought which was current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and which is current to-day among devout Śrī-Vaishnavas.

In the second place there are contemporary inscriptions on stone or metal. The study of these by competent epigraphists is yielding valuable results, and will increasingly serve to check conclusions reached by other means.

In the third place, there is literary evidence gathered from the surviving works of the Alvars themselves, as embodied in the collection of their hymns known as the Nalavira Prabandham-the Collection of Four Thousand. These Tamil hymns were gathered together by Nathamuni, (d. A.D. 920) who also made arrangements for their use in temple worship. The hymns contain evidence of great value for the subject matter of devotion; but the data for establishing chronology are scanty and have hitherto been insufficiently explored for full agreement between scholars to have been reached. The field of disagreement has been narrowed down; but how wide it has been may be judged from the fact that while the traditional dates for the $\bar{A}1$ vars are 4203-2706 B.C. the first estimates of western scholarship placed them subsequent to Rāmānuja, who died in A.D. 1137. Caldwell, Śeshagiri Sāstri, Monier Williams, and even the article in the latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica are all agreed on the later date. Apart, however, from those who cling to the traditional dates, there is now agreement that

the Alvars were bredecessors of Ramanuja, and the differences of opinion are only as to their relative positions, and as to the period to which the earliest of them belong. Professor S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar appears inclined to place the four earliest Alvars in the second century A.D.: but in the judgment of the present writer the evidence for this is lacking, and a considerably later date, the middle of the seventh century, must be assigned to them. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rao has pointed out that one of the early Ālvārs, Bhūtattālvār, makes reference to Māmallai as the place of his birth. This is clearly Mahābalipuram (The Seven Pagodas), established as a seaport by the Pallava king, Narasimhavarman I, surnamed Mahāmalla, in the middle of the seventh century. This carries with it a later date for Bhūtattālvār and his contemporaries, Pey Alvār and Povkai Alvār. In the chronology that is here adopted, Gopinatha Rao has been followed, though it has not been thought necessary to give the detailed evidence that he brings in support of his conclusions. In any case the chronology is so disputed that in this introduction no theories are based upon its details. and no attempt is made to trace any progression of thought from the earlier to the later.

As to the main order of the Alvars, there is very general agreement that the traditional account may be followed. The first three Alvars are Pey Alvar, Bhūtattalvar, and Poy-KAI ĀLVĀR, and their story illustrates the meaning of the name 'Alvar' that all these devotees have in common; the Alvar is one who has gone deep in the knowledge of God. one who is immersed in the contemplation of him. Pev Alvar, according to the tradition was born in a red lotus in a well in Mylapore. On the same day, a few miles to the south, at Mahābalipuram, was born Bhūtam, also in a flower, while the day before saw the birth of Poykai in a lotus in the tank of the Vishnu temple at Kanchi (Conjecvaram). It chanced that one night each of them was weather-bound, and they took shelter one after the other in a space all too small for them. As they stood thus close together to escape the fury of the rain they became conscious of another Presence squeezing in among them. It was God Himself; and when the day came, each of them broke into ecstatic song, the result of which we have in the first, second and third *Tiruvandādi*, each containing a hundred stanzas and composed respectively by Poykai,

Bhūtam and Pey.1

Contemporary with these is TIRUMALISAI ÅLVĀR, born three months after them in the village of Tirumalisai, near Poonamallee. He was the son of a rishi and an apsarā, but was early abandoned by his mother, and found and brought up by a devout man of low caste. He is reputed to have lived for 4,700 years and to have spent much time in Triplicane, Conjeevaram and Kumbakonam. His hymns are the Nān-Mukham Tiruvandādi, containing 96 stanzas, and the Tiru-Cchanda-Viruttam, containing 120 stanzas. They contain an interesting and superior reference to Jains, Buddhists, and Šiva Bhaktas.

The next name is that of Nammālvār, the greatest, most famous and most voluminous of the Ālvārs. He is known by various other names, the most frequent of which are Sathagopan and Parānkuśam. His story is closely interwoven with that of another Ālvār, his disciple, Mathurakavi. Nammālvār was born in a Śūdra family at Kurukūr, now Ālvārtirunagari in the Tinnevelly District. For the first sixteen years of his life, the child, at that time called Māran, remained under a tamarind tree, opening neither his mouth nor his eyes. Meanwhile Mathurakavi, who was on pilgrimage in North India, saw a great light shining

¹ The opening stanzas of the First and Second *Tiruvandādi* are as follows:

^{&#}x27;The earth as lamp-bowl, the poured-out sea as oil, the burning sun as light, I have twined a garland of words for the feet of him who wields the red blazing discus, that the destruction-bringing discus may be gone'—Poykai.

With love as lamp-bowl, desire as oil, mind melting with bliss as wick, with melting soul I have kindled the bright light of wisdom in the learned Tamil which I have wrought for Nārāyaṇa'—Bhūtam.

² cf. *Tirucchanda Viruttam*, 90: 'I was not born in one of the twice two castes: I am not learned in the four sacred Vedas; I have not conquered the five senses...save thy shining feet alone, O Lord, I have no other hold.'

² Nān-Mukham Tiruvandādi, 6: 'Jains are ignorant, Buddhists have fallen into delusion, Śaivas are ignorant innocents, and those who will not worship Vishņu are low indeed.'

in the South, and guided by it he came to Kurukur and the tamarind tree. By asking a conundrum he succeeded in rousing Maran from his meditative trance, and immediately attached himself to him as his disciple. At the same time Maran experienced a revelation of Vishnu, and the result was the mass of poetry which is preserved in the Nālāvira Prabandham. His works are the Tiruviruttam, containing 100 stanzas; the Tiruvāsiriam, 7 stanzas; the Periva Tiruvandādi, 87 stanzas; and the Tiruvāymoli, 1,102 stanzas. The last forms the whole of the fourth (and concluding) main division of the Prabandham, and is itself divided into ten parts, called 'Tens,' each containing ten poems, almost all of them with eleven four or eight line stanzas, the eleventh being to show the eternal benefits that will accrue to those who sing these hymns. The Tiruzāymoli is by far the best known part of the Nālāyira Prabandham. The works of Naminālvār as a whole are held to contain the essence of the four Vedas. Unlike some of the other Alvars, the whole of his life was devoted to meditation on divine truth. His disciple, Mathurakavi, has left ten stanzas only, in praise of his master; he is the great example of that devotion to the guru as himself a partial incarnation of Vishnu, which was in some later developments of the bhakti movement to have such dangerous implications. The date that modern scholarship assigns to Nammālvār is about the first half of the ninth century.

KULASĒKARA ĀĻVĀR was a king in Travancore, and his poems contain a number of place-references that have been made the ground of various conflicting theories as to his exact date. Probably the first half of the ninth century may be accepted. He was a capable ruler, but his interests gradually turned to religion. He made a careful study of sacred literature and himself completed an anthology of poems drawn from it. His religious pre-occupations proved increasingly embarrassing to his ministers, and various incidents are related of his absorption. On one occasion he was so moved on hearing a passage read from the Rāmāyaṇa in which Rāma is pictured as standing alone against hosts of giants, that he ordered cut his own troops to go to the rescue, and his ministers needed considerable

ingenuity to avoid complications. Again, he was impetuously on his way to Ceylon to rescue the captive Sītā, and had already plunged into the sea to swim the Straits, when Rāma appeared in person with Sītā to assure him that his help was no longer needed. Other stories are told of his devotion; but at last he abdicated and was then able to gratify to the full his desire to visit the sacred shrine of Śrīraṅgam, and from there to pay visits to other temples. His experiences are embodied in the *Perumāl Tirumoli*, containing 103 stanzas.

PERITĀLVĀR, also known as Vishnu-chittar, was born of Brahmin parents at Śrīvilliputtūr. He was a man of natural piety and devoted himself to the supplying of flowers daily to Krishna in the form of the Sleeper on the Banvan Leaf. in the Srivilliputtur temple. In a vision he was instructed to go to the court of the Pandya king, Vallabha Deva, at Madura, and there in a council of sages, summoned by the king to expound the Vedanta, he earned the title of 'Pattarpiran'-the Brahman chief. On his return he experienced so strong an emotion of love for Vishnu, and so vivid a realisation of him, that he broke into the song of praise known as the Tiruppallandu, in which he summons others to join him. He returned to his service at Śrīvilliputtur, and there composed his Tirumoli, on the exploits of Krishna, to whose imitation he devoted himself till the end of his days. He may be placed about the middle of the ninth century.

ANDAL is of peculiar interest as the one woman poet among the Alvars. She was the reputed daughter of Periyalvar, who, however, had found her in his flower garden while he was digging, and brought her up as his own child. One day in his absence she was playing with the flowers he had set aside for Krishna, and decked herself with them. He rebuked her severely, and was grieved that on that day he was unable to present his usual offering to the god. In a vision, however, he was told that the god preferred the flowers that Anda! had worn; and henceforth she always wore them before they were presented to the deity. She became inflamed with passion for Krishna, and pictured herself as one of the gopis, seeking for union with him by every

means. She composed the *Tiruppāvai* in thirty stantas, describing the way of fulfilment of a sacred vow for the realisation of the divine presence. She also composed the *Nācchiyar Tirumoli* (the Sacred Speech of the Queen) in 143 stantas, consisting of invocations to Kāma, the god of Love, etc. The question of her marriage arose; and in a vision it was revealed that she was to be the bride of Śrī Ranganātha himself, i.e., Vishņu in the recumbent form shown at Śrīrangam. She went to Śrīrangam with due ceremony, and was there absorbed into the divine being.

TONDARADIPPODI was born at Mandangudi. His original name was Vipra Nārāyana, and like Periyālvār, he gave himself to the preparation of flowers for the worship of the god, in this case at Śrīrangam. The crisis of his life came when he yielded to the seductions of a courtesan called Dēvādēvi. He was under her spell for some time, and was at last saved only by the intervention of the god Ranganāthan himself. Thus saved and shocked into a more complete devotion, Vipra Nārāvana returned to his former service of the god, and gave himself the new name of Tondaradippodi (The Dust of the Feet of the Slaves of God). The heights of his religious experience find expression in his two poems, the Tirumālai (the Sacred Garland) and the Tiruppalli Yeluchi (the Rousing of the Lord) both directed to the same manifestation of the recumbent Ranganāthan at Śrīrangam. He shows strong hostility to Buddhists and Jains, and there is one hostile reference also to Saivas. He also may be dated about the middle of the ninth century.

TIRUPPĀŅ ĀĻVĀR was found in a paddy field in Uraiyur (now Woriur, Trichinopoly) and adopted by a childless Pāṇār, or lute-player, and his wife. The child grew up with a deep devotion to Vishņu as manifested at Śrīraṅgam, just across the river Kāvēri; but conscious of his lowly Pañchama origin, he contented himself with singing his praises from the southern bank of the Kāvēri, not crossing to the sacred island itself. There he used to stay, adoring, and altogether unconscious of his surroundings. On one occasion the Brahmin, Lōka Sāraṅga Mahā Muni, who was responsible for bringing the water for the ablutions of the god, wished

to draw water from the place where Tiruppan was seated, and called to him to remove himself, in order that his outcaste presence might not be a pollution. Tiruppān heard nothing, till at last the Brahmin in his irritation threw a stone at him. Tiruppān at once realised the situation and humbly withdrew. The Brahmin proceeded to draw the water and in due course presented it to Śrī Ranganāthan. To his intense surprise it was rejected, and the god rebuked him angrily for his treatment of the outcaste, who was his Finally, Mahā Muni was instructed to go to Tiruppān and carry him on his shoulders to the sacred presence, as Tiruppān's modesty would not allow him of his own motion to bring what he regarded as the defilement of his person near to the god. This was done, and the ecstatic experience drew from Tiruppān the Amalan-ādipirān in ten stanzas, He was finally absorbed into the divine form at the age of fifty.

Last and most picturesque of the Alvars comes TIRU-MANGAL born in the thief caste, his father being commander of the armies of the Chola king. The name Nila (blue) was given to the child in honour of Vishnu. He inherited his father's position, and was made a sub-king of the Tiruvāli country; he was thus able to indulge his turbulent passions to the full. His conversion to religious thought dates from his falling in love with a heavenly nymph adopted by a Vaishnava who gave her the name of Kumuda Valli, as he had found her in a lily pool. Uninfluenced by his offers of jewellery and wealth, she refused to marry anyone but a true Vaishnava. Nīla immediately hurried to a shrine and begged the deity to make him a Vaishnava. In answer to his prayer the twelve marks of Vishnu—the wheel, the conch, etc.—were imprinted on his person, and he thus returned to claim his bride. Kumuda Valli, however, insisted that he should feed 1,008 Vaishnavas daily for one year. To this also he agreed, and the marriage was duly celebrated. From this point Nila becomes Tirumangai. He kept his promise to feed the 1,008 Vaishnavas, though in order to do so he defrauded his overlord, who therefore came against him and made him a prisoner. However, while he was in captivity a hidden hoard was revealed to him by Varadarājāśvāmi of Kānehī (Vishņu in the form worshipped at Conjeevaram), and with this he was able not only to ransom himself but to feed the Vaishnavas for a considerable time. When it was exhausted he took to highway robbery to procure the requisite money. Narayana himself was watching the zeal of Tirumangai for this good end, and in order to win it yet more fully for himself he turned into a wealthy Brahmin traveller and allowed himself to be waylaid and robbed. Tirumangai did his work thoroughly but was unable to lift his rich spoil from the ground until the Brahmin taught him a mantra which contained within itself all the four Vedas. This produced a wonderful effect, and Tirumangai saw the traveller whom he had robbed transformed into Vishnu in the form of Hrishikësa, with his consort Lakshmi, riding on the great kite, Garuda, Inspired by the sight he produced the hymns which are preserved in the Prabandham-Periva Tirumoli, Tirukurun Tāndaham, Tirunedun Tāndaham, Tiruverukutrirukkai. Siriva Tirumadal, and Periya Tirumadal. He visited many sacred shrines, which he celebrated in his hymns. At Sīhāli (Shīvāli) he had a debate with the Saiva saint. Sambandhar, in which he came out victorious, Sambandhar giving him his trident as a sign of respect. (This trident is found on all images of Tirumangai, who is for this reason called Parakalar, the Enemy of Heretics.) At last he reached Śrīrangam, where the god, Ranganāthan, commissioned him to rebuild and enlarge his temple. To secure the necessary funds for this, Tirumangai again resorted to brigandage. He gained possession of half a cargo of nuts by an unscrupulous trick, and proceeded to rob the Buddhist shrine at Negapatam of its golden image of Buddha. In the latter place his brother-in-law, Yatirājan, lost his life, which was however restored to him through the intercession of Śrī Ranganāvaki. the divine consort at Śrirangam. With the funds so obtained he set about the building work at Śrīrangam. When obstreperous workmen demanded payment he saw to their being drowned in the Kaveri, and consoled their indignant relatives by telling them that they would be happier at the feet of Śrī Ranganāthan than they had been on earth. . . . And so at last, having obtained as a final boon the vision of the Lord's ten acatāras, he went to Tirukkurungudi and there passed away. Tirumangai's period is probably the first half of the ninth century.

A study of the hymns of the Alvars brings out two interrelated but distinguishable elements in them: a philosophy striving for expression, and an emotional experience. Both are illustrated in the selections here translated and both may be traced in the subsequent developments of the bhakti movement. One of the most striking features of Śrī-Vaishnavism is its emphasis on the succession of gurus; it starts with Nammalyar, whose immediate disciple, Mathurakavi, himself counted among the Alvars, gives it classic expressien. But the main line runs through Nathamuni, the codifier of the Nālāviram, and through the āchārvas, Pundarikāksha. Rāmamiśra, and Yāmunāchārya (also known as Ālavandār. the Victor, on account of his dialectical skill). Yamunāchārva's works were in Sanskrit, and contained an adumbration of the Visishtadvaita system that was worked out by his successor, Rāmānujāchārva (A.D. 1017-1137). It lies outside the scope of this study to give any detailed account of Rāmānuja, but in him is summed up the intellectual side of the work of the Alvars.

On the emotional side no such clear literary succession can be shown; but the suggestion of Dr. Farguhar that the Bhāgarata Purāna, the latest of the Purānas, dating probably from about A.D. 900, sprang from the midst of some such community as the Alvars, seems highly probable. The kind of bhakti described in the Purāna is precisely that of the Alvars—a surging emotion produced by gazing on images of Krishna, singing his praises, meditating on him, associating with other devotees, touching their bodies, serving them lovingly, talking with them his wondrous doing and his graces. The Purana however appears to have gone further in the less worthy directions that are associated with the later bhakti movement than do the Alvar hymns. There is more emphasis on the youth of Krishna, more on the gopis, more detailed sensuous description of the dalliance of Krishna and the

¹ Religious Literature of India, p. 231 f.

gopis, than is to be found in the Ālvārs. From the standpoint of religion it would appear to mark a perversion, which is by no means so definite in the Tamil works.¹

The Nālāvira Prabandham is one of the great devotional classics of the Tamil country, and there are Śri-Vaishnavas, both men and women, who carry the whole of it in their memory, chanting it to simple ragams or tunes. in their private devotions. It is also used in temple worship. side by side with the Sanskrit Veda. Certain portions of the Nālāviram (notably the Tiruppallāndu and the Tiruppāvai, translated in this selection) are recited daily in all Śri-Vaishnava temples, and also on special occasions.2 For instance, there are special portions appropriate to marriages; and at death, among other portions, the Tiruppallandu is recited, and in the cremation procession the Tiruviruttam (here translated in part). At the great Śrīrangam temple, near Trichinopoly, the whole of the Prahandham is recited during the ten days of the Ekādaśī festival in January, and also on the Saints' Days sacred to the several Alvars. At Śrīrangam and in all Śrī-Vaishnava temples, the Tamil Prabandham is recited in processions in front of the god, and the Sanskrit Veda behind him. He is there said 'to rest on the Prabandham and to carry the Veda.' For the Śrī-Vaishnava, this great Śrīrangam temple—an enormous enclosure, containing a town within the temple walls-is simply 'Kōyil,' the Temple, par excellence; and it is here—far more than at Tirupati, which is situated at the extreme north of the Tamil and on the borders of the Telugu country, and which is mentioned in the Hymns only less frequently than Śrīrangam—that the 'Tamil Veda,' as the Prabandham is sometimes called, is given full honour. The regular daily worship at Tirupati is mainly in Sanskrit.

Originally, the Hymns seem to have been sung in the

¹ After giving a detailed account of Krishna's dalliance with the gopis, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* concludes (Book x, chap. 33): 'Whoever respectfully listens to and rehearses the account of the amorous sport of Vishnu with the damsels of Vraja, conceives great devotion for the almighty lord, and subduing his own self, he speedily destroys his desires that are maladies of the mind.'

² See introductory note on the Tiruppallandu, p. 33.

temple-worship, as is still the case in Saiva temples with Saiva hymns: but the custom of reciting them together with the commentary gradually grew, possibly to emphasise the similarity between the 'Tamil Veda' and the Sanskrit. This regitation is part of what may be called the 'Tamil liturgy,' as distinguished from the regular liturgy which is in Sanskrit. The singing of some parts of the Prabandham appears to be a comparatively modern revival, and to have no necessary relation to the liturgy. In any case it has no connection with the recitation; where there is a singer, he performs his part alone. The reciters are called 'Araivar': they stand on opposite sides of the mandapam or hall, in front of the temple, and render the hymns antiphonally. They have allowances and perquisites from the temple, and they must be Brahmins. There is also a liturgy for domestic worship, in which, for Brahmans, Vedic mantras and verses from the Prabandham are both used; for non-Brahmans, the Vedic mantras are of course omitted, though other Sanskrit passages from the Puranas, etc., may be put in their place. There is no caste restriction as to the domestic use of the Prabandham; it is open to all who accept the teaching of Rāmānuja.

Many hymns of the Prabandham require but little explanation, in order to be intelligible. Instances will be found among those translated here of a simple appeal to God for deliverance from the recurring ill of life—life itself is the ill, not sin, or sorrow, or misfortune; but existence, from which God himself alone may be able to save the soul that trusts in him. Others are filled with a passionate devotion to God, singularly free from self-regard, and expressing itself with a great wealth of illustration. Others again consist of loving and detailed descriptions of God as made known to men, especially in the form of Krishna, whose exploits both as child and man form the subject-matter of many hymns exalting the grace of God. (Only one of the many dealing in great detail with Krishna's infancy has been chosen for this selection, by Perivalvar.1) Others deal similarly with the other avataras of Vishnu, and with

¹ See below, p. 37.

particular manifestations at one or other of the many shrines sacred to him, in the Tamil country and beyond it. The note of devotion that sounds in such hymns is a note familiar in the soul's approach to God, and apart from the strangeness of the names and allusions, needs no comment to make it clear to devout men of other races and faiths.

But there are other hymns which refuse to vield their secret unless it is realised that they embody a very elaborate symbolism, much of which is entirely foreign to western thought. In the present selection, the Tiruviruttam of Nammalvar and the Tiruppavai of Andal are examples of this class, and an attempt has been made to supply sufficient explanation to make them moderately intelligible to the reader. It is neither possible nor desirable to supply a complete key to the esoteric meaning of these hymns: commentators differ widely on many points, and all that has here been aimed at is to suggest interpretations that may give some clue to the poet's meaning. No epithet is used without a meaning on which commentators have exercised their ingenuity at great length; and inevitably in translation much has been lost of the finer shades of suggestion that the original contains. At the back of all the emphasis on the visible image or shrine lies the great thought, that man's religion not only needs expression through the senses, but through them also needs and receives stimulation. The Alvars yielded themselves fully to the ecstatic raptures that came to their senses through the action of song and symbol. They saw God in everything, and under the most intimate terms known to human relationship they sought to express the passionate hunger of the heart for him. The soul cannot find rest until it finds God.

For those not already familiar with the intricate field of Hindu mythology, one of the chief obstacles to the ready understanding of such devotional hymns as those of the $\bar{A}lv\bar{a}rs$ is the number of incidents and epithets with which they need to be acquainted. Here all that can be given is a brief summary of the main beliefs about Vishņu, detailed

¹ See below, pp. 49, 58-60.

allusions that are not here made sufficiently clear being explained, where they occur, in the notes to the text. The references in the hymns are very largely to one or other of the avataras of Vishnu, and it is through them that he is chiefly known to men. But he himself dwells in Vaikuntha, with his consort, Lakshmi, or Śrī, who was born of the froth of the ocean when it was churned by the gods and demons. On his breast he bears a sacred mark, Śri-vatsa, and in his four hands he carries always the Wheel, the Conch, the Club, and the Lotus. He is for ever at war with the demons that for ever plot evil against men and gods. Among the demons are Madhu, Kamsa, Bana, Bali, all of whom are mentioned in these selections; and Vishnu hurls his wheel and uses his club against them. When he blows his couch his enemies are filled with terror and dismay. He also has a Bow (Sarnga) and a sword, and wears special iewels on his breast and on his wrist. He rides on Garuda, the great eagle that is half human in form and character, the destroyer of serpents. At the dissolution of the universe, between the intervals of creation, Vishnu, the Supreme Being, floats on the waters of the Sea of Milk, reclining on Ādi-Ṣēsha,1 the thousand-headed serpent, in profound repose, with Lakshmi at his feet. Out of his navel grows the lotus which supports Brahma, the active agent in reproducing the world. Vishnu's chief quality is his condescending grace, through which he is the protector and preserver of the world. This grace is shown pre-eminently in the avataras. in which he comes to earth for the help of those who are in need. The number is commonly given as ten, and references to most of them are frequent in the Alvar hymns. The first three are associated with the threatened destruction of the earth by flood, Vishnu coming in animal form to savefirst as Matsya, the Fish; then as Kurma, the Tortoise; and a gain as Varāha, the Boar. Then comes the Man-lion, Narasimha, by which Vishnu delivers his devotee, Prahlada, from Hiranyakasipu. In the Vāmana avatāra Vishnu becomes a

¹ cf. Poykai Āļvār (First Tiruvandādi, 53): 'If he travels, an um brella; if he sits, a throne: if he stands, sandals; within the deep sea , always a raft; a jewelled lamp, fire silk, a couch for embraces, the Sn ake will be for Tirumāl.'

dwarf, and by his three strides, as Tri-Vikrama, delivers the earth from the demon Bali. Next comes Paraśurāma, followed by the two great figures of Rāma, whose foe was Rāvaṇa, and Kṛishṇa, who destroyed Karhsa. To the other two names, generally included among the ten avatāras, Buddha, and Kalki, who is still to come, it is doubtful if there are any references in the Ālvārs.

In addition to these stories which are common to all India—and those of Rama and Krishna have of course been elahorated in the fullest detail in popular story and imagination—there are stories connected with particular manifestations of Vishnu or of one or other of his avatāras at various local shrines. The different names by which he is known suggest different attributes; for instance, Ranganatha of Śrirangam is the Lord of the World-Stage, in the allembracing repose that precedes creation; while Varadarājāsvāmi of Kānchī is the Giver of Boons. Many of the poems of the Alvars are in praise of particular shrines and images, and in the selection here given, the groves and pools and streams in the immediate neighbourhood of such temples as that of Venkatesvara at Tirupati are the subject of loving description. For the ordinary worshipper the image undoubtedly recalled God to memory and stimulated emotion; but the exact relation of the local deity to Vishnu is not always easy to understand.1 In images the divine life needs to be induced, in the prānapratisthā ceremony, by means of mantras. Once life is induced there is a god in the image who is to it as the soul is to the body, and who by his loving devotees is roused from slumber and bathed and fed. In the life of Rāmānuja there are two incidents which are of special interest as vividly illustrating the reality of life in each image. In early days the temple at Tirupati appears to have been Bhagavata, and the image there combines the

¹ Vishņu exists in five modes: (i) Images and the like are Archa; (ii) incarnations are Vibhava; (iii) his fourfold manifestations are $Vy\bar{u}ha$; (iv) the internal controller is $Antary\bar{u}min$; (v) the supreme Vāsudeva is Para.

By worshipping each of the former embodiments the votary becomes fit to practise the worship of each of the latter.

forms of Vishnu and Siva.1 In order to decide once for all to which god worship was to be given, Rāmānuja one evening placed before the image, on the one hand, the symbols of Vishnu, (the discus, the shell, and so forth), and on the other Siva's symbols, (the trident, etc.), so that the god himself might decide. In the morning the god was wearing the symbols of Vishnu, and from that time forward the temple has been one of the great Śrī-Vaishnava shrines. Still more interesting and perplexing is the story of the dispute that occurred between Ranganatha (Vishnu at Śrirangam), and Varada (Vishnu of Kānchi), over Rāmānuja; the one god sent to the other demanding that he should no longer retain Rāmānuja, as he was needed at Śrīrangam. Here we are not far removed from indiscriminate polytheism, with the unedifying feuds of rival gods. Yet it is clear that there is a recognised relation between the one Supreme Being Vishru and the various local gods, so that loyalty to any or all of them is loyalty to him, while on the other hand, no god outside this ring may receive worship. There are, however, stanzas in the Alvar hymns in which it is indicated that worship of Siva is in reality worship of Vishnu himself under that form.2

In almost all the hymns that are here given, a yearning after the divine fellowship stands out as the chief characteristic. In comparison with this, the best that the world can offer is valueless: wealth, sensual indulgence, the exercise of kingly authority, the bliss of Śvarga itself, are all treated with contempt.³ It is not a vague absorption into the divine essence that is here desired; it is a personal relationship, illustrated largely by the relation between a man and the woman whom he loves.⁴ The object of man's

¹ cf. Pey Ālvār (Third Tiruvandādi, 63) 'The two forms unite as one on the sacred hill (Tirupati), where the rushing mountain streams flow round Māi (Vishņu), who appears with matted locks, and high top-knot and shining battle-axe and discus, girt with the snake.' cf. also Poykai Ālvār (First Tiruvandādi. 98) 'These two (Šiva and Vishņu) for ever change and unite in their limbs: the one is ever within the limbs of the other.'

² See, e.g., introductory note to *Tiruviruttam*, p. 58. ³ e.g., selections from *Kulasēkara*, pp. 44-48.

^{*} e.g., Tiruviruttam throughout.

love is not a neutral abstraction, but Vishnu, Nārāyana above all. This Supreme Being is known to men in his overwhelming grace in his various avatāras-whether as Boar, or Man-lion, or Dwarf, or Rāma, or Krishna, always coming to the help of man. And with him always is associated his consort, Lakshmi, or Śrī, the embodiment of his active grace and mercy, the mediatorial influence that is continually with him. The nature of the relationship is beyond definition, but generally its climax is ecstatic joy; the almost hysterical thrill of emotion is the sure evidence of the divine presence: 'When one is overcome by the bhakti exaltation, trembling in every cell of his being he must freely and passively allow this influence to penetrate his being and carry him beyond all known states of consciousness. Never from fear or shame that bystanders might take him for a mad man ought the exhibition of his bhakti rapture that deluges his being to be suppressed. The very madness is the distinguishing character of the enraptured saint, distinguishing him from the ordinary mortals to whom such beatific experience is necessarily denied. The very madness is the bhakta's pride "In that very madness," the saint exhorts, "run, jump, crv. laugh, and sing, and let every man witness it." '1 Figures drawn from the sex relationship are employed to illustrate this extraordinary exhilaration and, especially in the later developments of bhakti, this became the most dangerous element of the movement. In the Alvars, speaking generally, the erotic expression is not too gross. characteristic attempt at illustration (as in much other Vaishnava poetry) is in the passion of a mother for a child, and some of the most charming of the hymns are those in which the child Krishna draws out the affection of his devotees in the purest form of emotion that men can know.2 The emotion of love is stimulated especially by the avatara stories, and the very points in the story of Krishna that have been challenged by many critics—his thieving, his im-

Govindāchārya, Divine Wisdom of the Drāvida Saints (Introduction p. iii).
 cf. the playful poem of Periyāļvār translated on p. 37.

propriety with the gopis—are regarded as but supreme examples of his utter, condescending, grace.

On another line, but aiming at the same end of giddy exhilaration, is the practice of repeating the thousand names of Vishnu, and so by a kind of self-hypnotism losing oneself in rapture. The true devotee sees God in everything, and again and again in these poems, not only the tulasi (Vishnu's peculiarly sacred plant), but trees and flowers, mountains blue in the distance, birds and beasts and human beings serve to recall the heart to its allegiance. There is in these hymns more of unrealised desire than of present satisfaction, and every reminder of God serves to accentuate this pain of the home-sickness of the heart.

This relationship with God by means of loving devotion is the way of escape from the ills of life, and is open to all. Neither asceticism, nor ceremonial works, nor knowledge are required; and such a story as that of Tiruppān Ālyār is a reminder that a man of any caste may be a guru, and that thus in the sight of God birth is no recommendation. This salvation is generally a personal matter, and there is not a great sense of responsibility for the welfare of others in a number of these hymns. Yet on the other hand it is to be noted that the very use of Tamil opened the way to the common man, and that still in Vaishnava temples the recitation of the Nalaviram gives what has been called the essence of the Vedas in the vernacular of the people. The reading of the poems, which is possible for all, we are again and again told, will deliver a man from rebirth. In the Tiruppallandu and in a number of other poems there is a definite call on the part of the poet for others to join with him in his act of worship and in his service of God. The life of Rāmānuja supplies another illustration of the same generous tendency. To learn a mystic secret from a guru in the Madura District he travelled all the way from Śrīrangam; but to test his worthiness the guru made him return without the mantra. Eighteen times did Rāmānuja thus make the toilsome journey; until at last the guru, persuaded of his fitness, disclosed the mystery, under a

¹ For examples see Tiruviruttam, passim.

strict pledge of secrecy. Immediately Rāmānuja went forth and proclaimed what he had learnt to a group of men, preferring to be lost himself, if he might thus save others.

The goal that is sought appears to vacillate between two alternatives, as indeed is the case with many mystics in every land and age. There is first, quite clearly, the normal human longing for a relation of conscious love and trust between man and God; there is even the joyful anticipation of unending service round God's throne. The reality and eternity of love can alone save these impassioned hymns from being a mockery, and in the Visishtadvaita philosophy the doctrine of the continued existence of the individual soul finds its defence. But there is also the goal of complete absorption, such as is suggested in the stories of Andal and of Tiruppan—the peace that is the peace of nescience. Thought seems to be dominated by the ideas of Karma and an impassible God, and the one cry is to be delivered from rebirth.2 Life itself still seems to be the evil, and not any of the mere incidents of life, such as pain or misery or sin. It is perhaps unwise to look for logical consistency in the expressions of religious rapture; it is to be found no more in the hymns of the great German mystics than in those of the Alvars.

Whatever the goal, and however varied the means by which man may try to reach it, it is clear that his hope in these hymns lies not in means, however suitable, but in the character of God Himself. In one of the earliest of the Ālvārs there occurs a stanza which may well be taken as the expression of the bhakta's faith: 'Let thy grace be for me to-day or to-morrow, or let it wait still for a little and come later, I am sure, O Nārāyaṇa, that I am not without thee, nor art thou without me!' God's grace is unlimited; each avatāra shows it, and supremely in the condescension of Krishṇa's whole career, it is made sure for men. On this unlimited grace the humblest and most unworthy may build.

¹ e.g., Tiruppallāndu, stanza 12, p. 37.

e.g., Tirumangai, Periyatirumoli xi, 8, p. 40.
 Tirumalisai, Nān-mukhan-Tiruvandādi, 7.

God's grace is unfathomable, all the wisdom of all the sages has touched but the fringe of the knowledge of him, their best light is only a flickering torch. But such grace demands an unlimited answering devotion, and salvation comes when God's boundless grace is met by man's faith and love. The cuestion that inevitably arises at this point is one of the great questions of the religious life; what is the relation between that grace of God, and the answering faith of man? It is on this that the great division occurred among the followers of Rāmānuja. The Vadagalais, or Northern school, whose great thinker and leader was Vedānta Dēśika, laid stress on man's share; the Tengalais, who are more directly in the line of succession to the Alvars. emphasised God's grace, and God's responsibility, and maintained that all that man has to do is to remain passive. The two sects still divide the field of South Indian Vaishnavism, with many differences of ceremonial observance and emphasis; but the essential difference is as to whether man's hold of God and God's hold of man are like that of the monkey to its young, where the young one has to exert itself to maintain its grip, or like that of the cat and the kitten, where the kitten is merely passive in its mother's mouth. The Tengalai view lends itself to extravagant exaggerations, as does extreme Calvinism, with a very similar creed; but in the Alvar hymns there is little or no evidence of blaming God for man's failures, to the shutting out of all responsibility from man.

God's character then, as here portrayed, is gracious, and his grace is to be answered by man's loving faith. But 'grace' is hardly a sufficient description of character; it is a description of God in his dealings with men. But what is God in himself? In particular, if salvation is eternal fellowship with him, we need to know what manner of being it is with whom we are to maintain fellowship; for this determines the ideal of our own character and life. Now from these hymns it is very difficult to form a consistent view of God's character. What is his attitude to the great problems of conduct which every man has to face? It would almost seem

¹ Tiruviruttam, 44, p. 73.

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from these hymns that God is above morality, and that to him it is an irrelevance. The Puranic stories are taken for granted. Krishna is a full incarnation of God, expressing God in everything he does. It has been said above that what in an ordinary man would be called his immoralities are regarded in Krishna as so many signs of his infinite condescension; but if God can so condescend, morality is indifferent to him. Similarly, in the easy theory of partial incarnations in the various Alvars there is no recognition of morality as a requisite. In the symbols at the great Śrīrangam temple, as at other temples, there is much of what anywhere else would have to be called indecency; but there is no suggestion that this is repugnant to Vishnu. Morality is a category applicable only to men: and it is not surprising that in some later developments of the bhakti movement, by a perverted emphasis, the heaven that is held out as the goal of the bhakta consists in sharing in the amorous sports of Krishna; to be with God means to be freed from the vexatious limitations of humanity. God is at any rate not essentially and centrally righteous; and while it may be true that 'the pure in heart shall see God,' the same result can be attained by other means. Apparently, as the stories of the Alvars suggest, the power of a mantra, the repetition of the sacred name, or even the use of the right ceremonial, are as effective as right living and true thinking. In other words, there is no necessary connection between bhakti and character. Such a story as that of Tondaradippodi certainly emphasises the ethical; but on the other hand is the story of Tirumangai where a startling and profound religious experience left character entirely unaffected; he is at least as unscrupulous after his 'conversion' as before it, and there is no hint of criticism on the part either of Vishnu or of the later devotees of Tirumangai. Deliverance from sin, after all, is not what is chiefly desired: sin is not the problem. but life itself. It would thus appear that the type of devotion that we are here considering gives no positive help to the living of the moral life: the possession of a character

¹ cf. the closing stanzas of many of the hymns.

formed on the model of God as revealed in his avatāras cannot bar men from that fellowship with him which is salvation. On the other hand, this is inconsistent with the fundamental karmic doctrine, that selfish action involves rebirth and is thus a bar to salvation. Karma thus makes for unselfish, though self-centred, morality; but the bhakta's religion may quite well leave morality on one side. The ethical problem is not central in the thought of the Ālvārs; the fervent glow of emotion makes all else seem trivial.

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PART II

TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

Ι

A Hymn of Praise

PERIYĀLVĀR: TIRUPPALLĀŅDU

INTRODUCTION

Among the Alvar hymns a unique place is held by the Tirubballandu. For all Tamil Vaishnavites, both Vadagalai and Tengalai, the Tamil hymns rank in importance with the Sanskrit Veda and are recited on all occasions of worship. both temple and private. (This of course does not include the morning, mid-day and evening Sandhya worship, incumbent on Brahmins as such, which consists of meditation and the recitation of certain set Vedic formulas). At the ten-day annual festivals of the temples, all the four thousand stanzas should be recited; while in the daily worship there is time only for selected stanzas. But in all cases, whether the stanzas recited are many or few, the Tamil recitation is commenced with the Tiruppallandu and is closed with it. This is not confined to Brahmins: Vaishnavites of all castes make this use of the Tiruppallandu. Among the ceremonies at death. some involve the recitation of Alvar hymns; and on the day of death, in the polluting presence of the dead body, the Tiruppallandu is recited. So on the thirteenth day, when all pollution ends, if possible all the four thousand stanzas should be recited, though this involves time and money; but in any case, however few stanzas are recited, the Tiruppallāndu is included.

According to the tradition, on one occasion Vishnu appeared to Periyāļvār in a vision. The Ālvār, overwhelmed with the sight of his infinite beauty, burst out into ecstatic prayer, that that beauty should be preserved safe for ever. His prayer is the *Tiruppallāndu*.

The generally accepted scheme of the Tiruppallandu may be described as follows. In stanzas 1 and 2 the \bar{A} lvar sings the praises of God. He does not feel happy to sing alone, and therefore he calls upon others, who reply to him, and finally join with him in singing.

(a) In stanza 3 he calls to those who worship God, but do so without any ulterior motive; stanza 6 is their reply,

and in stanza 9 he, delighted with it, sings with them.

(5) In stanza 4 he calls upon those who worship God, with the object of securing soul-realisation, and who having gained it, forget God, and are content. Stanzas 7 and 10 give their response and the Ālvār's singing with them.

(c) In stanza 5 he calls upon those who worship God, seeking the enjoyment of worldly pleasure, attached to impermanent wealth and power. Stanzas 8 and 11 are their

response and the Alvar's singing with them.

(d) In stanza 12 he appeals to others, who are altogether indifferent to God, and suggests that for them the way to worship God is to join with him in singing this hymn, and that the reward of worship is unceasing worship round his throne.

There is a play on the meaning of the word 'Pallāṇḍu,' which makes adequate translation impossible. The word literally means 'many years,' but it has also the sense of 'adoration.' In the first stanza both meanings are necessary, but for the rest the translation 'All Hail' has been adopted as perhaps the least open to objection.

Translation

1. Reverence, reverence be unto thee, O thou mighty One, who didst overcome the Mallas, thou like to the sapphire in glory!

Infinitely blest be the beauty of thy holy feet for many many years, for thousands of years, for crores of years, for ever!

2. All hail! Oh may no rift come 'twixt thy slaves and thee! All hail to Srī, who dwells, thy lustre, on thy right! All hail, the glorious discus in thy fair right hand! All hail to Pañchajanyam² sounding in the fight!

¹ Sent by Kamsa against Krishna.

The conch won in conflict with the demons; this and the discus are Vishnu's chief weapons.



VISHŅU (From a stone image in the Madras Museum)

- 3. Take earth and odours, if to serve the Source of bliss Ye wish: but we'll no worldlings have to join our
 - Seven generations without flaw, we sing 'All hail!' To him who with his army Lanka's demons slew!
- 4. Ere to the evil place² ye come,—oh hasfe, Ye who would join us, come, resolve to break these bounds.3
 - Oh, join the devotees who hymn Nārāyan's name.4 Oh haste, till town and country with your song resounds.
- 5. Ye who have been among Irudikeśan's slaves. The Lord who into one the crowded hosts of yore Gather'd and slew, demons and giants: leave the past.6 And hail his thousand names; oh come, his feet adore!
- 6. For generations seven, grandsire and sire, we do Our tasks aright: that we the evil eye may stay? All hail we sing to Hari, who his demon foe8 At Tiruyonam's sacred eventide did slav.

¹ i.e., from the lord, as symbols of becoming his slaves. Earth is taken by devotees to mark the beginning of a ten-day festival, and in it grains are made to sprout.

² The reference may be either to primordial matter, or to the

burning-ghat; salvation must come while we are in the body.

3 They are bound in that their mind is set on their own soul, not on God.

Namonārāyana has the surface meaning of Salutation to Nārāvana,' but traditionally the meaning is, as handed down from his guru to Rāmānujāchārya, '(I am) not for me . . . but for Nārāyaṇa.'
5 A name of Vishņu, 'the lord of the senses '(Hrishikēša).

The past for these had been spent in singing for wealth, etc.;

worship henceforth is to be without any ulterior motive.

God, because of his supreme excellence, is exposed to the evil eye, in the protective thought of his devotees; and their anxious prayer prompted by love has been directed to the warding off from aim of its power.

Hiranyakasipū, slain by Vishņu in the Narasimha avatāra.

The twenty-second lunar asterism. There are twenty-seven, corresponding to the twelve signs of the zodiac. It is 'sacred' because Vishnu is its presiding deity.

 All of our race will serve, our sign the discus red, Gleaming more bright than fire, and sing all hail to him.

Lord of the discus, that, from all his thousand arms, Made flow the blood of Vāṇan¹ in the struggle dim.

8. Him who the hooded snake's dread foe² as standard bears,

And even me makes pure in life, I hail! Oh sweet Were rice and ghi, betel in hand, unceasing rite, Necklet and ear-ring, sandal for the body meet!

9. 'Tis we put on the golden robe thou takest off, Eat thy bowl's orts, thy tulasi our coronal: Where thou didst fix our task, 'tis done; now, hail to thee, Couch'd on thy snake, 'at Tiruvonam festival!

10. Lord, when we call'd ourselves thy slaves, thou mad'st us free.

And we have prosper'd; now to thee who that fair day

Appear'dst, in Mathurā didst break the bow, 5 and leap On the five-hooded serpent's head, 6 'All hail!' we say.

11. I, who like Selva proud, of Kōttiyūr, all fair, With nought unfit, am, Tirumāl, of old thy slave, Ecstatic sing thee, manifold in purity, Namonārāyana! thy names, with meaning grave.

Anirudha, enticed by Usha, daughter of Vāṇan, king of the Asuras (Bānāśura). secretly gained access to her. Vāṇan dazed him; Krisnna came and rescued him, and married Usha to Anirudha.

² Garuda.

² These were the boons that had previously been satisfying the soul, which now recognises that in God alone is satisfaction.

Ādišesha.
 Le., of Karnsa.
 Kālyan.
 A Tiruköttiyūr king who was a devotee.

They who repeat these words of Vishņu Chittar's¹ song

Praising the sacred Lord (Lord of the Bow, 2 on high In heaven), and feel their luck this year, 3 round God shall throng

And there, 'Namonārāyaņa!' unceasing cry.

II

Little Krishna and the Moon

PERIYĀLVĀR: TIRUMOLI: I. 4

The Älvār under the figure of Yasodā, Krishna's foster-mother, describes how the child plays in the dust and calls for the moon.

- 1. He rolls round in the dust, so that the jewel on his brow keeps swinging, and his waist-bells tinkle! Oh, look at my son Govinda's play, big Moon, if thou hast eyes in thy face—and then, be gone!
- 2. My little one, precious to me as nectar, my blessing, is calling thee, pointing, pointing, with his little hands! O big Moon, if thou wishest to play with this little black one, hide not thyself in the clouds, but come rejoicing!
- 3. Wert thou bright all over, with the wheeling of thy orb of light, with all thou dost, thou canst not match my son's face! O Moon, come quickly, so as not to tire the hands that beckon thee, of the wondrous one who dwells in Vengadam!
- 4. 'Tis thee he points to from my hip, he with the discus in his hand, gazing with bright wide eyes! If thou knowest what beseems thee, O Moon, vex him not; if thou art not a childless one thyself, come now!
- 5. He calls thee in his baby speech, prattle unformed, sweetened with nectar from his pretty mouth. O big Moon, if thou heedest him not, whose name is Śrīdharan.*

" 'He who carries Lakshmī in his heart.'

<sup>Another name of Periyālvār.
Sārngam, Vishņu's bow.</sup>

³ i.e., they recognise that they are lucky in the time at which they live, that they may thus sing.

4 5

who is so friendly to all, when he calls and calls, 'twere well for thee if thou wert deai!

6. He who in his great hand wields club, and discus, and bow, doth yawn for very drowsiness—and if he sleep not, the milk he has taken will upset him! So, big Moon, dwelling in the sky, make haste, and come!

7. Despise him not because he is a child; he is the little one who of old slept on the banyan leaf! If he be wroth, he will rise up and leap on thee and seize thee; disregard not

my lord, big Moon, but run hither joyously!

8. Scorn not my lion whelp as a little one; go ask King Baii¹ of his youthful prowess. 'Tis great Māl that calls for thee to come quickly. If thou recognisest thy despising him as a fault in thee, O full Moon, even thou wilt be fit to be his slave!

9. See how he calls thee, my Lord, who filled his hands rull from the pot, and gorged himself with ghi! There is no doubt that he will slay thee with his discus, so if thou wouldst live, run hither joyously!

TTT

'Lord, in the fulness of my might I would for Thee be strong'

TIRUMANGAI: PERIYA TIRUMOLI, I. 3

Or ever age creep on us, and we need
 The staff's support; ere we are double bent
 With eyes fix'd on the ground in front, and feet
 That totter, sitting down to rest, all spent:

We would worship Vadari² Home of him who mightily Suck'd his feignéd mother's breast Till she died, ogress confest.³

² i.e., Badari, the Himālayan shrine of Vishnu.

¹ It was from King Bali that Vishou in the Vāmana avatāra obtained permission to take the three strides, which he did, expanding to the form of Tri-Vikrama.

³ Krishna in his childhood sucked the breast of the demon, Putana till she died.

- 2. Ere youth can rail, (as with one hand on back We lean a-tremble on our staff, with eyes A-roll, and deep heav'd breaths, and coughs)—can say, 'What's this? Why, what an old man Father is!' We would worship Vadari, Sung by the honey-drinking bee.
- 3. Ere all my veins stand out like hoops, my flesh All loose, my mind ashamed, and tottering I stand, with rolling eyes turn'd on the path; If sense I have, the thousand names I'd sing:

 I would worship Vadari,
 Sung by bees in ecstasy.
- 4. Before the rheum flows, and my eye grows dim, And bile comes up, and I am old, and cough, And my legs pain me and together knock, And I can walk but tottering—enough!
 I would worship Vadari
 Girt by pools where fishes play;
 Home of the Lad who calves did graze, And on a day the hill did raise.¹
- 9. Ere in my body all my senses fail, And I grow old and sit apart, my mind Sunk in dejection; gathered phlegm I spit, And only babble of the things I find: I would worship Vadari, Sung by those who tulasī Bear to wreath him, and round the shrine Name the thousand names divine.

¹ Krishna, the cowherd, raised the hill, Govardhana, as an umbrella, to protect the flocks from the rain sent in wrath by Indra.

IV

'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?

TIRUMANGAI: PERIYA TIRUMOLI, XI. 8

Like tree that dwells on river bank
 I timid am
 Lest in the pit of birth again
 I plungéd am.
 Lord, who art smell and taste and touch
 And hearing . . . I have dared thus much!

Like sailors caught in midst of storm
 I timid am
 Lest in the pit of birth again
 I plungéd am.
 Lord of the Discus, though my word
 Be cause for wrath, let it be heard!

Like sharing but with serpent-mate
 I timid am
 Lest into doleful births again
 I plungéd am.
 Lord of the lotus eyes, my mind
 Confus'd, no way to bear can find.

Like ant on firebrand blazing at both ends
 I timid am,
 Lest wandering, into changeful births again
 I plungéd am.
 I bring to thee my melting heart:
 Thou the Eternal Sovereign art!

Like pack of jackals caught in flood
 I timid am,
 Lest into pit of destined woe
 I plungéd am,

Eternal Sovereign, by thy hand Thrust in, with all abatement bann'd.

The worm within the neem¹ eats nought
 Save neem alone.
 Thy rosy feet thy servant I
 Will love alone,
 Thou Light Supreme, on serpent bed,

Who waning moon deliveréd!

V

'He condescends to them of low estate'

TIRUMANGAI: PERIYA TIRUMOLI, V. 8

Thou didst not call him dull, or foe to life,
 Or low of caste, but pitiedst him,²
 On him thy kindly grace didst pour, and say:
 'She with the shy deer's modest glance
 Thy friend is—and my brother thine'; and when
 He would not stay behind, for joy,
 'Thou art my friend: stay here!' thou saidst. Such
 words

So fit my heart that I have found Thy feet, thou with the colour of the seas, Lord of Śrīrangam with its beauteous trees.

2. Thou didst not spurn the great son of the Wind³ As Ape, and of another race, But, so that love and longing greater grew Than ocean, thou didst love, and say:

¹ The margosa tree. The worm enjoys even the bitter margosa leaf, because that is its environment: how much more must man love God!

3 Hanuman, the monkey hero of the Ramayana, was the son of Vavu, the wind.

² The reference is to the episode in the Rāmāyaṇa, when Guhan, the fisherman king, was loath to leave Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa on the banks of the Ganges. Rāma finally persuaded him not to accompany them when he provided them with a boat to cross the river.

'There cannot be a recompense for all
That thou hast done for me; I will
Embrace thee, thou of faultless truth!' That such
A shining boon to me may come,
Longing, the refuge of thy feet I seize,
Lord of Śrīrangam with its beauteous trees.

3. When gathering lotus in a beauteous pool
By groves of fragrant flowers girt,
The elephant by mighty crocodile
Was seized, so that its end was nigh:
He thought upon the shelter of thy feet . . .
Knowing the mighty wrath thou hadst,
Such that the life of that beast, cruel-mouthed,
Was shaken, I, too, come to thee,
Thy slave, the refuge of thy feet I seize,
Lord of Śrīrangam with its beauteous trees.

4. When came a poison-dropping angry snake²

To Thee for refuge, terror-struck,
Thou didst become its refuge, and didst give
It for protection to the Bird,
Thy beauteous slave. Knowing this grace thou
show'dst,
I, fearing Yama's messengers
So harsh of speech, and cruelties which they,
Fierce ones, will do, have come to thee:
Thy slave, the refuge of thy feet I seize,
Lord of Śrīrangam with its beauteous trees.

¹ Both the elephant and the crocodile were such because they had been cursed by munis. The elephant had been the king Indradyumna who was so absorbed by devotion to Vishņu that he had failed to show respect to the sage Agastya. Even as an elephant he continued to gather flowers for the worship of Vishņu. Vishņu therefore was ready to rescue him from the crocodile, which had been one Huhu, a Gandharva.

² The snake was Sumukha, afraid of Garuda, the sacred kite which was Vishnu's vehicle. Garuda had eaten his father, and was shortly going to eat Sumukha. Vishnu put Garuda to shame by making him carry Sumukha on his shoulders. Yama is the god of death.

6. The son of that great sage who learned was In the eternal Vedas four,1

Feared cruel Yama who esteemed him not. And thy protection claimed: thou wast

His refuge, nor didst leave him after thou Hadst raged at Kāla merciless.

That the great grace thou further purposed him -Never to leave thy sacred feet-

May also come to me, thy feet I seize, Lord of Śrīrangam with its beauteous trees.

7. A Brahmin who aforetime gave to thee2 The Truth for repetition, and The birth of sacred thread, besought of thee: 'I know not where my darling son Is hidden. Thou dost know. Oh, give him me!' Thou with thy flawless truth didst cure The lack for which he prayed to thee—didst give Him back his little one. And so I come; the refuge of thy feet I seize, Lord of Śrīrangam with its beauteous trees.

8. A Brahmin, adept in the Vedic truth,³ Called on thee: 'Sire, I seek thy feet. My wife her children dear has never seen Since they were born; a cruel god

The Brahmin Santhipini taught Krishna after the killing of Kamsa, and made this request as for his fee. His son had been drowned twelve years before. Krishna sought him out and restored him to his father. 'Sacred thread': this ceremony is regarded as a youth's second birth, the entry on the life of manhood.

³ Three children had so disappeared. At the time of the birth of the fourth, the father appealed to Krishna, who agreed to save it. He was busy however, and Arjuna acting for him, failed to save the child. Krishna therefore himself came, and restored all four.

Markandeya, the child of the old age of Mrikanda, the sage, was to be perfectly virtuous, and die at the age of 16, rather than live an evil life to the age of 100. By doing penance to Siva he was able to evade the resolute efforts of Yama to capture him. He was further given the gift of eternal life. 'Kala' is either Yama himself or his attendant, the minister of death. (Note that a story usually associated with Siva is by the Alvar assigned to Vishnu.)

Has taken them and hidden them away.

In presence of his enemies
Thou showedst kindly grace; didst say to him
'These are thy children,' and didst give
Them back. And so I come; thy feet I seize,
Lord of Śrīrangam with its beauteous trees.

VI

Renunciation

KULASĒKARAN: PERUMĀL TIRUMOLI: C. 3

- No kinship with this world have I
 Which takes for true the life that is not true.
 'For thee alone my passion burns,' I cry,
 'Rangan,' my Lord!'
- No kinship with this world have I—
 With throngs of maidens slim of waist:
 With joy and love I rise for one alone, and cry
 'Rangan, my Lord!'
- 3. No kinship have I with the devotees Of Māran² with the cruel bow! But mad for Rangan's wreathéd breasts am I, Nārāyanan, Eternal, Hell's dread Foe!
- 4. No kinship with this world have I, Rejoicing in its round of food and fine array! Lo, I am mad for Rangan, him whose mouth Drained through her breasts the ogress' life away.
- 6. No kinship have I with the men who choose The evil when the good unmixed is there. Mad am I for the First, the Cowherd Groom³ Of her⁴ who sprang from out the lotus fair.

¹ The deity at Śrīraṅgam. ² Kāma, the Indian Cupid. ³ Kṛīshṇa. ⁴ Lakshmi.

- Cast out by red-eyed Vishņu is the mind
 That clung on every side to every one:

 Father, forsaken are they all, and I
 With love for Rangan, for my Lord, fordone.
- 9. No harm shall touch the man who mighty stands In these the songs the Konkan king¹ has sung— Great in his lonely frenzy for the feet Of Rangan with the discus in his hands!

VII:

'The worldly hope men set their hearts upon Turns ashes . . .'

KULASĒKARAN: PERUMĀL TIRUMOĻI: C. 4

- Flesh-pampering birth in body's not for me Unless his slave I be, Who tamed the seven bulls.² Oh, as a crane May I be born again, Whose home is in Konēri³ upon Vēngaḍam, Of him who in his left hand holds the conch.
- 2. The wealth which rules in heaven is not for me, With galaxy Of nymphs⁴ with charms immortal; on the earth No kingship! May the birth That is my lot be as a fish within the springs Of Tiruvengadam, with groves of honeved flowers!
- Entrance into Vaikuntha's⁵ portals high
 —Hard to be entered by
 Him of the thickly matted hair,⁶ and Brahm
 And Indra,⁷ come
 - ¹ Kulasēkaran.

² Krishna won the daughter of the shepherd, Nagnachittu, by taming seven bulls.
³ A small tank on Tirupati hill.

Dancing girls in Indra's heaven, Svarga. Vishnu's heaven.

° Šiva.

⁷ Indra is here ranked with Siva and Brahma: Vishnu is superior to the triad.

Close pressing—I would gain, holding the golden bowl For Vēngad's king to spit in, lightning discusarmed!

- 4. Where humming beetles sing their song I'd be A champak tree, Standing at Tiruvēngadam, that I The feet might spy Of him, mysterious Lord, who slumbers² in the cool Milk-sea, all tossing with its waves of coral bright!
- 7. I will not know the wealth men celebrate— To sit as lord, in state, O'er kings, 'neath white umbrella like full moon Which rules the sky. My boon Be rather thoughts which like Kānāru³ river flow On hill of Vēngadam with groves of honeyed flowers.
- 8. 'Mid Vēngaḍam's cool scented groves I'd fain My stand maintain— A road upon his hill who—Vēd-revealed— Himself fulfilled The penance duly done by him with crescent moon In matted hair,⁴ by Brahma and by Indra!⁵
- 9. O Tirumāl, who banishest strong deeds That grow like weeds, O mighty lord of Vēngadam, that I Thy coral lips might see, and lie, A step, at threshold of thy temple, for thy slaves And heavenly ones, and beauteous nymphs to pass across!

¹ In Vishnu temples a spittoon is provided for the deity, into which is emptied the ceremonially offered water.

² Vishnu is pictured as at Srirangam, a recumbent sleeping figure.

³ A stream on Tirupati hill. ⁴ Siva.

⁵ Those who have gained the position of Siva, etc., by their penances have only done so by the help of the Supreme Being who is revealed in the Veda.

10. If 'neath that canopy which rules above I might attain the love Of Urvasi¹ with girdle of fine gold, To it I'm cold. Oh to be anything at all on Vēngadam, The golden hill of him with lips of coral red!

VIII

'All my hope on Thee is stayed'

KULASĒKARAN: PERUMĀL TIRUMOLI: C. 5.

If Thou wilt not my portion'd grief dispel,
 I have no hope but Thee,
 Vitruvakōdu's² Lord,

Girt with its groves of flowers with fragrant smell. I'm like a babe, which weeps, yet thinks of mother's grace,

Though she with anger fierce has thrust it from her face.

Girt on all sides by walls that heaven touch,
 Vitruvakōdu's Lord,
 E'en like a well-born girl
 Who only knows her husband, though deeds such
 As men may mock her lover does, so will I sing,
 Though thou'lt not be my Lord, Thy anklets tinkling.

Surrounded by wide lands which fishes see,
 Vitruvakōdu's Lord,
 E'en if Thou wilt not look
 On me, I have no other hold but Thee—
 Like subjects looking to the rod of wreathéd king,
 Though he regards them not and works deeds harrowing.

² One of the dancing girls in Svarga, widely sung in Indian poetry.

² A place in the Chera country.

 Though by illusion from Thee woe I have Without a remedy, Vitruvakodu's Lord.

At Thy grace only will I look, Thy slave, Like a sick man, who, though physician cut with knife And brand, yet loves him with a love as long as life.

5. Slayer of elephant great and fierce of eye Vitruvakodu's Lord, Where shall I go and live?

Save for Thy feet, like a great bird am I

Which goes around and sees no shore and comes at last

Back o'er the tossing sea and perches on ship's mast!

6. Though red fire comes itself and makes fierce heat, The lotus red blooms not Save for the fierce-rayed one Who in the lofty heavens has his seat. Vitruvakōdu's Lord, though Thou will not remove My woe, my heart melts not save at Thy boundless

E'en when forgotten wholly by the sky
The green crops only look,
(Vitruvakōdu's Lord!)

love.

At the great black clouds as they rise. So I, Thy servant, more and more will set my mind on Thee,

Though Thou wilt not remove my human misery.

8. With gathered waters all the streams ashine
Must spread abroad and run
And enter the deep sea
And cannot stand outside. So refuge mine,
Save in the shining bliss of entering Thee, is none,
Vitruvakodu's Lord, thick cloud-hued, virtuous one!





ĀŅŅĀĻ

(From a wood carving in the Madras Museum)

IX

The Maiden's Vow.

ĀNDĀL: TIRUPPĀVAI

INTRODUCTION

The Tiruppāvai is one of the best-known and most used parts of the Nālāyira Prabandham. In it the poetess, Andal, pictures herself as one of the gopis, the milkmaid iriends of Krishna, rising early in the morning, and persuading her friends to accompany her in order to arouse the sleeping Krishna. Their aim is to secure from him a drum, as a pledge of bliss. (Possibly the drum is intended to suggest the triumph of acknowledged love; if he gives her a drum, it is so far a sign that he has commissioned her to proclaim his praises.) The first five stanzas are a general description of what those who have undertaken this yow of waiting upon Krishna must do, and of the benefits that will come to them. Stanzas 6 to 15 describe the attempts of those who have already risen to awaken others who are still asleep. In stanzas 16 to 22 all the maidens have gathered together and are trying to rouse Krishna, wakening first the gatekeeper, then Nandagopa and Yaśoda, Bālarāma and Krishna. In 18 they appeal to Nappinnai, or Rādhā, and in 21 all together unite to call Krishna. In 25 they reply to the question that Krishna may be imagined to put to them, as to what they want; and in 27 they explain what the benefits are which they expect. In 30 the issue of their desire is stated, and the poetess speaking in her own person promises eternal blessings to those who have made her song their own.

(The refrain at the end of each stanza, 'Ēlōrembāvāy,' is of doubtful meaning, and is best left untranslated. Kingsbury and Phillips (Hymns of the Tamil Śaivite Saints, p.101) also leave it untranslated, and suggest the meaning 'Receive and ponder what I say, O Lady.' Among other suggestions is 'Hail. O thou unique lady!')

6

TRANSLATION

- Now 'tis the fair full moon of Mārgali,¹
 Will ye go bathe, ye girls all filly dight,
 Ye maidens rich of plenteous Āypādi²
 Bent on your vow? For all the world to praise,
 He, son of Nandagōpāl³ with sharp sword
 Fierce toiling; fair-eyed Yaśōd's⁴ lion-whelp:
 He with the body dark and eyes of red,⁵
 With face like to the rays of sun and moon:
 Nārāyaṇan,⁵—he freely¹ will on us
 The drum bestow. Ah, Ēlōrembāyāy!
- 2. Harken, ye happy dwellers in the world, The deeds that we must do to keep our vow, Singing the feet of him, the Lord supreme, Who sleeps upon the hooded snake⁵ within The sea of milk. Bathing at break of day Nor ghi nor milk we'll eat; we will not paint Our eyes with black; flowers shall not deck our hair; No deeds unfit we'll do; no evil words We'll speak, but give kind alms, and muse with joy Upon this way. Ah, Elörembāvāy!
- 3. If as we sing the name of him supreme Who measuréd the mighty world, o we bathe, And say 'tis for our vow; three rains each month Will fall throughout the land, and bring no harm, While kayal fishes leap amid the great Red swelling grain, and in the lily bud The lovely bees shall slumber. Generous, Great cows shall flood the bowls with milk, as soon As we their udders press; unfailing wealth Shall fill the land. Ah, Elorembāvāy!

¹ The month of December-January.

2 Gökula, the home of Krishna's foster-parents.

- Krishna's foster-father. Yasoda, Krishna's foster-mother. Red is the colour that shows passion, especially warm affection.
- The Supreme Being, with whom Vishnu and Krishna are identified.

 i.e., of his own accord.

 Adisēsha: see Introduction, p. 22.

 Khol, frequently used to heighten the beauty of the eyes.
- ¹⁰ In the Vāmana avatāra. ¹¹ There is such plentiful irrigation.

- 4. Great as the sea, O Lord of rain, stint nought: Enter the deep and drink and fill thyself; Then rise on high, with body growing black Like to the form of the Primeval One; ¹ Flashing like disc in Padmanābhan's ² hand— His, of the fair broad shoulders!—like the conch³ Thundering, rain on earth like pelting darts Shot from relentless Sārngam, ⁴ so that it May prosper, and we too, who happy bathe In Mārgaļi. Ah, Ēlorembāvāy!
- 5. When thus all pure we come, strewing fair flowers, Adoring, and with songs upon our lips, And meditating in our hearts on him—Māyan, the child of Northern Mathurā: The Ruler of great Jumna's sacred stream: The shining lamp which in the shepherd caste Appeared: Dāmōdaran, ho brightly lit His mother's womb —faults past and faults to come Cease, like to cotton that within the fire Flames into dust. Ah, Ēlōrembāvāy!
- 6. Lo, birds are singing! and hast thou not heard?— Heard the white shell's deep sounding in the shrine Of the Bird's Lord?¹¹ Child, wilt thou not arise? Sages and Yogis (holding in their hearts

¹ Nārāyaṇa as the creator of all in the beginning.

² Vishnu as the lotus-navelled. See Introduction, p. 22.

³ One of Vishnu's weapons. ⁴ Vishnu's bow.

⁵ The Mysterious One, sometimes appearing in ordinary form, as the child Krishna, etc., sometimes revealing himself as the Supreme Being. (See p. 54, note 2.)

³ Literally 'lasting Northern Mathura' - 'lasting' because Krishna's

birthplace.

Mathurā and Gōkula, where Krishna's boyhood was spent, are both on the river Jumna.

⁵ The fact that Krishna was brought up among the shepherds conferred great distinction on their caste.

9 A name of Krishna, because as a child he was tied by a cord round his waist to keep him out of mischief.

10 It was a glory for her to have such a child.

¹¹ Vishņu, whose vehicle is the great kite, Garuḍa.

Him who drained poison from the she-ghoul's breast¹ Lifted his foot and so false Sakadam² Confounded and destroyed—who takes his rest Upon the serpent in the Flood³) have risen Meekly, and in their hearts rejoice at sound Of Hari's⁴ name. Ah, Ēlōrembāvāy!

- 7. Hast thou not heard the twittering everywhere, And sound of Ānaichāttan's⁵ mingling voice, O simple maid? Hast thou not heard the sound Of churning buttermilk, while dairymaids With fragrant hair their tinkling necklets toss From side to side?⁶ Child, of the maidens queen, Still dost thou lie, when thou hast heard the song To him, Nārāyaṇan? to Kēśavan?⁷ Oh, thou who mistress of the country art, Open, I pray! Ah! Ēlōrembāvāy!
- 9. Cousin, on drowsy cushions fast asleep, In brightly jewelled hall, with lamp alight And incense rising—now unloose the bars Of thy bejewelled doors! O aunt of mine! Wilt thou not rouse her? is thy daughter dumb? Or is she deaf? Is it a slumber light, Or through some incantation does she lie In the deep sleep of stupor, while aloud We cry great Māyan, Māthavan, Vaikunth, The many names?⁸ Ah, Ēlōrembāvāy!
- Thou golden tendril of the blameless herds,
 Who many a time did milk the youngling cows

¹ Krishna as a baby drained the life from the breast of Pūtana, who came to poison him with her milk, sent by Kamsa.

² The demon who entered into the wheel of a cart under which the infant Kṛishṇa was lying, with a view to crush him.

Vishnu reposing upon Adisesha in the Sea of Milk.

⁴ Hari is Vishnu. ⁵ A bird.

⁸ The setting of Krishna's early life is among farm activities.

A name of Vishnu: either 'the beautiful one with thick hair,' or 'the slayer of the demon, Kēši.'

⁵ Vishnu has 1,000 names. For Mayan see p. 51, note 2. Mathavan, lord of the damsel, i.e., Lakshmi. Vaikuntha is Vishnu's beaven. The repetition of the thousand names is practised by devotees.

And mighty were in fight to bring to nought The power of foes! Fair as a serpent, thou,—Bright as the peacock, come! From every side All thy girl friends are come and crowd thy courts To sing the name of the cloud-coloured One!... Ah, wealthy lady, still thou stirrest not, Still speakest not? What is the value of This sleep of thine? Ah, Elorembāvāy!

- 12. O little sister of the wealthy lord
 Of lowing milch-cows, yearning for their calves
 So that the milk from out their udders flows
 Till all the house is drenched and turned to mud:
 Dew falling on our heads, we at thy gate
 Sing our heart's darling, who in anger slew
 The Lord of Lankā in the South;
 but thou
 Remainest dumb; e'en still thou dost not rise.
 What a great sleep is this, when all among
 The household know! Ah, Ēlōrembāyāy!
- 14. Lo, how within your garden pool behind,
 The water-lily blossoms red, and how
 The āmbal[‡] shrinks! Ascetics, in their robes
 Of saffron, and with teeth all white, have gone
 To sound the conch within their sacred shrine.
 O lady, who didst promise that betimes
 Thou wouldst rouse us, thyself art not yet risen.
 Shameless, all tongue! We sing to him who wields
 In his great hands the conch and discus, him
 Lotus-eyed! Ah, Ēlōrembāvāy!
- 15. 'Young parrot, dearest, art thou sleeping yet?'
 'Be still! Call me no more, ye girls; I come.'

² A picture of overflowing plenty.

Rāma, who slew Rāvaṇa, Lord of Laṅkā (Ceylon).
A flower that opens in the dark and closes in the light.

A term of endearment.

¹ Krishna is always pictured as dark in colour.

⁵ Ascetics do not chew betel, etc., and their teeth are therefore not discoloured; a token of their purity.

'Thy promises and thy sharp tongue we know Of old!' 'Sharp-tongued yourselves, oh let me be!' 'Oh quickly come! What other claims hast thou?' 'But have all come?' 'Come? yes; thou too must

And count thyself among our band, and sing Him who the mighty one¹ did slay, himself Mighty to bring to nought his doughty foes, Mysterious Lord!² Ah, Ēlōrembāvāy!

- 16. Warden of our lord Nandagōpan's house, Guard of the gate all decked with streaming flags, Open the jewelled portals! Yesterday The Lord of Mystery, like to a gem,³ Promised a drum for us young shepherd girls To beat—We in our purity have come That we may sing to rouse him from his sleep. Deny us not our purpose with thy word, But oh, do thou, we pray thee, open now The well-barred door! Ah, Elorembāvāy!
- 17. O Nandagōpan, lord who graciously
 Dost raiment, water, rice, bestow on us,
 Arise! And thou, our lady, Yaśōdā,
 Queen among all the slender-waisted ones,
 And glory of our tribe, arise! Sleep not!
 Awake, awake, King of the gods, who pierced
 The sky, and, swelling, measured out the world;
 Arise! And dear lad, Bāladēva, thou
 With golden anklets on thy feet, asleep,
 And thy young brother! Ah, Elōrembāvāy!

¹ The reference is to Kṛishṇa's slaying of the elephant stationed by Kaṁsa at the gate of the tournament enclosure to kill him when he came to destroy Kaṁsa.

² The personal noun from Māya, which in the Visishtādvaita philosophy is equivalent to 'matter,' from the way in which it deceives. It is also frequently used in the sense of 'mystery.' It is to be distinguished from the sense of 'illusion' in which Sankarāchārya uses it.

^a Krishna, the sapphire-coloured.

* Vishnu is supreme over all the gods.

Vishnu in the Vāmana avatāra—See Introduction, pp. 22, 25.

⁶ Bālarāma, Kṛishṇa's elder brother, himself a semi-incarnation of Vishṇu. ⁷ Kṛishṇa.

- 18. Daughter1 of Nandagopal, who is like A lusty elephant, who fleeth not, With shoulders strong: Nappinnāi,2 thou with hair Diffusing fragrance, open thou the door! Come see how eveywhere the cocks are crowing. And in the māthavi3 bower the Kuvil4 sweet Repeats its song.—Thou with a ball in hand.5 Come, gaily open, with thy lotus hands And tinkling bangles fair, that we may sing Thy cousin's name! Ah, Elorembavay!
- 20. Thou who art strong to make them brave in fight,7 Going before the three and thirty gods, Awake from out thy sleep! Thou who art just. Thou who art mighty, thou, O faultless one, Who burnest up thy foes, awake from sleep! O Lady Nappinnāi, with tender breasts Like unto little cups, with lips of red And slender waist, Lakshmi, awake from sleep! Proffer thy bridegroom fans and mirrors now. And let us bathe! Ah, Elorembavay!
- 21. Son of the mighty lord of fruitful cows Which milk unceasing pour, so that the bowls Held to receive it froth and overflow: Thou who possessest knowledge, Lord of Strength. Thou great one, thou the sun, where in this world Thou standest visible: 8 arise from sleep! As foes, whose strength before thee all is gone. Come humbly to thy gates, and at thy feet Obeisance do, so we to adore thee come. And sing our praise! Ah, Elorembavav!

1 Literally 'daughter-in-law.'

² 'The one with beautiful hair '-Rādhā, Krishna's gopi devotee. She is regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu's consort, Nīla-Dēvi, as he himself is of Vishnu.

4 The Indian hawk-cuckoo.

A flowering creeper.
 The Indian h
 Because she was playing with Krishna.

6 She was having a playful quarrel with Krishna, and they offer to take her side in song, if she will open to them.

7 In the event of any conflict between gods and demons.

8 Krishna, as foster-son of Nandagōpāl, is here apostrophised and identified with the Supreme Being.

- 22. Like monarchs of the beautiful great world
 Who come with broken pride up to thy couch
 In a great company, we crowd to thee!
 Little by little will not thy red¹ eyes
 Open upon us—like to lotus flowers
 Fashioned on tinkling anklets? If on us
 Thou wilt but glance, with both thy beauteous eyes
 Like to the rising of the moon and sun,
 The curse that rests upon us is removed—
 If thou but glance! Ah, Ēlōrembāvāy!
- 23. As a fierce lion, which throughout the rains Within his mountain lair has lain asleep, Awakes, and flashes fire from his eye, And angrily with bristling mane he moves All of his body, shakes himself and stands Upright, and roars, and lordly issues forth: So thou who flowerlike art, come graciously Forth from thy shrine; in grace, upon thy throne Of cunning craftsmanship, search out the cause That brings us here. Ah, Elörembāvāy!
- 25. Thou, born one woman's son, and in one night Conceal'd and rearéd as another's child,³ Thou mighty Māl ⁴ who wast as very fire In Kamsa's heart stirred unendurably; Thwarting the evil purpose that he plann'd: With longing after thee we've come, and if The drum thou but bestow, then we will sing Thy bounty, that is worthy Lakshmi's self, Sing too thy might; and all our trouble gone We will rejoice! Ah, Ēlōrembāvāy!
- 27. Gōvinda⁵, whose nobility is such As conquers e'en thy foes, by singing thee

See p. 50, note 5.

² In the original there is a play on words, 'throne' being literally 'lion-seat.'

³ Kṛishṇa born to Devali and transferred the same night to Yasodā to escape the fury of Karnsa, his uncle.
⁵ A favourite name for Kṛishṇa—'Cowherd.'

With the drum, what is the glory that we gain By the prize that all the country deems a boon? Many a jewel we put on-bracelets Wristlets and armlets, flowerlike ornaments For ears, and anklets; beauteous robes we wear. Thereafter, plenteous meals of rice with milk, And elbow-deep in ghī!—In company With thee, what bliss! Ah, Elorembavav!

- 28. After the cows we to the jungle go And eat there—cowherds knowing nought are we. And yet how great the boon we have, that thou Wast born among us! Thou who lackest nought. Gōvinda, kinship that we have with thee Here in this place can never cease!—If through Our love we call thee baby names, in grace Do not be wroth, for we,-like children,-we Know nought-O Lord, wilt thou not grant to us The drum we ask? Ah, Elorembavav!
- 29. Dost ask the boon for which at earliest dawn We come to give obeisance and to praise Thy golden lotus feet? It is not fit that thou -Born in the tribe that lives by herding cows-Withdraw, rejecting us who fain would serve. To gain the drum, not for today alone Have we become thy slaves: but, Govinda, For ave, for sevenfold births! Only to thee We'll service give; from us do thou remove All other loves. Ah, Elörembavay!
- 30. To Māthavan who churned the navied deep,1 To Kēsavan,2 the moon-faced jewelled maids Went and obeisance did, and gained their drum! This wreath, these thirty (sung in classic verse³ By Gōdai, 4 Puduvai 5 Pattarpiran's, 6

¹ See Introduction, p. 22. By churning, Vishnu obtained Lakshmi.

See p. 52, note 7.

6 Or Periyalvar, Andal's reputed father.

³ Literally 'Sangam Tamil,' i.e., Tamil such as is approved by this academy: probably the famous Madura academy, the board which exercised a kind of literary autocracy, recurringly, throughout the classical period of Tamil literature. Andal.

Srivilliputtur, Andal's home. See Introduction, p. 14 f.

With cool fresh lotus garlands) they who say Unfailing, everywhere shall gain from Māl (His arms like mountains four, his face kind-eyed, And wealthy Lakshmi by him) sacred grace, And bliss enjoy! Ah, Ēlōrembāvāy!

X

NAMMĀLVĀR

INTRODUCTION

Exigencies of space make it impossible to give any selection from the *Tiruvāymoli*; and the *Tiruviruttam* must therefore stand as the representative in this selection of poems of the work of Nammālvār.² It would be easy to illustrate his wholehearted devotion. In one place he sings

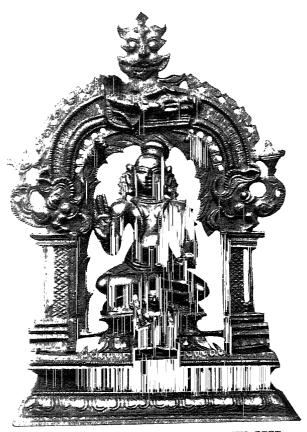
'If thus I speak, it means hostility; Yet speak I will, so hark to me! While he, my lord, my elephant, my sire, Is here, of Vengadam, with choir Of buzzing beetles, ne'er to man shall be The gift of my lips' minstrelsy.'3

He refuses to degrade his God-given gift in order to please men, however powerful or wealthy they may be. Elsewhere we find his sublime confidence in the absolute supremacy of the Vishņu whom he sings: 'If with your sweet songs you praise each his own favourite god, all will come to my Tirumāl, with his crown of bright-shining rays.' In another series of stanzas, after enumerating many ways of trying to name Kṛishṇa, he asks, 'Am I to speak of my lord of mystery, who for the joy of deliverance created all the worlds, who wears his sweet blossoming tulasī for the worlds to praise, as the one with colour like a shining jewel, or as him who wears matted hair and the cool crescent moon (Śiva), ever to be praised as the unique One, or as the four-faced god (Brahmā)?' Whatever the form, Vishṇu, Śiva, or Brahmā, the object of worship is

i.e., in every birth.
Tiruvāymoļi ii, 9:1.

² See Introduction, p. 13.

⁴ ibid., iii, 9:6. ⁵ ibid., iii, 4:8



NAMMĀĻVĀR, WITH MATHURAKAVI AT HIS FEET

(From a bronze in the Madras Museum)

one. And again, 'Even those who have forsaken their homes and the many beauties they have long enjoyed, who have subdued the five senses, and have tortured the body—though they gain Svarga as their sweet abode, if they are without him, they will return. Draw near the feet of the Lord who has the bird (Garuḍa) as his standard: then there is no return.'

The Tiruviruttam of Nammalvar is said to contain the quintessence of the Rig Veda. In form it is a poem of one hundred four-line stanzas, in which the Alvar expresses the longing of his soul for union with God, under the figure of the love of a maid for a man. The persons of the poem are not consistently maintained. In general the 'lord' represents the god Vishnu, and the Alvar pictures his own yearning as that of the mistress for her absent lover. with his attendant devotees playing the part of the confidential maid, and sometimes of the foster-mother go-between. In some stanzas, however, the parts are changed, and the Ālvār's longings find expression in the words of the lover speaking of his mistress. There is no consecutive action in the poem, and no progress of thought; but we must imagine the lover as coming and going in the intervals of the verse. Sometimes the poet seems almost to forget his figure, and to speak in his own person (e.g., stanza 48). The language of the original is close-packed and frequently obscure and ambiguous. An attempt has been made to provide a running analysis, and some hints as to the esoteric meaning; but nothing can make it easy reading. The Tamil student himself requires pages of commentary on each stanza.

The note of the *Tiruviruttam* is one of almost unrelieved yearning for God, that is at first sight difficult to reconcile with the doctrine of His grace. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Book x, chapter 32) Kṛishṇa justifies this, in words which may be taken as a commentary on this poem: 'I do not attach myself to those who are devoted to me, in order to make their devotion to me the more intense.' And again, 'In order to intensify your affection for me I disappear, forsaking you who have for my sake renounced your sense of right and wrong, your relatives and your duty.'

¹ Tiruvāymoļi iv, 1:9.

The object of the Alvār's desire is the god Vishņu, especially as manifested in the great Venkatēśvara temple at Tirupati.

(The understanding of sacred erotic poetry is simplified if the generally-accepted esoteric meaning of recurring symbols is held in mind. The analysis of the states of the love-sick soul is carried to an

extreme. A stanza in Sanskrit says:

Love carries parted souls through ten successive states: 1. The eve is drawn; 2. The heart is attacked; 3. The will is resolved; 4. Sleep is gone; 5. The frame pales; 6. All is loathed; 7. The soul is mad; 8. It becomes senseless; 9. It swoons; 10. It dies.' Devotees can of course develop the interpretation as far as they wish, and individual interpretations vary; but the following general key may be taken as typical of the esoteric method of interpretation. By the mother is meant either the devotee's own state of mental composure, or friends who keep their mental composure. By the bride is meant the paroxysm of love for God, and galaxy of God-loved souls. Female friends mean the circle of well-wishers. The bridegroom is God, and the company of God-loved souls. The messengers are holy ones who lead the devotee to God, etc. The beauty of the eye indicates the perfection of discerning wisdom, which determines aright the proper object of love. The beauty of the breast means the development of devotion or holy love, manifested by complete obedience—the sine qua non of the soul's enjoying and being enjoyed by God. The slimness of the waist denotes freedom from every encumbrance in the shape of ungodly ties. Beauty of walk is righteous conduct. Soft flowing hair, that adorument of the head which is constituted by ever bowing reverently to God and the godly galaxy. Beauty of dress means equipment for the heavenly journey in the shape of firmness of faith. The bracelet, the badge of a married woman's chastity, suggests the incompatibility of the existence in the devotee of any object of attachment other than the Lord. Darkness stands for ignorance. The wind, the anril bird, etc., which are named as causes of pain, are all objects of sense which call to mind the cause of grief to the soul, separated from the Lord, and are thus unbearable so long as that separation lasts. The length of the night suggests the impatience of the soul to reach the Lord, and the grief that is accentuated by non-enjoyment of him, at a time specially associated with enjoyment. The moonlight being unbearable indicates the pain which the conscious state brings to the devotee when he does not realise God's presence. Sunshine is the wisdom which teaches patience and so gives solace. The roaring of the sea is the unreasonable rage of those who are sinning in estrangement from God.)2

¹ Tirupati, in the Chittoor District, or Tiruvēngadam, to the devout Vaishņava is simply 'Tirumalai,' 'the holy hill.' Its temple on the top of the hill, approached by long and tollsome flights of steps, seven miles from Tirupati town, is one of the great places of pilgrimage in India.

² For the substance of this note, including the translation from the Sanskrit, I am indebted to MS. notes kindly lent me by M. R. Ry. A. Gövindāchārya Svāmin, of Mysore.

TIRUVIRUTTAM'-TRANSLATION

1. Invocation: the Alvar prays2 to be delivered from retirth.

Be gracious, Lord of all the heavenly ones,³ Born in all births⁴ to save all lives, and hear Thy servant's plea. Grant, not again may I Such nature win as this—my body foul, Wisdom unsound, and character defiled.⁵

2. The maid speaks, seeing the state of her mistress, unable to endure separation from her lord, who has left her (Here the maid stands for the Alvar's disciples, the mistress for the Alvar, the lord for Vishnu).

Long may she love, this girl with luring locks, Who loves the feet that heavenly ones adore, The feet of Kannan, dark as rainy clouds: Her red eyes all abrim with tears of grief, Like darting Kayal fish in a deep pool.

 1 $\it{Tiruviruttam}$: sacred messages from the $\rm \bar{A}\underline{J}v\bar{a}r$ to God. cf. stanza 1.

² The whole poem is the Alvar's prayer. cf. stanza 100.

Literally 'the unwinking ones,' i.e., the devas. Here probably used of the *Nityas*. See p. 73, note 2.

* The reference is to Vishnu's avataras, as fish, tortoise, etc.

 5 In lines 4 and 5 the three bars to salvation are named. Vishnu is approached as the one means of deliverance from all of them.

The contrast frequently emphasised, between the devotee's head and the lord's feet, suggests that the devotee's highest glory is the service of God.

i.e., the *Nityas*, who have never been in bondage and never needed release.

⁸ Kannan or Krishna, who is always represented as dark in colour. The word may be a pet diminutive, or it may mean 'he who has eyes' ('like the lotus,' understood).

9 Red is the colour that shows the passion of love: the English

association of 'red with weeping' must be banished.

¹⁰ The comparison of the eye with the fish is frequent, the resemblance being in the swift and gleaming movement of both.

3. The mistress, unable to endure separation, loses heart and speaks to her maid, doubting if her heart, which has gone after the lord, will ever return to her.

Will't stay or come again, my lonely heart (Which has pursued the bird¹ flame-angry, driven By the lord of tulasī,² arm'd with fatal wheel, Whom gods adore!)—The piping cowherds' girl, Bhūdēvī, Śrī,³ his shadows, it perceives!

What room is there for the devotee when Vishnu has the unceasing devotion of his three consorts? The Alvar distrusts his own power of devotion when he thinks of theirs.

4. Plaint of the mistress deserted by her lord, and unable to endure the wind which reminds her of him.

Wind that art tulasi-poisoned, blowing thoughts Of him who drain'd the traitress demon's breast, Oh, shame to come and fill with trembling me,—Me, whom his bird ere now of her one heart Has reft! No heart for tulasi remains.

The wind, which should be comforting, is filled with memories that make it painful—The devotee's heart has already been drawn by the Vedas (v. note 1 *infra*) to make a complete surrender to God and thus the wind is merely whetting an appetite that it cannot satisfy. cf. stanza 5, etc.

' 'The bird' is Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishnu. This generally symbolises the Veda with its twofold course of learning and discipline. See Introduction, p. 22.

2 'The lord of tulasi' is Vishnu. Tulasi 'cool and fair' is the small plant venerated in every orthodox Hindu household. It is akin to the Basil' of Keats' poem. In poetry it symbolises chastity, and

it is distinctively Vishnu's, as he wears a garland of it.

The three consorts of Vishnu; in his incarnations one or other of these took appropriate form to be his companion. In this passage Srī or Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity, and Bhūdevī, the earth goddess, are fitly named as they are the consorts of Vishnu himself: 'the piping cowherds' girl,' however, is Nappinnāi (She of the Beautiful Hair), the form that Nīlā took to be the companion of Vishnu in the Krishna avatāra.

The infant Krishna sucked the life out of the demon, Pūtana, who came in the guise of a nurse and offered him her poisoned breast. She

was one of the many agents sent by Kainsa, to kill Krishna.

5. The pity of the maid on seeing her mistress' loss of colour through grief because of the hostile wind.

Hot in this village now doth blow the breeze Whose nature coolness is. Hath he, this once, The rain-cloud hued, his sceptre turned aside To steal the love-glow from my lady, lorn For tulasi, with wide eyes raining tears?

The character of the wind seems changed because of the absence of the beloved lord; the justice even of God is doubted by a devotee yearning for fuller union.

7. The mistress is troubled at the coming of the rainy season, which should have brought her lord back to her in fulfilment of his promise. ('Mistress' stands for Āļvār, 'lord' for Vishņu.)

Is this the sky in which the strong dark bulls¹ Pawing the ground till Earth shakes, sweat and fight? Is this the cool fair time that takes the form Of Tirumāl,² and sounds his harshness who Is gone? Sinful, I know not what I see.

The clouds of passion confuse the spiritual apprehension and make it impossible to be sure of the signs of the Lord's coming.

9. The lord speaks of the difficulty of parting from his mistress. ('Lord' stands for the $\bar{A}\underline{l}v\bar{a}r$'s devotees, 'mistress' for the $\bar{A}\underline{l}v\bar{a}r$.)

Ah, who can leave her, like a creeper hung With glorious flowers, like unto Vishņu's³ heaven? Are these but eyes? Nay, lotus, lilies red, Wide petals, lined in black, and all abrim With pearls⁴ of white—wide, like a shy deer's eyes.

The devotees having heard the Ālvār's words and seen the greatness of his devotion are unable to leave him; in his company they feel that they are experiencing the bliss of heaven itself.

¹ The bulls are a figure for rain-clouds.

² Tirumāl—the lord of Tiru (or Śrī or Lakshmi), is Vishņu, whose colour is dark like a cloud.

[&]quot;'Vishṇu'—in the original this is 'he who wields the strong, beautiful, bright sharp discus.' His heaven is Vaikuṇṭha.

⁴ The pearls are of course tears.

11. The words of the lord on seeing his mistress' eyes fill with tears at the thought of separation. ('Lord' stands for devotees, 'mistress' for Alvar.)

Oh rare the vision of today! Thou maid
That givest bliss like Kannan's heaven, I say
'He that seeks wealth must needs go far '—and lo!
Thy fish-like¹ eyes, large as a hand, with pearls²
Ashine, and gold, a ransom for the world!

The hint that his devotees might leave him to seek for other spiritual wealth has brought to light hitherto unsuspected qualities in the $\bar{A}lv\bar{a}r$.

12. The mistress parted from her lord laments her inability to endure the separation. ('Mistress' stands for Alvar, 'lord' for Vishnu).

Love's glow is paling, and instead, a dark And sickly yellow³ spreading;—and the night Becomes an age! This is the matchless wealth My good heart gave me when it yearned and sought Keen discus-wielding Kannan's tulasī cool!

14. The lord praises the beauty of the eyes of his mistress. ('Lord' stands for the $\bar{A}lv\bar{a}r$'s devotees, 'mistress' for $\bar{A}lv\bar{a}r$).

This cleaving lance, this beauteous Sēl⁴ . . . they leap Upon my life, and leave it not: they flash Lustre of Māṛan's⁵ shafts: they 'd match his sky Whose form gives forth the sapphire's⁶ flame. Are these,

These Kayal plump, thine eyes, thou goddess-like?

¹ cf. stanza 2, note. The fish referred to here is the *Kendai*, larger than the *kayal*. Note also that Vishnu's first incarnation was a fish, for the saving of the world.

'Pearls'-tears as in stanza 9. She weeps at the thought of

parting.

³ Her jaundiced colour shows her disconsolate state: and night the time when loneliness is most poignantly felt, seems like an eternity of pain. ⁴ The Sēl is a fish.

⁵ Māṛan, the Indian Cupid : Kāma.

6 Vishnu is of the blue colour of the sapphire.

 $^{7}\,$ The goddess referred to, though not actually named, is Möhini, the type of seductive beauty.

16. The mistress parted from her lord marcels at the darkness to her friend. ('Mistress' stands for $\bar{A}lv\bar{a}r$, 'lord' for Vishuu).

Thou, fair as Kannan's heaven, when he's away What ages long it is! He here, a span! Whether friends stay for many days, or go, We grieve. Yet, be this spreading darkness blest In spite of many a cunning trick it has.

Times of conscious communion with God seem all too short, times of separation insufferably long, so that in any case the soul suffers from the vagaries of time.

17. The mistress gazes at the sea and speaks of the vanished track of the lord's chariot.

Hail, stormy sea, where, on his serpent couch, Rests Perumāl, like to a bright black sun Of sapphire, pouring forth glowing darkness! Make not a dusk with thy full waves, nor hide Track of his car who left me in the dark.

18. The maid speaks in pity for her mistress who is dejected because the rainy season has come and her lord has not returned.

The sky has gripped the sea and risen: the sea In turn has taken hold of sky.³ Is this That time⁴ when ocean seizes Kannan's earth And heaven and rises high, or but the time Of showers? . . . Her tears are flowing like the sea.

¹ Ironical praise.

² Perumal: Vishnu, who rests always on Adiseshan, the primeval serpent on the sea of milk. The sea is a figure for the worldly life which tends to obscure the Alvar's thought of his fellow devotees; the track of the car possibly indicates his memory of them.

² cf. for the description of the indistinguishability of sea and sky

A Winter's Tale, III, iii.

4 i.e., the time of Pralaya, the great deluge that ends an age. 'Is this the complete absorption of the temporal in the eternal, or a more ordinary occasion?' 19. The foster-mother's lament: the lord has not come, and there is much village scandal.

E'en when the black clouds rank on rank thus rise Challenging 'Who of maids will keep her pure?' Her lord, the swift bird's rider, called her not, Nor tulasī gave! My girl with her few words The village tongues now rend! Oh, comfort her!

Even when God's grace is so overflowing that it draws meek souls to him, the devotee has received no mark of favour from him. His words have been few, because surely God does not need any persuasion to be gracious.

20. A foolish attempt is made by means of a devil-driver to rid the mistress of her frenzy; but the devil-driver is dismissed; her frenzy comes from too august a source for such treatment.

Her pain is from a god exceeding great
—From no slight god who lists to wheedling words!³
You with the trident,⁴ stop! Ye mothers, hark!
Naming his name who swallow'd the seven worlds⁵
Garland her head with fair, cool tulasī.

Severance from false gods and their influence is the necessary condition for reaching the bliss of communion with the Supreme Lord.

21. His triend reminds the lord of his subduing the bulls to show his prowess to his mistress.

While heavenly ones to wreathe thee held pure flowers, Sprinkled fresh water, offered incense sweet, There thou by mystery⁶ rare didst go to steal

¹ The implication is that the rainy season is peculiarly fatal to self-control.

² Vishņu rides on Garuḍa as his vehicle.

The minor gods are susceptible to bribery or cajolery or coercion; not so Vishnu himself.

4 The devil-driver has a trident.

⁵ Vishnu swallowed the worlds to preserve them at the time of the Flood.

^o Māya, God's incomprehensible greatness and grace; cf. p. 54, note 2.

And eat the butter stored, and dance mid hump'd Horn'd oxen, for the cowherds' willowy girl.

Even though in heaven God is worshipped by the heavenly hosts, he rejoices to condescend and show his interest in the things that hold men's thought on earth.

24. The mother laments the absorption of the mistress, unable to endure separation from the lord. ('Mistress' stands for the $\bar{A}[v\bar{a}r,$ 'mother' for devotees, 'lord' for Vishņu.)

What will betall my girl with bracelets fair With tearful eyes like gleaming kayal big, Who wanders with a secret pain at heart For blooms of tulasī fresh from the Bird's Lord, Who with that hill protected flocks in storm?²

The devotees are concerned at the utter absorption of the \bar{A} lv \bar{a} r in the thought of Vishnu.

25. The words of the mistress, marvelling at the wonders that tulasī works. ('Mistress' stands for the Ālvār, lord for Vishņu.)

What in this world³ will tulasī not do (Plant of the king; the king of mighty gods,⁴ Lord of all heavenly ones,⁵ our lord!) since it

¹ Krishna as a youth did what the caste custom of the cowherds demanded by dancing for the bride, Nappinnāi; and no less must be demanded of him now.

² Krishna protected the cowherds from the angry rain of Indra, by

holding over them the mountain, Govardhana.

³ Literally 'fourfold world'—jungle, mountain, cultivated land, sea; there is also a fifth division, referred to in stanza 26, of barren land, without water and shade.

⁴ Vishņu is superior to Brahmā, lord of Satya, who was born from

his navel.

⁵ Heavenly ones, who are higher than the gods mentioned in I.2; through their devotion they have secured emancipation. The minor gods, like men, are still in bondage; of these Brahmā is chief. cf. stanza 43 note.

Has loos'd my bracelet¹ and has crooked turn'd The rod that rules o'er Kannan's earth and heaven?

The Alvar complains of the pain of devotion, leading him to doubt the righteousness of God's universal sway, because his own passion is not being satisfied.

26. The lord shows his city to his mistress, at the end of a long and weary journey. ('Lord' stands for friends of the \overline{A} [$v\bar{a}r$, 'mistress' for \overline{A} [$v\bar{a}r$).

O golden girl, the barren land² is past, Spat out as refuse when the lord of heat Chewed dry³ the lands;⁴ Vehka⁵ is nigh, of him Whom heavenly ones adore, their feet on earth;⁶ And there,—sweet groves, wealth for all barrenness!

The $\bar{\text{Alvar}}$ is encouraged to persevere through a period of 'dryness' in his soul.

28. The mistress parted from her lord sorrows at the breeze, which vainly stirs her passion.

Tulasī has stol'n my bracelets: let them go! But now a breeze⁷ stalks feeling for my bloom . . . Śrīraṅgam's lord (where waves play, so that shells Are pecked not by the sharp-beaked birds), ⁵ show grace! In olden days were ever hearts so sad?

Conscious with a fresh vividness of separation, the $\bar{A}lv\bar{a}r$ wonders if at any time others can have known such agony of unsatisfied yearning for God; he appeals to God by a reference to his grace as manifested in $\bar{S}r\bar{i}rangam$.

¹ The bracelet has slipped off because she has grown thin through the wind that has made her lovesick with the scent of the tulasi: Vishnu is accused of partiality because of his apparent harshness: the tulasi upsets all the government of God, from a trifle like a lover's trinket to the universe itself. ² See note on stanza 25.

* The sun with his rays sucks all the goodness from the land.

The fourfold lands—as in stanza 25; every kind of soil.
 Vehka, one of the 32 Vishnu shrines at Conjeeveram.

On earth, i.e., at the shrine. Ordinarily their feet do not touch earth: this shows their humility and the glory of this shrine.

The tulasi and the wind are both her enemies again, the one

making her thin, the other robbing her of her colour.

8 The great temple at Srīrangam is on an island in the Kāveri River: the river is so full that the shells on its banks are covered by the water, and thus protected from birds. This is a manifestation of God's grace even to shells. 29. The mistress speaks with hatred of the swans whom she has asked in vain to take a message to her lord.

'Lacking an envoy, us she begs to go
Her errands!' and the swans—the base-born birds!—
No message took, gone with their hens¹—Alas!
Have women's messages no right of way
In the world of Vishnu, blue and lightning bright?

The \bar{A} lvar tries in vain to reach God through mediators; those he approaches are wrapped up in their own interests and fail to help him-

30. The mistress pleads with swans and herons to take her message. (The swans having failed her, she now includes a lower order in her appeal.)

The flying swans and herons I did beg, Cringing: 'Forget not, ye who first arrive, If ye behold my heart with Kannan there' Oh, speak of me, and ask it 'Sir, not yet Hast thou returned to her? And is it right?'

The Alvar finds at last some who are directing their course to God and pleads with them not to forget the need of others; he urges his own crying need as a first claim on them. He suggests that if his devotion brings no enjoyment of God, it will be better for his affection to be withdrawn, that so he may at least be free from the pain of unrequited love.

31. The mistress laments that the clouds will not take her message.

The clouds that take their way till lightnings flash On pinnacles of strong-based Vēngadam With lightning back of gold and precious stones, Refuse me when I ask them bear my word . . . Would they, if asked, my head beneath their feet? s

The messengers having failed him, doubting the propriety of such a message as he has given, he approaches others (clouds) already familiar with the sacred mount of God at Tirupati.

² i.e., in heaven: Vaikunṭha.

¹ The swans with their mates despise her, as she is alone.

 $^{^\}circ$ They refuse for mere asking : would they perhaps agree if I put my head under their feet ?

32. The mistress speaks of a resemblance between the clouds and her lord.

Tell me, ye clouds, how have ye won the means That ye are thus like Tirumāl's blest form? Bearing good water for protecting life, ¹ Ye range through all the sky. Such penance, ² sure, As makes your bodies ache, has won this grace!

The sight of those who give themselves in service to others lifts up the $\bar{A}\underline{l}v\bar{a}r$'s heart to God, of whom they remind him.

33. The friend rebukes the lord, on seeing her mistress inconsolable because of his absence.

With gracious discus thou thy sceptre wield'st, And dark deeds perish in broad heaven and earth, Thou serpent-couch'd! But (whether scorning worth Of girls, or thinking she's outside thy field, I know not) thou destroy'st my lady's bloom.

Friends impressed by the effects of unsatisfied yearning in the \bar{A} lv \bar{a} r plead with God to be merciful; as in his own abode he rests on a faithful servant, the serpent, so let him favour his faithful devotee on earth.

34. The friend seeing her mistress' state of distress speaks to the lord.

'The rings have spoilt it all!' she pettish cries And spurns the rings with angry little feet—Her heart is on a garland set, of cool Fair tulasī, full of thy unfading blooms. . . . O Māl, I know not what to do for her.

The Alvar is impatient of all self-help, finding it useless, and sets his heart resolutely on God's grace alone.

 $^{\mathtt{1}}$ The clouds are dark like Vishņu's body, and, like Vishņu, benefit all the world.

² The popular belief is that the greater the boon the greater must

have been the penance that has won it.

The reference is to a game, similar to the 'He loves me, loves me not' played in England with petals of flowers. Concentric circles are drawn in the sand and then counted, an odd number meaning one thing, an even another. In this case the answer they had given was not auspicious to her.

4 Vishnu.

35. The mistress laments at the evening and the breeze conspiring against her, as if the coming of the darkness were not sufficiently painful.

That Eve (maid of the western sky, in grief At parting sun—with milky-mouth'd young moon Like babe on hip) may snatch all good from those That love the tulasī of Māl who strode The world, now comes a chill wind searching me!

The Alvar, cut off from enjoyment of God at the time associated with enjoyment, is yet further pained by the sight of those outward things which give transient joy to others, but are barriers to enjoying God.

36. The friend speaks of the callousness of the lord.

E'en in this age-long time of so-called night When men must grope, he pities not that she Stands in her deep immitigable grief Naming his tulasī—Ah, his cruelties,¹ Who once destroyéd Lankā's crowded halls!²

The friends cannot understand God's failure to relieve the numb grief of the Alvār, and speak in criticism of him: the Ālvār is utterly dependent on him, and is unable to make any personal efforts.

37. The pity of the mistress' mother at the dangers of the jungle through which her daughter has passed. ('Mistress' stands for $\bar{A}[v\bar{a}r.)$

The jungle traversed by the fawn-eyed girl With fragile waist, whom sinful I brought forth After long praise of Kannan's lotus-feet, 3 Is full of drumbeats—hunters with bent bows, Raiders, and murderers, and young warriors swift!

The senses make continual assaults on the Alvār in his search after God. His persistent devotion excites the admiration of his followers.

¹ He is cruel in that he allows her none of the many consolations she might have.

² Rāma for the sake of Sītā did this—and yet now the Lord seems

to ignore his mistress' need.

³ Penance is the means by which boons to any extent may be won from the gods. Note in stanza 38 the different types of hardship that are suggested, each characteristic of ascetic practice.

38. The mistress parted from her lord sees a likeness to him in the blue water-lilies.

Is it by penance, passing by rough ground, Your stems' strength entering pools, and standing there

For days, that ye have won, blue flowers, the hue Of sprightly Perumān, who pot-dance danced¹ And, earth and heaven a-tremble,² strode the worlds?³

39. The mistress sees the revealing of the lord's form everywhere.

All places, shining like great lotus pools
On a blue mountain broad, to me are but
The beauties of his eye—the lord of earth
Girt by the roaring sea, heaven's lord, the lord
Of other good souls, *black-hued lord—and mine!

The devout soul of the Alvar sees God in everything.

41. The mistress speaks in sorrow of the wind that torments her.

I knew the wind was harsh, but ne'er have seen A shape or hint of cruelty so great!

Now (while no grace he grants who rides the bird So that proud demons die) the harsh wind spreads Scandal abroad—persists in crushing me!

The intensity of the soul's longing for God, increased by everything that gives a transient joy to others, is misunderstood and made the object of derision.

¹ The reference is to Vishnu's killing of the demon, Banasura, in the story of Anirudha. A custom among shepherds, in times of special prosperity, is to dance with rows of pots on their heads and shoulders, and in their hands.

² i.e., with awe. ³ In the Vāmaṇa avatāra.

^{&#}x27; 'Other good souls,' such as are neither in earth nor in heaven. The word translated 'heaven' refers to a state below the position of the 'other good souls,' who are the fully emancipated; cf. stanza 43, note 2.

42. The mistress is absorbed in the beauty of her lord's eyes graciously bent on her.

Like pools of soft-stemmed lotus, as they lie
A-bloom, on one side, bent by blasts, they shine
—My lord's great eyes—on me, who at the sky
Gazing, bow at his feet, who seems to say
'For my stride, earth and heaven do not suffice!'
The Ālvār is conscious of God's grace.

43. The mistress speaks of the beauty of her lord's

beatific form.

Can they who wiser are than heavenly ones,—Can those of higher grade, or higher still,²
The colour of the beauty of my Lord
Compute—like a great mountain black—with eyes
Like lotus red, like lotus hands and feet?

The Ālvār is led to contemplate God in fuller attributes but confesses that to estimate these is beyond the powers of any created intelligence.

44. The mistress speaks of the greatness of her lord.

Sages with wisdom won by virtuous toil Assert 'His colour, glorious beauty, name, His form—are such and such.' But all their toil Has measured not the greatness of my lord: Their wisdom's light is but a wretched lamp.

Many have tried to sum up God in a formula, but in no one particular have they succeeded, each being limited by his own powers of perception.

45. The mistress seeks to reassure herself by recalling the help given by the lord in the time of the great flood.

Peace, timid heart! The boar with lotus eyes In that time perilous gazed steadily

- ¹ In the Tri-Vikrama avatāra Vishņu strode over earth and sky in two strides.
 - ² The three grades are:
 - (a) Dēvas—in heaven, but still in bondage, of whom Brahmā is the head.
 - (b) Emancipated souls.
 - (c) Nityas—those who have never been in bondage.

On us: have others such a bond? Of old We companied with him. Oh say, can births That men beset, come near to us again?

The Alvar seeks to reassure himself by the thought that he has once been saved and can never lapse from that state of grace.

46. The mistress mourns because she has lost her heart.

Vain thought of those who count their heart their own And guileless,—fain would send it messages! When mine I sent up to the feet of him Who cleft the golden-named one's mighty breast, It left me, and still haunts him stubbornly!

The Alvar speaks of his heart set wholly on God.

48. The mistress is cheered by a good omen and speaks to her friend, who asks her whether her cheerfulness is due to anything her lord had said to her.

The feeble insect showing in a sore
There goes its way: what knows it of the world?
—Or I of cunning Māl's deceitful words
Which made me, shameless, speak of him? Always
A lizard's chirps have been a valued word!

The Alvār is reminded in his despondency that the songs he sings are modes of expression for God, who uses even the humblest and most ignorant creatures for his purposes. How can be understand God's words to him, which have inspired his song?

50. The lord speaks to his charioteer.

Drive, charioteer, that paleness may not touch The glowing lustre of the bright-browed girl! Swiftly our car must reach the mountain⁵ where

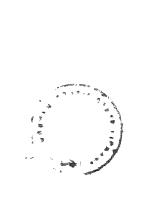
¹ The mistress here identifies herself with one of Vishnu's consorts, Bhūdēvī, who at the time of the deluge was rescued by Vishnu in the Boar avatāra. The lord is thus in a special way pledged to her.

² The haunting fear of rebirth comes to the front.

³ cf. stanza 30: Vishnu in the Narasimha avatāra slew the asura Hiranya 'golden-named'.

⁴ The utmost importance is attached to the sounds of the lizard, which are auspicious or inauspicious according to the time, direction, etc., in which they are heard.

Tirupati, the mountain par excellence for Srī-Vaishnavas.





VISHŅU WITH HIS CONSORTS. ŚRĪDĒVI AND BUŪDĖVI (Prom bronzes in the Madras Museum)

Bees hum and streams descend like white pearl wreaths

Upon the lofty crown of heaven's lord.

Friends seeing the Alvar's despondency speak to their own minds ('car of the mind,' imagination) to hasten to cheer him.

51. The mistress laments, unable to bear the sound of the sea.

The sea, that could not nectar win again, -Got by the lord of mystery, 'mid tossing waves With hill for churning-rod, serpent for rope—1 Joins with sweet tulasi-clamours for its right2 In shells³ which seamen gave me for a price!

The Alvar is conscious of the attempts made by those who do not care for God to divert him from his devotion, and to rob him of its fruits. The 'sea' stands for irreligious men, the 'churning rod' for faith, the 'rope' for spiritual eagerness, the 'seamen' for sages who have crossed the dangers of life and are now fixed on the truth, the 'shells' for the purity that comes in their disciples when they pay the price of full obedience.

52. The friend tries to console the mistress by suggesting that this is not really the rainy season, when her lord is expected again, but that the appearance of it is due to Bhūdēvi's tears.

When shyly, lotus-lipped with rain-cool eyes, Call'd by dark ocean, by its white waves led, Śrī⁵ climbed the serpent couch. Bhūdēvi wept:

¹ Vishnu in the churning of the ocean from which, among other gifts, nectar emerged, used the mountain, Mandaragiri, as churning-rod and the serpent, Vāsuki, as rope.

² The sea and the tulasi seem alike to be her enemies. 'Right' i.e.,

like a litigant with a claim for joint ownership.

³ Shells, which now form her treasured bracelet. 4 The sea of milk, grown dark because of the colour of Vishnu who

lies on it. Its waves are pictured as hands and fingers.

5 Śrīdēvi (Lakshmi) and Bhūdēvi are Vishņu's consorts. Lakshmi was born in the Sea of Milk (at the time of the churning of the ocean) in which lies Adisesha, the serpent on whom Vishnu reclines. She is therefore at home there, while Bhūdēvi is not. Bhūdēvi therefore weeps for jealousy.

Cried in high heaven 'Cruel Tirumãl!'
While tears rained rivers on those hills, her breasts.

The Alvar's friends console him by reminding him that even Earth, who as a goddess might be expected to enjoy God continually, has to suffer the pains of parting, though but for a time.

53. The prophetess, called in for advice, gives her judgment as to the frenzy of the mistress and its cure.

The pain of her with girdled breasts is good— From love of the glory of the heavenly lord! Fan her with garlands of fair tulasī Divinely cool, or with a leaf of it, A twig, its root—e'en dust wherein it grows!

In pain of heart that is caused by desire for God can only be cured by God. The tulasi is a figure for the companies of devout souls, contact with any of whom, in however slight a degree, will help to assuage the Alvar's grief.

54. The mistress sends beetles on a message to the lord.

Beetles, who'll take me to the flowery feet Of him who stole and ate the $gh\bar{\imath}$, and did Such deeds as men may blame, my lord, and heaven's, Fly with your whirring wings (easy your way To heaven!) tell me what ye will say, and go!

The Alvar seeks the aid of others who in familiar access to God can intercede for him, and he asks for the solace of knowing what they will say to God on his behalf.

56. The mistress tells her friend that the lord has visited her.

By grace of him who swallowed the broad worlds² Safety and bliss we've won! Friend, no more fear! A cool south wind³ has come and secretly, With honey sweet of tulasī's fair bloom, Rain-like⁴ caressed my limbs and ornaments.

In union with God the $\bar{A}\underline{l}v\bar{a}r$ enjoys the consciousness that God also rejoices in him.

- ¹ The reference is to Krishna's childhood and youth.
- ² cf. note on stanza 20.
- ³ Shy to say directly that he has come, she speaks of a south wind from him.
 ⁴ Coolly and bounteously.

57. The lord excuses his passion by speaking of the beauty of his mistress' eyes, in answer to his friends' criticism.

Like fighting fish, by creeper kept apart¹
In lotus-face fair ear-ringed, do they move
And spear-like gaze! No one will blame who saw
Me moved by them that day—like to the sea
Foaming with nectar, churned by Kannan's hand!²

Only those who have never had the vision of God can scoff at the devout, and those who see him are themselves converted to a like devotion. (The 'fighting' of the fishes symbolises the conflict within the mind between different interpretations of the vision that the Alvār has. They are saved from final inconsistency by the preponderance of some thought which is able to solve all doubts.)

58. Her friend consoles the mistress by speaking of the greatness of the lord: her case, difficult though it seems to her, is easy for him to solve.

One foot gauged all the earth: one filled the sky O'ershadowing all! What is there here for him To measure—on high in heaven, the radiant lamp Of all-pervading wisdom, unsurpassed, With eyes like lotus blooming in the mire?

Friends console the \bar{A} lv \bar{a} r by reminding him of the manifold greatness of God.

59. The foster-mother pities the mistress, unable to endure the length of the night.

This child of sinful me, with well-formed teeth, Round breasts and rosy mouth, keeps saying 'These Fair nights eternal are as my desire For tulasi! O Lord of great rich plains With swelling sea, O Madhusūdana!'

Friends are filled with sympathy at the length of the \$\overline{A}\ll v\overline{a}r^is'\$ dark night of the soul.' The teeth symbolise the growing purity of his life, the red lips the ardour of his love.

- ¹ Her eyes are like fish in their quick and beautiful movement. The creeper that separates them is her nose.
 - ² For the churning of the ocean by Vishnu, see note on stanza 51.
 - In the Tri-Vikrama avatāra.
- * Vishnu slew the demon, Madhu, and is hence called Madhusūdana.

60. The foster-mother pities the mistress' youth; it is too soon for her to be thinking of a lord; she is love-sick while still but a child.

Breasts not yet full, and short her tresses soft; Skirt loose about the waist; with prattling tongue And innocent eyes: (so that one says 'The world A price for *these*!'2)—is't right that she repeats 'Is Vēngadam the hill of Perumāl?'3

The Ālvār is reminded by his friends that he has not yet reached the state of spiritual maturity which makes possible the full union with God for which he longs.

61. Her friend consoles the mistress by speaking of the greatness and condescension of the lord.

How can we speak? Our king is lord of those In ancient heaven: him all heaven's lords adore: He in two strides the whole globe measured So that no stick-point's space escaped: 'twas he Who came to birth among the cowherd folk!

It is not for men to presume to criticise God, so great and so gracious in his manifestations.

62. Her friend speaks to the lord of the mistress' inconsolability and pleads with him to be gracious.

Howe'er one pleads that she is but a girl,⁸
The black sea pities not but roars on still!
O thou cloud-coloured, serpent-couched, is't meet

- $^{\mbox{\tiny 1}}$ All marks of immaturity, though each is beautiful enough in itself.
- ² Contrast stanza 11, where her beauty is spoken of as equal in value to the world. The reference is to her eyes.

³ She can do nothing but repeat the name of her lord and think of his abode, Tirupati.

4 i.e., of emancipated souls: cf. p 73, note 2. Brahmā etc.—minor gods still in bondage.

^a In the Tri-Vikrama avatāra there was not room even for a thin stick to stand.

⁷ In the Krishna avatāra.

⁸ The idea here is not of immaturity as in stanza 60, but of her being a woman and therefore claiming consideration.

For thee to slight her here, who by thy grace Alone can henceforth keep her chastity?

Those who are worldly (symbolised by the sea) persist in their disturbing clamour, and yet God, who became incarnate to be accessible to man, does not respond to the Alvār's cry: he is in danger of being overpowered, and his friends intercede for him.

63. The mistress speaks to her friend, who has criticised the lord.

But his red eyes, with gaze so kind that heaven Is glad, bright like a cool, soft lotus pool, Enter my heart and kindle there my love For the fair face of Kannan, Lakshmi's lord, And even now abide with me, his slave!

When the Alvar hears God criticised he is stirred to recall the grace which he actually enjoys.

64. The mistress speaks wistfully to her friend of how she finds some solace in uttering the name of her lord during his absence.

In Vedic hymns earth's gods² give worship due To the sacred feet of him who strode the world.² So I with untamed passion, and in grief At deeds and self,⁴ repeat his sacred name, Like one who lacking ripe eats fruit unripe.⁵

Deprived of the bliss of perfect union with God, the $\bar{A}\underline{i}v\bar{a}r$ yet finds consolation in the repetition of his sacred name,

¹ Eyes are red with love: cf. stanza 2, note 9.

² i.e., Brāhmans. ³ In the Tri-Vikrama incarnation.

^{&#}x27; 'In grief at deeds,' i.e., his past karma; 'and self,' i.e., his present birth.

⁵ There is perhaps here in line 5 an apologetic reference to the use of Tamil, as contrasted with the Sanskrit of the hymns in 1. 1: cf. stanza 94 (cf. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Early History of Vaishnavism in South India, p. 85). Or the reference may be to his own limitations of birth as a Sūdra, making it impossible for him to use the Vedic expressions.

66. The lord replies to a triend's criticism of his infatuation for his mistress. ('Lord' stands for the Āļzār's friends, 'mistress' for the Āļvār.)

Those lilies red, which are the life of me—¹
The eyes of her who 's like the heaven of him
Who fire and water is, wind, sky and earth—²
So shine that even meditating seers,³
Who neither eat nor sleep, must think of them.⁴

The Alvar's power of vision of God is so fine that even ascetics habituated by long discipline to disregard objects that appeal to the senses, are compelled to give their admiring attention to him; it is not only his friends who find life in association with him.

69. Her friend consoles the mistress, who is miserable at the approach of night.

The bull of darkness by the red sun-bull Worsted, is out for victory! Grieve not If bracelets slip, oh thou with swelling breasts! Will he who strode the earth, our lofty lord, Leave thee, this wretched eve, without his grace?

His friends console the Ālvār, who is grieving for lack of conscious fellowship with God: God's character as shown in the Dwarf incarnation is a pledge of his grace.

70. The mistress laments the length of the night.

Like days, months, years, and ages—crowding nights Have come, to make me pale for tulasī—Sweet garland on the head of heaven's lord With the curved discus! Now to destroy me quite Comes this one night, a thousand ages long!

In spite of his friends, the Alvar cries out impatiently at the length of time he is cut off from enjoyment of God.

1 'Of me'; literally, 'who am bound by sinful actions.'

² God pervades all the elements, which form a body for him.

³ Yogis, who by austerity have gained immunity from the snares of the senses.

⁴ The strength even of their mental concentration cannot guard them from her charms.

71. The mistress urges her friends to intercede for her with her mother, who suspects her unreasonably.

I spake not of him as the lord of time, World-swallowing. Seeing a *kaļām* fruit I said 'Its colour's like the sea!' 'Ah, shameless one!' My mother cried: 'Like the world-swallower You mean!'—Oh, clear my name to her, my friends!

The Aivar wishes his friends to understand that if he has spoken in praise of God's attributes, it is not that he is attaching undue importance to them, or depending on them or his own efforts: he has not forsaken the way of utter dependence on God himself for any other way.

72. The mistress, unable to endure the darkness, is yet further vexed by the appearance of the moon.

Oh, let the crescent moon which cleaves the dark Encompassing of night, cleave me as well! Ah, does it issue forth in brightness now, That happy bloom may come to desolate me Who only long for flowers of tulasi?

The vision of what is denied him—the fruit of salvation—adds yet further to the \overline{A} lvar's pain; ignorance itself were bliss to such exasperating knowledge.

74. The mistress speaks to her friend of her joy at the scent of tulast, betokening the lord's approach.

A soft south breeze is blowing, that has played On tulasī upon his head who knows All things, his great eyes closed in sleep,² reclined On breaking waves; the lord who gulped the world: Who did a mount uproot and hold for shade!³

The \overline{A}_{1}^{1} var is filled with joy as he receives a fresh reminder of the grace and power of God.

¹ He is not affected by time as everything in this world is.

² As in the recumbent form at Śrīraṅgam; or as the babe Kṛishṇa reclining on the leaf of the banyan.

³ When as Krishna he protected the cowherds from the wrath of Indra with Mount Govardhana. 75. The lord expresses his wonder at the beauty of his mistress. ('Lord' stands for the $\bar{A}|v\bar{a}r$'s devotees, 'mistress' for the $\bar{A}|v\bar{a}r$.)

Ye bright-faced ones, with cruel bow that darts Arrows like shining fish, to pierce my life: Is your abode the heaven where dwell the thralls Of him whose bed's the sea with fragrant waves That toss curved shells? Or is your home this earth?

The \bar{A} lvār's devotees are amazed at his joy, and wonder whether he is not more than man.

76. The mistress not having received the garland for which she longs, speaks with loathing of the moonlight.

Oh, crazy for a wreath of tulasi! Heart! Full of his beauty who, pervading space, Measured the world! is't strange that the white moon That shuts the lotus fine and opes the lily In poison spreads for my white bracelet's sake?

The \overline{A} lv \overline{a} r again grieves because his knowledge of God without union with him brings no satisfaction.

77. The mistress complains that the pain of evening time is unendurable.

While her fair moon-child wails, sad Evening² stands Beside the blood-red battle field where fell Her lord red-sceptred: helped by tulasī (My heavenly lord's, who fought in Southern Laṅkā!) She tortures me, to snatch away my bloom!

The Alvār again complains that at a time when everything conspires to fill him with passionate desire for union with God, he should be left desolate.

78. The mistress grieves as she thinks of the might of the lord who has parted from her.

Not mine to sound the mighty power which slew Tormenting Naraka, and Vāṇan's³ arms

¹ The Alvar and his companions.

Demons slain by Vishņu (Vāṇan = Bāṇāśura).

² Evening is pictured as a widow mourning the loss of her lord the sun, with the moon as her child.

Destroyed! My foolish heart, on tulasī bent, (Worn by my lord who shines like a black hill) Has gone and left me nothing but this pain!

The Alvar could reconcile himself in despair to his present condition, but his heart is beyond his control and thus causes his pain.

79. The mistress speaks wistfully of the bliss of those who never part from the lord.

More blest than heavenly ones are they who praise The Lord who's mighty in the Veda—wears The sacred thread—whom heavenly ones adore; Who gulped the world, and over-strode the earth; Whose cool couch is the snake i' the milky sea!

The Alvar covets the unbroken felicity of those who are continually with God, even in this world.

80. The mistress in her loneliness laments the coming of the darkness.

Like a great king who rules for his brief day Of glory, and is dead, the sun is hidden.

O King who strode the earth, thou Lord of heaven,

Unequall'd, though thou'st left me guilefully;

ment.

Tormenting night has come. Ah, show thy grace! The Alvar again complains that knowledge without union is tor-

82. The mistress recalls the beauty of the lord's glance with sorrow as she realises the pain it now causes her.

Like to the rising on the hill of dawn
Of two red fiery suns at once, his eyes
Even on us¹ blaze down as if again
The giants² fell into the burning red!
Can this be he who makes the whole model to

Can this be he who makes the whole world bloom?

The \bar{A} lv \bar{a} r marvels that the very quality in God which won his devotion now causes him such anguish.

On us, who expect a grateful warmth rather than scorching.

² The giants—certain giants fought against the sun, but by means of the worship of the sun by Brahmins, a fire was created into which they fell.

83. The mistress' friend despairs at sight of her languishing.

The deep-toned anril¹ cherishes its mate Ever before her eyes, in a thorny nest On the courtyard paim. Ah! as she sobs and lisps The cloud-hued's names, I know not if she'll live Or if her frame and spirit mild must pass!

His friends wonder if the Alvar can survive lack of conscious communion with God, reminded as he is by common things of the bliss he is losing.

84. The mistress pleads for sight of her lord, even if she may not be alone with him.

E'en among groups of beauteous girls, or in The festivals of the great—or anywhere—
'Tis thee that I would gaze upon, with disc
Of gold and conch all white within thy hand,
Thou dark-hued one, thou Sapphire, Pearl—my Gem!

The Alvar prays that if he cannot continue to enjoy personal communion with God he may at least see him, even if it be among others.

85. The mistress mourns the coming of night.

Thou who didst stride the world, Gem, Emerald, Thou Gold well-tried, incomparable One, At evening when the golden sun has gone, Fighting the dark—a ruby 'gainst an ape! —
Thy slave, my life, thine own, I bring to thee!

The Alvar seeks protection from God.

86. The mistress grieves at her separation from the lord.

He rescued Hara³ when he begged with bowl Unsayoury—skull of Brahmā lotus-sprung!

¹ A bird famed as a type of marital devotion.

² The precious sunlight seems at nightfall to have been thrown away for nought in conflict with the darkness.

³ Siva, condemned to beg with Brahmā's skull as his begging bowl, was delivered by Vishņu's grace.

He wields the disc and conch: 'twas he who wept When his nurse¹ beat him—butter-thief!—one day!² How then shall I of him make my complaint?

The Alvar comforts himself by recalling God's extraordinary acts of grace to others, and his extraordinary condescension to man's weakness.

87. The friend rebukes the lord for his neglect of his mistress.

The parted anril's mournful note, the roar O' the foaming sea, flooding the flowery marsh—
This thing and that, grieving this girl divine Who sings the virtues of thy mighty bird—
Is this thy work, for all the world to blame?

The Alvar's friends are critical of God for leaving his devotee without the consolation of his presence, and allowing him to be tormented by common sights and sounds.

88. The mistress grieves on being reminded of the lord's form.

Mount Mēru's like the Lord of Bliss: the sun On it, the discus blest in his blest hand! How can sin hinder me, who seeing but These likenesses of him, lisp of his form And tokens, with unparalleled desire?

The Alvar reassures himself that he must be delivered from sin—the barrier between himself and God—in that, debarred though he is from sight of God, he yet sees symbols of him on every hand, and is thereby stirred to praise him.

89. The mistress cries impatiently for union with the lord.

When shall I join my lord, who poison is For evil deeds, and nectar for the good?⁴ Husband of her who haunts the lotus-bloom,⁵

¹ Literally, 'foster-mother,' i.e., Yasoda.

² An episode of Krishna's childhood.
³ cf. stanza 66.

i.e., he destroys the evil (the results of previous activity) and develops the good in his devotee (his present love to God).

⁵ Vishnu's consort is Lakshmi, who springs from the lotus.

Cowherd who thought no scorn to graze the cows: 1 Who overpaced the world in his two strides! 2

The $\bar{A}lv\bar{a}r$ cannot understand why he is barred from union with God so gracious.

90. The mistress is unable to endure separation from the lord.

Lord of the Disc which demons put to flight, When I review my wond'rous penance wrought To win a body fit for thee, thy feet Upon my head, yet see that still no hold Have I of thee,—time seems eternity!

The Alvar considering how all his efforts in previous births have still not brought him to full union with God is filled with dismay as he faces the future.

91. The mistress asserts her unbroken fidelity to the lord.

None my heart longs for save the thief who touch'd And ate the butter in the closepacked hoops—Him of the belly huge who at a gulp Swallow'd the world: the trickster who as Dwarf, Gain'd the three steps great Bali granted him.

Though he has not yet attained full bliss, the Alvar can nevertheless give himself to none other than God who showed his grace in sundry incarnations.

94. The lord's friend, having seen the mistress, apologises to him for having spoken critically to him of his conduct.

O thou with body black, red-lotus-eyed, None save the learned seers of pious life Can touch thy sacred feet e'en with their heads. 'Like village cows, so lows the blind cow too:' And I have spoken: what else can I say?

The \bar{A} lv \bar{a} r is humble about his own knowledge of God: after all he can only repeat what holy men have said. Possibly there is a reference to the inferiority of Tamil to Sanskrit as a medium for the highest truth. cf. stanza 64, note 5.

¹ In the Krishna avatāra. ² In the Vāmaņa avatāra.

96. The mistress determines to proclaim her passion for the lord.

Many a different way of worshipping And many clashing creeds from different minds, And in the many creeds their many gods Thou'st made, spreading abroad thy form! O thou Matchless, I will proclaim my love for thee!

The Alvar is resolved to proclaim God everywhere, as the One who in the various sects is partially expressing himself, and who is to be worshipped supremely by the way of love.

97. The mistress parted from the lord suffers from sleeplessness.

There's nought but grief for those who've looked and looked

At dawn and sunset, age succeeding age— But can sleep ever come to those who gaze Joyful with mighty passion rare, at Māl Eternal, whom adoring gods surround?

There is no real joy for those who give their attention even to the most beautiful things of this world. The Alvār, however, in the vision of God finds a joy that banishes even sleep.

98. The mistress' friend speaks to her comfortingly of the lord's wonderful condescension.

From sleepless seers and others who adore He takes away the pain of endless births: The mystery of the mighty form of him, Unique and self-dependent—'butter-thief'!— Hard e'en for gods to grasp that slighting word!

His friends remind the Alvar of God's amazing condescension: the one who is beyond all understanding took upon him the form of a mischievous child, even to the extent of stealing. The esoteric meaning of his pilfering baffles even the gods; but at least it shows infinite condescension to man's weakness.

99. The mistress assures her friend of her constancy.

If slighting words there be, what matters it? Nought else that's good have I beheld save him Who boar-shaped saved the mighty earth from flood, And wisdom gave to those who dwell where grows The Karpak tree, to men and all beside.

The Alvar asserts again his faith in God, the saviour of the world: his faith is proof against all sneers.

100. Conclusion, wherein appears the fruit of meditation on this hymn.

Who scan these hundred flowers, the wreath of words, The prayer of Māran of famed Kuruk \bar{u} r

Whose wreath's the feet of saints who name Māl's names—

—They in deceptive matter shall not sink Thick with the mire of deeds that lead to birth!

The poet having laid the tribute of his verse at God's feet says that those who follow what he has said will find deliverance from rebirth.

¹ A tree in Indra's heaven, yielding all that men desire.



APPENDIX I

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION AND PRONUNCIATION OF TAMIL LETTERS

Tamil	Sanskrit	English	Pronunciation (approximate)
मुक्कुलिस ा श्री हि च	জ জ marciner ত জ ए /	a i i u e e ai	u in punch ā in rather i in sit ī in clique u in full ū in rule e in fed a in fable
14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14	ए 	0 0 au	ai in aisle, but much shorter o in mobility ŏ in noble ow in cow

CONSONANTS

N.B.—The Tamii alphabet is not fully phonetic, as are the Sanskrit and the other Dravidian alphabets. Several letters indicate different sounds in different connections.

Letter	ning of	nimed e	After a soft	In other places	Remarks
G. C. 単. 「・争. 事.	k ch t t p	(表) (是(是((年) (年) (年)	g (ग्) j (ज्) d (ह) d (ह्) b (व्)	h (夏) s (現) d th p	Guttural. This is pronounced as a palatal sibilant. Cerebral, far back in the palate. Dental purer than English centals. Labial. Hard palatal r peculiar to Tamil as pronounced after a soft consonant.

Tamil	Sanskrit	Translitera tion	Pronunciation (approximate)	Remarks
ங்	ड∙	n (before g)	n in singing	Guttural n
٠ ق	াহ্	ñ	n in ginger	Palatal n
ண்	ण्	ù	n stopped as far back as possi- ble	Cerebral n
க்&ண்	न्	n	as in English	
ம்	न्रं म्रं स्रं •	m	as in English	
ப்	य्	У	as in English	
Ť	₹	r	as in English (when soft)	•
ல்	: ह्य	1	as in English	
வ்	व्	V	as in English, but not so firm	
Ġ		T-I	r pronounced with the tongue as far back in the throat as pos- sible.	Peculiar to Tamil
ள்	সূ	1	1 pronounced by the palate	Palatal 1

Sanskrit words, unless they have become modified by long Tamil usage, are transliterated according to Sanskrit pronunciation, on the system used in other books in this series, the Sanskrit alphabet being represented as follows:—

k	kh	g	gh	'n
ch	chh	j	jh	ñ
ţ	ţh	ą	фh	ņ
τ	th	đ	dh	n
p	ph	ъ	bh	m
У	r	1	v	
Ś	sh	s	h	
ŗi	ṁ	þ		

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