KĀMAN IN TAMIL CLASSICAL POETRY

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Kāman is the Tamil god of love, and as in the case of Greek Eros and Roman Cupid, his name means 'desire', 'sensuous passion' or 'sexual desire' or 'lust'. Even though love and heoism have been the main themes of Cankam poetry, which is the earliest extant literature in Tamil, and love or akam poems form the major part of this literature,¹ Kaman is not mentioned in the earliest Cankam works. But the word kamam is used extensively to denote the love between a man and a woman and is found in various terms and expressions in love poetry as for example in kāmakkilatti (a mistress of desire), kāmaň cālā ilamaiyol (a girl too young to know of love) and kamattumiku tiram (excessive love). A Kuruntokai poem (136) describes love or kamam as something inherent in a person but manifests itself at the sight of the right person of the opposite sex. The poet compares this to the inherent rut (matam) of the elephant. It is usually under control and the elephant gets out of hand only when it chews the liquorice leaves of a particular plant (kulaku). Some poems mention love as an affliction or illness (kāmanoy, ananku, or pini)2 cause by the hero (talaivan) or the heroine (talaivi), depending on who the affected person is. But the Cankam poems do not seem to personify this affliction or its cause as a god. The nearest to this personification is ananku with its verbal form anankutal, meaning 'to afflict', used more in the sense of being stricken with love. There are a number of poems that refer to the heroine who has caused love in the heart of the hero or has afflicted him with love

¹The earliest extant literature in Tamil is generally knows as Tamil Classical literature. It is also known as Cankam literature or poetry composed during the Cankam period. The date of composition for this literature, as in the case of most of the ancient literature of India, is a matter of controversy. But it is generally accepted to be between 3rd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. This literature consists of eight anthologies of lyrics called the Ettuttokai, ten idylls called the Pattuppattu and a book of grammar and conventions known as the Tolkappiyam. Of these, the Tolkappiyam is believed to be the earliest and is placed at 300 B.C. The Ettuttokai consists of the Akananur, the Ainkurunuru, the Kuruntokai, the Narrinai, the Kalittokai, the Paripatal, the Pattirruppattu and the Puranānūru. The first six of these anthologies deal with the emotion of love (akam) and the last two deal with all other aspects of life (puram). Of the six anthologies of lyrics on akam, the Kalittokai and the Pariparal are considered to be compositions of a slightly later date than the other anthologies, though within the Cankam period. This opinion is based on the difference in language and the changes found in the society depicted in these poems. Inspite of these subtle differences, the literary conventions followed are the same for all anthologies that deal with love. These two texts are, therefore, often said to be later Cankam works. The Pattuppattu contains ten long poems. They are the Tirumurukarruppatai, the Porunararruppatai, the Cirupanarruppatai, the Perumpanararruppatai, the Mullaippattu, the Maturaikkanci, the Netunalvatai, the Kurincippattu, the Pattinap $p\bar{a}lai$, and the Malaipatukatām. These poems are also generally considered to be compositions of a later date. A very noticeable feature, that the Pattuppattu, the Kalittokai and the Paripatal share, is their length. They are much longer than the poems in the other anthologies and seem to lead naturally to the much longer epics.

²Kuruntokai 5, 136, 204; Akanānūru 52 etc.

as an *ananku (ananku cāl arivai).*³ The hero, too, is said to afflict the heroine.⁴ Quite often, a particular part of the body is said to cause this suffering. For example, the lovely breasts of the heroine⁵ or the broad chest of the hero⁶ are mentioned, perhaps because these parts of the body are recognised as being symbolic of the femininity or masculinity of the heroine or hero concerned. The concept of a love god or Kāman causing love or affliction in the men and women whom he attacks with his arrows is met with for the first time in the *Paripātal* and the *Kalittokai*.

The comparison of handsome men to Māran (another name for Kāman) suggests that the god of love was also a god of beauty.⁷ Though no description is available in these texts, it may be believed that there was a particular form or a differentiating symbol, like Murukan's spear or Vișnu's disc, by which he was recognised, for the *Paripātal* mentions, that the people could look at the paintings at Tirupparankunram and say, "This is Kāman and this is (his wife) Rati."⁸ All other references to him in this text deal with his arrows which are made of fragrant flowers. Hence he is known as "the one with arrows of scented flowers."⁹ The beauty of the women bathing in the river Vaiyai is described as causing pangs of love in the hearts of the youths and the poet makes the youths exclaim to one another,

Look at this maiden! She is the deity who afflicts those who behold her. Look at her eyes! They are Kāman's armoury and his weapon (arrow).¹⁰

Another poem not only mentions what this weapon is but also declares that,

Their eyes resemble the five arrows of revered Kaman. Their eyes, whose fragrance attracts bees, have been sharpened on the rasp (to make them deadlier).¹¹

Here, the tenderness of the eyes belies the ability to hurt mortally like sharpened arrows. One of the *Paripātal* poems on Murukan describes the art gallery at Tirupparankunram as a fort

³Akanānūru 181:25 also see Kuruntokai 119, Narriņai 155, Ainkurunūru 256, 259 etc.

⁴Kuruntokai 362; Akanānūru 22:2-3 etc.

⁵Akanānūru 161:11-13; 177:19.

⁶Ibid. 22:2-3; Kuruntokai 362.

⁷Paripatal 8:119.

⁸*ibid*. 19:48.

9*ibid.* 22:26.

10*ibid.* 11:122-123.

¹¹*ibid*. 10:97-99.

where archery (litterally, the aiming of Kāman's arrows) is practised.¹² Apart from such general references to the arrows of the love-god, no details are found in the Cankam poems as to the exact nature of the arrows.

The *Kalittokai*, which also contains references to this deity and his arrows, furnishes us with further details. The arrows of Kaman cause the pangs of love in individuals. So, a young maiden who is overcome with love and hurt by the indifference of her lover asks,

Kāma! Are your arrows impartial to all in causing one's heart to be consumed with love (for one who is indifferent)?

In her desolation and anger, she wishes to hurt her lover as much as he has hurt her. To do so, she needs the arrows of Kāman that would pierce her lover's heart with love and longing. So she adds,

I shall, holding Kāma<u>n</u>'s feet beg for his arrows, so that he (her lover) shall come riding the palmyra horse.¹³

In this text, for the first time in Tamil literature, we find mention of certain other details. Kāman is regarded as "the son of the Tall One (Tirumāl)"¹⁴ and a flag with a fish emblem is attributed to him.¹⁵ Though fish is said to be his emblem, some poems also mention the shark and so he is referred to as "the shark-bannered" (curāk kotiyōn).¹⁶ One of the poems contains an interesting incident woven round a ring with a shark engraved on it. A toddler, forgetting to suckle, ran out of the house. There, one of the harlots who was associated with his father, saw the boy and out of affection for him, adorned him with various ornaments. The mother, hearing this, chided the child for accepting those jewels as gifts and out of curiosity, set out to examine each one of them.

12ibid. 18:28-29.

¹³Kalittokai 147:46-47, 59-60. A palmyra horse is one made of the thorny stems of the palmyra palm. A youth afflicted by love, who finds no response in the maiden of his choice, is said to mount this, holding a picture or painting of the woman he loves. This is called *matal erutal* and considered to be beyond the bounds of propriety.

¹⁴Kalittokai 140:8.

¹⁵*ibid*. 26:3.

16*ibid*. 147:42.

Amidst them she touched the ring engraved with the male shark and fitting his fragrant, petal-soft rosy fingers. She said, 'I read this message. She has done this (i.e. given the ring) to show that, stamping the emblem of Kāma<u>n</u> on his father's chest, the boastful harlot hopes to enslave him.¹⁷

In this poem, the shark is treated as a popularly known symbol of the god of love and therefore used as a literary device to convey a particular message.

The bow of Kāman is also frequently mentioned in the *Kalittokai*. For example, "one who has a bow" (*villavan*)¹⁸ and the "master of the bow in his hand"¹⁹ are names that refer to his archery, Though it goes without saying that a god who strikes with his arrows, even if they are made of flowers, would certainly have a bow, his bow is not mentioned in the *Paripātal*. But this god who is depicted as causing others to suffer because of love is also said to be above this suffering and is treated as a symbol of self-control. A heroine, describing her husband says,

The lord of my shoulders is able to remove the stems of the *netyal* flowers (to weave a soft garland), to sketch the sugar-cane on my upper arms, to paint the *toyyil* on my youthful breasts. He is also self-controlled like the god holding a bow.²⁰

According to Tamil literary convention, offering soft garlands and painting designs of creepers and the sugar cane on her shoulders and breast, usually with the cool sandal paste, are part of love-making and the *talaivi* refers to his staying away from her for so long during their separation which needs self-control. This idea of Kāman's self-control has been cleverly used by poets to describe the beauty of women. A heroine is said to be so beautiful that even Kāman would lose his composure and drop his weapons.²¹ In another *Kalittokai* poem, the hero who thinks that his lady-love is a great beauty, says

¹⁷*ibid.* 84:22-27.
¹⁸*ibid.* 35:15.
¹⁹*ibid.* 143:34-35.
²⁰*ibid.* 143:31-35.
²¹*ibid.* 108:4.

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Mark this! Were she to enter the temple of Kāman with an offering of milk, the god, charmed by her beauty, would let his weapons slip.²²

Perhaps it is because of such effect that a beautiful woman is believed to have on men that women are said to form Kāman's army $(patai)^{23}$

The Kalittokai also mentions a festival of Kāman. This seems to have been held in spring and mentioned in the *pālai* poems of this collection.²⁴ The time of year considered most suitable for *pālai* and its emotion, *pirivu* or agony during separation, is $v\bar{e}nil$ (April — July). This is the season of heat when vegetation dries up and the rivers shrink into thin streams. Usually this seasonal heat, together with the dryness of the arid tracts, is said to correspond with the heat of separation that affects the separated lovers. In the Kalittokai, the months of April and May are described as beautiful and therefore most conducive to love. $V\bar{e}nil$ is now referred to as *ilavēnil*, to differentiate it from the latter part of the season now known as *mutuvēnil*, and is treated as being synonymous with *vasanta* (spring) of the Sanskrit *kāvyas* Some Cańkam poems do refer to the beginning of the dry season as the time of fresh joys for those who are not separated²⁵ and the Aiňkurunūru has a decade named Ilavēnir Pattu. But these poems contain no reference to Kāman who has come into prominence in the Kalittokai and the Paripātal. When a heroine in the Kalittokai is inconsolate because spring has come causing the fresh shoots and flowers to appear on the trees, her companion comforts her, saying,

My friend!

Do not suffer with an afflicted heart. Your lover, thinking, 'In her loneliness without me, in the season that aggravates it, she would suffer during the festival of Kāma<u>n</u>,' will come in haste riding fast the safe, firm chariot, to be with you.²⁶

²²*ibid.* 109:19-20.
²³*ibid.* 139:22-23.
²⁴*ibid.* 27, 24, 35:14.
²⁵*Akanānūru* 341.
²⁶*Kalittokai* 27:22-23.

A marutam poem shows a hero inviting his wife to sport on the banks of the Vaiyai. He says,

The black *kuyil* on the flowering branches coos as if to say, 'Those with many excellent qualities who are united! Do not separate. Those long separated, Unite.' The men and women of Maturai sport together in the parks filled with honeyed blossoms, celebrating spring's festival to Kāma<u>n</u>. Let us join them.²⁷

This passage depicts a further development, connecting the *kuyil* and the spring season with Kāman. The poems in the *Kalittokai* and the *Paripātal* may be said to be the forerunners of the detailed descriptions of Kāman found in the epics.

The epic Cilappatikaram is full of references to Kaman and the manner of treatment accorded to this deity shows that all details were familiar at least in the literary circles, and seem very much like the descriptions of Kama found in the kavyas of Kalidasa and other Sanskrit writers. Besides the various names found in the *Paripātal* and the *Kalittokai*, the *Cilappatikāram* uses three other names. Of these, $uruvila[an^{28}]$ and $kalaiyila[an^{29}]$ mean "the bodiless one" and is the same as anangah in Sanskrit, just as the name Maran is the same as the Sankrit marah. In the Cilapptikaram he is called mannan maran³⁰ or king maran because of his universal influence. The other name netuvel or "the Tall God" is rather confusing for the most obvious association of this name is with Tirumal or Visnu. Even the Paripatal, which contains references to Kāman, uses the term netuvēl as an epithet of Vișnu and there is no doubt that Tirumāl alone is meant in these contexts.³¹ According to Hindu mythology, Kāman is the son of Tirumal and hence it is possible that the same epithet is used for the father and the son. In other Cankam works, it is also used for Siva and Murukan.32 But on careful reading, it is clear that in the passages of both the Tamil epics in which netuvel is used to denote Kaman, some other detail is added to make it quite clear that only the love god is meant. He is the netuvel whose victorious bow is celebrated with a festival in March³³ or who has five arrows,³⁴

27*ibid.* 92:60-68.

28 Cilappatikaram 2:44; 5:224; 14:36; 30:25; also Manimekalai 5:6.

29 Cilappatikaram 10:28.

30ibid. 8:6.

³¹Paripatal 3:37.

³²Maturaikkanci 455; Purananuru 55:9; Tirumurukarruppatai 211, 273; Akananuru 22:6; 98:27 etc.

33Cilappatikaram 14:111-112.

³⁴*ibid*. 28:42.

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an obvious reference to his arrows of flowers. In the *Maņimēkalai*, he is the *nețuvē*l whose arrows cause love or desire (*veṅkaṇai nețuvē*l)³⁵ This name is perhaps used to show his greatness as one who has power over all living beings. The *Maṇimēkalai* also mentions that he is the son of Tirumāl and that he had once danced in the guise of a tranversite ($p\bar{e}tl$)³⁶

While the *Kalittokai* mentions the festival of Māran and contains a description of nature at the time of the festival which fits the spring season,³⁷ the *Cilappatikāram* is more specific about the month in which the festival was celebrated, at least in Maturai. It was in March-April or *paṅkuŋi* which is the last month of the season of late dew (*pinpani*).³⁸ In the earlier cantos of the epic, the festival of Indra is described and the day of celebration is said to be the full moon day in *Cittirai*³⁹ i.e. April-May. A *vidyādhara* and his wife are among the spectators at this festival. They themselves, having performed the necessary rite for the god of love at a park in the North on the day of his festival, left for the city of Pukār to witness the festival of Indra.⁴⁰ Their journey to the southern region seems to have been leisurely enough for the *vidyādhara* to point out places like the Himalayas, the Ganges, the city of Avantī, the Vindhya mountains and the fertile country of the Cholas.⁴¹ Hence the festival of Kāma<u>n</u> must have been celebrated much earlier than the festival of Indra i.e. before April-May.

Though the term *villavan* or "the one with a bow" is found in the Cankam poems, there is no actual description of Kāman's bow till we come to the epics. The *Cilappatikāram* specifically mentions that it is a bow made of the sugar cane (*karuppuvil*)⁴² and so does the *Manimēkalai*.⁴³ Because of this, he is also described as Kāman with the sugar cane in his hand.⁴⁴ In Tamil literature, a bow is often used as a comparison for beautifully arched eyebrows, but in the *Cilappatikāram*, Kōvalan, praising the beauty of his new wife Kaṇṇaki, likens her eye-brows to the bow of Kāman because they induce love.⁴⁵ Aiming his arrows with his sugar cane bow, Kāman is sure to cause suffering and hence the bow is unique and great (*oru perun cilai*)⁴⁶

The Cankam works discussed here only mention his arrows that cause love pangs but the epics give more details. The arrows are fragrant flowers (virai malar vali, 47 narumpu vali) or

³⁵Maņimēkalai 4:112.
³⁶ibid. 3:124-125, also Cilappatikāram 6:56-57.
³⁷Kalittokai 35; also 36:14.
³⁸Cilappatikāram 14:111-112.
³⁹ibid. 5:64.
⁴⁰ibid. 6:1-4.
⁴¹ibid. 6:28-34.
⁴²ibid. 2:44, 4:82.
⁴³Maņimēkalai 20:92; 25:90.
⁴⁴ibid. 23:27.
⁴⁵Cilappatikāram 2:44-45.
⁴⁶ibid. 30:25.
⁴⁷ibid. 2:24; 4:82; 8:50; 30:26, Maņimēkalai 5:5.

⁴⁸Cilappatikāram 8:62.

malarkkanai)⁴⁹ and because of their power and ability are also known as the great or beautiful arrows of flowers (*māmalar vāli*).⁵⁰ The *Manimēkalai* also refers to them as arrows of buds (*aruppukkanai*),⁵¹ obviously meaning that they are full blown buds just opening their petals. Both the epics give the number of arrows as five (*ainkanai*)⁵² and the *Manimēkalai* mentions the names of the flowers that serve as the arrows of Kāman. While describing the gentle beauty of the Nāga princess, with whom king Netumutikkilli lived for a month before she went away for good, the epic mentions that because her eyes, ears, mouth, nose and body bore the fragrances of the *mayilai (ašoka), ceyalai (mullai* or arabian jasmine), *mā* (mango), *kuvalai* (blue nelumbo) and the many-petalled lotus, which are the arrows of Kāman with his victorious bow, the king became her willing slave, though he knew not who she was and from where she came.⁵³ This is the first mention in Tamil Literature of the five different flowers that serve as Kāman's arrows.

Since the various, flower-soft, fragrant limbs of a woman could affect even the strong of heart, women, especially those of the $ganik\overline{a}$ (courtesan) class are mentioned as Kāman's army. This "large army of the bodiless One" who allures the men of the city with their provocative ways is certainly differentiated from the chaste wives to whom these men would return with a feeling of fear and guilt.⁵⁴ This is perhaps the reason that when Mātavi decided to join the Buddhist Sanga and to initiate her daughter Manimēkalai as a nun, Kāman is said to have dropped his large bow and the arrows of fragrant flowers on the ground in despair and desperation.⁵⁵ Even Manimēkalai is described as one who had made Kāman helpless.⁵⁶ Now he has lost a young $ganik\overline{a}$ who could have helped him to attack and overcome many a powerful man in the city, including the prince of the realm, Utayakumāran.

In fact, the *Cilappatikāram* symbolises Kāman as a king with all the insignia of royalty. Beside his queen Rati, his fish emblem and banner, sugarcane bow and flower arrows, he also has other trappings of kingship. The southern breeze (*tenral*) is the messenger who comes with the news of the arrival of the king's friend and accomplice, the pleasant season of spring (*innila venil*). The cuckoo (*kuyil*), who is the trumpet bearer of this fish-bannered king, proclaims to his army (young ganikās) to change into fitting attire⁵⁷ for the cold season is no more. The evening, which causes joy to those who are united and sorrow to those in separation, is the elephant that serves him as well as his other friend, the moon.⁵⁸ The *Manimēkalai* mentions

49ibid. 28:19, Maņimekālai 19:100.

⁵⁰Cilappatikāram 15:101.

51 Manimekalai 20:92; 25:90.

⁵²*ibid.* 5:5; *Cilappatikāram* 28:42.

53 Manimekalai 24:33-41.

54Cilappatikāram 5:224-234.

55 Ibid. 30:25-26.

56 Manimekalai 23:27-28, also 7:36.

57 Cilappatikaram 8:8-12.

58ibid. 8:58-59.

the clouds as his chariot (vānrēr).⁵⁹ The letter sent by Mātavi to her lover Kovalan when he walked out on her is based on this regalia of Kāman.

Pleasant Spring who unites all beings with their desired mates is a young (inexperienced) king. Moon, who has appeared on the crest of the evening is not mature. If those with their beloveds stay away, or those separated forget their loved ones, it is not to be wondered were (Kāman) to take away dear life with fragrant, flower-arrows.⁶⁰

The author of this epic describes the love god as the king who rules over the whole of the Tamil country from the Vēńkata hills to the seas of Kumari (Cope Comorin) with Maturai, Uraiyūr, Vañci and Pukār as his capitals.⁶¹ Thus when the sun set, the city of Pukār was not without protection for,

Bearing arrows of fragrant flowers and the sugar cane bow, the lord of the victorious fish-banner goes about. Indeed the city is well guarded.⁶²

This passage seems a fitting conclusion to the canto on "The Sunset in the City of Pukar," for according to Tamil poetic tradition, evening or sunset enhances the feelings of love and longing in the hearts of those in love.

The Cilappatikāram mentions a temple in which Kāman was worshipped. It was called $K\bar{a}mav\bar{e}! K\bar{o}tiam$ and was situated at the mouth of the River Kāviri. There were also two ponds at that place which were called Coma Kuntam and Cūriya Kuntam. It was believed that women who bathed in these ponds and worshipped Kāman in his temple would find connubial happiness in this world and also reach heaven where they would continue to enjoy such good fortune.⁶³ The Pattinappālai mentions two ponds at the same spot in Pukār that satisfy two

⁵⁹Manimekalai 20:91.

⁶⁰Cilappatikāram 8:56-63.

61*ibid*. 8:1-6; 51-52. 62*ibid*. 4:82-85.

63*ibid*. 9:57-62.

desires (*irukāmattu iņaiyēri*)⁶⁴ meaning a happy life here and hereafter. Though the word $k\bar{a}mam$ is used in this context, there is no mention of the love god or his temple.

While tracing the development of the concept of the love god and his characteristics in Tamil literature, it is clear that this concept is not indigenous to Tamil literature like its conventions or the worship of Murukan. The obvious, and perhaps convenient, place to turn to would be Sanskrit literature. The names like *anangah*⁶⁵ (the Bodiless One), his wife Ratī,⁶⁶ his association with Vasanta or Madhu (spring season),⁶⁷ the *kokila* or the cuckoo⁶⁸ the *malaya* breeze (the breeze from the south)⁶⁹ the moon,⁷⁰ the fish banner⁷¹ and the flower arrows⁷² seem to justify this. But one cannot help observing that there are some differences too. In Sanskrit, the bow is also made up of *kimsuka* flowers with the bees for the bow string⁷³ while the lotus fibres are also mentioned as being Kāma's bow string.⁷⁴ The mango blossom is his favourite arrow⁷⁵ and the mango shoots are the feathers acttached to his arrows.⁷⁶ Besides, some references to Kāma seem contradictory, suggesting that the idea of the god of love is not very old or developed in Sanskrit literature of the early centuries after Christ.

No doubt, verses referring to Kama are already found in the Vedas. In the Rg Veda he is mentioned only in one verse in the tenth mandala and there he is associated with creation.

All that existed then was void and formless: by the great power of warmth *(tapasaḥ)* was born that Unit. Thereafter arose Desire (Kāma) in the beginning;

Desire, the primal seed and germ of spirit.77

64 Pattinappalai 39.

⁶⁵Kumārasambhavam 4:9, 13. <u>R</u>tusamhāram 6:9, 10.
⁶⁶Kumārasambhavam 3:73.
⁶⁷ibid. 3:13; 4:24.
⁶⁸ibid. 4:16.
⁶⁹Rtusamhāram 6:28.
⁷⁰ibid. 6:28.
⁷¹Abhijhānašākuntalam. Act 3 Verse 5.
⁷²Kumārasambhavam 3:10.
⁷³Rtusamhāram 6:28.
⁷⁴Kumārasambhavam 4:29.
⁷⁵ibid. 3:14.

76*ibid.* 3:27.

⁷⁷Rg. Veda X:129. 3 + 4; Atharva Veda X1X:52.

His role as the god causing love and longing is found in the *Atharva Veda*. A hymn of this Veda which is meant to be used as a charm to arouse the passionate love of a woman, has references to "the terrible arrow of Kāma" which pierces hearts.

That arrow, winged with longing thought, its stem Desire, its neck Resolve. Let Kāma, having truly aimed, shoot forth and pierce thee in the heart.⁷⁸

The same text also personifies him as the primordial power, that together with Indra, Agni, Varuna, Viṣṇu, and other gods, can hurl down one's enemies and be a sturdy guardian. He is, therefore, offered oblations and sacrificial butter. According to this hymn, Kāma was born at first; neither the gods nor the Fathers (*Pitrs*) nor men have equalled him and he is Manyuh.⁷⁹ He is identified with Agni⁸⁰ and praised as the giver and receiver of sacrifice.

The Brāhmaņa texts also contain references to Kāma as being infinite and inexaustible like the ocean (Samudra iva hi kāmah)⁸¹ and permeating every creature (pasavah kāmadhāranam).⁸² The epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, are familiar with the story of his being burnt by Siva, thereby becoming the Bodiless God (anaǹgah).⁸³ They also mention his arrows that penetrate one's heart and other names like Kandarpa⁸⁴ and Manmatha⁸⁵ besides the usual Kāma.⁸⁶

Asvaghosa's kāvya, the Buddhacaritam treats Kāma as a god, rather well-known to the listeners and readers of kāvyas. He is used as a standard of comparison for a handsome man and Buddha as Prince Sarvārthasiddha is said to be as good-looking as Puspaketu,⁸⁷ the flower-arrowed god of love. This certainly contains the suggestion that the Prince is capable or arousing love and loging in the hearts of the women who see him. But Asvaghosa also refers to the love god as Māra, the enemy of good order or *dharma (saddharmaripuh)* and explains that though the world calls him "Kāmadeva, the owner of various weapons, the flower-armed, the lord of the course of desire", he is actually the enemy of salvation (mokşadvisah).⁸⁸ This

78 Atharva Veda III:25:1.

79ibid. IX:2.

80ibid. III:21:4 also VI:36:3.

⁸¹Taittiriya Brahmana II:2:5 & 6. Quoted by H.H. Wilson Kumarasambhavam, Varanasi, 1966, p. 6.

82 Satapatha Brahmana VII:1:1:8.

83 Mahabharata 12:183:10; Ramayana 1.22.10ff.

84 Mahabharata 1.175. 4 & 12.

85 Ramayana 3.46.17 and 4.65.15.

86ibid. 3.55.2 and Mahabharata 1.160.32.

⁸⁷Buddhacaritam 3:11.

⁸⁸*ibid*. 13:1 & 2.

is in keeping with the message of Asvaghosa's $k\bar{a}vyas$. The Tamil $k\bar{a}vyas$ also use this name Māran, but the *Cilappatikāram* merely uses it as one of the many names of the love god (mannan māran)⁸⁹ The Manimēkalai, however, uses this name in the special Buddhist sense, especially when praising Buddha as the hero who overcomes Māran (māranai vellum vira).⁹⁰ Even the role of Ratī is slightly different in the Buddhacaritam. She is accepted as the person-fication of the feeling of love or the erotic sentiment. All works, in Tamil and Sanskrit, which refer to her depict her as the wife and constant companion of Kāma. The Buddhacaritam, however, assigns to her a role somewhat similar to that of Menakā and other apsarases of Indra's heaven. When his arrows fail to have the desired effect on the heart of the aspiring Buddha, Kama feels that the prince-sage is not worthy of them. Neither is he worthy of being tempted by Ratī.⁹¹ This suggests that she is the instrument of Kāma in arousing the erotic sentiment in those he wished to bring under his sway. By the time Kālidāsa wrote his famous $k\bar{a}vyas$, the concept of a love god and his regalia had become more or less fixed. The information obtained from Classical Tamil and Sanskrit texts may be tabulated as in Figure I.

One of the names for Kāma, *Puṣpa-dhanus* (the flower-bowed)⁹² may be a general reference to the *kimsuka* flowers that make up his bow. The *Brahmānda Purāna* mentions that Brahma gave him a sugar cane bow (*iksu-cāpa, ikṣu-dhanus*) as a wedding gift.⁹³ Certain other details are also mentioned by encyclopedias and dictionaries. The Tamil *Kalaikkalañciyam* lists the parrot as his vehicle (horse).⁹⁴ Sir Monier Williams in *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* gives *suka-vāha* (parrot-borne)⁹⁵ as a name of Kāma. He also indicates that this name, although given in native lexicons has not yet been met with in any published text. But he does not mention any name of Kama associated with the sugarcane.

The origin of this idea of a Cupid in Indian Literature is thus not clear. The word $k\bar{a}ma$ is already found in the Rg. Veda, the earliest extant Indian Literature and according to Edward Moor, "... $k\bar{a}m$ or $k\bar{a}ma$ signifies desire, a sense which it also bears in ancient and modern Persian."⁹⁶ M.B. Emenau and T. Burrow do not list this word or its root in A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary or Dravidian Borrowings from Indo Aryan. But they list the word $k\bar{a}tal$ with its variants $k\bar{a}talan$, $k\bar{a}tali$, $k\bar{a}tanmai$ and other forms in the Kannada, Telugu and Kui languages.⁹⁷ The Tamil Lexicon gives $k\bar{a}ma$ as the root for $k\bar{a}man$ as well as for the

⁸⁹Cilappatikāram 8:6.

90 Manimekalai 11:61.

⁹¹Buddhacaritam 3:17.

92Kumārasambhavam 5:54.

93_{Ramachandra Dikshitar V.R. The Purana Index. Vol. 1, p. 82 (Brahmanda Purana VI 15, 19, 18, 1, 19.26).}

94Kalaikkalanciyam. Vol. 3, p. 512.

⁹⁵Monier-Williams, Sir Monier A Sanskrit English Dictionary, Delhi, 1970, p. 1979.

⁹⁶Moor, Edward. The Hindu Pantheon. Delhi, 1968, p. 293.

⁹⁷Emeneau, M.B. & Burrow, T. A. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary. Oxford, 1961, 1211.

Kāman's attributes		Sanskrit	Tamil
Wife		Rati	Rati
Friend/accomplice		Vasantha/Madhu Moon	Ilavēnil Moon
Messenger		Cuckoo	Southern breeze
Bard		Cuckoo	ace to the following to mi the align of period lines of
Trumpet bearer		nthe Dente of 1997 and	cuckoo
Weapons	Bow	kimsuka flowers	sugar cane
	Bowstring	lotus fibres bees	lian taix <mark>u</mark> me as called
	arrows	lotus ašoka mango navamallikā nilotpala	lotus acōku mango mullai nilōtpalam
feather on arrows		mango shoots	
Elephant (used as vehicle)		southern breeze	evening
Chariot			clouds
Emblem		fish	fish
Umbrella		moon	
Army		—	young kaṇikai
Festival		beginning of spring	end of munpani or March

Figure I

number of compounds which contain the term (eg. $k\bar{a}makkurippu k\bar{a}ma + 1.98$ Though the word kāmam and its various other forms, especially the adjectival form as in "kamarkatumpunal",99 the desirous, swift water or kamakkilatti,100 the mistress (of desire) as against the illakkilatti, the mistress of the home etc., are commonly found in Cankam literature, it is by no means the only word used to denote the love between a man and a woman. The word $k\bar{a}tala\underline{n}^{101}$ for the lover and $k\bar{a}tali^{102}$ for the lady love are found often. There are also other terms like kenmai,¹⁰³ totarpu¹⁰⁴ and natpu¹⁰⁵ which are used in the special or narrower sense of a love-relationship and not in the broader sense of friendship or acquaintance. All these suggest the possibility of an Indo-Aryan origin for the word kāma. The Rg Vedic reference to the love-god is more philosophical, associated with cosmogeny, than sensuous. But the idea of personification and mythology is certainly in keeping with the Vedic manner of treating important forces of nature. Desire of any kind, especially that of mate-selection and procreation is certainly a vital and potent force. This personification seems to have gathered various details as it passed through the ages. The details of Kaman's regalia - the seasons, the southern breeze, the rain clouds, the cuckoo, the parrot, the sugar cane, and the flowers, are unmistakeably indigenous to the Indian sub-continent so that Kaman as the love-god belongs to Indian Literature as a whole and not merly to one section of it.

98 Tamil Lexicon Vol. 2, p. 871.

99Kalittokai 39:1.

100 Tolkappiyam: Porulatikaram, 144:44.

101 Kuruntokai 4:3; 41:1; 48:7; 59:6; 60:4; 152:5 etc. Akananuru 22:20, Narrinai 339:1 etc.

¹⁰²Kuruntokai 120:2: 151:5 etc.

103*ibid.* 38:3, 90:6, 105:5, 264:4, 308:6 etc.

104*ibid*. 373:8 etc.

105*ibid.* 3:4, 134:7, 247:7, 377:5.

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