Chapter One

KAMPAH AND BLUTTACCHAN

1.0 Ramayana

Ramayana has gained such a wide popularity, not only because of its religious significance but also because of its literary merit. No other Indian classic has attained such popularity as Ramayana. Among the Ramayana literature, it is the work of Valmiki - the 'Edikavi' - a contemporary of Ram - that has the

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almost all the Indian languages. It may be true that, "the
epic songs relating to Rama were sung long before the idea
arose of putting them down in writing." 1 Valiyapuri Pillai
is also of the opinion that Valmiki has written "a new itihasa,
codifying the Ramayana themes, popularised among the people." 2

It is not our aim, to explore the origin and development of
the theme, through ages and it is quite impossible to give a
clear sketch, for, "It is a long process." 3

1.1 Popularity

The popularity of the Ramayana theme can be seen not
only in literature, but also in other art forms like,

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1 Robert Antoine, Rama and the Ramayana (1975), p. 16
2 R. Valiyapuri Pillai, Makkal Valayam (1962) pp. 120-121
3 Monier Williams, Indian Villages (1917) pp. 357-58
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1.0 **Ramayana:**

Ramayana has gained such a wide popularity, not only because of its religious significance but also because of its literary merit. No other Indian classic has attained such popularity as Ramayana. Among the Ramayana literature, it is the work of Valmiki - the 'āśākavi' - a contemporary of Rama - that has the foremost place. It has influenced almost all the Indian languages. It may be true that, "the epic songs relating to Rama were sung long before the idea arose of putting them down in writing." ¹ Vaiyapuri Pillai is also of the opinion that Valmiki has written "a new itihasa, codifying the Ramayana themes, popularised among the people." ²

It is not our aim, to explore the origin and development of the theme, through ages and it is quite impossible to give a clear sketch, for, "it is a long process." ³

1.1 **Popularity:**

The popularity of the Ramayana theme can be seen not only in literature, but also in other art forms viz.,

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1 Robert Antoine, *Rama and the bards* (1975), p. 16
2 S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Ilakkia Utayam* (1968) pp. 120-121
(i) featured forms - like sculptures, wood carvings and paintings, (ii) in other versions - like folk versions, (iii) performed arts - Kathakali and other classical dances, plays and shadow plays. In Warder's words, it has become "almost a hackneyed theme." The manifestation of this influence is found not only in our country, but in far-east countries like Thailand, Indonesia, Java and Sumatra well. That is why Jawaharlal Nehru in his Discovery of India wrote: "I do not know any book anywhere which has exercised such a continuous


and pervasive influence on the mass mind..."\(^6\) This "popular preference to 'Ramakatha' may be in conformity with the heroic nature of the people of the country."\(^7\) It should also be noted that Valmiki Ramayana itself is an answer to the question of Valmiki to Narada, "who is the ideal man?"\(^8\)

1.2 Various interpretations:

Even though the story of Ramayana has been interpreted to be the story of the struggle between good and evil, critics and philosophers have attempted to elucidate the esoteric themes contained in it. They give inner meaning to each character and incident, and in their view, the cosmic events are merely symbolical accounts of spiritual

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\(^6\) Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India* (1946) p.\

\(^7\) Puthussery Ramachandran, *Language of Middle Malayalam* (1973) p. 43\

\(^8\) Vāl. Bāla. 2:5, 7:8 "Kṛṇavāṁśī śāṃpratam 15kō, Gunavān Kacca Viryavan"
mystery. As K.A. Nilakanta Sastri points out,

"Religious faith apart, the Ramayana is neither
allegory nor history, but poetry resting on methology.

But critics have taken very diverse views of the poem
and its implications." 10

1.2.1 Such 'diverse views' have given way to
will explain the incident in detail. Brethick records
some, to suspect the divinity of Rama and according
to their school, there is nothing didactic in Ramayana
literature. In their view, apart from the didactic
values, the writer of the ancient epic teaches ancient
history of the then India. According to them, "Rama
is an Aryan hero and Rakshasas are the Dravidians and
the destruction of the Rakshasa race is the destruction

9 See, Manjapra Balakrishnan Nair, Sanskrittha
Bhashayum, Sahityavum (1971), pp. 91-92
Sreenivasa Iyengar, The Ramayana of Valmiki
(1910), Chapter: "The inner meaning."
Swamy Gnanananda Saraswathy, "Ramayana Kathayute
Guna Paadhangaal", All India Ramayana Conference
Special Souvenir 1972 – 73, A.S. Menon (Ed.),
pp. 111-112; 115-118

10 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, History of India, Part II
(1950) p. 34
of the Dravidians, as a result of the supremacy of the Aryans. On this score, there broke out a movement - self-respect movement - which resolutely attempted to burn the epic. The attempts of poets like Kavimani Desikavinayakam Pillai to write opposing this movement are here noteworthy. Recorded history of the South will explain the incident in detail. Irschick records it as follows:

"In the years that followed Gandhi's 1927 visit to Tamil Nadu, the self-respect movement began to take an alarming turn. On a number of occasions the Manusmriti was burned and the Rama - Ravana controversy was revised. Rajagopalachariar was horrified at these attempts to indulge in a suicidal crusade against the language, literature, the customs and the sacred books of Sanskrit including Ramayana and Mahabharatha. Ravana is held up as the hero and the ideal of good Dravidian conduct; Rama was a wicked and unjust Aryan."

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11 S. Vaiyapuri Pillay, Kampan Kaviyam (1965) p.39
The late lamented poet Kannadasan has expressed in his work the view that if we admit that Ravana is a Dravidian, it will bring shame and disgrace only, to the whole Dravidian race that they are merciless rakshasas. c.f., Kavingar Kannadasan, Kannadasan Kavitaikal aaraavatu tokuti (1976) pp. 230-231

12 Kavimani C. Desikavinayakam Pillai, 'Kaviyamutam', Malarum Malayum (1975) pp. 24 - 25

1.2.2 As a result, poets of Tamil Nadu came forward with their works to extol Ravana as the true hero and to condemn Rama worship. Pulavar Kulantarai's 'Iraavanan Kaaviyam' - Epic of Ravana - is a result of this venture. C.N.Annadurai's "Tiivaravattum", 'Nittiteevan mayakkam' and 'Kamparacam', Tiruvaanurru Tankarachu's 'Ramayanam', are the result of the 'controversy' that prevailed in Tamil Nadu at that time.

1.3 Ramayana in Tamil Nadu:

The story of Ramayana was prevalent in Tamil Nadu, even before Kamba. The Sankam poets and Alvars like Tirumalisai, Periyalvar, Kulachekarar, Tirumangai and Nammalvar have made references in their devotional lyrics to the Ramayana story, blending it with local legends. The twin epics - Cilappatikaram and Nenimekalai - refer to the story of Rama. In the former, the Jain Saint Kavunti Atikal

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14 Vide: N. Iraakavaiyankar, Arayccittokuti (1964) - Chapter: "Iraanayavanum Tamil Valakkuvalum" pp. 15-51


makes a reference to Rama's exile, and in the latter, huge rocks being thrown into the sea, at the time of Setubandhana is referred to. The Saivite Saints Naavukkarasair Gundarar and Campanar too have referred to the Ramayana story, while praising Siva. The Tamil grammar, Yaapparunkalam a work of tenth century A.D. - gives reference to a version of the Ramayana, written in Pahroai venpā metre. Likewise, in Viiracooliyam commentary also we get allusions to an older version of Ramayana. It is likely that there was a version of Ramayana, even before Kampan. 15 Thus it is clear that, Tamil poets even before Kampan have used the Ramayana story to write their own version. But no complete version of the Ramayana, prior to that of Kampan, is available. Virtually, it is true, as Kamil Zvelebil points out, "No other Tamil poet has ever attempted a Ramayana after Kampan though there exists a modern anti-Ramayana, a Chanson de Ravana."

15 The stories of Ramayana and Mahabharata were prevalent among the Tamils even in the Pallava period (600-900) See. Na Val. Aravindan, Uraisacirivarkal (1977) p. 674

1.3.1 Kampan is held in high esteem in Tamil Literature and his magnum opus - Irinmayaatanaam as he named it - has a unique place in Tamil literature. He is considered to be
Kavi - Chakravarthi', - the emperor of poets. The epic theme which Kampan adopted is familiar to the people, for centuries, but it is his poetic genius which brought renown to him. The poetic diction and style of Kampan are always praised and it has been said, "He is the Milton of Tamil Literature and his Ramayana is the Indian Paradise Lost".

1.3.2 Even though Kampan himself admits that he has rendered into Tamil, what Valmiki has done in Sanskrit, it is not at all a word-for-word translation of Valmiki's work. While pointing out the reason of variations found in Ramayanas written in different languages, Edward C. Dimock observes as follows:

"On answer might be that the Valmiki Ramayana is only one among several ancient recensions, though the only one that has come down to us, and the variations are not necessarily deviations from Valmiki, but that they represent variant traditions."

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17. Sreenivasa Iyengar, op. cit. p. 78
19. Edward C. Dimock Jr. (Ed.) p. 72
20. Kamp payiram, 10
21. President, Narmathin Tamil Sangam (1977) p. 11
22. K. V added, History of Indian Literature - Tamil Literature op. cit. p. 138
1.3.3 Bearing in mind, the traditional idea that Rama is the incarnation of Vishnu, Kampan, "fostered in the tradition of Alvars", has transformed Valmiki's Superman into an incarnation of God. Kampan's Rama is God in human form. This is not the only change Kampan has made. The incidents and characterisation are so changed in order to suit them to the culture and life of the Tamils. Hence it is said to be, "Saturated with Tamil culture". This 'saturation' has made Kampan change Ganges into Kaveri and Kosala state into his homeland. As C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar remarks, an epic "South Indian in spirit and background" has been produced. In this regard, Kamil Zvelebil's assessment is significant.

There are many points of difference between Valmiki and Kampan. One reason for this is of course purely external a whole world of many centuries lies between Valmiki's age of the Sanskrit epics, an age of straight forward telling and blunt heroes, and the period of the sophisticated court of imperial Cholas.

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22 C.P. Ramaswami Iyar, "Kamban", Essays on Kampan (1973) President, Bharathi Tamil Sangham (Ed.) p. 111

23 Kamil Veith Zvelebil, History of Indian Literature - Tamil Literature op. cit. p. 152
1.3.4 Kampan has been greatly influenced, by the literature prior to his period, and hence it is often said that, "His Ramayana offers the very essence of Tamil literature upto his time and as long as a student reads Kamba Ramayana, it is the same as learning all the works till the age of the poet."\(^24\)

Even though it is spoken of Valmiki Ramayana as the Original of Kampan's work, a close observation will reveal the fact that Kampan "has merely sung again in Tamil."\(^25\)

1.3.5 It is often pointed out that Kamparamayana is a work which satisfies the characteristic trait of tol; which Tolkappiam speaks. The work is divided into six cantos viz., Balakandam, Ayodhya Kandam, Aranya Kandam, Kishkintha Kandam, Sundara Kandam and Yuddha Kandam. The division is in accordance with Valmiki. But there is still difference of opinion regarding the division of Valmiki Ramayana. According to scholars like Prof. Jacobi, Winternitz etal, Valmiki's Ramayana is made of five cantos - i.e: from Ayodhya Kandam to Yuddha Kandam. According to them, the first book is certainly an interpolation.\(^26\) There is no such

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24 P.S.V. Aiyar, "The Genius of Kamba", Essays on Kamba op. cit. p. 1
25 V.V.S. Aiyar, Kamba Ramayana, A Study, (1965) p. 4
26 Rev. T.S. Amirtalingam, Ramayana Vimarsa (Year not mentioned) pp.43-51
It is often said that there are only eleven stanzas, without contradiction about Kampan’s work. But Tamil scholars admit that Kampan did not write Uttarakandam. According to M.P. Sivagnanam, since Ravana abducted Sita, without touching her person, scooping up her hut, Kampan felt no necessity of composing Uttarakandam. The following table enables us to understand the structure of Kamba Ramayana - "Iraññavatāram".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1.No.</th>
<th>Canto</th>
<th>No. of sub divisions (Patalams)</th>
<th>Total verses (pattus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pāla</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ayōttiyū</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aṛāṇyā</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kitkīntā</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ĉuntara</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Yutta</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>4358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3.6 One thing to be pointed out here is that Kampan’s Ramayana - Iraññavatāram - has no definite established text and it contains numerous interpolations. Kamil Zvelebil says, "The number of stanzas varies from 10569 to 12016".

27 M.P. Sivagnanam, Kamba Kaviyinpan (1966) p. 16
28 Kamil Veith Zvelebil, op. cit. p. 147
30 Dr. P. V. Vooragami, op. cit. p. 22
31 P. V. Vooragami, op. cit. p. 28
It is often said that there are only eleven stanzas, without interpolations. The researcher agrees with the idea of Dr. T.P. Meenakshi Sundaran that, since the Kāvya was committed to memory orally and recited by people at large, there are textual variations in it.

| Table 1.2 Total verses in various editions of Kāmpāramāyana. |
|--------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Bala                | 1398            | 1398           | 1389           | 1387           | 1136           |
| Ayodhya             | 1206            | 1216           | 1210           | 1224           | 1186           |
| Aranya              | 1205            | 1205           | 1196           | 1204           | 1188           |
| Kishkindha          | 1037            | 1040           | 1004           | 1050           | 1026           |
| Sundara             | 1340            | 1295           | 1295           | 1343           | 1258           |
| Yuddha              | 4347            | 4346           | 4323           | 4358           | 4164           |
| Uttara              | -               | 1528           | -              | -              | -              |
| Total               | 10533           | 12016          | 10417          | 10576          | 9958           |


Also see V.V.S. Iyar, Kamba Ramayana a Study (1965). He should not omit to mention that in his work of over ten thousand and five hundred stanzas of four line each, there are many interpolations too difficult to identify. Though a hundred of them are known to have been inserted by one Velliambala Tambiran. These interpolations, however, have not detracted the generation of Tamilians from their undying love for their great work." - Kamba - A short Note p. X

30 T.P. Meenakshi Sundaranar, Tamilum pira panpaadum (1973) p. 28

31 T.V. Veerasami, op. cit. p. 260
In the forward to the Sundarakandam - Silver Jubilee Edition of Annamalai University - C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar points out that, "Although there have been several attempts to publish an authentic edition of Kamban's work, the results so far have not been very satisfactory." Tiruvanamudhinirakkal Mudaliar is the first among those who published the complete text of Kambaramayananam (1843). Other publications of Kambaramayananam include complete text, one or more Cantos; with or without commentary, abridged prose renderings, grammatical studies, attempts to metaphorise the Kambaramayana story in Tiruppukash Cantam, and so on. The number of full text editions so far published is Seventeen.

1.3.7 There were no attempts to write commentaries to Kamban's Ramayanam, before 19th century. Advent of printing devices has resulted in editions of Kambaramayananam with commentaries.

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33 S. Vaiyapuri Pillay in his Kamban Kaviyam (1965) has appended a complete list of Kamba Ramayanam published till 1954. See pp. 170-175
Also see. Sivakami, Kambaramayana Anuyatankal (1978)

34 The researcher has seen the Balakanda of Irnamaayana Tiruppukash by Paala paaratiyaar (1925) with commentary, printed at Harisayattivaakara Acciyantiracaalai, Madurai. (Total verses 56 and Total pages 61)
A list of the commentaries is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Commentator</th>
<th>Cantos</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Bala Kantam</td>
<td>1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tiruchirapuram</td>
<td>V. Govinda Pillay</td>
<td>Cuntara Kantam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ramaswami Naidu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fala Kantam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Seshadri</td>
<td>Ayottiya Kantam</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tirumalai Shanmugam Pillay</td>
<td>Ayottiya Kantam</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Udumalaippetrai Mu.Ra. Kandaswami - Kavirayar</td>
<td>Aranya Kantam</td>
<td>1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sadasvatnam Subbaraya Chettiar</td>
<td>Ayottiya Kantam</td>
<td>1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Annamalai University</td>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no definite date for most of the commentaries. Some are dated as early as 1571.
1.3.8 Nothing about Kampan's life and parentage is known. All that we know about his life is purely legendary. Yet there are some historical facts. Kampan was the celebrated poet-laureate of the Chola Court, during the reign of Kulottunga III. Born in Tiruvazhundur, to one Atavan belonging to Uvaca caste, he was patronised by Tiruvannainallur Kadayappan, to whom respectful reference is made ten times in *Kamparamayam*.

1.3.9 Kampan is said to be the author of *Catākoparantati,* Caracuvatiantati, Gilai elupatu, Erelupatu, Tirukkai valakkam, and Nummanikkovai. The first is a work in hundred verses, in praise of Cadagopar — one of the aliases of Nammalvar, the Tamil Vaishnava Saint. The next is in praise of the goddess of learning.

35 Kampa. Kappu. 10
36 Kampa. Payiram. 11, — Pala. 3 — Yutta. 6
tarcirappu. 11, — Pala. vēlvī.1, akalikā.18,
mitilai.73, Yutta. cētu. 9, nakapaca.273, maruttu.58,
tirumuti.32a, 38, 42a.

There too are different of opinion. eg: Dr. S. Ramakrishnan, quoting Rajan's edition points out that Kampan refers to Cadayan at six places. See S. Ramakrishnan op. cit. p. 180 notes 21.
composed in Kattalai Kalitturai metre. Erezhupatu is a poem in praise of agriculture and agriculturists, Cilaiojupatu is a poem in praise of bow and warriors. In Tirukkaivalakam, the generosity of agriculturists is praised in 59 Kalivenpa Kannis. The last work is not now extant. Works like Kancipuraman, Kancippillattamil, and Cola kuravanci are also spuriously ascribed to him. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, while referring the other works of Kampan, comments:

In view of the tendency, common in Indian literature of fathering minor works of unknown origin upon celebrated authors, and in view of the mediocre and common place character of these two works, we have to receive with great suspicion the popular legends on their authorship and the occasions for their composition. 37

It is the "Ramaavataram" and not these 'minor works' listed above, that made Kampan famous and raised him to the position of 'Kaviccakkaravarti'.

1.3.10 Kampan - date:

Scholars differ in fixing the date of Kampan and no absolute precision is attained. It usually ranges from

37 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas (1955) p. 672
9th century to 12th century. Since tradition holds that Kampan was a contemporary of Ottakkuttam—the court poet of Kulottunga Chola III (1178–1216 A.D.) reckoning the date of Kulottunga, scholars ascribe the date to 12th century. Scholars K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, R. Raghavaiyanga, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, and M. Rajamonickam assign the date to 12th century. Others like V. V. S. Iyer, Poornalingam Pillay, T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar, Somasundara Desikan, V. P. Subramania Mudaliar, A. C. Paul Nadar, T. P. Meenakshisundaran, and Kailash Pillay etal assign the date to 9th century.

38 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit. p. 672
40 S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Kampan Kaviyam op. cit. p. 161
43 Poornalingam Pillay, Tamil Literature.
45 Somasundara Desikan, Karanthai Silver Jubilee Essays (1938)
46 V. P. Subramania Mudaliar, Kambaramaya Saram Vol. I (1936)
47 A. C. Paul Nadar, op. cit., pp. 31–40
48 T. P. Meenakshisundaran, A History of Tamil Literature (1965) p. 102
49 Kailash Pillay, Tamil Ilakkiya Varalaru
50 M. Arunachalam, History of Tamil Literature Through the centuries XIV century. (1969) p. 841 Also see History of Tamil Literature Through the centuries IX century.
The editors of the Annamalai University Ramayana sammelan assign the early part of the 10th century A.D. 51 The editorial board of Kampankazhagam Kamparamayana sammelan holds that Kampan belongs to 9th century A.D., based on the verse 'taniyan.' 52 Subsequent scholars in the field, like S. Shankar Raju Naidu, 53 S. Rama Krishnan, 54 and others agree with either of the two opinions mentioned above. Some scholars like M.V. Venugopala Pillai, deviating from the aforesaid two views, assign the date of Kampan to 8th century. 55

1.3.11 Metre:

It is true, but Kampan excels in using 97 varieties of the Yativritta metre. To quote Vaiyapuri Pillai, Kampan, "has handled a vast variety of metrical forms with extra-ordinary skill; changing them to suit the themes." 56 The metrical form

51 'munnurai', Kampar Iramayanan, Guntara Kaniyum mutarpakuti (1963) pp. X-xii
52 Kampankazhagam, "Patippurai" Kamparamayana sammelan (1976)p.vi
54 S. Rama Krishnan, "The age of Kamban", op.cit. Appendix pp.171-175
55 A.V. Venugopala Pillai, "Vaishnavism in Tamil Literature" A glimpse of Tamilology (1968) V.S.P. Sanickam (Ed.) p.181
56 S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Kampankaavivayam op.cit. p.166

59 Tamil Vaithi Vedichil, A History of Indian Literature - Tamil literature op.cit. p. 147
60 Sudha Subramaniam, Language of Middle Malayalam op.cit. p.49
he has utilised to compose the great epic is viruttam and the poet is often acclaimed as, "Viruttamenum on paaviluyar Kampan".

He was a genius in handling this particular metre. While exploring the Historical survey of the prosody of Tamil, Prof. S. Subrahmanyan observes:

"Civakacintamani, Periyapuranam, Kamparamayam, Villiperatam, Tiruvilayarppuranam, etc. the epic literary works of importance and Tayumanaivar patai Tiruvuruppa of Ramalinga Atikalar etc. are mainly of the auxiliary metres. Auxiliary metres dominate the literary works from the 7th to the 20th century A.D. Especially 'Acirippa' in the ancient period and 'Aciriyaviruttam' in the medieval and modern periods, seem to be very prominent."

It is true, but Kampan excels in using 87 varieties of the Viruttam metre."

1.4 Ramayana in Malayalam upto Bluttaccan:

1.4.1 The tradition of 'Raama Kaavya' in Malayalam is earlier than that of 'Krishna Kaavya'. The oral tradition,  

References:
57 "vanpavirukalontiparanikkocayankothon viruttamnon paviluyarkampan kovaiyulavantittidkottakkuttan kanuyakalam pakattir kirattaiyarkal vacaiyattakalammakam "panpanakkappakarkan cantam patikkosealalorurvarpparakonate"
58 S. Subrahmanyan, The commonness in the metre of the Dravidian Languages (1977) p. 364
59 Kamil Veith Zwobodil, A history of Indian Literature - Tamil literature op.cit. p. 147
60 Puthussery Ramachandran, Language of Middle Malayalam op. cit. p.43
rich with ballads and folksongs, is full of references to Ramayana stories and characters. Conscious literary creation in Malayalam began with *Ramcharitam*, the earliest extant work, belonging to the Pattu School. It is admitted that, "the works of Pattu movement have assimilated the best from the folk songs" and it is true to say that the authors of this school were mainly concerned with maintaining a Dravidian atmosphere in their works. *Chiraman*, the author of *Ramcharitam* has not changed the story, which is purely Aryan in origin, "to suit a Dravidian Sensibility." The work was popular in the 12th century A.D. (some assign it to the 14th century). Through 1814 verses, divided into 164 patalams, the story of Yuddha Kanta of the Valmiki Ramayana is narrated, in 16 different metres. The earlier incidents are given retrospectively. As has been mentioned above, the author follows Valmiki Ramayana in all essential details. But *Ramcharitam* is a free rendering and not a translation of Valmiki's epic. Bhakthi dominates the work, and Rama is depicted as Vishnu incarnated. Scholars have

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61 Dr. T. Bhaskaran, *Malayalam poetics - a study with special reference to Krishnagatha* (1979) p.105
pointed out that Chiraman might have been influenced by poets like Kempan.

1.4.2 Ramakathappattu by Ayipillai Asan is the next work in the Pattu School. The date is around 14th century A.D. The work is composed, on the lines of Valmiki, in 280 Virtuttams and 3163 verses. The author has improved upon Valmiki's six Cantos. Uttara Kanta is left out. Introduction of the episode of Rata Ravana is a striking deviation made by the author. The work has the qualities of both oral and literary epic and was often sung to village audiences. Hence it is known as a musical epic in Malayalam. Because of its dramatic quality, P.K.Narayana Pillay, the editor and Commentator of this work, remarks that, "It may not be very far from the fact if Ramakatha Pattu is described as Ramayana dramatised". It was sung in the Sree Padmanabhaswami Temple, Trivandrum, during festive occasions, accompanied by a musical instrument, called Chandravalayam. To quote the editor's words,

"The approach to the theme on the part of the poet was not religious, it was not bhakti or devotion that inspired him to compose the great epic. He was inspired more by artistic interest. Cultural elevation of the audience was uppermost in his mind. He was devoted but he never displayed his devotion too much so as to move his audience with religious emotion."

63 P.K.Narayana Pillai, "The Ramakatha Pattu", All India Ramayana Conference special Souvenir (1972-73), op.cit. p. 62
64 Ibid p. 62
1.4.3 The next work in Malayalam based on the Ramayana story is Kannasa Ramayananam, of the latter half of the 14th century A.D. by Rama Panikkar, one of the Niranam poets. The work is named after the name of the author's family. It is an independent imaginative work of Pattu School, on the lines of Valmiki and is considered as "The Quintessence of Vaalmiiki". This work is the first complete Ramayana in Malayalam. It has seven Cantos, including Uttarakanta, written in 3059 pattu, with no subdivision. "What Kamba Raamasayana to Tamil literature is Kannassa Ramayananam to Malayalam. The only deplorable difference between these two epic poets is that Kannassan did not get as much reputation or even recognition as Kamban".

1.4.4 Punam Nambutiri's Bhasharamayana Champu is the next significant work. The work is assigned to 15th century. While Ramacharitam consists of rustic tastes, the Champu

65 Puthusseri Ramachandran op. cit. p. 51
66 Ibid p. 53
is a work in the Sanskrit tradition. This maniprawala work is written in 1879, divided into 20 probandhas. Punam mainly follows Valmiki, but on certain occasions, he has taken suitable passages from other works, current at that time. Punam is the only poet, who has given the horoscope of Ravana. The work begins with Ravanodhbhava (Ravana’s birth) and ends with Swargarohana.

1.4.5 Bluttacan’s Adhyatma Ramayanam, the epoch-making work is the most celebrated composition among the Ramayanas in Malayalam. Detailed description is given under a separate head, and a comparative study with Kampan in detail is carried out in the ensuing chapters.

1.5 Other works based on Ramayana in Malayalam:

1.5.1 Kottarakkara Thampuran’s Ramanattam (17th century) - the liberetti for the visual art by the said name - is based on Ramayana story. It comprises eight parts viz., Putra Kameshti, Seethaswayam varam, Vicchinnabhishekam, Kharavadham, Baalivadham, Toorana Yuddham, Sethubandhanam and Yuddham. Thampuran closely depends on Valmiki for his composition.

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67 “madagajavadananam tam vighnavicchedadakgaan sarisibhavajayam bhuratim somasiam nisacarukulakalam rāghavam jānakicchu pratidinamati bhaktyā naumi vālmikimāryam.”
- See 72 divasatte attakkadhakal part I
Its literary excellence is less because more importance is
given to histrionics. Hence it is said that, "Kottarakkara's
attakathas are better on the stage than in the library." 68

P. Krishnan Nayar, in his treatise on Kathakali points out
Kampan's influence on Thampuran. 69

1.5.2 Apart from Thampuran's works, Kathakali literature —
Attakathas by which name they are known — has works based
on episodes of Ramayana. Among the authors of "attakathas",
the kings of Kerala deserve praise not only for their
patronage to the art but also for their literary compositions.

Many talented writers have written 'attakathas' based on
Ramayana. As is well known, the theme of an 'attakatha' is
puranic. An attakatha never takes up an entire purana.

'Attakathas' deal with fragments of puranic stories. Following
is a list of Ramayana—based 'attakathas'. 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Attakathas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>P. Krishnan Nayar</td>
<td>Chapter: &quot;Ramanaathattinu andhaara bhootanaaya grandhangal&quot; pp. 153 - 232, Attakkatha or Kathakali (1958)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>K. Ayyappa Panikar</td>
<td>op. cit. p. 32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68 K. Ayyappa Panikar, op. cit. p. 32
70 "Isvarikartyayani parvati bhagatai saasvatanaaya paramesvaran-stivamnam codiyam ceyatukothu toliyinu dovan jaga - dadyaagisvaran mandahasampuntarul ceytu"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Attakkadhas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ambalapuzha Suppu Annavi</td>
<td>Sitasvayamvaram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kalloor Nampootirippatu (1776-1835)</td>
<td>Baliyavam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kallekkulangera Raghavappi Sharooti (1725 - 1790)</td>
<td>Ravanabhavam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kaviyoor Venkatachalam Ayyar</td>
<td>Sitavijayam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kilimanoor Vidwan Koittampuran (1812-1846)</td>
<td>Ravanavijayam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Ravanavijayam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kirikkattu Ayyappan Pillai</td>
<td>Ravanavadham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Ravanavadham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Krishnan Thampi, V. (1890-1938)</td>
<td>Chudamanis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tatakavadham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kerala Varma Valia Koittampuran (1845 - 1915)</td>
<td>Parasuramavijayam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Parasuramavijayam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Haripadubhavam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Cochi Veera Kerala Varma Thampuran</td>
<td>Yogaraka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ravanavijayam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sitasvayamvaram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sugrivabhishekam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Attakadhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kottarakkara Thampuran (1625-1675)</td>
<td>Putrakamēsti, Sītāsvayamvaram, Vīchinābhīṣēkam, Kharavadham, Bālivadham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kottarattil Sankunni (1855 - 1937)</td>
<td>Sīrāmamāṭṭābhīṣēkam, Sīrāmāsvatāram, Sītāvīvadham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Govinda Jostian, V.N.</td>
<td>Sīrāmamāṭṭābhīṣēkam, Sīrāmāsvatāram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Cheruparampattunni pillai</td>
<td>Bhārgavēsan vijayam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Pannisori Nath Pillai (1885-1942)</td>
<td>Pādūkāpattābhīṣēkam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Punartam Tirunal - Ramavarma Koittampuran (1855 - 1915)</td>
<td>Sītāvījayaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Pettayil Ramanpilla - Asan (1841 - 1937)</td>
<td>Sīrāmamāṭṭābhīṣēkam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Attakkadhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mavelikkara Udavarma Tampuran (1844 - 1920)</td>
<td>Ahalyāmōkṣam, Rāvana Nivata Sakhyam, Sriramabhigam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 18  | Vallathol Narayana Menon (1878-1958) | Aushadhapaharanam, The first of the 
    | to render Vali's Ramayana in Malayalam |
| 19  | Srinivasa Ayyanar Sastrikal | Dasaradha vijayam |

1.5.3. Kunjan Nambiar (1675-1785), in his Tullal compositions—a new variety of popular performing art noted for its satirical attacks on contemporary life—has retold many puranic episodes.

Following is a list of Kunchan Nambiar's Ramayana-based Tullal compositions:

- i. Ahalyāmōkṣam
- ii. Sītāsvayamvaram
- iii. Lankāmardanam
- iv. Rāvanavadham
- v. Airāvanavadham
- vi. Kumbhakaranaṇavādham

Though many have worked in the field after Kunchan Nambiar, they are in no way equal to Nambiar. Even after Kunchan Nambiar some have attempted to compose Tullal, based on Ramayana. Among
them the following works are worth mentioning.

1. Kottayam Keralavarma - Ayodhyakantam
2. Nakkoottu Krishnamenon - Sivarivaham
3. Nalappattu Narayanamken - Daivagati Utthan

1.5.4 History of Malayalam Literature records attempts to render Valmiki Ramayana in Malayalam. The first of the translations is "Bhashavalkiramayanam" - (Valmikiramayanam Kilippattu) - by Keralavarma, a royal prince of Kerala, and hence popularly known as Keralavarmaramayanam. He has translated only the first five cantos of Valmiki. The author is faithful to Valmiki and has used Dravidian metres to render it into Malayalam. Various metres that the author used can be had from the following table:

Table 1.5 Distribution of Metres used in Bhashavalkiramayanam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Cantos</th>
<th>Metres used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bala kantam</td>
<td>Keka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ayodhya kantam</td>
<td>Annapadana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aranya kantam</td>
<td>Kakali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kishkindha kantam</td>
<td>Drutakakali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sundara kantam</td>
<td>Keka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Yuaddha kantam</td>
<td>Kakali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.5.5 Next and foremost is that of Mahakavi Vallathol Narayana Menon (1878 – 1958). His verbatim translation of Valmiki's 24,000 slokes (April 1907) has a unique place in Malayalam Literature. It has literary excellence and artistic sense. It should also be noted that there are small booklets like Ramayanam Kurattippattu, Sitavilapam Ammanappattu, which enjoy much reputation. 71

1.6 In Kerala there has rarely been any attempt to make Ravana the hero, as in Tamil Nadu. Mahakavi Pallathu Raman (1892-1950) is said to be the first in the field to praise Ravana. 72

1.7 Kempan's influence in Malayalam:

Kempan, the prodigy among poets, has attained due recognition in Malayalam. It was a custom among the Malayalies to listen to the expounding of Kemparamayanan and Tirukkural, the sacred scripture of the Tamils. 73 There are prose renderings

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72 Nedunkunnam Gopalakrishnan, "Ravaanayananattire manassastram" Kerala Kaumudi week End Magazine 1979 July 29.
73 P. Govinda Pillay, Malayalabhasha Charithram (1965) p. 183. He records that there are transliterated copies of the two works in Kovilakams and traditional families. Also see Thunchan Prabhandangi, Vol. II (1976) p. 183.
of Kamparamayanam solely meant for tūlpāvakkūttu — a kind of shadow play, common, during the festivals of temples. The existence of prose and verse translations of Kamparamayanam in Malayalam is proof of its influence in that language. A mixed language of Tamil and Malayalam was used in South Malabar to explain Puranic stories. The expounders used to quote passages from Kamparamayanam. It is known as Kūttukāvi and it has been recorded that such practices still exist in that region.

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74 V.P. Subramania Mudaliyar, Kamparamayana charam — Ayodhya kantam (1969); Introduction.

S. Maharajan, Kampen (1972) p. 7 - "Stone inscription in the neighbouring territories of Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra show that Kamparamayana was being expounded to and enjoyed even by people whose mother tongue was not Tamil".

Prof. T.P. Meenakshi Sundaram also points out the popularity of Kamparamayanam in other states. He writes:

"The wonder is it was equally popular in the Kannada and the Kerala countries. A Kannada inscription of the fourteenth century speaks of the exposition of Kampen's Ramayana in a temple in the Kannada country".

See T.P. Meenakshi Sundaram, Tamil A Bird's eyeview (1976) p. 82

Also see Dr. T.P. Meenakshisundaranar, Tamilum Pira Panpamadam (1973) pp. 28-30

75 Chenkulathu cheria Kunjirama Menon's (1882 - 1940) Kamparamayanam in prose, The transliterated edition of Kampen's Balakanta (upto Abhalyamoksham) with the commentary of P. Narayanan Nair, are the resultants of the attempts in this line. Dr. S.K. Nair has translated in verse, the first five cantos of Kamparamayanam.

76 Tunchan Prabhandangal op.cit. p. 209; Chellannatt Achutta Menon, Fradakshinam (1968) p. 55; Chellannatt Achutta Menon, Bruttachan and his age (1940) pp. 16 - 17
Kannasa Ramayananam is a comprehensive composition. About this there is a saying that:
"Parankataiyakkamparam pantirayirattal
Pakarnakatai kannancanil putiyam"

From this couplet, it is clear that Kampai Ramayananam was very popular in Kerala.

Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer in his Kerala Sahitya Charitram says that there is a belief among Keralites that Kampan came to Kerala and recited his Ramayana to learned audiences.77 Kamparamayanam has also been translated into English.

Henry Heiboto, an American scholar, has completed the translation of Aranyakantam of Kampan.78

1.8 Adhyatma Ramayana:

This is a work of 14th century A.D. in Sanskrit, generally considered to be part of Brahmanda Purana. It is the original of Blutacan's translation. One thing to be pointed out here is that even in the introduction of Adhyatma Ramayana there is no reference that it is a part of Brahmanda Purana.

There is difference of opinion about its authorship and date.

77 Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer, Kerala Sahitya Charitram Vol. 1, op. cit. p. 214
78 "Ankilattil Aranyakantam", Manjari, June 1982, Madras, p. 72
According to a few the author is one Vaishnava Brahmin and to others Viswantra or Vyasa. Whoever it may be the work was written after the spread of Rama Bhakti movement in North India, divided into seven cantos viz., Palakanta, Parvatimayana, popularised during the period of Ramananda. The main stream of the story is the same as that in Valmiki. Elaborate descriptions and episodes have been cut down in this work. This is how the author condensed the 24,000 slokas of Valmiki into 4,000 slokas.

In Adhyatma Ramayan, Rama’s divinity is explained and in many places it reads like a metaphysical dissertation. Valmiki depicts the characters with some superhuman qualities. But the author of Adhyatma Ramayana makes the characters ordinary men conscious of Rama’s divinity. From the Balakanta of Adhyatramayana, it is understood that Kausalya, Dasaratha, Ahalya, Janaka and Parasuraman know that Rama is Vishnu incarnated. Again it is noted Viswantra, Gautama and Narada have by their divine sight understood that Rama is Vishnu. Apart from this at places Rama himself is aware of the fact that he is Vishnu.

"The main incidents of the story on the Adhyatma are the same as in Valmiki. Wherever there is a difference, it is due to the fact that whilst the Adhyatma starts with the theory of Rama’s divinity and tries to explain away all failings of humanity, wherever they come into the narrative, by restoring to the anadi avidya (beginningless error) of the Vedanta, the Ramayana of Valmiki describes Rama as the best man and tries to show how inspite of the few failings of humanity one can rise to godhead by setting before him the noble ideal of truth and duty as Rama did." 79

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There are 4,200 verses, in 65 chapters, written in Anushtup metre. The work is set in the conversational form — a dialogue between Shiva and Parvati — Adhyatma Ramayana is divided into seven cantos viz., Balakanta, Ayodhyakanta, Aranyakanta, Kiskindha kanta, Sundara kanta, Yuddha kanta and Uttarakanta.

Table 1.6 Sargas and verses of Sanskrit Adhyatma Ramayanan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Canto</th>
<th>Total sargas</th>
<th>Total verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Balakanta</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ayodhyakaanta</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aranyakanta</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kiskindha kanta</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sundara kanta</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Yuddha kanta</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Uttara kanta</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three commentaries to this great work, written by Narottama, Ramayaman and Gopalachakravarti. Of these three, Ramayaman's commentary, known as 'Setu' is said to be the best.
Three eminent scholars have faithfully rendered the entire work into modern Malayalam. Kottarattil Sankunni (1855–1937) is the first to do this. The second is Kaprasseri Appunni Kaimal. His work is the latest to be published. It is a posthumous edition. The third is K.N. Ezhuttachan, mentions it, as a verse by verse translation and in his opinion, the translation is generally good.

1.9 Thunchattu Ezhuttachan: A generic name of four metres, viz., Rama, Ramali, Kalakandhi and Apananda. As K.N. Ezhuttachan puts it, Ezhuttachan—'father of letters'—, is the greatest in the world. He inspired the scholars and literature of Malayalam to create new cultural and literary values. He is popularly known as Thunchattu Ezhuttachan and in simple words, 'he says that, "... he represents the culmination or rather the expression of Malayaitha". There is no doubt the title name which usually

80 Kottarattil Sankunni has published a verbatim translation of the Sanskrit Adhyatma Ramayana in 1912.
81 Kaprasseri Appunni Kaimal, Adhyatma Ramayana (1978)
82 K.N. Ezhuttachan, Ezhuttachanto Adhyatmaramayanan Ora Patanam (1965)
consummation of a series of brilliant attempts made by scholars and literature of Kerala to create a medium of expression of their own." 33 The Kilippattu form he adopted is a new prosodic pattern of literary composition in Malayalam. In this new pattern of poetry, the narrator is Kiliparrot- and Euttaccaan has successfully endeavoured in giving literary status to the folk metres. Kilippattu as the word itself denotes is not a single metre in Malayalam but a generic name of four metres, viz., 'Kakka, Kakali, Kalakanchi and Annananda. As K.N. Ezhuttachan puts it, Kilippattu has the power to be equalled with Milton's great epic style.

Very little is known about the biography of Euttaccaan and there is no reliable source. Scholars and critics used to guess the incidents of his life, parentage and name. He is popularly known as Thunchattu Euttaccaan and in C.A. Menon's words, "The expression 'Tunjattu' is no doubt the family name which usually the people of Malabar prefix to their personal name."

33 K.Ramachandran Nair, Early Manipravalam A Study (1971) p. 91

34 K.N. Ezhuttachan, Ezhuttachante Adhyatmaramayanam Ora Patanam (1965) p. 19

35 Chelnat Achyuta Menon, Ezhuttaccaan and His Age op. cit. p. 54

85 Chelnat Achyuta Menon, Ezhuttaccaan and His Age op. cit. p. 107

87 C.A. Nair, "Devotional Literature in Malayalam" Essays in Philosophy (1962) 6, 9, Chart (Arth) p. 533.
Ezhattucontrol is believed to have been born at Trukkantiyoor near Trichur. 'Thunchan Parambu' has been acquired by the Government of Kerala and a memorial has been erected in the name of the great poet.

1.10 Adhyatma Ramayana Kilipattu:

1.10.1 C.A. Menon while describing the genesis of the Adhyatma Ramayana in Malayalam, remarks, "The original Adhyatma Ramayana was also intended to sing the glory of Rama as God, but the reader never derives so lively and abiding an impression of this as he does from Ezhattucontrol's work." It is in the true sense that Ezhattucontrol has been applauded as greatest synthesiser in the Kerala history. His greatness and genius is based on the poetic diction, literary style, mode of expression and eclectic philosophy. It is true to observe that Bhakti has a vital role in Ezhattucontrol's work. It does not eschew any philosophy. Dr. S.K. Nair succinctly points out this aspect as follows:

"The contribution of Ezhattucontrol to Kerala culture was thus mainly one of the linguistic and religious synthesis brought to bear upon the people of the country. But at the same time it should not be forgotten that the philosophy of Ezhattucontrol's poems has nothing unique in them. It was only an imitation or rather an interpretation of the Vaishnava philosophy revived at that time by Madhva and Ramanuja. In a sense it was Bhakti cult revitalised by Vaishnava Vedanta."  

86 Chelmat Achyuta Menon, Ezhattucontrol and His Age: op.cit. p.107

1.10.2 At the beginning of *Adhyatma Ramayana* Kilippattu, Eluttacan says that his effort is bliss giving. The very reason to the question why he chose *Adhyatma Ramayana* — a Sanskrit work of 14th century A.D. — is revealed by the poet himself. According to him, apart from the transcendental significance, his effort is to enlighten and instruct the uninitiated and the uneducated.

1.10.3 It is useful to have a look at the Kerala of Ezhuttachan's days. The people suffered a lot politically, culturally, spiritually and linguistically. Sophisticated literary contributions were dominated by Sanskrit and a new mixed language known as Manipravala was in vogue. The whole land was under the influence of western powers. In short the people of Kerala were miserable, and they felt the need for a spiritual regeneration.
1.10.4 It is a vexato quaeistio that whether Eluttacan wrote Uttara Ramayanam or not. Scholars like Ulloor Parameswara Iyer, P.K. Narayana Pillay, and others do agree that Uttararamayanan is Eluttacan’s work. Scholars like Govinda Pillay, R.Narayana Panikkar, K.N.Ezhuttachan, A.D.Harisarma, and others are of the view that it was written by somebody else. But Adhyatma Ramayanam, usually printed either with or without Uttararamayanan. The following table gives in detail the structure of Eluttacan’s Adhyatma Ramayanam.

Table 1.7 Structure of Eluttacan’s Ramayanam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canto</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>metres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bala kāntam</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Keōka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayodhya kāntam</td>
<td>3138</td>
<td>Kākali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aranya kāntam</td>
<td>2040</td>
<td>Keōka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kishkindha kāntam</td>
<td>2295</td>
<td>Kākali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundara kāntam</td>
<td>1474</td>
<td>Kalakanachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuddha kāntam</td>
<td>5154</td>
<td>Kākali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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89 Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer, Kerala Sahitya Charitram Vol.II pp. 565-566
90 P.K. Narayana Pillay, Tunjattu Ezhuttachan. p. 44
91 P. Govinda Pillay, Malayala bhasha charithram op. cit. p. 176-224
93 K.N. Ezhuttachan, op. cit. p. 6-128
94 A.D. Harisarma, op. cit. p. 15-25
1.10.5 Fluttachan has rendered the Sanskrit Adhyatma Ramayanam into Malayalam in the conversational form between Siva and Parvati. \(^95\) The main point to be mentioned regarding this translation is that Fluttachan has adopted the native metres and this created a new linguistic tradition and his Kilippattu form has been adopted by later poets.

1.10.6 It is quite impossible to give the details about the editor prnceps of this work. Mention is to be made about S.T. Reddian's cheap paper back editions towards the end of the 19th century. In Bhaskaran Nair's words, "It has triumphed over time and has imprinted itself on the memory of twenty-five million people and has been absorbed into their soul" \(^96\). This may be the main reason why Adhyatmaramayanam Kilippattu, has been published without any commentary. There are only a few commentaries. The commentary of K. Sampaiva Sastri (1879 - 1946), the joint commentary of Kavungal Nilakanta Pillay and K. Gopala Pillay, B.A. (1955) are noteworthy. While describing

\(^95\) Besides the occasional references, each canto ends with the following lines:

"ityadhyatmaramayanē uñāmeśwara samvāde \\
K. Bhaskaran Nair, "Uñachattu Fluttachan".

\(^96\) Ramayana, Mahabharata and Bhagavata writers. p. 95
the adoration and honour this devotional work has attained in Kerala, K. Bhaskaran Nair writes:

"I know Christian homes in Kerala which preserve this early edition of the book as a prized possession and a family heirloom along with the Holy Bible. Law courts use it even to-day for the swearing of witnesses. Every year in the month of Karmatoka (August - September) of the Malabar calendar, at the height of the rainy season, Hindu families perform ritual reading of the book for 21 days". 97

1.10.7 Unlike Kamparamayam, this popular sacred scripture has less interpolations. There are, of course, some variations from edition to edition; but they deserve no attention. The critical edition of 'Adhyatma Ramayanam' published by the University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum is the maiden attempt in the line of textual variations. But the work is not completed.

1.10.8 Apart from Adhyatma Ramayanam, Bluttaccan is said to be the author of Mahabharata, Srimad Bhagavatam, Devi mahatmyam, Brahmandapuram, Satamukha Ramayanam, Harinama kirtanam, Chintaratnam, Kaivalyanavanitam, Ramayanam Irupattinmalavrutram and Koralanadakanam. Scholars have not yet

come to a conclusion regarding the validity of this claim. They generally agree that the first two of the above works are by Bluttacchan.

1.11 Bluttacchan - His date :

The date of Bluttacchan still remains uncertain. Various scholars assign various dates, varying from 16th to 17th centuries. According to scholars like Bernal and Logan, Bluttacchan belonged to 17th century A.D. 98 P.K. Narayana Pillai says that Bluttacchan belonged to the 16th century. 99 But the most widely accepted idea is that he belonged to 16th century A.D. Scholars like P. Govinda Pillai, 100 K.N. Ezhuttacchan, 101 Chelnat Achyuta Menon, 102 K. Ramachandran Nair, 103 K. Bhaskaran Nair, 104 George Woodcock, 105 N. Krishnapillai, 106 Elankulam Kunjan Pillai, 107

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100 P. Govinda Pillai, op.cit.pp.176-224
101 K.N. Ezhuttacchan, op.cit. p.32
102 Chelnat Achyuta Menon, Pradakshinam (1958) p.113 see pp.106-113.
103 K. Ramachandran Nair, op.cit.p.91
104 K. Bhaskaran Nair, op.cit. p.54
105 George Woodcock, Kerala, op.cit.p. 209
106 N. Krishnapillai, Kairaliyute Katha p. (1975) p.163
107 Elankulam Kunjan Pillai, Sahitya Charitra Samgraham (1970) p. 77
Sumanad Kunjan Pillay 108 favour the theory of 16th century. Kovunni Nadungadi, the author of Kerala Kauumudi interprets both the above theories, and in his view, it is more correct to ascribe the date to 15th century A.D. 109

1.12 In C.A. Menon's words, "In Tamil and Malayalam Kamban and Ezhuttacchan respectively have attained a similar distinction". 110 Here in the present dissertation, the researcher has attempted to trace out all the deviations found in both the works of Kamban and Ezhuttacchan and to bring out the inter-relationship between the two great works. This dissertation is a comparative study. The researcher has tried to establish some facts and views through the process of comparison. Opinions of different scholars and comparisons from other Ramayanas like Valmiki's Ramayanam and Sanskrit Adhyatma Ramayanam have been quoted wherever necessary, without deviating from the main purpose of the study.

1.13 Many attempts have been made by various scholars to compare Kamban with other Indian poets and western poets.

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108 Sumanad Kunjan Pillay [Sreej Malayalam lexicon Vol III]
109 Kovunni Nadungadi, Kerala Kauumudi "avatarika", Panchakam - III
110 Chelnat Achyuta Menon, op. cit. p. 160
S. Shankar Raja Naidu's "A comparative study of Kamba Ramayana and Tulasi Ramayan", S. Ramakrishnan's, "The Epic Muse" - The "Ramayana" and "Paradise Lost", C.R. Sarma's "The Ramayana in Telugu and Tamil", etc., are noteworthy. But it is an accepted fact that S. Ramakrishnan's venture is a full scale attempt in the field of comparative literature in Tamilnadu.

1.14 This study proposes:

a. To have a full idea about the Ramayana theme in the two languages, of two different periods.

b. To understand the two poets Kampan and Kshuttacchan.

c. To make comparative study of the two works.

d. To have an idea about the evolutionary changes that have occurred in the theme through the ages.

e. To assess the greatness of the two poets.

f. To estimate the impact of Kampan on Kshuttacchan.

g. To enable new researchers to take to this field, based on Ramayana.