



THE
SECRET GARLAND

Āṅṭaḷ's *Tiruppavai* and *Nacciyaṛ Tirumoli*

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY ARCHANA VENKATESAN

The Secret Garland



AAR RELIGION IN TRANSACTION

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For Amma and Appa

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Āṅṭāl ends the *Tiruppāvai* and almost every decad of the *Nācciyār Tirumoli* with a reference to Viṣṇucittaṅ, the person she identifies as her spiritual guide, and the one she regards as instrumental in the fulfillment of her greatest desire. He is her teacher, her initiator, and her mentor. My parents Krishna and Jayashree Venkatesan have played just as pivotal a role in my life. It is their infectious love for music, for reading, and for learning seeped into every corner that set me on this path. But without their unflagging faith and their loving encouragement, I know that I would never have been able to finish it. It is in their honor that this book is dedicated.

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Note on Transliteration

Transliteration posed some difficulty as I was dealing with Tamil, Sanskrit, and Maṇipravāḷa words. I have transliterated Tamil words according to the conventions of the *Tamil Lexicon*. Sanskrit words used in a Tamil context are transliterated as such. So, I use *Nālāyira Diyya Prabandham* instead of *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam*, *utsavam* in place of *urcavam*, Raṅgamaṇṇār and not Raṅkamaṇṇār. Sanskrit words have generally been transliterated according to the conventions of the Monier-Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. All place names have been transliterated throughout the book. I have spelled the names of contemporary authors and informants as they choose to render them in English, and have not used diacritical marks. I have transliterated the names of all historical personalities.

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The Secret Garland

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Introduction

Kōtai of Viṣṇucittaṅ
lord of Putuvai
city of towering mansions that rise like mountains
sang this garland of sweet Tamiḷ
to plead with Kāmadeva
with his sugarcane bow and five-flower arrows
to unite her with the lord
who broke the tusk of the elephant
as it screamed in agony,
who ripped apart the beak of the bird
that one dark and lustrous as a gem.

Those who sing this soft song of plea
will remain forever at the feet
of the supreme king of the gods.

Nācciyār Tīrumoḷi 1.10

If one goes by Kōtai's lavish descriptions in her *Tiruppāvai* and *Nācciyār Tīrumoḷi*, the town of Putuvai was a wealthy metropolitan hub, overflowing with abundance, populated by perfect priests and incomparable mansions. It was a blessed land, mythical in its scope, for it was here that Kṛṣṇa sported and played. Today, Putuvai is identified with Śrīvilliputtūr, a dusty town about seventy-five kilometers south of the bustling Tamiḷ cultural capital, Maturai. Surrounded by lovely hills, their crests tipped with dark clouds, the Śrīvilliputtūr landscape is

dominated by an imposing temple tower that rises colorful and majestic, audaciously confronting the neighboring hills. The temple is this otherwise ordinary town's claim to fame, for it marks the birthplace of the celebrated ninth-century Tamil Vaiṣṇava poet, Kōtai, who a few centuries later was apotheosized into the goddess Āṇṭāl. It is her remarkable legend, her beautiful love poems, and the temple she shares with her immortal husband, Viṣṇu (locally known as Raṅgamannār) that command the landscape and contour the experiences of local devotees and visiting pilgrims alike. It is her *caritam*—her story—that forms the backdrop against which medieval commentators and contemporary devotees alike express their enjoyments (*anubhava*) of her two poems. So we begin here, with the story of her miraculous and improbable love for Viṣṇu.

Speak Not of Mortal Men: Āṇṭāl's Story

One day Viṣṇucittaṅ, a humble, Brahmin garland maker at the Vaṭapatraśāyi temple of the reclining Viṣṇu at Putuvai, found a lovely baby girl under a sacred *tulasī* plant. A voice from the heavens instructed him to take the little girl home and raise her as his own. Viṣṇucittaṅ named the child Kōtai and lovingly brought her up, inculcating in his adopted daughter a deep love for Viṣṇu. As she grew older, Kōtai resolved to marry Viṣṇu and no one else. Every morning, she enacted her fantasy as Viṣṇu's divine bride by ignoring the rules of ritual purity and donning the sacred garland meant for him. One morning, Viṣṇucittaṅ inadvertently caught her in the act, chastised her for the ritual transgression, and refrained from offering the polluted garland to the deity in the local temple. But to his astonishment, Viṣṇu appeared in a dream that same night to reveal his attachment to the special garland that Kōtai had first worn, earning her the epithet, *cūṭikkoṭuttaval*—she who gave what she had worn. Still Viṣṇucittaṅ remained oblivious to Kōtai's adamant desire to become Viṣṇu's bride, even as she grew more pale and feverish. When her father mentioned marriage, she rejected the very notion saying, “if there is even talk of mortal men . . . I will not live.”¹ It was in the throes of her overwhelming passion and the subsequent crushing disappointment that she composed two poems, the *Tiruppāvai* (The Sacred Vow) and *Nācciyār Tirumoli* (The Woman's Sacred Words). Viṣṇucittaṅ finally comprehended the full scope of her longing and anxiously inquired: “Which of the many forms of Viṣṇu do you wish to wed?”

Kōtai replied, “Sing their praises to me.”

And so Viṣṇucittaṅ began describing all of them in loving detail, but when he described the lord of Śrīraṅgam, he noticed the faraway look in Kōtai's eyes and the sheen of unrequited desire.

He despaired: “How can I fulfill my daughter’s mad desire?”

Once again Raṅganātha, the lord of Śrīraṅgam appeared in his devotee’s dream and directed him to bring Kōtai dressed in full bridal regalia to his temple. Viṣṇucittaṅ promptly did as directed and arrived with his daughter in Śrīraṅgam. And there, witnessed by devotees, kings, Viṣṇu’s attendants, and her father, Kōtai boldly strode into the *garbha gr̥ha*, climbed atop the beautiful image of the reclining Viṣṇu, and simply disappeared. From that point on Kōtai was known as Āṅṭāḷ—she who ruled—for she had won her lord’s heart like no other before her.²

The Historical Āṅṭāḷ and Her Place Among the Āḷvār

The remarkable legend of Āṅṭāḷ recorded in oral and written hagiographies since the eleventh century reveals very little that is historically verifiable about her.³ The sparse biographical information contained in the *phala śruti* verses (benedictory verses) that close the *Tiruppāvai* and each of the fourteen sections of the *Nācciyār Tirumōḷi* offer nothing more than a silhouette of the poet who called herself Kōtai.⁴ She probably lived in a town called Putuvai (lit. New Town) that she also referred to as Villi’s Putuvai⁵ and which she praised for its beauty and prosperity. She was related in some way to the *āḷvār* poet Viṣṇucittaṅ (commonly referred to as Periyāḷvār), who is identified in the hagiographic traditions as her father. Based on a verse like this,

Viṣṇucittaṅ has heard
these words of truth spoken
by the mighty and righteous king
of Tiruvaraṅkam:

“Those who love me

I will love in return.”

If even his words are proved false
what is there left to believe?

Nācciyār Tirumōḷi 11.10

the Śrīvaiṣṇava commentarial literatures on the *Tiruppāvai* and *Nācciyār Tirumōḷi* also assert that Viṣṇucittaṅ was Āṅṭāḷ’s teacher (*ācārya*).⁶ Viṣṇucittaṅ does not mention Āṅṭāḷ by name in his composition, the *Periyāḷvār Tirumōḷi*, while Āṅṭāḷ herself only obliquely alludes to their relationship in the *Tiruppāvai* and *Nācciyār Tirumōḷi* by using a generic possessive such as “Viṣṇucittaṅ’s lovely Kōtai” (*Viṣṇucittaniṅ viyaṅ Kōtai*). However uncertain the exact nature of the relationship between these two, the internal evidence of Viṣṇucittaṅ’s

Periyālvār Tirumoli (Sacred Words of Periyālvār) reliably places him in the ninth century, making Āṅṅāl his contemporary and part of the devotional milieu of the Tamil *bhakti* poets.⁷

Āṅṅāl is the only woman of the twelve *ālvār* poets (600–900 C.E.), whose devotional poems comprise the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham* (The Divine Collection of Four Thousand), the Tamil canon of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. But Āṅṅāl's position as one of the *ālvār* is tenuous, and she is sometimes excluded from this list. By the eleventh century, and dovetailing with the systematic development of Śrīvaiṣṇava theology under the direction of Rāmānuja (traditional dates, 1017–1137 C.E.), the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham* became a revealed text, with a place of primacy reserved for Nammālvār's *Tiruvāymoli* (ca. 9th century), which is revered as the Tamil Veda. The apotheosis of the Tamil canon activated a reciprocal apotheosis of its composers, who by the thirteenth century are transmogrified into various divine emanations (*aṁśa*) of Viṣṇu. Within the parameters of this new scheme, Kōtai the poet was recast into the role of the secondary consort Bhū Devī, placing her in a position of intimacy with Viṣṇu that for the Śrīvaiṣṇava theologians and commentators was far superior to that of the other male *ālvār*.

By the time of the important Śrīvaiṣṇava philosopher, poet, and theologian, Vedānta Deśika (1268–369 C.E.), lists of the *ālvār* begin to omit Āṅṅāl, indicating her already-contested place as a poet, saint, and goddess, although her two poems (especially the *Tiruppāvai*) continued to occupy a central place in the religious and ritual imagination of the community. By the mid-sixteenth century, the ninth-century poet Kōtai is distinctive enough to merit an important temple site dedicated to her, counted as one of the 108 sacred sites (*divya deśa*) of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas.⁸ Once a part of the devotional milieu, by the late medieval period in South India she herself has become the recipient of *bhakti* songs—are composed for her, temples are built in her honor, and endowments are made in her name.

The ambiguity of Āṅṅāl's position as an *ālvār*-goddess and the well-integrated position of her texts into the Tamil canon are most clearly in evidence at Śrīraṅgam's annual *Adhyayanotsavam* (Festival of Recitation) celebrated in the auspicious month of Mārkaḷi (December–January). During this festival, the sacred space known as the “Hall of Thousand Pillars” is imagined to recreate a divine court where Viṣṇu, accompanied by his consorts Śrī and Bhū, enjoys a liturgical recitation and on occasion dramatic enactments of the entire *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham*. Bronze images of the *ālvār*—except Āṅṅāl—and the *ācāryas* are hierarchically placed in the sacred arena for the duration of the Festival of Recitation. Āṅṅāl's marked absence among the *ālvār* is explained away because of her eternal presence beside Viṣṇu as his secondary consort Bhū. As the

Tiruppāvai and *Nācciyār Tirumoli* are ritually recited during the first ten days of the *Adhyayanotsavam*, while Āṇṭāl's image is excluded from Viṣṇu's devoted retinue of poet-saints, this festival enunciates her dual identity as both an *ālvār* and a goddess.⁹

Āṇṭāl and Other Women Poet-Saints of India

Women's literary compositions in India, particularly in the pre-colonial period, have largely been in the realm of devotional or religious literature. The sixth-century B.C.E. Buddhist *Therīgāthā* is the earliest compilation of women's writing in India. In these early poems, the domestic drudgery of a woman's duties becomes an effective metaphor for life as suffering. The Buddhist nun Muṭṭā makes the point eloquently in the poem below:

So free am I, so gloriously free,
Free from three petty things—
From mortar, from pestle, and from my twisted lord,
Freed from rebirth and death I am,
And all that has held me down
Is hurled away.

(Trans. Uma Chakravarti and Kumkum Roy)¹⁰

In the Tamil context, the earliest female poets are contributors to the secular Caṅkam anthologies (first–third century C.E.). Of the 2,381 Caṅkam compositions, at least 154 in both the love (*akam*) and war (*puṛam*) genres bear female signatures. Because, like their male counterparts, these women poets composed poems that were strictly governed by the conventions of Caṅkam poetics, it is difficult, perhaps even impossible, to discern a distinctively female voice in this early corpus of secular Tamil poetry.

By the beginning of the late fifth century, secular literature and the massive literary accomplishments of Tamil Buddhists and Jains gave way to the newly emergent *bhakti* ethos. One of the earliest participants in this new poetic and religious world was the female *bhakti* poet and devotee of Śiva, Kāraikkāmmaiyār (ca. 6th century). Although she was neither a contemporary of Āṇṭāl, nor a poet with a similar poetic temperament, as the only woman among the sixty-three canonized Śaiva saints (*nāyaṅmār*), Kāraikkāmmaiyār is often regarded as Āṇṭāl's Śaiva counterpart. According to her hagiography, her husband, awed by her mystical powers, released Kāraikkāmmaiyār from her obligations to him, thereby enabling her to devote herself completely to Śiva. Her move away from the normative social order is marked by a radical transformation that remakes

her beautiful body into that of a skeletal ghoul. The climactic moment of the hagiography occurs when she climbs sacred Mount Kailāśa on her hands, so as to refrain from defiling its hallowed ground with her feet. Upon seeing such dedication, Śiva, lauded as one who has neither beginning nor end, is said to have welcomed Kāraikkālammaiṃyār to his celestial abode by addressing her as “Mother!” As Norman Cutler points out, “Kāraikkālammaiṃyār’s story . . . expresses an underlying tension between the saint’s intuitive calling to serve Śiva and her responsibilities in the social realm.”¹¹ But this tension between social responsibility and service to Śiva does not dominate the tone or content of Kāraikkālammaiṃyār’s *Arputatiruvantāti*, *Tiruirattaimaṃimālai*, and the two *Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu Mūtta Tiruppatikams*. Instead, like the poems of the earliest *ālvār* poets, Kāraikkālammaiṃyār’s compositions are uncomplicated in form and even content, but are nonetheless profoundly speculative. A wonderful example is from *Arputatiruvantāti* 61:

I became your slave
even though I couldn’t see you,
and now your image still eludes my eyes—
when people ask me
“how does your lord appear?”
what can I say?

which among all these forms is yours?¹²

(Trans. Norman Cutler)

In contrast, Āṅṅāl’s *Nācciyār Tirumoli* is replete with vociferous rejections of marriage to a mortal, an attitude that eventually becomes the centerpiece of her hagiographic narrative. As Āṅṅāl’s story develops, her bold assertions are subsumed into a theological position that implies that only a divine being—Āṅṅāl as Bhū Devī—can achieve something as extraordinary as marriage to Viṣṇu.¹³

In an article on women saints in India, A. K. Ramanujan suggests that unlike men, women often have to reject normative family life to pursue their spiritual goals.¹⁴ In some instances, like that of Kāraikkālammaiṃyār, the husband or family sanctions such a rejection. In the case of the twelfth-century Kannada poet Mahādevīyakka, the transgression of social norms is extreme—she walked naked—and is sanctioned by no one. Āṅṅāl falls somewhere in between these two figures—her poetry, especially the *Nācciyār Tirumoli*, is radical for its frank eroticism and disturbing images of violence. But her mythic life, enshrined in the hagiographies, presents a more comfortable picture, where the father aids in securing his daughter’s impossible goal of marriage to Viṣṇu.

It is no surprise that the story of Āṅṅāḷ's love for Viṣṇu and her eventual marriage to him has invited parallels to Mīrā, the sixteenth century North Indian poet-saint. Hagiography tells us that Mīrā rejected her royal husband and her duties as a daughter-in-law for Kṛṣṇa, the divine lover with whom she eventually merged. Such superficial similarities aside, there are significant differences between these two female poets that nonetheless speak to the difficulty that Āṅṅāḷ and Mīrā present to their respective religious communities. Whereas we are reasonably certain that the poet Kōtai composed the *Tiruppāvai* and *Nācciyār Tirumoli*, the same cannot be said of Mīrā. John Stratton Hawley suggests that "it is much harder in Mira's case than in that of her male rivals to have any confidence that she actually composed a substantial portion of the poetic corpus attributed to her."¹⁵ There is a Mīrā tradition in which poems are composed in her name and are used to embellish the legend of the Mewar princess. The closed and canonical nature of the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham* disallowed the kind of organic production of poetry for Āṅṅāḷ, or any of the *āḷvār* poets, that is the hallmark of the Mīrā traditions. There is no evidence of poets appropriating Āṅṅāḷ's name (or indeed that of any of the other *āḷvār*) to add to her fairly slim contribution of just 173 verses. But there are plenty of verses in praise of Āṅṅāḷ, beginning with the laudatory verses, known as *tanīyaṅs* that are appended to the *Tiruppāvai* and *Nācciyār Tirumoli*.¹⁶ Undoubtedly, this important distinction between the Āṅṅāḷ and Mīrā traditions has much to do with two very different systems of producing and transmitting knowledge. Nevertheless, it also says something important about the ways in which widely divergent religious communities deal with problematic female poets. In point of fact, it might be said that Āṅṅāḷ and Mīrā are mirror images. The legend of Mīrā is shocking in its dramatic rejection of wifely and royal duties, while those poems attributed to her are not, even when they allude to the abuses she withstood. Her poems tend to be meditative and enigmatic, and her persona in these poems is as much lover as ascetic.¹⁷ Here is a good example of a poem from the Mīrā tradition:

My dark one has gone to an alien land.
 He's left me behind,
 he's never returned,
 he's never sent me a single word,
 So I've stripped off my ornaments,
 jewels and adornments,
 cut the hair from my head,
 And put on holy garments,
 all on his account,

seeking him in all four directions.
 Mīrā: unless she meets the Dark One, her Lord,
 she doesn't even want to live.¹⁸

(Trans. John S. Hawley)

On the other hand, Āṅṅāl's poetry, especially the *Nācciyār Tirumoli*, is transgressive, sensual, and bold. Below is an example from one of the later sections of the *Nācciyār Tirumoli*:

My breasts seek the gaze of the one
 whose beautiful hand lifts the discus.
 Bound tightly in a red cloth, their eyes
 shy away from the gaze of mere mortals
 desiring none other than Govinda.
 I cannot live here a moment longer
 Please take me to the shores of the Yamunā.
Nācciyār Tirumoli 12.4

Thus what cannot be added to or excised from her poetry is mapped on to her story. Āṅṅāl's stories multiply, keeping pace with her growing fame and popularity, and with each new version, this troublesome and vexing female poet becomes more divine, and her love more innocent, asexual, and non-threatening.

Āṇṭāl's Garlands of Perfect Tamil: The *Tiruppāvai*
and *Nācciyār Tirumoli*

You were born the son of one woman
and that very night
you became the son of another,
to be nurtured in secret.

O immeasurable lord
when Kamsa fearing you
plotted evil things
you foiled his plans
inflamed him and burnt like a fire in his belly.

We have come to beg you:

If you give us the *parai*-drum

We will sing of your wealth matched only by Śrī.

We will sing of your bravery.

Our sorrows will end.
and we can rejoice.

ēl ōr empāvāy

Tiruppāvai 25

You escaped Kamsa's savage net
in the midst of that deep dark night
only to torture the hearts of hapless maidens
stranded here.

Yaśodā lets you stray, bold and unpunished.

O you who suckled the milk

from the breast of the deceitful demoness

Shameless one

Please return our clothes to us.

Nācciyār Tirumoli 3.9

The *Tiruppāvai* and *Nācciyār Tirumoli* are included in the first thousand verses (*mutal āyiram*) of the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham*. Āṇṭāl's two compositions follow Viṣṇucittaṅṭar's (Periyālvār's) *Tiruppallāṅṭu* and *Periyālvār Tirumoli*. The *Tiruppāvai* consists of thirty eight-line verses in *kalippa* meter and describes

a vow known as the *pāvai nōṅṅpu*.¹⁹ Young, unmarried girls observed this vow during the month of Mārkaḷi (December–January) in order to secure a virtuous husband. In the context of the *Tiruppāvai*, the girls are the cowherd maidens of Kṛṣṇa’s land of sport, Āyarpāṭi (lit cowherd town), and Kṛṣṇa himself is the desired husband. The *Tiruppāvai*, narrated in an enthusiastic plural voice, is a poem of community and documents a group of girls vigorously rousing each other to join in a festive and joyous communal endeavor. Jointly the girls approach Kṛṣṇa’s house to awaken him and his family. In the poem, Āṅṅāl’s Putuvai is transformed into the mythic world of Āyarpāṭi (Tamiḷ for Gokula/Vṛndāvana) and in the commentaries, she herself is understood as being one of the *gopī* girls. The turning point of the poem comes in the penultimate verse (*Tiruppāvai* 29), when the company of girls reject the central symbol of the quest, the enigmatic *parai*-drum, and instead declare that they only wish to be eternally beholden to Kṛṣṇa. Although the poem employs a plural voice, traditional interpretations insert Āṅṅāl into it as either as the sole protagonist or as the leader of the group of *gopīs*. The *Tiruppāvai* ends on an optimistic note, with a clear sense that the quest has successfully come to fruition.

The *Tiruppāvai* leads seamlessly into the *Nācciyār Tirumoli*, in that it chronologically and thematically picks up where the former poem ends. The *Nācciyār Tirumoli* begins in the Tamiḷ month of Tai (January–February) and opens with another vow—this one to Kāmadeva, the god of desire—undertaken as a solitary endeavor. While friends and companions make intermittent appearances in the poem, the quest in the *Nācciyār Tirumoli* is largely a lonely and friendless one. The poem balances a full-bodied sensuality with a savage violence, a disquieting admixture that represents a radical departure from the comforting sweetness of the *Tiruppāvai*. The erotic sentiment is not entirely absent from the *Tiruppāvai*; rather, it is ensconced in comfortable images of domesticity—Kṛṣṇa at play with his wife, Nappiṅṅai, charming allusions to Kṛṣṇa’s mischievous pranks, and Yaśodā’s protective indulgence. It may be said that the desire of young *gopī* girls who inhabit the *Tiruppāvai*’s imaginal world has blossomed, but not yet gone to seed. Desire in the *Nācciyār Tirumoli* on the other hand, is terrible, full-blown and unremitting. The experience of such a desire is essentially an isolating one, where there are neither friends nor companions to alleviate the suffering. If there are companions, be they friends, birds, clouds, or a conch, they are always positioned as antagonists, for the speaker (identified in the commentaries as Āṅṅāl) sees herself vying enviously with them for the position of proximity to Viṣṇu that she believes rightly belongs to her.

The *Nācciyār Tirumoli* is further distinguished from the *Tiruppāvai* and other similar poems composed by male poets by Āṅṅāl’s use of shifting female

voices, a dizzying non-linearity, and a strange, unsettling violence; images of profound sensuality are often jarringly juxtaposed with its violation.²⁰ For instance, late in the *Nācciyār Tirumoli*, the heroine has this to say:

O bright *karuvai* blooms and dark *kāyā* flowers,
 you have assumed the brilliant form of my Tirumāl.
 Show me how to endure my agony.
 The master of Tirumāliṛuñcōlai,
 whose broad shoulders are for Śrī's pleasure
 entered my home and wrested my beautiful bangles.
 Is this right?

Nācciyār Tirumoli 9.3

In the above verse, the poet uses conventional poetic tropes to sketch the contours of her/the heroine's unbearable and unfulfilled love. She sees her beloved everywhere—the dark flowers remind her of his lustrous skin; the crimson blooms of his red lips; the fragrant jasmine of his pearly teeth. But they are unable to provide any succor for her illness, because the lord of Māliṛuñcōlai, (literally, the lord of gardens) has not only refused her, but the union he enjoys with his eternal companion Śrī mocks the poet's (heroine's) own doomed love. While at first glance this verse might seem unremarkable within the canon of Tamil *bhakti* poetry, the final assertion of physical violation done to her body—"he entered my home and wrested my beautiful bangles"—marks a substantial deviation from the ways in which these familiar *bhakti* tropes are usually deployed.²¹ Instead, the common motif of the heroine growing pale and thin until her bangles slip off is inflected with a strident note of violence and violation, and the god's possession is characterized as intrusive and unwelcome.

It may well be argued that in the *Nācciyār Tirumoli*, violence is Āṅṅāl's dominant means of expressing an impossible desire and the fleeting nature of her encounter with the divine. Violence and violation are seeded throughout the poem, manifesting in unexpected places and in unexpected ways, with each occurrence building on an evocative past reference. First, there is the predicating violation that breeds all else: Viṣṇu's relentless and unsolicited violation of the heroine's person, and his cruel disregard of his word to her. The god invades the intimate space of her body and her home, overwhelms her despite her fervent and repeated refusals. In *Nācciyār Tirumoli* 10.9, the heroine says:

O oceans! He entered you, churned you
 and stole your nectar from your depths.
 Just so, the cunning one entered me
 and deprived me of my life.