

JAINISM IN KERALA

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Declaration

Certified that the material in this
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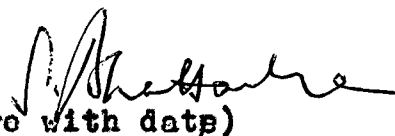
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PREFACE

This study of Jainism in Kerala embodies the research conducted by the present author as a student of the Centre for Historical Studies in the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi during 1977-78.

The author is grateful to Dr. (Miss) R. Champakalakshmi, who, with a keen interest in the subject rendered her valuable comments and suggestions as well as proper guidance during his study and preparation of this dissertation. He is also thankful to the Centre mentioned above for admitting him for the M.Phil. course in History. He does acknowledge his thanks to Dr. Sarvapally Gopal, Dr. Bipan Chandra, Dr. Ronila Thapar and Dr. S. Bhattacharya whom he owes a lot for their kind and valuable helps in many ways. He is also thankful to Dr. Suvira Jayaswal, Dr. Moonakshi and Dr. K.N. Panicker in particular and the whole faculty of the Centre for Historical Studies in general. His thanks are due to Prof. H.G.S. Narayanan of the Department of History, Calicut University, who always has shown interest in his research works and has encouraged him in several ways. The author is also thankful to P.N. Rajan Gurukul, who with enthusiastic discussions and inspiring comments helped him during his stay at the J.N.U. and after.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AI	Ancient India
ARADC	Annual Report on Archaeological Department of Cochin
ARIE	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy
ARSIE	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica
EI	Epigraphia Indica
IA	Indian Antiquary
IESHR	Indian Economic and Social History Review
IHC	Indian History Congress
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IHR	Indian Historical Review
JESHO	Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient.
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JRS	Journal of Kerala Studies
RVRIB	Rama Varma Research Institute Bulletin
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
TAS	Travancore Archaeological Series

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Interest in the study of Jainism in Kerala began in the last decade of the 19th century with the discovery and publication of some stone records. (1) Since then Jaina inscriptions from Kerala began to appear in official publications like Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy and the Malabar Manual etc. These publications, along with some new findings of archaeological and epigraphical remains in different parts of Kerala formed part of the pioneering attempts to study the subject.(2)

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- (1) The inscription of Tiruvannur temple was notified in ARSIE as 220 of 1895. A translation of this record based on a text prepared by Gundert was included in William Logan's Malabar Manual (1897) (in two volumes) Vol II, App. XII, p. CXXII, No.4. The Kinālūr Inscription was notified in ARSIE as No. 14 of 1901. The Ālattūr inscription was included in the same publication in 1908 as No.561. The text of Tiruvannūr record was published in SII, Vol V (1926), No.784, p.338.
- (2) T.A. Gopinatha Rao published a descriptive study on the Buddhist and Jaina Vestiges in Travancore in TAS, Vol II, pp. 125ff. N.G. Unnithan published a note

More recently a new line of enquiry based on literary evidences also attracted the scholars and historians to some other aspects of the subject. This study relates to the well known Tamil epic Cilappatikāram and its reference to Kunavāyirkōttam, a Jain temple or monastery. The Jaina character of the work is generally accepted. The attempts to locate the Jain temple of Kunavāy in Kerala on the basis of the references to it in medieval Jain inscriptions of Kerala have kindled a fresh interest in the history of this faith in this region.

New theories and arguments were propounded by a number of scholars about the epic and its author and the location of the famous temple of Tirukkunavāy of the Jaina lithic records in Kerala. (3)

The pioneering work in the Jaina studies in Kerala is that of T.A. Gopinatha Rao who explored the Buddhist and Jaina vestiges in Travancore, edited the inscriptions at Chitral and published descriptive articles on

on the Jaina relics at Alattur in JIH, XLIV, pt. II, pp. 537-43. M.G.S. Narayanan brought almost all stone inscriptions from Malabar in one place in JIH, XLVIII, pt. III, Dec. 70, pp. 692-703. K.G. Krishnan published a critical note on the Alattur inscription JKS, Vol I, July 1973, pp. 27-32.

(3) Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Soran Varāji, p.24;

T.A. Krishna Menon, RVRIB, VII, The 'Vanci Problem',

the Jaina relics in the southern part of Kerala, namely, the erstwhile native states of Travancore and Cochin. His studies of the Cave temples of Tiruccānattu malai at Chitral in Southern Travancore and Kallil near Perumbāvūr in Ernakulam District in the erstwhile Cochin State provided the basis for most of the later scholars who attempted to work in this field. (4) In this study he made use of iconographical and literary data to corroborate the archaeological as well as epigraphical evidences. (Thus Gopinatha Rao prepared the ground work for the study of Jainism in Kerala.) A most significant aspect of his work was the fact that he noticed the relation of Tiruccānattumalai with other Jain centres in South India. His study was mainly confined to the southern part of Kerala, probably for the reason that he was employed in the Travancore state Archaeological Department and his main interest was in the history and culture of that region.

p.113; Elamkulam, Kokasandesam, Commentary, p. 55;

Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer, Kerala Sāhitya Caritram,

Vol I, pp. 53-4; K.G. Krishnan, op. cit.

- (4) Firstly Gopinatha Rao published an inscription of the 28th regnal year of Varaguna with the Pāliyam plates of Vikramāditya Varaguna of the Ay Dynasty. TAS, I, pp.193ff. A study of the Jaina and Buddhist relics entitled "Buddhist and Jaina Vestiges in Travancore" appeared in TAS, Vol II, pp. 125ff.

Professor Elamkulam P.H. Kunjan Pillai, who has done commendable work in reconstructing the socio-economic and cultural history of Kerala, particularly the history of the Ceras of Makotai or Mahodayapura, has made some incidental observations and comments on Jainism in Kerala. In addition to the material supplied by Gopinatha Rao, Elamkulam used several data collected by himself from various other sources. His studies make it clear that he had a clear perspective of the development of the 'heterodox' religions in South India in general and in Kerala in particular. (5) However, in his observations about Jainism in Kerala, he hardly attempts to link it with the general trends in the history of the faith in South India. Perhaps this was the reason why he could not contribute an analytical study of the subject.

After Elamkulam, Professor H.G.S. Narayanan has contributed to the Jaina studies by publishing new epigraphical data and editing and republishing inscriptions with

(5) For his observations and remarks on Jainism in Kerala see Studies in Kerala History, Kottayam, 1972, pp. 104, 112, 257, 260ff. particularly 260ff. Some modern historians have said that Prof. Elamkulam has done nothing more than repeating Gopinatha Rao's views so far as Jainism is concerned. See Mahāvīr Nirvāṇ Souvenir, Calicut University, 1974, p.38. Such a statement only shows a lack of comprehension of the work of either Pillai or Rao.

corrections of old readings. The main contribution of Prof. Narayanan in this field is that he has brought all the available medieval Jain inscriptions from the Mañabār region together while discussing the date of Cilappatikāram and the identification of Kunavāyirkōttam. (6) Prof. Narayanan's study represents a significant interpretative and analytical advance over the work of the previous scholars for the latter failed to connect the inscriptional evidence with the literary references from the Tamil epic. Hence it provides a fresh light for the study of Jainism in this region.

K.G. Krishnan has also propounded a new identification of the temple of Tirukkunavāy based on the inscriptional evidence while republishing the text of the Ālattūr inscription with his comments, corrections and observations. (7)

The present author has discovered three copper-plate grants of Jains in Wynad area, which have helped in the identification of some later medieval Jain Centres in this region. (8) These grants include a Kamada inscription

(6) M.G.S. Narayanan, "New Light on Kunavāyir Kōttam and the Date of Cilappatikāram", JIH, XLVIII, part III, December, 1970, Serial No.144, pp. 691 to 703.

(7) K.G. Krishnan, "Tirukkunavāy and the Inscription from Alattūr", JKS, Vol I, Serial No.1, July 1973, pp. 27-32.

(8) M.R. Raghava Varier, "Varadūr Jain Inscription of Śaka 1606", JKS, December 1976. IHC Special Number.

incised on a dharapitha and two copper plates in Kololuttu script and Malayalam language. The Kannada record belongs to Śaka 1606 while the Malayalam records were made in 1704 A.D. This discovery has opened up a new line of enquiry regarding the fortunes of Jainism in Kerala after its general decline in the 12th and the 13th centuries all over South India. Further these records also clearly indicate a migration of the Jains from Karnataka through South Kanara in the later medieval period by establishing connection between the Jains of Wynad and those of South Kanara.

A general character of the pioneering studies on Jainism is that they either relate to individual source material or look at the subject in isolation from the general South Indian background. This was partly due to the authors' immediate object of reporting epigraphical discoveries and partly due to the scarcity of sources. As a result, the historical and cultural significance of some of the relics was missed by the earlier scholars in the field. Studies on South Indian Jainism have appeared from time to time since 1922. A brief survey of these works would help in assessing their contribution to the progress of Jainological studies in South India.

In 1922 Ramaswami Aiyengar and B. Seshagiri Rao published their work on South Indian Jainism. (9) Aiyengar's

(9) Ramaswami Aiyengar, B. Seshagiri Rao, Studies in South Indian Jainism, Madras, 1922.

contribution to Jaina studies mainly relates to the history of the faith in the Tamil country. He was able to provide a more or less authentic picture of the early spread and development of Jainism in the region and to highlight the religious conflict between the 'orthodox' brahminical sects and the Jains. Rao discusses the influence of Jaina religion in the Andhra and Karnataka districts of the former Madras Presidency. Rao was however unable to study some of the main developments in Karnataka Jainism since many valuable source materials were not available at that time.

After sixteen years Salatore brought out his work on Medieval Jainism. (10) The author, who shows great sympathy towards the Jains in Karnataka, was primarily concerned with the medieval period only. He traces the main developments of Jainism in the Vijayanagara period. He attempts to analyse the various movements in Medieval Karnataka which affected the growth of Jainism. For example he traces the Vira Saiva movement of the 12th-13th centuries and its activities which resulted in the large scale migration of Jains from central Karnataka regions to the coastal plains of South Kanara. He also evaluates the role played by the Vaishnava sects which influenced Jainism both in theory and practice. But Salatore's work does not deal with the early developments of Jainism in South India which was beyond the scope of his immediate object.

(10) B.A. Salatore, Medieval Jainism, Karnataka Publishing House, Bombay, 1938.

S.R. Sharma traces the influences of Jainism on Karnataka Culture. (11) Sharma deals mainly with Jain literature and art history in Karnataka. He studies the Kannada literature and the influence of Jainism on its development. A serious defect of his study is that he ignores several important aspects of Karnataka Jainism such as the temple worship, ritualism and monastic life. These developments, which made their appearance right from the 5th century as revealed by epigraphical and archaeological data, have contributed richly to the formation of the Karnataka culture. Therefore, his treatment falls short of a comprehensive account of the Jains in Karnataka.

S.B. Deo's work on the Jaina monachism also has a similar weakness. (12) He overlooks the literary texts of the Digambara sect of Jains. Without a proper understanding of these important works one cannot understand the developments in the monastic life of the Jains. For example some of the early texts such as Gurvādhikāra of Haribhadra (8 cent. A.D.) strictly warn the monks against accepting livelihood from agricultural activities but some later texts such as Yasastilaka of Somadeva Sūri (10th Cent.A.D.) probably due to the necessity arising out of new developments

(11) S.R. Sharma, Jainism and Karnataka Culture,
Dharwar, 1940.

(12) S.B. Deo, The History of Jaina Monachism from
Inscriptions and Literature, Poona, 1956.

in the Jaina church, sanction the income from cultivation and landed property. Several schools and sections appeared in the Jaina order in Karnataka, perhaps because of the change from a wandering to a settled life of monks in monasteries. This new way of life must have helped them in contemplating on various subjects and composing various texts. Deo overlooks this crucial aspect and proceeds to survey the early medieval history of Jainism from the 5th to the 10th century which is the formative period of the Jaina culture in Karnataka without trying to explain how this period differed from the pre-5th century situation.

P.B. Desai's volume on Jainism in South India is a valuable work which utilizes almost all the available material for the study of Jainism. (13) He also collected some new epigraphs from various parts of South India. His extensive and intensive study of the Jaina monuments and records as well as the literary sources of Jains make his work a monumental volume. Desai's observations and comments on various aspects of Jainism in South India such as Yakoi cult and temple worship are of immense value to the study of Jaina culture in South India. In the last part of his book he traces the socio-political developments in Karnataka. He also evaluates the role played by the Vira Saiva chieftains of Karnataka, and following Jalalere, makes some comments on

(13) P.B. Desai, Jainism in South India and Some Epigraphs, Sholapur, 1957.

the migration of Jains from Central Karnataka to the coastal regions. A major defect from which his work suffers is the lack of organisation and attempt at establishing inter relationship in the larger context of socio-religious developments. Due to this weakness the work does not give us a comprehensive picture of the mutual influences and the gradual development of the cultural aspects of Jaina religion in different parts of South India. Nevertheless, Desai's pioneering attempts in tracing the origin and developments of the cult of Yakṣan and Yakṣis and the Yāpanīya movements have opened up new lines of enquiry in the field of the history of Jainism. He also helps us in tracing the spheres of influences of several sects and schools of Jains which is very important for the study of the religious net work of Jains in Medieval South India.

R.N. Nandi's book on religious institutions and cults in Deccan makes some brief comments on some aspects of Jainism. (14) Since his work covers a wider field of enquiry the place given for Jainism is very limited.

R.B.P. Singh has brought out a work on Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka. (15) As is evident from the title of the book, the author deals with the early medieval period

(14) R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan, Delhi, 1972.

(15) R.B.P. Singh, Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka, Delhi, 1975.

which was the formative period of the Karnataka Culture. He utilises literary as well as epigraphical evidences and draws a comprehensive picture of the socio-religious and economic life of the Jains in Karnataka of the specified period. However Singh does not attempt to study the subject in the wider background of South Indian Jainism, probably for the reason that his immediate concern is the nature of temple worship and monastic organisation in Karnataka.

Some interesting research papers have come out recently which study South Indian Jainism from different angles. R. Champakalakshmi's paper presented at the thirty-seventh session of the Indian History Congress held at Calicut has some new conclusions. (16) In this paper she deals with the Bhakti movement and its impact on religious developments in Tamil Nadu, showing that the Jains were driven out of major cities and urban centres as a result of this conflict. She further examines the prevalent theory of the persecution of Jains in the early medieval period, that is, the 7th-9th centuries A.D. (17) While generally accepting

(16) R. Champakalakshmi, (unpublished paper on "The Bhakti Movement and Religious Persecution in Tamil Nadu").

(17) R. Champakalakshmi, 'Religious Conflict in the Tamil Country: A Reappraisal of Epigraphic Evidence'. Paper presented to the Fourth Epigraphical Society Congress, Madras, 1978.

the religious conflict between the Brahmanical sects on the one hand and the Jain and Buddhists on the other during this period she has shown that there was a clear attempt on the part of the Jains from Karnataka to revitalise the Jain cause in Tamilnadu as seen in the 9th, 10th century Tamil epigraphs of the Jains. The Jain inscriptions found in Tamil Nadu, especially in the Cola region would seem to provide evidence to prove that the Jains were flourishing during this time since many of their centres appear to have received patronage in this period. She further evaluates the revivalistic movements headed by monks and preceptors like Ajjanandi and observes that the epigraphic evidence coming from those centres where literary tradition locates the stories on conflict between the Śaivas and Jains, presents a different picture, i.e., a picture not of a declining sect but one which revived its strength after persecution at the hands of rival sects, through temple building activities and land grants from ruling families and members of other bodies. This observation necessitates a reappraisal of the old view regarding the decline and disappearance of Jainism in various parts of South India from the 7th century onwards. The religious conflict of this period has reference to be reviewed in the light of other available evidences regarding the changing character of Jainism and its survival. Above all Champakalakshmi states that 'it would be highly unscientific to treat any part of this sub-continent in isolation and disregard the general trends in historical

developments while trying to throw light on a few opaque phases', particularly because of the fact that Karnataka provided a continuous source of strength for re-establishing the Jain activities till the 12th-13th centuries and even later.

The articles mentioned in the first part of this survey along with the studies mentioned above help us in drawing a more meaningful picture of the history of Jainism in Kerala presenting the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the subject.

Sources:

Our primary sources consist mainly of inscriptions on stone and copper as well as sculptures and monuments.

Inscriptions:

Inscriptions from various parts in Malabar (18) and Travancore Cochin areas (19) provide us with valuable data regarding the economic, social and cultural aspects of Jainism in Kerala. Among the epigraphical records, the inscriptions of Tiruvannūr and Kinālūr and Ālattūr give us information about the administration of the Jain temples in Kerala and some of the socio-cultural aspects of the religious centres of Jains. In addition to this they supply

(18) M.G.S. Narayanan, Reinterpretation in South Indian History, Trivandrum, 1977, pp. 75-8.

(19) TAS, Vol I, pp. 193ff and Vol II, 125ff.

some valuable evidence of royal patronage and the role of local bodies and groups of militia in the day to day administration of the Jaina institutions. From these records we also get glimpses of some of the practices of the contemporary Jaina community like temple dance, pilgrimage, festival celebrations etc. The inscriptions from Chitrāl, Pāmbra and Varadūr contain interesting evidence on the relation of the Jain centres in Kerala with other famous Jain Centres of South India from early medieval period to the 17th century A.D.

Sculptures and Monuments:

Relics of Jainism found in several parts of Kerala along with the written records help us to understand various aspects of Jain religion in Kerala. The geographical location of loose sculptures and monuments may give us some idea about the route of expansion of the faith and the movements of the Jaina community in Kerala. It can be inferred that the early migrations to Kerala were through two main routes. One of them was through the Aramboli pass from the Tirunelveli region in the southern parts of the Peninsula while the other was through the Palghat gap from the Kongu region. The expansion of Jains into Kerala seems to have been mainly through ancient trade routes and would hence indicate that followers of the faith were predominantly drawn from the mercantile community, mostly of the Digambara sect. The early epigraphical evidence from Wynad area would show that Jains were involved in trade activities as testified

by the Tālakkāvu record which mentions the establishing of a nakaram or trade guild at the place. (20) This would point to the mercantile importance of the place right from the early medieval period.

The presence of Śvētāmbara sect in Kerala is also attested by monuments and sculptures found in the Āryan Trikkōvil temple in Calicut and at Talappoya estate near Harantodj in the Wynad region. These sculptures belong roughly to the medieval period. There is no tangible evidence to fix the exact date of the advent of the Śvētāmbaras to Kerala. At present the Śvētāmbaras from Gujarat are concentrated in Calicut, Cochin, and Alleppey. The Kallil temple which was a centre of Digambaras as testified by the sculptural evidence, is now frequented by śvētāmbaras from Cochin and Alleppey. (21)

However, the Jains of the late medieval period in Kerala were immigrants from Karnataka through South Canara region to Kerala. This fact is attested by the Varadūr inscription in Kannada script and language. (22)

(20) For the text of the Talekkavu inscription see
M.G.S. Narayanan, op. cit., p. 79.

(21) Thurston says that there were Jain Vaisyas who settled in Native Cochin. Castes and Tribes of South India, Vol II, Madras, 1909. See also Sankunni Varier, Indian Antiquary, XXI, 1892, p. 438.

(22) H.R. Raghava Varier, Varadur Jain Inscription of Saka, 1606, JMS, December, 1976.

This wave spread as far as Jainamedu in Palghat in the south which was a Jaina centre right from the early medieval period. The monuments scattered in the Wynad region and the Varadur record cited above go to prove that the Karnataka Jains centred round Kalpotta, Manantoddy, Panamaram and Battori in Wynad which were trading centres probably from very early times.

Chapter II

JAINA CENTRES IN KERALA

The early centres of Jains in Kerala are situated in the places which are contiguous to Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The adjoining parts of Tamil Nadu like the Districts of Madurai and Tirunelveli are rich in Jaina antiquities. Some of the Jaina caves found in those places are attributed to the pre-Christian era on the basis of the Tamil Brahmi records engraved in these monuments. Karnataka region, especially the pilgrimage centre of Sravanabelgola, is connected with Chandragupta-Bhadrabahu tradition. However, the archaeological and epigraphical evidences of the early centres in Kerala belong to the 8th-9th centuries of the Christian era but earlier contacts of Jains with these places cannot be ruled out. In this chapter an attempt has been made to provide a survey of the Jaina Centres in Kerala.

Tiruccanattumalai or Tiruccerarattumalai was perhaps the most famous among the early medieval Jaina centres in Kerala. This is a cave temple on a hill near Kullittura in Southern Travancore. (1) While editing an

(1) For a detailed description of this centre see F.A. Gopinatha Rao, TAS, Vol II, pt. II, p. 125ff and also Ibid., Vol I, p. 194ff.

year of Vikramāditya Varaguna (= 926 A.D.) says that Gunandāngi kurattigal, a disciple of Arattanēmi Bhatarar of Pērāyakkūṭi offered Aravikkatta, an offering, for which she gave fifteen kalañjus of gold. The offering was to be made with the interest out of this gold. (6) This record seems to imply that money transaction took place at this centre and that probably the money must have been invested with the mercantile group of Jains who visited the place from time to time.

Uttanandi Adigal, who belonged to Tirunodumparai Kāttāmpalli, caused an image to be made at Tiruccāranattumalai.(7) There were several Jaina temples in Tamil nadu known as Kāttāmpalli. At Pallimadēm in Aruppukkōṭṭai Taluk in Ramanathapuram District an inscribed stone mentions Tirukkāttāmpalli of Kurandi. Kurandi, the place where the Jaina temple was built is stated to be in Venbu nādu. (8) It has been suggested that this record belongs to a period before 900 A.D. (9) Another record at Kongerpuliyankulan in Tirumangalam Taluk in Madurai District also states that Kurandi is in Venbunādu. The Pārśvanātha temple at Siṅgāṁūr in Gingee Taluk in South Arcot District also was called

(6) TAS, Vol II, pt. II, p. 126.

(7) Ibid.

(8) 428-431 of 1914. SII, Vol XIV.

(9) K.G. Krishnan, op. cit., p. 91.

Kāttāmpalli. (10) P.B. Desai suggests that there were many villages bearing the name Kurandi possessing Jaina shrines called Kāttāmpalli. (11) Even to this day there is a place in Cannanore District in Kerala bearing the name Kāttāmpalli, but there is no trace of Jaina relics. Tirunōḍumparaiyūr is not yet identified but Neḍumporaināḍu was an early division of Kerala.

Varagunan, the disciple of Pattini Bhatarar of Tiruccānattumalai figures in another record as a Caṭṭan or student who was responsible for carving out an image. (12) Some scholars identify this varaguna with the Āy king Vikramāditya Varaguna(13) while some others identify him with the Pandyan king of that name. (14)

One of the most interesting inscriptions of Tiruccānattumalai is the one which records that the preceptor Accananti was responsible for carving an idol of the

(10) Ibid., p. 99.

(11) P.B. Desai, op. cit., p. 50, note 2. See also ARSIE for 1936-37, p. 68 and 1937-38 p. 109.

(12) TAS, Vol II, pt. II, p. 126, plate VI, no. 3.

(13) Elemkulam Kunjan Pillai, Studies in Kerala History, Kottayam, 1972, p. 179, see also infra, chapter 2.

(14) Desai, op. cit., p. 78.

Yaksi Ambika. (15) It gives as some clue about the early medieval movements of Tamil Jains and their sphere of influence in various parts of the country. Accananti is the Tamil form of Ājjanandi which is the Prakrt rendering of the Sanskrit name Āryanandi. Accananti, who has been described as a revivalist, was a famous personality among the Jains in Tamilnadu, especially in the Madurai region and he figures as the person who was responsible for the carving of the sculptures on the rocks of hills at Vallimalai in North Arcot District and at Anaimalai, Aivarmalai, Alagarmalai, Karungālakudi and Uttamapālayam in the Madurai District. (16) Further south he figures at Irattāipottai rock in Eruvādi in Tinneveli District. (17) From this it has been observed

(15) Gopinatha Rao published the record along with the other ones at Tiruccānattumalai in TAS, Vol II, pt.II, p. 125ff and tentatively identified this Yaksi as Padmāvati (p. 127). P.B. Desai corrected this on the basis of iconographic basis and identified the image correctly as that of Ambika, or Kūsmāṇḍini. He also pointed out that the "dwarfs" standing beside the idol left by Gopinatha Rao unidentified as the children, the characteristic cognisance of this Yaksi.

(16) For details see nos. 67-74 Anaimalai of appendix C 725-729 (Uttamapālayam), and App. B 692, 694, 697, 700, 701, 705 (Aivarmalai) ARSIE 1906.

(17) ARSIE for 1916, p. 112.

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that the Madura and Tinneveli region was the main sphere of Accananti's revivalist activities. (18)

Monks and Nuns from other Jaina Centres visited Tiruccānattumalai and donated offerings. Similarly the teachers of Tiruccānattumalai visited Jain centres outside Kerala and paid homages. Tiruccāranattu Kurattigal figures in three epigraphs at Kalugumalai in Kōvilpaṭṭi Taluk in Tirunelveli District. The name of the lady proceptor is not given but one of the records says that a certain image was caused to be carved by Tiruccāranattu Kurattigal who was the disciple of Hilalūr Kurattigal. (19) Another record states that the image under which the inscription is seen was caused to be made by Tiruccāranattu Kurattigal for the benefit of Śadaiyan korri of Kōṭṭūr Nādu. (20) A third one informs us that the image was set up by Tiruccāranattu Kurattigal for the merit of Kūttan Kāman of Porumparrūr in Kōṭṭūr Nādu. (21)

From the above survey we are given to understand that Tiruccāranattumalai was a famous centre of both pilgrimage and learning. There were teachers both male and female who taught students coming from distant places. It is interesting to enquire into the importance of this place

(18) Desai, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

(19) No. 521 of SII, Vol V.

(20) Ibid., no. 324.

(21) Ibid., 326.

in the southernmost corner of the country. The name of the place itself, which is the corrupt form of Tiruccāranattumalai, suggests its relation with the Jain concept of Cāranās, who are believed to be superhuman beings with miraculous powers. (22) That the Cārana Cult was prevalent among the Jains in South India is clear from place names and legends in other places in South India also. The Jain Caves at Ellora in the Aurangabad District are excavated in the northern spur of the hill called Cāranādri i.e., the hill of the Cāranās. In an inscription on the pedestal of Pāreśvanātha Jina at this place the hill is described as a place frequented by Cāranās. (23) Kōṅakunḍla, a village in the Gooty Taluk, Anantapur District also known as Kōṅdakunḍa as testified by the epigraphic record of the place, was believed to be graced by the presence of the Cāranās. (24) Cilappatikāram, the Tamil Epic of Ilanko Atikal and the Kannada works like Ādipurāna of Pampa and Dharmāmṛta of Hayasena allude to the Concept of Cāranās. According to the Jaina theological myths the Cāranās were a class of itinerant monks who had attained mastery over

(22) Dosai, op. cit., p. 68.

(23) Dosai, 'Jainism in Kerala', JIH XXXV, p. 244.

See also Ferguson, Cave Temples of India, p. 502.

(24) See EC V, Belur 124. P.B. Dosai had identified this place as the home of Kōṅdakunḍācārya, the most celebrated monk, preceptor and author among the South Indian Jains. Ibid.

nature and had possessed supernatural powers. It seems that the Cārana concept of the early Jains is related to the hill worship of the primitive societies. In this context it is interesting to note that almost all the early Jain centres in Tamil Nādu, Karnataka and Kerala are situated on hill tops. In India, the Hindu Gods are often attracted to mountains and caves and these geographical features are supposed to have great importance for the symbolism and external appearance of the temple. (25) Tiruccānattu malai seems to have some relations with the Cārana concept of the early Jains. This concept seems to have contributed to the emergence of Tiruccāranattumalai as a prominent Jain centre in the Southernmost part of the country. Its geographical position also can be considered as a cause of its importance. Tiruccānattumalai is on the west of the Aruvāmoli or Aramboli pass which served as a highway of commerce and travel between Travancore on the western side and the plains of Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts on the eastern side of the Western Ghats. Scholars have observed the importance of this pass because at this place a distinct break in the chain of hills has left a gap over three miles wide through which run the perfectly level trunk road of communication. (26) Tiruccānattumalai is near this route

(25) George Mitchell, 'The Hindu Temple: An Introduction to Its Meaning and Form', Delhi, 1977, p. 69.

(26) See A.S. Ramanatha Iyer, EAS VI, pt. I. While editing the Colepuram Inscriptions he gives a

which leads one to the famous ports of Puvar and Viliññan on the western coast in the early period. These ports were under the Āy kings who were feudatories of the Pandyas. (27)

From the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions in the Jaina Caverns in the Pudukkōttai, Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts, which are dated between the 2nd century B.C. and the first century A.D., it can be assumed that during the ancient period these were the prominent centres of Jainism in Tamilnadu. (28)

discription of this pass and states the importance of this pass which formed the portals through which the Pāndya, Cōla, Vijayanagara and Nāyak chiefs entered Kerala.

- (27) It may be remembered that the Jaina monastory at Tiruccanattumalai had some relation with either the Āy or the Pāndyan royal house as attested by the Varaguna. Inscription at this place. See note 22 and 23 above.
- (28) Desai, 'Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs', 1967, p. 32 says that most of the Jaina antiquities are located "in the hills and elsewhere in the Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts as contrasted with the limited quantity in the northern area". For a list of these inscriptions see: Desai and Mahadovan I, "Corpus of Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions", in Seminar on Inscriptions, ed., by R. Nagaswami, Madras, 1966, pp. 57-98. In Madurai District they are found in the Ānainalai Hill, the Tirupparankunram hill and at Alagarmalai,

From these records it can also be inferred that these centres had some relation with Jaina trading community. (29)

It has been postulated that these Jaina settlements tended to be established in areas of commercial importance, and that the location of these records on the east coast might 'indicate portions of an old trade route'. (30) The commercial importance of this route and the centres seems to have continued into the later period also. This inference is supported by the fact that in two regions where there are Brāhmi records of Jains, the Ayyāvōle guild, a very prominent trade guild was established in the early medieval period. (31)

From Tirunelveli region the Aramboli pass gives an easier route to the western ports like Viliññam and Puvar

Varicciyūr, Kongarpuliyānkulam, Muttuppattī and Kilavalavu. In Tirunelveli District such records are seen at Marugāltalai, Kalugumalai, and at Virasikhamani.

(29) For example an inscription on the boulder on the Kalugumalai records of the lattico (pinan) to the monk kani Nanta (Gani, or the leader of a gena) by Kaliti son of Antai, and merchant prince of the Nigama (guild) of Vēlarai.

(30) Mary Meera Abraham, The Ayyavōle Guild of Early Medieval South India, unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation, J.N.U., New Delhi, 1978, p. 29.

(31) Ibid., loc. cit.

which could replace the round about way of the trans-coastal route. This could explain the importance of a place like Tiruccāranattu malai on the way to the western coastal regions.

We have seen in the above discription that the emergence of the Tiruccānattumalai as a prominent centre of Jaina worship can be explained as a territorial expansion of the Jaina order which converged in the Madurai, Tirunelveli and Tiruccirappalli regions. The Tamil Brāhmi inscriptions of these regions show that these centres were occupied by Jains even in a period as early as the closing centuries of the pre-Christian era. We have also surmised that this expansion could be traced by a conjuctural trans-peninsular trade route which led to the ports like Puvar and viliññam on the western coast passing through the Aramboli pass. This would provide an easy path to the western coastal regions instead of the round about way through the eastern coast. The exact date of this expansion is not known but from the relation of this place with the mythological concepts like that of the Cāranas, one is inclined to assume that it must have come to be known widely with the spread of the Jaina mythology in South India probably in the 4th, 5th, 6th centuries of the Christian era. However, this is, at present, an assumption which is to be verified in the light of further evidences.

From the inscriptions found at the Tiruccaranattumalai

it is clear that the place was frequented by saints and preceptors, both monks and nuns from distant places such as Tirunaṅṅondai in Tirukkōyilūr Taluk, South Arcot District. Epigraphic records from elsewhere in southern region bear testimony to the visits of pilgrims from Tiruccāranattumalai. (32) This indicates that the place had become a powerful link in the 'religious net work' of the Jains in South India. It has been observed that by the time of the 8th, 9th centuries A.D. the Jaina church in South India had become a well knit organisation with several centres of pilgrimage. (33)

Tiruccāranattumalai records are silent about any other centre in Kerala further north of Chitrāl. From this it can be assumed that the relations of this place was mainly with the centres in Tamilnadu, particularly, those in the Madurai region. The presence of pilgrim-saints like Ajjanandi would indicate that the place was under the sway of the Jains revivalistic movements. It appears that monks and nuns travelled from place to place in the country side propagating the messages of their salvation religion. It may be noted

(32) Kalugumalai in Madurai District. There are three records of Tiruccāranattu Kurattigal.

(33) See K. Champaka Lakshmi, 'Religious conflict in Tamil country. A Re-Appraisal of Epigraphic Evidence', Paper presented at the 4th Epigraphical Society Congress, 1978, p. 6 and notes 29, 30 and 31.

in this connection that this was the period of the emergence of the Stōtra literature in South Indian Jainism, (34) and the devotional compositions like the Ādipurāna of the Kannada poet Pampa. In short the Stōtra literature and the devotional poems became the Jaina counterpart of the Tamil Bhakti hymns which served as a powerful medium in the hands of the Tamil Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite Saints to propagate the message of devotionalism. The revivalistic movement of Jainism was based mainly on the popular cults and practices like the worship of individual gods and mother goddesses. It has been pointed out that Ajjanandi was responsible for carving some sculptures of Ambika Yakṣi, the attendant goddess of Neminātha Tīrthanākara. (35) As the name suggests this Ambika must be an old favourite mother goddess of the Tamil people. An observation about the mother goddess worship appears to be relevant in this context. In historical analysis the mother goddess of the later period has been taken to be of 'mixed conceptions' and their origin is to be sought in the substratum of similar cults. "The fact was that the centres of Buddhist and Jain, although they were deeply influenced by the ethical values upheld by those systems,

(34) For example Indranandi wrote the Jvālīni Stotra in the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Krishna III in the year 939 A.D. several other stotras were composed in this period.

(35) P.B. Deasi, op. cit.,

had not entirely given up their traditional faiths and cults". (36) Carving of idols and composing of hymns about gods and goddesses may acquire special meanings when they are examined in the light of these popular cult practices. Apart from this the Jaina saints carved the images of their preceptors and other famous Saints in famous centres probably in order to associate these centres with the charismatic personalities of those saints and monks. (37) These idols and sculptures served as powerful propaganda measures which strengthened the 'religious network' of the Contemporary Jaina Church. (38)

There is a gap of about 200 kilo metres between the Chitrāl hill and Mallil, another Jaina cave temple near Perumbāvūr in the Ernakulam District. No written records have been yielded by this place. (39) This is situated near

(36) H.H. Bhattacharya, The Indian Mother Goddess, Delhi, 1977, p.111.

(37) For example, see Vallimalai, a few miles north of Peñcāpāndava malai in N. Arcot. EI, IV, p. 140 and facing plate. These records are attributed to the 9th, 10th centuries A.D.

(38) For a detailed discussion of this aspect of medieval Hinduism see George W. Spencer, 'Religious Network and Royal Influence in Eleventh Century South India', JESHO, XII-I Jan. 69 pp, 42-56.

(39) TA Gopinatha Rao gives a vivid picture of this cave temple in TAS, II pt. II, pp. 125ff.

Trikkāriyūr, a traditional Brahmin Centre, famous in legends which sanctify the memory of a victory of Brahmins over Bauddhas. Kallil is on the way which runs from Idikkimunnar high ranges to the plains of Trikkākkara and Koduṅgallūr in Kerala on the Western side of the ghat. On the Eastern side lay the early Jaina Centres in Uttamapālayam Taluk and Dōvāttūr in the Madurai District which abound in Jaina relics. The paucity of written records prevents us from making any comments on the date of this centre. Sculptural evidence goes to prove that they belong to the early medieval period. (40) The idols in the temple are of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and a yaksi, probably Siddhāyika. Though this is now converted into a Hindu Bhagavati Temple, the Jains in Cochin and Alleppey come to this place and pay their homage. (41) It may also be noted that even to this day there are several temples with Yaksi images in the region of Ernakulam District.

The Palghat complex of Jaina centres comprised of Jaina medu in the vicinity of the Palghat town, Īśvaraṅkōṭṭa near Kōṅgā, three miles away from the Jaina mōḍu temple, Paruvaśśēri, on the Palghat Trichur route and Kāvāśśēri in Ālattūr Taluk, Palghat District. Among these centres the Kavasseri temple has yielded some early Jaina figures and a Vattoluttu inscription.

(40) Ibid.

(41) See infra, chapter on Socio-Economic role of Jain temples in Kerala.

The Kerala state department of Archaeology noticed in 1960 at Kavassēri in Ālattūr Taluk, Palghat District, some relics of a Jaina temple which consisted of an inscribed slab and two images of Tīrthan̄kara, one of Mahavira in Paryāṅkāsa posture and the other of Pārsvanātha in Kāyōtsarga pose with a three hooded Cobra above the head.(42) In addition to these they found beams, slabs and pillars scattered in this place which is usually known as Cākkayār tōttam. These relics were found on a hillock known as Pallikunnu suggesting non-vedic nature. The relics, especially the images and the inscription which is attributed to c 10th century clearly show that this was a Jaina temple. What interests us in the epigraph is the reference to the authorities with pati and pādamūlam of Tirukkunavāyttēvar.(43) At Jainamedu there are some Jain families of priests and a

(42) I.G. Unnithan, JIH, XLIV, pt. II, 'Relics of Jainism-Alatur', p. 540. The inscribed stone is now placed in Kāyamkulam palace museum and the images are exhibited in the Trichur Archaeological Museum.

(43) 561 of 1908 Appendix B. ARIE for the year 1959-60 App. B. No.238 gives a short note. A review of the inscription is given in p. 26 of it. The text of this inscription and a few others were published by M.G.S. Narayanan in JIH, XLVII, pt. III, p.691 ff. The text of the Ālattūr inscription is the subject of an article by Sri. K.G. Krishnan, 'Tirukkunavāy and the inscription from Ālattūr', JKS, I, serial no. 1, July 1973, p. 32.

Jaina temple. According to tradition, this new Jaina basti is built on the ruins of an old Jaina temple which yielded a number of icons and other relics such as granite pilars. At Īsvaraṅkōṭṭa there is a unique image of a Tīrthaṅkara depicted as mediating under a tree, possibly Aśoka. It has been suggested by scholars that this may be identified with the Jina in general without particular reference to any Tīrthaṅkara. (44) An inscription from Cōlavandipuram in Tirukkōyilūr Taluk in S. Arcot District indicates Tīrthaṅkara by the term 'Pindikkadavul' and in Tamil language 'Pindi' means Aśoka. (45) Aśoka is the 'Kevala' tree or Caityadruma of Mallinatha but Pindiyan connotes the Ārhat in General. Pāruvaśseri Palli Bhagavati temple on the Palghat-Trichur

(44) P.B. Desai, Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs, Sholapur, 1957, pp. 49-50 and note (1) p. 50.

(45) Ibid., p. 49. See also ARSIE 1936-37, p. 68. Desai thinks that the Jainas of the Tamil country seem to have been particularly fond of emphasising this emblem of the Jina. He adds that reference to the Jaina divinity in association with the Aśoka tree are met with in Cilappatikāram. In Cāvundarāyapurāṇa, a Kannada work of the 10th cen. A.D. the Aśoka tree figure is a prominent symbol of Ācāryinendra. See Ibid., p. 50, note 1.

route was a Jaina temple, now converted into a Hindu shrine.(46) That this was a Jaina temple is clear from the presence of an image of Candraprabha Tīrthāṅkara with triple umbrella and the characteristic cognisance of the crescent on the Pītha. This image is now placed in a roofless enclosure outside the central shrine and is worshipped as Śastā or Ayyappan.

These centres in and around Palghat show that the region was occupied by a group of Jains. There is no conclusive evidence to fix the date of these centres but it would not be out of place to show the importance of the Palghat gap for trade and commerce as well as cultural contacts. There is an easy transpeninsular route from the Madurai region to the western coast passing through the Palghat gap in establishing cultural contacts, dynastic alliances and providing easy means of a trade route. (47)

(46) For a similar view see M.G.S. Narayanan, Political and Social Conditions of Kerala Under the Kulasekhara Empire (c. 800-1124 A.D.). P. Anjan Acharyan wrongly identified this image as a Buddhist idol: "An Image of the Buddha", RVRIB, VI, 2, p.118 and ARADC, 1936-37, p. 12. plates IV, V, VI. The present writer identified this image as that of Chandraprabha on the basis of the lāñchana or cognisance engraved on the pītha.

(47) K. Gopalan Kutty, Palghat gap, unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Calicut University, 1972, p. 22.

According to the Periyapurānam, Sundaramūrti Nāyanār came to Tiruvañcaikkalam to meet his friend Cēramān Perumal Nāyanār and the two Saiva Saints went out of Kerala together across the Kōngu country to visit important Saiva temples of South India. (48)

The existence of a trade route has been postulated also on the basis of evidence supplied by the Roman coins, particularly hoards belonging to the 1st Century A.D. obtained from various places on either side of the gap. (49)

(48) In the medieval period, Sundaramurti was the only Tamil Saivite saint who had contacts with the Malabar Coast. Tiruvañcaikkalam, modern Tiruvañjikkulam near the Cēra Capital of Makotai (Koduñgalūr) has been praised by him. He invokes Añjakkalattappan, the deity of Añjakkalam in beautiful Tōvaram songs: see M. Mahava Aiyangar (Ed.) Cēravācan Coyyut Kōvai, Trivandrum, 1951, pp. 203, 278, 285, 332.

(49) In Kerala, ayyāl near Trichur is a site which has yielded hoards of Roman Coins. For details see: On the eastern side of the gap Karuvūr, Kattanṅanni, Pollachi, Vellalūr, all in Coimbatore District, Pudukkōttai, and Kāliyamputtūr in Madurai District and Karivalam-Vandanallūr in Tirunelveli District from where six aurei are found. Approximate dating of the hoards are: Vellalūr : A.D. 14 (Augustus) Karuvūr Kattanṅanni and Pollachi: A.D. 37 (Augustus-Tiberius).

This has been explained partly by the beryl mines in Coimbatore District. It has been observed that what is more significant in such a trade route is the fact that the Valley of Ponnāni carries a natural transpeninsular highway through the Palghat gap. This highway must have provided a useful alternative to the longer coastwise route between Kerala and the Coromandal coast. It is interesting to note that the period of the Roman coins coincides roughly with the time of the Tamil Brahmi labels. A tentative trade route has been envisaged which ran to Pudukkōttai area crossing the Coimbatore District and passing through Dhārāpuram, Palani and Dindigul. It has also been suggested that the routes leading right across the Palghat gap and northwards from the Shengotta pass would tend to converge around Pudukkottai tract which was an important Jaina Centre, and this tract was linked with routes crossing from the Palghat gap. (50) In Kerala this route connects Palghat with Kodungallur in the south and Ponnani valley in the centre and by another eastern route with Calicut in the north.

Karuvūr : ... 54 (Augustus-Claudius).

Pudukkōttai : A.D. 79 (To Vespasian).

Karivelan Vandanallūr: A.D. 118 (Hadrian).

Wholsler RRM, "Arilamedu: An Indo Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India", AI, No.2, July, 1946.

H. Polhi, pp. 116-118. Ibid., 116.

(50) H.M. Abraham, op. cit., p.30 and note 43.

The existence of some important ancient Jaina Centres on the eastern side and the early medieval centres on the western side of the Palghat gap and an early trade route, suggested by hoards of Roman Coins on both sides of the Ghat, which probably connected these early centres with the later ones would indicate an expansion from the east to the west, particularly from Madurai-Coimbatore region. However, the available sources do not give any direct clue to this assumption. On the other hand they suggest that the centres in Kerala arose as part of a well-knit organisation of Jaina establishments in Tamilnadu and Kerala probably with Tirukkunavāy as their traditional model. Their connection with trade and commercial activities suggested by their geographical position is attested by the reference to groups of traders like Nārpattennāviravar and Valaṅṅijyar in the Ālattūr inscription. It appears that the interest of these trading community was mainly in the inland trade. The existence of guilds of foreign merchants in the western coast ports like Quilon and Koduṅgallūr and in a slightly later period at Calicut would probably explain the reason for the concentration of the Jaina merchantile group in inland trade with Tamil and Karnataka regions.

To the north of Palghat, there were Jaina Centres at Calicut, Kiṅālūr and Wynaḍ area. Among these, Kiṅālūr and Wynaḍ Centres seem to be earlier. Kiṅālūr is a village near Baluśśēri which is about fifteen miles to the north-east of Calicut. An inscription yielded by this place is

dated in the one hundred and eighty ninth year after the Abhiseka or the consecration of Tirukkāliyappatārar, the deity of the temple. (51) Astronomical data are given in the record as Jupiter in Makara, the Constellation being Avittam (Sravistha or Lhanistha) in the month of Mesa. The name of the place is given as Kuṇavāynallūr of which Kiṇālūr is a modern corruption. The temple to which the record belonged is referred to as Vicaiyarākīccuvarattu Palli. The term palli denotes the non-Vedic character of the establishment and the place name Kuṇavāynaālūr suggests its relation with Kuṇavāy or Tirukkūṇavāy, the suffix 'tiru' being a usage added to mean 'holy'. From the name of the temple Vijayarāgeśvaram it has been inferred that this palli or the non-Vedic shrine was established by the Cera King Vijayaraga

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- (51) The record was first notified in no.14 of 1901, ARIE and the text was published in SII, VII, p. 74, no. 174. Neither the inscribed stone nor any relics are seen at present but as early as 1897 Logan had described it as a ruined and deserted temple. See Malabar Manual, II App. xxi, p. CCCXXIII. After a thorough search made by H.G.S. Narayanan, the granite foundation of an old shrine and the fragment of an idol were found in a compound which is called ambala parambu (temple compound), where, according to the local people stood the Kiṇālūr Siva temple. See H.G.S. Narayanan, op. cit., p. 71. note.

who is assigned to the close of the 9th century. (52) The astronomical data given in the record suit only the year 1083 A.D. (53) If this is accepted, we get the actual date of the foundation of the Vijayarāgōśvaram temple as 894 A.D. which is equal to the eleventh regnal year of Kōtaravi Vijayarāga.

Wynad area seems to have been a place where Jains were present from at least the early medieval period. This fact is attested by stone and copper records as well as sculptures. A stone inscription from the neighbourhood of a ruined temple at Tālēkkāvu, near Pulpalli in South Wynad states that the body of Nārpattennāyiravar constituted a nakaram and set apart certain amount of paddy for a perpetual lamp for the Yaksa. Those who obstruct the deed shall be

(52) For a detailed discussion of the date of Vijayarāga see H.G.S. Narayanan, Ibid., p. 71. note 10. For an identification of Vijayarāga with Kōta Ravi (883 to c 913 A.D.) see his Political and Social Conditions of Kerala Under the Kulasekhara Empire (c. 800 to 1124 A.D.). unpublished doctoral thesis, Kerala University, Trivandrum, 1971. p. 96ff. It may be noted in this context that the name Vijayarāga would be suitable to Jinas also since it means one who has conquered raga, worldly attachments.

(53) H.G.S. Narayanan, Reinterpretation in South Indian History, Trivandrum, 1977, p.72 and note 12.

deemed as those who do wrong to the Tirukunavāy temple. (54) Palaeographically this inscription can be dated to a period as early as the 8th century or at the latest the early part of the 9th century A.D. (55) Since Tirukkunavāy is mentioned

(54) For a reading of the inscription see M.G.S. Narayanan, Ibid (appendix D) and for a short discussion on the record, Ibid., pp. 69-70. The present author differs from the reading of the date portion of Prof. Narayanan, who reads it as nūrrumuppattēlu, meaning one hundred and thirty seven, and joins K.G. Krishnan, who has read it as nūrraimpattēlu, meaning one hundred and fifty seven. See K.G. Krishnan, 'Tirukkunavāy and the Inscription from Ālattūr', JKS, Vol I, Serial No. 1, July 1973, p. 32 and note 20. However, Prof. Narayanan or the present author does not emphasise on the comparatively minor difference of twenty years since no precise dating can be arrived at by any of these readings.

(55) The present writer differs from the palaeographic dating of Sri. K.G. Krishnan, who thinks that the record belongs to about the 10th century A.D. While editing the Trivandrum Museum Stone Inscription of Mārañjatarayan, T.A. Gopinatha Rao, the veteran epigraphist points out some of the early characteristics of the Vatteluttu letters na, ta, na, ra and pa. In the early records the lower portions of these letters are horizontal and Gopinatha Rao thinks that this

as a model for this temple and the offering is made to a yaksa, it can be rightly inferred that this was a Jaina Centre of worship. The establishment of a nakaram by the body of Nārpattonnāyiravar indicates that this was a trade centre and also suggests the relation of the Jaina community of this place with such corporate bodies. Traces of an early settlement like wells and basement of stone houses were seen in the surrounding of the inscriptional site when the new settlers from Travancore came and occupied the place in the nineteen fifties. Now there is no even a single family of Jains in this place.

Geographically, Wynad is contiguous to the South Karnataka regions, especially Coorg in the north east and Gundlupet and Cāmarājnagar in the east which were centres of Jainism in the early medieval period. These places had access to Wynad both by river and land routes. There is a way through forest from the eastern side of Pulpalli-

feature, with some other too are "characteristic features of the older forms of Vetteluttu alphabets and afford us a test of the comparative antiquity of the record in which they occur". TAS, Vol I, No. VII, p. 153. The present author, on the basis of this point, would be inclined to attribute the record to a date as early as the 8th century or at the latest the ninth century thereby pushing back the foundation date of Virukkunavāy a century or a little earlier.

Tālekkāvu region to Bandipūr and from there to Gundlupet. To this day Chettis from Karnataka and Tamilnadu use this route. River Kabbani, a tributary of Kāvēri rises from the western ghats and flows eastward. Following Kabbani, one can arrive close to Manantody on the other side of the ghat. Through Manantody, there are routes leading to Cannanore, Tellicherry and Calicut.

Along the valleys of Kabbani are found several inscriptions of trade guilds like Ayyavōle in the early eleventh century. (56) It has been suggested that Kabbani could be utilized as trade highways between Kerala and South Karnataka and Kōngu country. (57) It is possible that Tālekkavu-Pulpalli region was occupied by traders from these regions. It appears that there were earlier settlements. The Talekkavu record refers to a Vitiyālaya or street temple which is yet to be identified. Perhaps it was some temple at Sultan Batter because, according to traditional lore there were twelve Jaina streets in and around Batter and they were known as Hanneradu Bidi, meaning twelve streets.

In a slightly later period Jains had settled in Calicut as testified by the Tiruvannur record.

The inscription was yielded by Tiruvannūr temple in the vicinity of Calicut and it mentions Tirukkunavāy as

(56) M.H. Abraham, op. cit., p. 38.

(57) Ibid.

the model for Tirumannūr temple. (58) The inscription registers an agreement made in the fourth year opposite the fourth year of a king Sri Vāla Iramar or Irāi Irāyar. The record has been attributed to the 11th century A.D.

Studying this record with other Jaina temples which were associated with Tirukkunāvāy, there can be no doubt about the Jaina affiliations of the temples at Tiruvannūr. It may be noted in this connection that unlike the Jaina temples which followed Tirukunāvāy as their model, the Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite temples of Kerala in the contemporary period followed the rules and regulations of the Tirumūlikkalam temple, situated near the Cēra capital of Makotai. (Mahōdayapura, modern Cranganore or Koduṅgallūr). (59) The Tiruvannūr temple is now a siva temple. We do not know when the conversion of this temple took place.

(58) 'TIRUKKUNAVĀY CCEL UŪ CENLATAI MUTTICCORĀVŪR', 1.12.

meaning 'shall be deemed equal to one who obstructs the sacred offerings to Tirukkunāvāy.

ARSIL, No. 220 of 1895. For a translation based on the imperfect decipherment of Dr. Gundert See William Logan, Manual of Malabar (2 Vols.), Vol II, 1897, App. XII, pp. CXLII No.4 See also SII V, 1926, No.784, p.338'. For a corrected reading and a translation H.G.S. Narayanan, JIH, XLVIII, part III, Dec. 1970, S. no.144. Appendix A in 698-9; and also p. 692.

(59) H.G.S. Narayanan, op. cit., p. 692.

Another temple called Āryantrkkōvil near the Big Bazar at Calicut is built on the granite basement of a medioval circular shrine. This is at present in the possession of Svetāmbara Jain merchants from Gujarat and Cutch area. Several Digambara icons of an early date are kept in the Cellar of this temple.,

Before concluding this section a short note on the Jaina shrine at Tirukkunavay, which was the model for other Jaina temples in Kerala, seems to be necessary. The location of this temple is a subject of unending controversy among historians. Scholars have tried to locate it using mainly literary evidences. Most of them have identified this with Trkkanāmatilakam, also known as Matilakam, five miles to the north of Koduṅgallūr. (60)

The patikam of Cilappatikāram states that Ilāṅkō Aṭikal was residing at Kunavāyirkōttam after renunciation.(61)

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- (60) 1) Dr. S. Krushnaswami Aiyangar, Seran Vanji, p.24;
 2) M.K. Krishna Menon, RVAIB, VII, 'The 'Vanji Problem' p. 113;
 3) Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, Kerala Sahitya Caritram, I, pp. 53-4.
 4) Elamkulam P.M. Kunjan Pillai, Kokasandogam, Commentary, p.55 and see also Studies in Kerala History, Kottayam, 1970, p.261.
 5) H.G.S. Narayanan, JIH, XLVII pt. III Dec. 1970, No. 144, pp. 696-7.
- (61) "Kunavāyirkōttattaracu turantirunta Kutakkōccōral Ilāṅkō Aṭikatku".

Aṭiyārkkunalāār designated Kunavāyirkōṭṭam as Tirukkunavāyil. Kunavāy, literally means the eastern gateway and so it can be inferred that the place was situated on the eastern side of some important place.

Kunavāy is mentioned as a prosperous town in a 14th century poem called Unniyacci Caritam. (62) It seems to be significant that the town of Kunavāy is mentioned among the famous towns of Kerala. Sukasandēśa, a Sanskrit text of a slightly earlier period and Bhramarasandēśa, another Sanskrit work refer to Gunaka which is taken to be the Sanskritised form of Kunavāy. (63) Kokasandēśa, a Manipravālam poem which is attributed to the 15th-16th century refer to Gunaka and Kunaka. It is significant that this poem 'gives a factual account of Coastal route from Tirupparāṅgōḍe in the north to Adappalli in the South. (64) It has been suggested that this fact acquired

(62) P.V. Krishnan Nair (Ed) Unniyacci Caritam, Kottayam.

Unniyaccicaritam is a poem written in Campū style to enliven a dancing girl named Unniyacci who belonged to Tirumarutūr. The poet says that the home town of the heroine would defeat Kollan (Quilon), Koduṅgallūr (Cranganore or Kāṅkōtai of the later Ceras), Kunavāy, Putāvīṭu (?), Mangalāpuram (Mangalore) and Dorasamudram (the Hoysala Capital).

(63) Mathom Paramesvaram Nanbudiri (ed.) Sukasandēśa, Kottayam and Bhramarasandēśam.

(64) Elankulam Kunjan Pillai (ed.) Kokasandēśam, Kottayam.

new importance when we remember that Jainism was more popular among the trading communities . (65) But the important temple at Gunaka was dedicated to Śiva and from the poem we understand that Brahmins did not enter the temple. Some scholars think that this was due to the Jaina affiliation of the shrine in a previous period. (66) However it is to be noted that these assumptions are based on the identification of Gunaka with Kunavāy. If this identification is accepted, all the above opinions support the view that Kunavāy was in Kerala and it was located near Koduṅgallūr, probably at Tirukanāmatilakam or Matilakam, as the place is referred to at present.

In the present state of our knowledge we cannot give any conclusive evidence to prove the exact location of Kunavāy. The only thing which we are able to state is that the temple of Tirukunavāy existed at the time of the Alattūr record (c. 10th century A.D.) because the Adhikārar or the authorities of Tirukunavāy figure in that inscription.

Regarding the geographical positions of the early Jaina centres in Kerala it is interesting that almost all of them were situated far away from traditional Brahmin settlements. Some important centres like Palghat

(65) H.G.S. Narayanan, op. cit., p.21.

(66) Blankulam, op. cit., p.

and Tiruvannūr were in towns and trade centres. Further, the early centres of Jains in Kerala tended to be situated on trade routes thereby implying their relation with trade, though their ownership of land and involvement in agricultural activities cannot be ruled out altogether.

Some of the centres mentioned above were converted into Brahmanical temples. For want of tangible evidence we do not know the exact period of this conversion. Tiruccāranattumalai, which is now considered as a Bhagavati temple, is said to have continued as a Jain temple till the 13th century. (67) Kallil temple is also a Bhagavati temple at present but Svetambara Jains of Cochin visit this place and pay their homages to the Yaksi installed in this temple. Paruvaśśēri became a Bhagavati temple and the image of Chandraprabha Thirthankara receives offerings as Ayyappa or Śāstā, having been removed to a roofless enclosure outside the temple. The shrine at Tiruvamur appears to have been converted into a Śiva Temple. At present there is a temple at Talokkāvu; it was near this temple that the inscription was found. Perhaps the record belonged to that temple.

The temples in Palghat and Alattur, except those in Paruvaśśēri and Jaina medu were ruined. Some of the images and remains of structures were recovered

(67) Elamkulam, op. cit., p.

from the respective sites. Kinālor temple was completely ruined without leaving behind any trace except a stone record.

Later Centres

In the later medieval period also Wynad, particularly, the southern part of it, seems to have retained its importance as a Jaina centre. Pilgrims from far away places visited Batteri-Pulpalli area. This fact is attested by the Jaina image inscription which states that the idol was consecrated by Ratnaprabhasuri son of Chandraprabhasuri for the benefit of Yakkubai in the year V.S. 1308 equal to A.D. 1251. This image was found in the Panbra estate which is on the way from Batteri to Pulpalli. A worn out image of Tirthankara recovered from Talapoya, five miles north of Manantody on the way to Cannanore and Tellichert seems to belong to this period. (68) It is interesting that these are the only two images from Wynad which belonged to the svatanbara sect.

Wynad continued to be an important Jaina Centre right from the early medieval period to the present day. It seems that new centres came up in the area in the 17th century supported by the Karkala Jains. A number of Jaina temples or bastis are mentioned in an inscription of Saka 1606 (= 1684 A.D.).

(68) 239 of 1960-61. App. D.

The names of bastis mentioned in this record are:-

1. Aṛepati
2. Haṇṇeraḍu Bīdi
3. Bennegōḍu
4. Puttaṅgādi
5. Hosāṅgadi and
6. Pālagundu

Among these six temples, Aṛepati is now extinct. It is clear from the inscription that the jaladhārā or dhārāpīṭha, on the obverse of which this inscription is engraved was given to the 'Aṛepati Caityālaya' along with many other objects. This Caityālaya was situated on the locality remember the place where the temple stood but now there is no trace of such a structural building. Some of the silver, copper and bronze articles given to this temple are now kept in the Varadūr basti, which is two miles to the east of the extinct Aṛepati Caityālaya. The basti at Varadūr was built in the last century and was repaired some fifty years ago.

As is clear from the record, the Aṛepati Caityālaya was dedicated to Ādinatha or Ṛgabhanātha Tīrthankara. While all other Jaina temples are referred to as basti in this record this is the only one named as Caityālaya. However, we do not know whether there was any distinction between Caityālayas and bastis. There must have been the images of Gomukha Yakṣa and Cakreśvari Yakṣi, the

attending deities of Adinatha, for whom twelve kāsis were given. Neither this images nor the articles could be seen in the Varadūr basti.

Hanneradu Bidi basti, for which a Sodasabhāvanē yantra was granted, is at Kidānānād near Sultan's Batteri. (60) According to local tradition there were twelve Jain streets in and around Batteri. Hence the name Hanneradu Bīdi, meaning twelve streets. This was one of the seven traditional Jaina settlements, the other six being Mānikyapuri, Ksīrapuri, Kalpatta, Vānnayōtu, Arepati and Hosaṅgadi. Right from the early medioeval period the Jain streets and the temple at Batteri had won some reputation. This fact is clear from the Tālēkkāvu inscription recovered from Tālēkkāvu, near Pulpalli, twenty miles to the north of Batteri. (61) At present there are no Jains in Batteri but the members of the old generation of the Jains in Wynad recollect the day when this temple was under worship. Built of huge granite slabs and sculptured pillars, this temple is now a protected monument under the Department of Archaeology, Kerala state.

(60) C.A. Innes and F.B. Evans, Malabar Gazetteer, Vol I, p. 477.

(61) H.G.S. Narayanan, JKS, Vol XLVIII, Part III, Dec. 1970, "New Light on Kunavāyirkōṭṭam and the Date of Cilappatikāram". Appendix D. p. 701.

Puttaṅgadi is two miles to the east of Panamaram. There is a small farmer community of Jains at Puttangadi. There are two dilapidated granite temples which closely resemble the Hanneradu Bīdi basti at Batteri in architectural pattern and style. Both of them are now considered as Hindu temples. The one which is on the way to Niruvāram is now known as Janardana temple. There is a Kamada inscription without mentioning King or date which registers a grant to the temple by some private individual. There are beautiful sculptures and erotic images on walls and pillars. Devotees, minor deities, saints and beautiful dancing girls are carved on pillars of the Mukhamandapa and the Gopura, Sarasvati with Vīna on a pillar in the Mukhamandapa and the Anantasayana at the entrance of the main temple and the Dvārapālas at the entrance of Garbhagrha deserve special mention.

Another structural temple built of granite slabs is seen two furlongs to the east of the so called Janardana temple. Remains of a ruined Gopura and Mukhamandapa could be seen in front of this temple. At present this is known as Viṣṇugudi. It may be due to the occurrence of some Vaiṣṇavite figures on the pillars and walls that these shrines are regarded as Vaiṣṇava temples. If these are considered as Hindu temples it would be difficult to explain the occurrence of the images of Jain Saints and deities on the pillars and walls sculptured with considerable

importance. On the other hand there is reasonable explanation of the Vaisnava images. As Fergusson has rightly pointed out, in the medieval period Jains "allowed the existence of Hindu Gods and have admitted into their sculptures at least such of them as are connected with the tales of their saints". (63) Further it is to be borne in mind that some of the Vaisnava symbols like Matsya (fish), Kūrma (tortoise) etc. are Lāñchanas or Cognizances of some Jain Tīrthankaras.

On the northern wall of this temple there is a sculpture of Kṛṣṇa dancing on a single hooded serpent. Immediately on the right side of this figure is a Tīrthāṅkara in Kayōtsarga posture. According to Jain mythology Kṛṣṇa is the Cousin of Neminatha the 22nd Tīrthāṅkara. Another figure on this wall is of Brahmayakṣa the attendant deity of Śītala nātha, the 10th Tīrthāṅkara, riding on his vehicle (horse) with a sword in his hand. A similar image in bronze is found in the new basti close to this temple. Figures of Saints, in parayāṅkāśana and kayōtsarga postures are carved on pillars of Mukhamandapa in front of the main structure.

On the southern wall are beautifully sculptured figures of fish and tortoise. The fish might represent

(63) James Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol II, London, revised ed. 1910, p. 4.

the Cognizance of Aranātha, the 8th Tīrthan̄kara and the tortoise, that of Munisuvarata, the 20th Tīrthan̄kara. At the entrance of the Navaraᅅga halls is a beautiful sculpture of Garuda, the Yakᅅa of Neminatha the 22nd Tīrthan̄kara. From this Yakᅅa figure sculptured prominently at the entrance, and from the panel of dancing Kᅅᅅna and Tīrthan̄kara panel on the northern wall it could be rightly assumed that the presiding deity of this temple was Neminatha. There is the figure of a monkey near the Garuda figure which is the Cognizance of Abhinandana, the fourth Tīrthan̄kara.

The sculptured pillars of the Navaraᅅga hall possess artistic excellence. No two pillars are alike. Figures of male and female dancers, devotees, musicians playing various instruments and minor deities of Jain mythology are carved on these pillars. One of them bears a figure of Vijaya Yakᅅa, the attending deity of Chandraprabha, the 8th Tīrthan̄kara, riding on his mythical vehicle parrot. (64) One of the existing temples at Puttaᅅgadi seems to be the one referred to in the inscription.

As stated above, the new basti which was constructed in the last century is located near this temple. Both the above mentioned temples and the compounds around them are owned by the priestly class of the Jains at

(64) According to some other myths his vehicle is a goose.

Puttaṅgaḍi.

The other three bastis mentioned in the record are Bennegōḍu, Pālagundu and Hosāṅgaḍi. Bennegōḍu and Pālagundu bastis are on the way from Panamaram to Manantōḍy, the headquarters of N. Wynaḍ. Bennegōḍu is the Kannada rendering of the Malayalam Venṇeyōṭu. Similarly Pālagundu is the Kannada equivalent of Malayalam Pālakunnu. Each of these old sites has one new basti. However, there are no remains of any old structural building but for the images of Tirthaṅkaras.

Hosāṅgaḍi basti is now known as Manantōḍi basti. This is on the western side of the Manantōḍi river, a tributary of Kabbani. In olden times there was only one shop at Manantōḍy, which was some two miles to the east of the present town. To this day, the place is called Ontōṅgaḍi, meaning single shop. It was on the western side of the Manantōḍi river that weekly market was started in the later period. Subsequently a new market place also came into existence and hence the name Hosāṅgaḍi, meaning the new market. Even to this day the cattle fair and the weekly market are held on the western side of the river. When the new township developed on the eastern side of the river, Hosāṅgaḍi lost its prominence mainly because of the fact that the trade relations of Manantōḍi are with Mysore. The new

township on the eastern side of the river is accessible independently without the necessity of the Manantodi ferry.

The present Jaina basti at this place is built on the ruins of an old one. Pieces of stone beam and broken pillars are scattered on the premises of the new temple. Interestingly enough, one of the broken pillars bears the figure of Yaksi Kūsmāṇḍini, the guardian angel of Neminatha. That this is Kūsmāṇḍini is clear from the depiction of children, her cognizance. Two copper plate grants of A.D. 1714 by a local chieftain register gifts of landed property to this temple. (65)

These later centres in Wynad belonged to a group of Jains who had connections with the Jains at Kārkala. Perhaps they came to this region from S. Kanara as can be assumed from their customs, family relations etc. The exact date of their immigration is not known. With the conversion of Viṣṇuvaradhana of the Hoysala Dynasty, Jains in Karnataka lost a powerful royal patron. Viṣṇuvaradhana was not hostile to other religious orders. Epigraphic evidence prove that Santaladovi, Viṣṇuvaradhana's wife constructed a temple at 'Śravanabolgolā'!(66)

(65) Unpublished, Author's private collection. The copper plates are in the possession of Sri. D. Jinachandrayya, Vijayamandiran Estate, Kalpetta, S. Wynad.

(66) EC, Vol. II, intro. p. 7.

However some of the local chieftains of Karnataka continued to be Jains while others became supporters either of Saivism or Vaisnavism. Among these chieftains, the Saivites gave staggering blows to the followers of Jainism. (67) Salatore observes: "Nothing is more regrettable than that in the matter of showing tolerance of the followers of their rival creeds, especially to the Jains, the Hindus of S. India should have been so ungenerous as to have had recourse to a method of retaliation and revenge which was so alien to the proverbial hospitable nature of the Hindus. (68) The extortion and oppression which the Jains experienced in Karnataka resulted in their large scale emigration into the coastal regions like South Canara. The lithic and copper records of Jains in South Canara are mainly of this period. The head quarters of S. Indian Jainism was practically transferred to Canara not long after the conversion of the Hoysala king Vignuwardhana to Vaisnavism about 1137 A.D. (69) This would account for the fact that the Jaina antiquities of South Canara are of a later period. (70) Mankala in South Canara became the centre of Jains in

(67) Ibid., No. 334.

(68), B.A. Salatore, Medieval Jainism, pp. 288ff.

(69) J. Sturrock, South Canara Manual, Madras, 1894, p. 183.

(70) P.B. Desai, Jainism in South India.

Karnataka when the family of Bairasu Wodeyars, who were the strongest of Jain chiefs, made it their capital. The story given in Rice's History of Mysore states that Jinadatta and his descendants, Jain Kadamba chiefs of Humcha near Shimoga moved their capital to Sisila at the foot of a pass in the Uppinangadi Taluk and afterwards to Karkal near the Ghats in Udipi Taluk where under the name of Bairasu Wodeyars they continued in power under the Chalukyan, Hoysala and Vijayanagar kings, A Bairasu Wodeyar chieftain erected a statue of Gommata of Colossal size in Karkala in 1431. (71) In the 16th century they granted the hill in neighbourhood to a Citpāvan Brahman for planting arecanut trees. (72) Thus the family of Bairasu Wodeyars, with fluctuating fortunes, continued to hold sway until in the 16th century the Līngayat Śaiva family of Ikkeri overthrew them.

The Varadūr record highlights the close relations between the Jains of Karkal and those in Wynad. The Jains in Wynad and South Canara share some peculiar social customs and manners. They are followers of Digambara sect. The priestly and peasantry dichotomy is prevalent among them. The priestly class in S. Canara and Wynad speak Kannada at home. Jain bants in S. Canara, especially in Uppinangadi Taluk speak Kannada and unlike the Tulu practice they follow the patrilineal system of

(71) J. Sturrock, S.Canara Manual, Madras, 1894, p. 87.

(72) Ibid., p. 69.

inheritance. The Jains in Wynad who belong to non-priestly class are known as Gaundas. Their mother-tongue is Kannada and they follow the patrilineal system. They are similar to the Jain Bants in Uppinangadi Taluk who differ little from Bants proper in South Canara except that the Jain Bants wear sacred thread and abstain from animal food and night food. (73) Like Bants in South Canara, the Jains in Wynad also claim to be Ksatriyas, namely a warrior class. These customs and beliefs go to prove that the Jains in Wynad are the descendants of the immigrants from South Canara, especially from Uppinangadi Taluk, which was the ancient home of the Bairasu Wodeyars,

In the Jaina architecture of Wynad the influence of Hoysala style is clear. Unlike the temples of Kerala and S. Kanara, the Jain temples in Wynad, especially those in Puttengadi and Kidannanad near S. Batteri follow the peculiar pattern of the Garbhagrha, Sukhanāsi, Navarāṅga (pillared hall) and Mukhamandapa. The general treatment of the surface of the wall is also influenced by the Hoysala and in some cases that of Vijayanagara styles in depicting Puranic scenes and legends from Jaina mythology. A detailed study of architectural and sculptural pattern is attempted which shows that these monuments of

(73) Ibid., p. 191.

the Karnataka style of temples confirms the source of the influence.

When the Hoysala kings began to erect Vaisnavite temples in Mysore, many of the master builders of their court seem to have transferred their service to the court of Bairasu Wodeyars and other Jain chieftains in S. Kanara. These Jain builders were probably sent to Wynad at the request of the Jains in Wynad. At present this is only an hypothesis which may be proved to be correct when the palace records of the Bairasu Wodeyars and other Jain chieftains in Canara are examined fully.

The Jains in Karnataka and South Canara, a community of cultivation and trade had relations with Kerala, especially with Wynad in medieval period when this part was a great centre of interstate trade. Unniyacci Carita, a 14th century Manipravāla Campū describes Tirumarutūr on the way from Tirunelli temple to the plains, the home town of the heroine as a prosperous centre which could easily defeat Kollam (Quilon), Koduñgallūr (Cranganore, Capital of the later Ceres), Kunavay, Mangalāpuram (Mangalore) and Dvarasamudram, the capital of the Hoysalas. (74) The mention of Dvarasamudram as a great city clearly indicates that the Wynad people had known its glory most probably through the traders from Karnataka. The city of Maripuram referred

(74) Unniyacci, Ed. P.K.N. Pillai, Trivandrum.

to in Mūśakavansa Kāvya of 12th century may be identified with Tirumarutūr, (75) Based on these literary evidences the present writer is inclined to identify the medieval city of Tirumarutūr with the modern village of Varadūr, the find spot of the present record.

It is only natural for the Jain immigrants from Karnataka to settle down in and around Maratur, a prospering trading centre. Most of the centres referred to in the record are within ten or twelve miles of this place. These later Jains spread upto Jaina medu in Palghat, about 150 miles to the South and some of them settle down there. More than two centuries the Jains in Wynad could live peacefully in the Wynad plateau. By the end of the 18th century this part of the country was disturbed by perpetual conflicts between local chieftains of Kerala and the attacks of Muslims from Mysore. In the subsequent period Wynad became the battlefield of Palaśśi and the English East India Company. The result was that the Jains, like other communities, also had to seek refuge elsewhere in the plains leaving behind their temples and other properties. This would account for the dilapidated condition of these Jaina monuments.

(75) Mūśakavansa XIII, 25 Ed. T.A. Gopinatha Rao,
TAS, II. 1, No.10, pp. 87-113.

Chapter III

JAINISM, THE STATE AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL BODIES IN KERALA

Like many other facts about the history of ancient Kerala, the nature and extent of early contacts of Jains with Kerala are shrouded in obscurity. The earliest of the available sources in Kerala belong to the 9th century A.D. This does not necessarily mean that the advent of Jainism into Kerala is to be traced to that period. This chapter is an attempt to trace, as far as possible, with the aid of the available material, the mutual relation of the Jains and their institutions on the one hand and the state and other socio-political bodies in Kerala, *on the other.*

Members of the ruling family of the early Cheras are believed to have had relations with Jaina ascetics. A Tamil Brāhmī inscription in a cave on the Arunāttar hill at Pugalūr in Karūr Taluk, Tiruccirappalli District seems to throw some light on this issue. According to this inscription Ātan Cellirumporai caused the Urai (stone abode) to be cut for amannan (Sk. Śramaṇa, a Jaina monk) Coṅkāyapen when the former became the heir apparent. (1) The location of this record in Karūr, which was the seat of the early

(1) Nagaswami (Ed.) Seminar on Inscriptions, Madras, 1966, pp. 60-73. See also K.V. Ramesh (Ed.) Jaina Literature in Tamil and Some Epigraphs, Delhi, 1974, p. 102.

Ceras and the similarity in the name of the donor with the famous Cēra ruler Ātan Cēral Irumporai lead one to the identification of the heir apparent referred to in the record with the Cēra ruler of that name. If this identification is acceptable this becomes perhaps the earliest tangible evidence to indicate the patronage extended by the Cēra ruling family to Jainism in South India. We do not know whether the Cēras were Jains by religious persuasion. However, the support which Jain ascetics received from the trading community as attested by Tamil Brāhmi records in Tamil regions and the trade relations of the Cera territories with foreign countries testify the economic aspects of this royal patronage. This is not to present a monocausal explanation for the royal supports extended to the Jains in South India. Scholars have postulated that 'the Cēra kingdom must have been a sort of family estate in which all the grown-up males had a share and interest - what Kautilya calls a Kulasāṅgha, a family group which is considered to be a very efficient form of state organisation', (2) and that the Cēra dynasty had two branches, the Utiyan line and the Irumporai line. (3) The record cited above refers

(2) K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, Madras, 1971, p. 120.

(3) Vaidyanatha Iyer (Ed.) Patirrupattu, Introduction. (Sāhitya Academy, Trichur) note, 1. at the end.

to a member of the Irumporai line, probably the king who is praised in the eighth ten of the Patirruppattu by Arisil Kilār as Takatūr Erinta Peruñcēral Irumporai meaning, the Cēra King Irumporai who destroyed Takatūr, the Capital of the Atiyemans. This relation of one line of the Cēras with the Jaina faith would perhaps account for the early migration or at least occasional visits of the Jains to the coastal regions of the early Cēra territory which was under the Utiyan line. It can be inferred in this connection that the religious faith of Jains spread into Kerala travelling through a trade route which existed in earlier period. This inference is supported by the fact that the routes leading across Palghat gap and northwards from the Shengottai pass would send to Converge around the Pudukkottai tract as shown in the previous chapter. This tract was linked with routes crossing from the Palghat gap. The existence of such a route must have gone a long way in the early spread of Jainism into Kerala.

The installation of images of Yakṣa and Yakṣi at Tirumalai near Pōlūr in North Arcot District is another example of the royal support received by Jains. This incident is alluded to in a later epigraph belonging to the period of Vidugātalagiya Perumāḷ, an Atiyaman chief who was a strong supporter of the Cola king Kulottunga III (1178-1216 A.D.). (4) This bilingual inscription gives

(4) SII, I, p. 107, f.n.1. See also K.V. Ramesh, op.cit., p. 197.

g's name as 'Keralabhūrtā Yavanikā nāmnā' in the Skrit portion and as 'Vañjīyar Kulapati Elini' in the Tamil portion. In the opening line Elini is referred to as 'Adigamān'. (5) In this record the donor Viducātalakiya Perumāi (Sk. Vyāmuktasravanojvala) claims to be a descendant of the king Elini (Sk. Pāścāttatkula bhūsanāvitanrpaśri-rājarājatmaja). It is interesting to note that during the Caṅkam period the Cēras of Vañji or Karūr and the Atiyamāns of Tagadūr were enemies. The Cēra king Kalaṅgāykanni Nārmutticcēral of the fourth ten, praised by Kāppiyārṟu Kāppiyaṅār, defeated Neṭumitalaṅci, a chief and family member of the Atiyamāns. (6) The king Peruñcēral Irumporai of the eighth ten described as Takaṭūr erinta peruñcēral Irumporai won the Atiyamān king on the top of the Kollī hill and seized his drums and Crowns. (7) It appears that even at the time of the Patikams, which was considered to be later than the period of the Composition of the poems themselves, these two families were hostile to each other. By the time of our record the Atiyamāns

(5) The word Adigaimāni in the record which qualifies the King Elini as a member of the Adigamān family was taken by Hultzsch to mean 'he whose pride consists in excessive liberality'. ASI (New Series) Vol III, Southern India, Vol II, pp. 106-7.

(6) Patirruppattu, IV, 2.

(7) Ibid., Patikam VIII.

were considered as the descendants of the Cēra family of Eḷini referred to in the present record. A king of this name is not met with either in the list of the early Cēras of Karūr Vañji or in that of the Cēras of Makotai (modern Kodungallur). A possible inference is that the king referred to in the inscription must have ruled some time earlier than the Cēras of Makotai, (8) probably in the period of the 'Kalabhra interregnum'.

That almost all ruling families of the early South India of the Post-Sangam period had relations with the heterodox religions is clear from their stone and copper records. Pallavas and Pāṇdyas of the early period and their feudatories figure as donors in grants given to Jaina monasteries and pontiffs. A Caṭṭan Varaguna is said to be responsible for carving an image of a Jaina figure on the wall of the cave temple at Tiruccānattumalai. (9)

(8) The earliest known king of this later dynasty is Rājasekharadevar of the Vēlappalli copper plate, who belonged to the early part of the 9th century A.D., perhaps Cōraman Perumāḷ Nāyaṇār, friend and contemporary of the celebrated Śaiva Saint Sundaramūrti.

(9) See notes 22 and 23 to the previous chapter. Since the Pandya territory abounds in Jaina monasteries and pontificates it seems to be doubtful that a prince would go to such a distant place for education. There the present author is inclined to give more weight to the identification of Varaguna referred to in the record with the Āy king of that name.

It has been observed by a recent scholar that a fundamental change occurred in the concept of Kingship in South India which coincided with the emergence of the Pallavas as a strong dynasty. (10) The early concept of sacrificer-king was replaced by that of a protector-king and this change was perhaps one of the results of the wide spread Bhakti devotionalism of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints on the one hand and the revivalists of the Jaina church on the other. Both the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints and the Jaina monks insisted on the cult of Bhakti which is nothing less than the personal surrender of the self to individual gods. Naturally, temples were built for separate gods and goddesses and large amount of landed property was donated to them. Temples and the temple centered society of Brahmans and others amassed wealth, thanks to the Dānadharmā doctrine or 'the law of the gift' 'which was an important element of the role of kings'. (11)

(10) Nicholas. B. Dirkes, "Honour, Merit, Prosperity: From Ritual as Gift giving to Gift giving as Ritual in Early South Indian Kingship", June 1975 passim quoted by Arjun Appadorai in Kings, Societies and Temples in South India: 1350-1750, IESHR, XIV, No. 1. January-March 1977, p.48.

(11) Arjun Appadorai, Ibid.

It has also been argued that 'in the articulation and public display of sovereignty', even in the Cola period, temple building seems to have begun to play a powerful role. (12) Royal influence in the religious network and the temple administration, has been pointed out clearly by recent studies on South Indian history. (13) This has led scholars to form a hypothetical idea that the relationship of kings and royal agents to their predominantly agrarian localities was mediated by various groups of powerful local personages and groups.

These observations and hypotheses can be extended to the region of Kerala and can be tested in the light of available material. The Cēras of Makotai were particularly interested in traders and mercantile groups. Sthanuravi, the successor of the earliest known Cēra perumal gave some special privileges to the Tarisāppalli at Quilon, the newly emerging port-town on the west coast to the north of Viliññan. (14) The contemporary political events which

(12) Ibid., loc. cit.

(13) George W. Spencer, 'Religious Network and Royal Influence in the Eleventh Century South India', JESHO, XII, Pt. I, January 1969. pp. 42-56. Also, 'Royal Initiative Under Rajaraja', IESHR, VII, No. 4, December, 1970. pp. 431-42.

(14) TAS, II, Pt. I, pp. 60-85.

influenced the history of the Pandyan and the Cēra royal houses had been one reason for the royal patronage extended towards the foreign merchant groups headed by Sapir Iso, a Christian, (15) who was invited to settle in the newly established harbour town at Kurakkēni Kollam, modern Quilon.

In the previous chapter we have seen that the Jains in Kerala seem to have concentrated their interest in inland trade with the regions of Tamilnadu and Karnataka. If Uthanuravi invited foreign merchants to settle down in the port town of Quilon with an eye fixed on commercial prosperity by overseas trade, his successor Vijayarāga encouraged Jaina mercantile groups and patronised their religion by building religious institutions for them. One may remember the example of Vijayarāgesvarattu Palli probably named after the king with a double meaning to suit the Jaina or the one who has conquered the worldly desires. (16) The king Vijayarāga led an army to the territory of the King of Mūsakas through those areas according to the Mūsakavama Kāvya. (17) It has been inferred that

(15) The political events have been described in detail by H.G.S. Narayanan, see his Cultural Symbiosis, Trivandrum, 1972, pp. 32-3.

(16) See note No. 52 to the previous chapter.

(17) Vijayarāga or Jayarāga as seen in the Kāvya led the army to attack Isāna II Mūśaka who was his brother-in-law. However, the war was not fought thanks to the efforts of 'Goda', the son of Jayarāga and the nephew of Isāna. See Mūśakavama, XII, 30, 36, 50, 52, 53.

the temple must have been built by the king before the contemplated but unwaged war with his brother-in-law. This patronage becomes more significant when we know that the Mūsaka territory abounded in Jaina population as indicated by the Kāvya and that the Mūsaka kings always prayed for their blessings. (18)

In the later medieval period the royal family of Venād patronised Jaina monastery at Nāgerkōil which was on the other side of the pass of Aramboli. At the time of Bhūtalavīra Udaya Mārtānda Varma, large amount of the agrarian fields were donated to the pontifical heads of the monastery of this place, named Kamalavāhana Pandita and Gunavīra Paṇḍita. A large colony of Jains also has been traced in this locality. (19) This was the southernmost region of the Travancore State known as Venad in those days. Whether these grants have helped the king in the extension of royal control into new areas is a question of mere speculation but the strategic position of the colony of Jains proves to be of crucial importance especially for a dynasty which always was in fear of attacks from beyond the southern border. (20) The liberal grants

(18) Mūsaka Vemśa, XIV, 26.

(19) TAS, Vol I, p. 194, Vol II, pp. 127-9.

(20) Palm leaf manuscripts of Periyavittu Mudaliar family, which are now kept in the Archaeological department of Kerala state throw much welcome

offered to the monastery may be understood in this circumstance as a powerful factor in their hold over Vēṇād. Jainism in South India had ceased to be a strong monastic order by this time. It had adopted many practices of the Hindu particularly of Vaiṣṇavas. It may be pointed out in this context that the royal family of Vēṇād was devotees of Viṣṇu. The 'honour' thus conferred by a powerful monarch upon a monastery through land grant seems to have assured the king of the support of a religious institution and at the same time satisfied the material demands of the latter and also brought them into the influence of the former. Thus the gifts of the king of Vēṇād appear to have political as well as economic motivations.

Apart from Kings, local chieftains also figure in our sources either directly or as royal representatives participating in the temple administration.

The Nādudaiyavar or Governor of Irāmaṅgaṅgaṇādu makes an agreement with the officers of the temple. Arunnūruvar, the Six Hundred and Nilalōr, who evidently represented a group of bodyguards of the Governor. (21) It is also specifically stated that the Governor of the nādu or his officers are not entitled to receive any kind of payment from this Bhaṭṭārar, meaning the deity. This makes it clear that the Governor had no special power in

light on the political developments of this period in this area. Some of these records are published in the Kerala Society Papers. Some are unpublished and dubbed in the State Archaeological Department office.

(21) 220 of 1895 AR. II; 784 of SII, Vol V, p. 338.

the temple other than the authority conferred upon him by the ruler. In the Kiṇālūr record Ārappan Kuñci alias Kuṟumporai, the ruler of Kuṟumporaināḍu received payment and conferred on Cāttanārukkati of Tiruvañcakkalam some rights over the share of his properties at Kāntapuram, Mutakkaraiyūr, Kuṟatti and Paralātu for the expenses of daily worship. It is interesting to note that this tenant belongs to Tiruvañcakkalam which is near Koduṅgallūr, the Cōra capital and the Matilakan temple, which was the famous Tirukkuṇavay according to most of the scholars. (22) The reason for employing a person from such a distant place is not clear. However this practice shows the role of temples as centres of distribution of wealth which was characteristic feature of the medieval Kerala temples. The expense for each item of daily worship is specified in this record. The income of the temple was distributed among the servants of the temple who carried out various duties such as sribali, pūja dance and the supply of sandal paste and garland. The share of Ārappan Kuñci from M: nukulacōkarenallūr was assigned to a certain Cāttan Cirukaṇṭan for instituting daily worship, feeding and dance. Such redistribution of temple wealth among various sections of society helped in integrating them into a temple centred social structure.

(22) 140 of 1901 ARSIE; 174 of SII, Vol VII, p. 74.

Besides Kings, local chieftains and Governors of Nāḍu, groups of militia often referred to in terms of numbers, perhaps showing the strength of the group, appear in the records. Thus we have the Six Hundred (arunūruvar) of Irāmaḷalanāḍu mentioned in the Tiruvāṅṅūr inscription, the Seven Hundred (Elunnūruvar) or Kurumporaināḍu referred to in the Kiṅālur record and the Three Thousand (Mūṁāyiravar) of the Kiṅālūr and Ālattūr epigraphs. From the contemporary Hindu temple inscriptions it is understood that the number by which each group is mentioned is constant throughout the period. It has been observed that the King as well as the governors of districts appear to have maintained groups of men who were body guards, trusted companions and men of all work at the same time. They are present with the king or governor who makes an appearance anywhere and their numbers counted in hundreds perhaps give a clue to the comparative size and strength of the territory under each prince. (23) The medieval stone and copper plate records of Kerala mention the Munnūruvar (Or the Three Hundred) of Maṅṅalaināḍu, Aiṅṅūruvar (The Five Hundred) of Purakilanāḍu, Arunūruvar (the Six Hundred) of Ēraḷalanāḍu, Irāmaḷalanāḍu, Kiṅṅalaināḍu and Valluvanāḍu and Elunnūruvar (The Seven Hundred) of Kurumporaināḍu. These large bodies mentioned in the

(23) M.G.S. Narayanan, "Political and Social Conditions under The Kulasekhara Empire", p. 345.

medieval records as participating in assemblies and taking decisions led previous scholars to postulate a democratic character to the village administration. Recent researches have proved that this idea needs a reconsideration. (24) It is made clear that the mention of the group in numbers does not necessarily mean that the whole body including all members was present on the given occasion. The name of the body like Arunnūrruvar or Elunūrruvar was used to denote the leader or commander of the group. Often, only the leader or perhaps a few members of such bodies were present on such occasions as meetings of temple councils making resolutions and taking decisions on the temple administration. An inscription from Tiruvanvandūr in Kerala makes this clear by referring to Nanrulanāttu Munnūrruvar as one person. (25) Groups of this kind are met with throughout South India. (26) William Logan is of opinion that Sahasravar, the Thousand and Munnūrruvar, the Three Hundred mentioned in Karnataka records of the 13th century belonged to the same type of organisation. (27)

Those bodies who were connected with the temple

(24) Ibid., p. 354.

(25) Ibid. The record reads, "Nanrulanāttu Munnūrruvarum.....
can Cāntanum Mañkalattu Amaran Kunrappōlanam
Nanrulanāttu..... Yanum i nālvarum".

(26) B.A. Salatoro, Ancient Karnataka I, p.

(27) Logan, Malabar Manual, Vol II, Appendix XIV, p.CCXI.

activities often figure as protectors of temple properties. The protective measures taken by the temple authorities are in addition to the moral threats in which the transgressors of the temple property are equated with those who obstruct holy places and those who have committed the sins of killing brahmāns and Cows on the banks of the holy Ganges. In the Tirumannūr inscription the Six Hundred of Irānavalanādu was entrusted with the responsibility of protecting Devasvam, the property of Gods and Brahmsvam, the property of Brahmins. They are requested to protect the property of the deity treating it as equal to that of Tirukkunavāy. Those who obstruct the property of Tirumannūr shall remit a fine of twenty five Kalañjus of gold to The Six Hundred. This shows the power and responsibilities of the group in connection with the temple administration. Similarly The Seven Hundred of Kurumporai along with the Three Thousand shall supervise the measurement of rice due to the Kinālūr temple and rectify mistakes. It seems that the seven Hundred was the group of Arappan Kuncī, the governor of Kurumporainādu and the Three Thousand was a body representing the King's own men, which is said to be present at Alattūr without stating any particular responsibility. Some times these bodies are placed in charge of some property as Kilitu as in the case of Tirumannūr. The rent was due to the temple itself as is clear from the record (11-7-8). In addition to the rent from the

Kīlītu the Six Hundred, was to perform worship in the temple with five measures of rice every day. (11. 8-9).

The above description makes it clear that apart from being the protectors of the temple property these groups who were purely local in character had functions in connection with the land revenue from the temple property and its distribution among various functionaries from the priest to the cultivators including temple servants and pilgrims. This is quite in keeping with the contemporary Hindu temple records and this fact points to the similar administrative system and the royal influence in the Jain temples in Kerala. Though our sources are extremely limited, their striking similarity with the contemporary Brahmanical temple records enables us to make a comparative study which may help us to get a somewhat satisfactory account of the relation of the royal personages and local bodies with the Jaina religious Institutions.

The local bodies mentioned above are connected with chieftains and their functions are more or less administrative in nature. Apart from these a certain group called the Narpattennāyiravar is mentioned in some of our early inscriptional sources. Though they are named in terms of numbers, possibly some conventional strength of the body, their function is evidently different from those of the other bodies referred to in the records. The

existence of such a group in various places in South India has been noted previously but not further details are furnished about this group except that the number cannot be taken to prove the existence of assemblies consisting of as many numbers as seen in these names. (28) Since no satisfactory interpretation of this term has been given so far it would be useful to bring together all the available details of this assembly which may give us an idea about the territorial distribution and activities of this group. Besides, such an account will help us to gather some valuable information about the relation of this body with various religious sects.

Narpattennāyiravar figure in the Tālēkkāvu inscription as the donor by whom a lamp was instituted and certain amount of land was set apart for the purpose. (29) The record states that the body of Narpattonnāyiravar established a nagaram which shows that the group was involved in trade activities. Probably this is the only inscription which informs us with some certainty about the

(28) K.V. Subramania Iyer, TAS, Vol III, pt. I, p. 55.

See also IA, XXIV, p. 284 and Nagamaya, Travancore State Manual, I, p. 255.

(29) For an incomplete see M.G.S. Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis, Trivandrum, 1972, p. 75. The present author has prepared a complete text of this inscription.

nature and function of Nārpattennāyiravar. In the Ālattūr inscription also this group is present along with some other bodies, while making some arrangements regarding the administration of the temple property, but no details can be extracted from the text about this group. (30)

The name Nārpattennāyiravar is mentioned in several epigraphs found in the Districts of Tiruccirappalli, Rāmanāthapuram, North Arcot and Chingelput Districts in Tamilnadu. They appear in records from about 9th century to the 13th century A.D., spanning a period of about four centuries.

A Nārpattennāyirapperumballi at Ilayangudi in Paramakkudi Taluk in Ramanathapuram District is known from a record registering an endowment of land as Palliccandam for conducting worship and festivals in the temple of Bhāravati Nāyakar. (34)

The name Nārpattennāyiram connected with this Jaina monastery hence would indicate the association of this body with the Jaina religion. (32) The Appāndanātha temple at Tirumarungondai in Tirukoyilur Taluk, South Arcot District also seems to have been called Nārpattenna-

(30) For a detailed note on this inscription see I.I.43 of the chapter I. Jain Centres in Kerala.

(31) 33 of 1946-47 of ARSIE.

(32) This inscription is cited in the article by K.C.

Krishnan "Jaina Monuments in Tamil Nadu", p. 102, no. 58 in the book entitled Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture.

virapperumballi. (33) The record which mentions the former is attributed to the 12th century A.D. while the Appāndanāthar temple record belongs to the 9th century A.D.

An inscription on the norther wall of the Saptarsivara temple dated in the year opposite to the fourth of some king, whose name is not given, registers a gift of money made by the Pallava King Nandippottaraiyar who fought and won the battle of Tellaru. (34) A gift of Sixty Palankāsu for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahadeva at Tiruttuvatturai in Idaiyārrunādu was received by the members of the assembly of Nallimangalam who themselves

(33) Ibid., p. 95. In a private correspondence the author writes that the record concerning the expression Nārpattennāyirapperum balli does not give any more information and that it just means that the Jaina monasteries owe their existence or survival to the group called Narpattennayiravar.

(34) No. 12A of SII, Vol XIV, p.8. For an identification of this King see T.V. Mahalingam, Kancipuram in Early South Indian History, Madras, 1969, p. 137ff and 204. The editor of SII, Vol XIV writes that this record may be assigned to the king Māranjataiyen alias Varaguna since 12B engraved close to this record belongs to the 4 + 9 year of Māranjataiyen alias Pāndiyakulapati Varaguna maharaja. This year equal
to 824 A.D.

were bound to bring to the temple and measure out daily one Nāli of ghee. The record states that this must be protected by Pannāheśvaranārpattennāyiravar. (35) Perhaps this inscription and the Tālēkkāvu epigraph cited are the earliest records which mention Nārpattennāyiravar.

An undated inscription at Gangājatādhara temple in Govindaputtūr Udayarpalayam Taluk, Trichinopoly District says that an agreement was made by Śivabrāhmanās headed by Kāśyapan Kuran Śingam and others. They bound themselves to be supervised by the Mahēśvara Nārpattennāyiravar and to pay fines to the Vāriyapperumakkal in case of default.(36)

An interesting record in the Udvāhanāthasvāmi Temple at Tirumanjeri in Mayuram Taluk, Tanjore District registers the gift of various articles like a plate, trumpet, a hanging lamp and a bell along with an image of worship. The gift was made by a Solivan Vāniyar named Munden Arangan alias Nārpattennāyira Māvilatti. (37) This record is roughly attributed to the time of Parantaka I (907-955 A.D.). The terms Vāniyar meaning traders and Nārpattennāyiram which occur in the donor's name suggest some relationship of the group with trading community.

(35) "Pannāheśvaranārpattennāyiravarum rakṣai".

(36) No. 331 of SII, Vol. XIX, p. 167.

(37) No. 99 of SII, Vol. XIX, p.51. The meaning of the word Māvilatti is not clear.

A Pattasāli Sellūrkāri Pevalakunru alias Narpattennāvira annadana naṅgai and Sollūr Kāri Pārpati figure as donors of an amount of $6 \frac{3}{4}$ mākāni kāsu for feeding Sivavogis and Maheśvaras. (38) This inscription found in the Tiruvarur temple in Nagapattinam Taluk in Tanjore District is dated in the 27th regnal year of the Cola King Kulōttuṅga I (1096-97 A.D.). The record registers the sale of land which was made tax-free to God Tirumalai Udaiyar Mahadeva by a sabha receiving the gift from the donors mentioned above.

An inscription of 1167 A.D. in the Guhānāthasvāmi temple at Kanyākūṁāri in Kanyakumari District records that the servants of the temple sold the land adjacent to the temple to Narpattennāvīravar for the purpose of establishing a watershed. This land transaction was according to an agreement with the temple authorities and the body of Narpattennāvīravar. (39)

A Sivabrahmana called Tēvan Peruman alias Narpattennāvīrāpattan figures in an epigraph of 1181 A.D. in Vēdāraṅyam, Tirutturappuṇḍi Taluk in Tanjore District. (40) The donor is certain Pallikondaṅḍa Nagara Isvaramudaiyān alias Vīrasīṅga Panmar of Gunamalaippuram who gave 150 anrātunarkāsu for a perpetual lamp to the God, Tirumaraikēdu Udaiyar.

(38) No. 623 of SII, Vol. XIX.

(39) TAS, Vol I, no. VIII, pp. 168-9.

(40) SII, Vol. XVII.

Kāṣiparōttirattu Nārpattennāvira Bhattan and some others belonging to different gotras received a grant of 16 mādais for a perpetual lamp according to a record dated in the 29th year of Rājaraja III (1245 A.D.). (41) This record was found in Ramagiri, Tiruvallur taluk, Chingelput District. It is stated in the record that the recipients of the gift are all Sivabrahmanās.

A Cōlapuram inscription dated in the 19th regnal year of Jātavarman Sundara Sōla Paṇḍya Dēvan (1270 A.D.) refers to a gift of Nārpattennāvira Marali Dēvi, a woman ascetic of the village. (42) 12 1/2 cows were given for half of a lamp to the god Rājendra Sōla Iśvaramudaiyar of the temple at Kōttāru alias Mummudisōmanallūr in Nāñjinād in Uttamasōla Valanādu. Kōttāru is near Nagerkovil. The significance of the word marali is not clear.

One nārpattennāvira kālān signs as a witness in a record of Saka 1286 (expired) = 1364 A.D.), which registers that with the sanction of Kōpanṅal, the authorities of the Rājasimhēsvara temple at Kāñcipuram sold some houses in the northern row of the sannidhi street to certain Kudalis at the price of 150 panas. (43)

(41) Ibid., no. 713.

(42) TAS, Vol VI, pt. I, no.9, p. 13. "Pen tavaci nārpattennāvira marali tēvi".

(43) SII, Vol I (reprint, 1972), p. 123.

A Nārpattennāyiravan Matham is mentioned in an inscription found at Tiruppalatturai in Trichinopoly Taluk and District. (44) This monastery which is now known as Śankarācāryasvāmi Matha is at Tiruvānaikkāval and it belonged originally to the Śaivite matham of Tiruccattimurram and was presided over by the teachers in the lineage of the Mudaliars of this place. (45) That it was also called Tirujñāna sambandam Matham and that it was a branch of the matha at Rājarājapuram belonging to Tiruccattimurrattu Mudaliar are also clear from another inscription recording the grant of a village of Karumangurai alias Parakecarimangalam to this monastery. (46) Tiruccattimurram was one of the Śaivite centres on the south of the river Kāveri (Arasilaru) figuring in the legends of Appar and Sambandar. (47) It is also clear from the inscriptions that the priests presiding over the matha at Tiruvānaikkāval were direct disciples of Namassivāyadēvar of the lineage of Tiruccattimurrattu Mudaliyar. (48)

The above survey broadly divides the body of

(44) ARSIE of 1909, pt. II, p. 105, para. 53. See also Kangacary's list, North Arcot Inscriptions 715 and Tanjore 833.

(45) Nos. 585, 586 of Appendix B of 1908 ARSIE.

(46)

(47) 392 of 1908 ARSIE.

(48) 486, 477 of 1908 ARSIE.

Nārpattennāyiravar into two:

- (i) Those who are related with Jaina temples and Monastic orders;
- (ii) Those who are related with the Śaivite temples and other activities of the Śaivite movements.

Their association with Jaina establishments is proved only by four records, two of them in Kerala and the rest in South Arcot District in Tamilnadu. Most of the records which indicate the Jaina affiliation of this body belong to an earlier period. However in most of the records they appear either as witnesses or as recipients of gifts or as protectors of the temple property. This shows the power and prestige they enjoyed through the length and breadth of a vast area of South India.

The emergence of the body of Nārpattennāyiravar in the Cola period coincides with the revivalism in the Śaivite movement in South India. The Śaiva movements appear to have gradually grown stronger and stronger under the Cola rulers. By the beginning of the 13th century A.D. we notice a large number of Mathanas presided over by Śaiva ganyāsīs spreading their influence over a large portion of the Tamil country. This new revivalistic movement had some popular ideas which helped it to spread among the common people. Unlike the Advaita philosophy which does not exclude pious devotion to be practiced in the first stage of spiritual development and which insist on strict adherence to the paths of Karma, as laid down in the Śāstras, the popular Śaiva creed, on the other hand, paid much attention to the

devotion to Śiva. Further it received into its fold all classes of people without any distinction of caste. It appears that those tendencies shown by the popular Śaiva movement must have attracted various sections of people into its fold. The presence of the body of Nārpattennāyāraṅgar both in the Jaina as well as in the popular Śaiva movement and its association with the Tiruccattimurattu Kudaliyars and their descendants seem to indicate their interest in the lower strata of the society and their activities.

At least in one instance in Kerala, their status as a trade guild is explicitly mentioned. In Talekkavu Inscription the body of Nārpattennāyāraṅgar not only figures as the donors of landed property for burning a perpetual lamp for the Yakṣa in the temple, but also as instituting a Nakaram. It has been pointed out the term Nakara may be employed for a city or a trading corporation. (49) It is defined by Meyamata as 'a town situated in the Centre of a Rāṣṭra or near a river protected by stakes, mud, surrounding walls, battlements and fire all round'. An instance of a merchant founding a nakaram at Quilon is referred to in the Taricāppalli copper plate of Sthānu Kāvi. (50) Nilakanta Sastri points out that 'the meaning of a trade corporati

(49) K. Rangachary, "Town Planning and House Building in Ancient India", IHQ III, p. 831.

(50) H.G.S. Narayanan, op. cit., pp. 297-8.

gradually attained popularity and that this meaning is derived from the first since towns were big trading centres'. He adds that 'the nagara was in all probability a primary assembly of merchants which was organised as one of the local assemblies in important trade centres'. (51) This would indicate the character of the body of Nārpattonnāviraver who is also present in the Ālattūr inscription. The occurrence of this group in various contexts in the inscriptions from Tamil region seems to show their multifarious roles in temple activities. Their relation with various religious orders need not necessarily show their religious affiliations. Instead it appears that they associated themselves with temples of different sects which had control over the resources of the hinterland. The terms like Nārpattonnāvirabhattan and Nārpattennāvirakon would then mean that these persons were appointed by the body in their respective positions in order to discharge certain duties. Their participation in land transactions and in public works such as construction of watersheds would show their interest in the economic activities of the contemporary temples.

The foregoing survey shows that the early Cola as well as the Perumal kings of Makotai and the King of

(51) The Cola, p. 503.

Vēṇēd extended their patronage towards the Jains in Kerala. They constructed temples, installed images and donated property for their institutions. Following the kings, the rulers of nāḍus also donated gold and land to Jain institutions. The political bodies like munnūrruvar (the Three Hundred), Ainnūrruvar (the Five Hundred), Arunūrruvar (the Six Hundred), Eḷḷunūrruvar (the Seven Hundred), Mūvāyiravar (the Three Thousand) also were related to the temples of Jains in Kerala with some functions regarding the protection of the temple properties against defaulters. It seems that the royal patronage extended towards the Jain institutions had social as well as political motivations. Through the generous gifts they could hold the Jain church in Kerala under their influence. Apart from the kings and rulers and the political bodies, some trade organisations were also related with the Jain temples in Kerala. For example, Narpattannayiravar, who are met with elsewhere in South India mostly in connection with the Śaiva institutions figure in some Jain institutions in Kerala. This seems to indicate that Jain institutions in Kerala were involved in economic activities. However, like the contemporary Brahmanical religious institutions Jain temples also interacted with the state and other political bodies and trade guilds.

Chapter IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FUNCTION OF JAIN TEMPLES IN KERALA

The Jaina Canonical texts of the earlier period do not prescribe temple building or idol worship as a prerequisite for the deliverance of soul. Probably the temple cult and the idolatry emerged in the Jaina order as a necessary consequence of the settled life of monks as well as the establishment of monasteries. These new developments, which were caused by liberal land grants and donations to Jaina monks by kings and chieftains of South India, resulted in a new way of life and outlook of Jaina monks and preceptors. The involvement of Jaina monasteries in agricultural activities helped the Jaina religion to percolate into lower strata of the society and to extend its roots among the common folk on a large scale. As a result of this more and more people were attracted to the religion, which necessitated the assimilation of some of the practices and beliefs of the common people. Perhaps this reciprocal interrelation of the monks on the one side and the laity on the other must be the reason for introducing new practices and customs into the Jaina order.

It has been pointed out that Samantabhadra, who perhaps belonged to the early century of the Christian era, was probably the earliest preceptor to lay down worship

as a religious duty of laymen. (1) Following him the later ācāryas further developed the system of worship, introduced elaborate rituals and codified rules and regulations for temple worship.

Paumacariya of Vimala Suri, a Prākṛt text, gives us some details about the worship of Jaina images and installation of idols and the abhiṣeka or bathing rituals. (2) The Paramārthaprakāśa, explicitly states that those who do not perform astavidhānārcana, the eight fold worship of the Five Perfect Beings i.e., Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya, Upādhyāya and Sarvasādhu, cannot attain salvation. (3)

- (1) Ram Bhushen Prasad Sing, Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka, Delhi, 1975, p. 23. Śravanabelgola inscriptions mention Samantabhadra frequently as one of the three early pioneers of the Jains in South India. Decal says that Samantabhadra is often characterised by the epithet Vanavāsin, probably denoting his association with Benavasi. Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs, Sholapur, 1957, p. 184, note 1 and also IA, XII, p. 247.
- (2) M. Santilal Vora (Tr) Paumacariya, part I, chapter 32. Verses 70 ff. p. 252 f. The date of Paumacariya is controversial. Some scholars think that it was composed in the 1st century A.D. while some others led by Jacobi hold that it belongs to the 3rd century A.D.
- (3) A.N. Upadhye, (Ed), Paramārthaprakāśa, v. 168, p. 132. This work is attributed to the 6th century A.D.

Varāṅgacarita refers to two kinds of worships, bhāva pūjā and dravya pūjā and also points out the differences between the two systems. (4) This text describes the merit of building temples, setting up images and worshipping the deities. This text furnishes the most detailed description of the rituals of the sacred bath ceremony of the Jinas. (5) The Padmapurāna, composed by Raviṣeṇa in the 7th century A.D. advises people to erect Jaina images, worship them with flower, incense, light etc. for blessings in the present life and that in the other world. This text further states that installing Jaina idols and performing worship to them would help a man to accomplish the most difficult worldly duties. (6) Later works like Yasastilaka Cāmpū of

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- (4) A.N. Upadhye, (Ed.), Varāṅgacarita, Bombay, 1938, Chapter 22, Vol 43ff. p. 216. Upadhye thinks that this is a work of Jatasimhanandi and he places the author at the end of the 7th century A.D. Bhāvanpūjā means the concentration of mind on the various qualities of the deities and dravyapūjā means the proper worship of the idols of Jinas with elaborate ritual and offering of eight articles which included rice, sandal, incense and flower. It may be noted that dravyapūjā implies the worship of idols.
- (5) Ibid., ch.22, V.33ff, pp.215-6 and ch.23, v 60ff. pp. 225-6.
- (6) Padmapurānam, Bharatiya Jnana Pith, Kasi, 59, part I, ch. 14, vv. 92-3 and v. 213, p. 321.

Somadova Sūri (959 A.D.) and Vasunandi śrāvakācāra of the early years of the 12th century A.D. speak of the merits of performing religious activities like installing idols and worshipping them.

Epigraphical evidences from copper and lithic records of the contemporary period corroborate the above mentioned data collected from religious literature. According to a copper plate grant of the Kadamba King Hrgesa Varman, a Jaina temple was constructed by him in the city of Palāsika, modern Halsi, in his eighth regnal year. (8) His successor Ravi Varma made arrangements to conduct festivals on specific occasions for the glorification of Jinendra. (9) An inscription of the sixth regnal year of the Calukya King Kīrthivarman II says that a Jaina temple was erected by Kaliyamma, the Gāvunda of Jobulagiri in Dharwar district. (10) During the reign of Pulakesin II, Durgasakti of the Sendrak family donated 500 nivartanas of land for the worship and offering to the god Sankha Jinendra. (11) Similar records obtained from Karnataka

(7) Hiralal Jain (Ed.), Vasunandi śrāvakācāra, v.482 p.136.

(8) IA, VI, p.24.

(9) Ibid., p.26

(10) BKI, I, pt. I, no.5, p.3.

(11) Ibid., IV, no.3, p.2.

explicitly or implicitly refer to the practice of temple building and installation of images during the 7th-8th centuries.

In Tamilnadu also the practice of temple building and idol worship began at least in the same period. An inscription of the sixth regnal year of the Pallava King Sinhavarman records a grant of landed property as Palliccandam for the worship of Jinendra and Jainendrag. (12) Another record of Pañcapāṇḍava malai states that a certain Nāraṇaṇ of Pugalālamāṅgalaṃ caused to be carved an image of Ponniyakki attended by a Jaina monk, probably the preceptor Nāganandi. (13) There are a number of records from North Arcot, Madurai, Ramanāṅṅapuram, Tirunelveli and Tiruchirappalli districts which record installation of images of Jinas and gifts for kinds of offerings. (14)

From these literary and epigraphic sources it becomes clear that the Jains practices of building temples, installing images and offering worship were prevalent throughout South India during the early medieval period. It can be also assumed that the spread of these practices which followed

(12) Pallavar Coppētukal Kuppattu, pp. 1-32.

(13) AI, IV, pp. 136-7. Desai thinks that this is an image of Siddhyika, the attendant deity of Mahavira. For an iconographic note see Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs, Sholapur, 1927, p. 40.

(14) II, III, no. 51, XIV, nos. 22, 32, 39, 41, 45.

a universal pattern was a result of an organised movement. This was the period which witnessed the activities of the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite Saints who propagated the idea of Bhakti devotionism. Jainism in South India rose to the occasion, accepted the challenge and adopted various methods including the cult of Bhakti to gain ground. The wave of Jaina bhakti movement reached Kerala probably in a slightly later period. The earliest traces of structural temples of the Jains belong to the 9th or the 10th century A.D.

Acceptance of tantric mode of worship and other tantric and occult practices was another policy for attracting popular attention. This aspect also can be studied only in the back ground of the South Indian Jainism. It has been observed that 'the growth of Jaina tantrism was the natural outcome of the early medieval age, which witnessed the infiltration of tantrism into Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism'. (16) It appears that the tantrism was introduced into the Jaina order through the cult of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇis. These supernatural beings were subordinate deities attending upon Jinas. They had no independent existence. In the earlier texts and iconographic representations

(15) We have discussed this problem in detail in the chapter on 'Jaina Centres in Kerala'.

(16) R.D.P. Singh., Jainism in early Medieval Karnataka, Delhi, 1975, p. 56.

their subordinate position is clear. (17) But in some later sculptures like that in the Meguti temple at Aibole the position is elevated to that of an independent deity. Further, the Yaksi at the Meguti temple has two lady attendants. (18) It has been suggested by previous scholars like P.B. Desai that the change of the Yaksi images from the left side of the Jinas to the more important right side also, shows the prominence attained by these goddesses. (19) Desai, who has carried out intensive studies on the South Indian Jainism is of opinion that the Yānaniyas, a section of Jains in Karnataka who were responsible for the introduction of some new ideas like the equality of women, played an important role in propagating the cult of yaksis. (20)

The Jaina cult of Yaksi worship has been described

(17) Jas Burgess, Digambara Jaina Iconography, p.5.

In a sculpture of c 7th century Ambika Yaksi of the 22nd Tirthankara is depicted on the left side of the Jina as waiting upon her lord. She has four arms and two children on her lap.

(18) Henry Cousens, Chalukyan Architecture of the Karnataka District, p. 31.

(19) P.B. Desai, op. cit., p.38. For a similar view see also A.D.P. Singh, op. cit., p.52.

(20) Ibid., p. 170. For a comment on this aspect based on sociology see H.M. Raghava Varier, Monastic Life of Jains in Karnataka, (unpublished term paper submitted to the JNU) 1978, p. 38.

by some scholars as an entirely new phenomenon among the Jains of Karnataka during the early medieval times. (21) However, some other scholars have pointed out that the worship of yaksas and yaksis in one way or other comes from a hoary past and that these demi gods and goddesses are said to have been connected with the cults of mother goddess and fertility. (22) This observation is supported by several sculptural representations from Buddhist sites in North India as well as in the Deccan. (23) This is not to argue that the practice was diffused from the Northern India. Instead, the Yaksi worship in South India seems to have been evolved from local cults of mother goddess. The folk character of the tantric aspects of the yaksi worship seems to support this view. (24) Further, it may be remembered that the important tantric texts like Jvālini kalpa and Bhairavi Padmāvati kalpa which codify and systematise the worship of yaksis, were composed in South India. According to these texts the worship of these yaksis was originated by Jain preceptors of South

(21) R.B.P. Singh, op. cit., p. 51.

(22) Ananda K. Coomaraswami, Yaksas, Delhi, 1971, part I, p. 33 and part II, p. 43.

(23) Ibid., see parts I & II plates.

(24) Jvalinikalpa, Ch. IV, Verse 1. Quoted by R.L. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan, Delhi, 73, pp. 114-5.

India. (25) However, the sculptural evidence which preceded the literary texts would indicate that the cult was prevalent among the people and that later preceptors systematised the worship codifying rules and regulations for the same.

In Tamilnadu the earliest available evidence which indicate the existence of the worship of yakṣis belong to the middle of the 8th century A.D. (26) The characteristic

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- (25) Jvālinikalpa was composed by Indranandi Yogīśvara in 939 A.D. under the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa III. The text says that the worship of Jvālamālinī was originated by Hēlacārya of the Drāvida Saṅgha. Propitiating this Yakṣi in the Nilgiri Hills, the preceptor Helacarya rescued one of his disciples from the evil spirit of Brahmarākṣasa (P.B. Vesai, op. cit., p.). Bhairavi Padmāvati Kalpa was written by Mallisena Suri who lived in the 11th century A.D. He was a reputed scholar in Sanskrit. This text codifies the worship of Padmāvati, the attendant Yakṣi of Pārsvanātha. According to tradition Padmāvati is responsible for the prosperity of the Sāntara chiefs of Karnataka (Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 138; EC., VIII, Nos. 35).
- (26) II, IV, pp. 136-7. The inscription on rock in Pañcapāṇḍavamalai, N. Arcot District, states that the Yakṣi image, under which the epigraph is engraved, was caused to be carved by certain Paranan of

features of Medieval yaksi images like independent status and prominent position are present in the Tamilnadu sculptures also. This seems to indicate that there was a universal pattern for the worship of yaksis. From the sculptural representations it can be inferred that Jaina preceptors and revivalists made efforts to popularise the yaksi cult. The yaksi image at Pañcapāṇḍavamalai referred to above is depicted as attended by a saint, probably the preceptor Naganandi. (27) Ajjanandi, who caused the yaksi image at Tiruccānattumalai to be sculptured was responsible for carving some yaksi images elsewhere in South India. (28) These activities seem to

Pugalalamangalam. The record also says that the yaksi represented by the sculpture is Pomniyakki. P.B. Desai has identified this image of yaksi with the female figure seated on a raised platform. He also identified the yaksi Pomniyakki with Sidhāyikā, the attendant deity of Mahāvira (Desai, op. cit., pp. 39-40)

(27) Desai, Ibid.

(28) From the epigraphical and sculptural evidences it can be inferred that the main share of activities of the preceptor Ajjanandi was the Madurai District. The sculptures caused to be made by him can be seen at Vallimalai in the North Arcot District and at Srāvādi in the Tirunelveli District. For a detailed description of the Ajjanandi's revivalistic activities see P.B. Desai, op. cit., pp. 62-65.

represent a revivalistic movement which formed part of a conscious effort to propagate popular cults and practices. It is to be remembered here that this was the period of revival of the Jaina religion in South India after a temporary set back caused by the wide spread activities of the Bhakti exponents of the Saiva and Vaisnava sects. It has been rightly assumed by scholars that the popularisation of this cult was a need-satisfying device on the part of the Jaina preceptors and monks who had to compete with the Śivites and Viśnavites. (29)

It seems that the cult of Yakṣas and Yakṣīs reached Kerala following the wave of revivalism which spread all over South India in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A.D. This assumption is supported by the epigraphical data supplied by Tiruccāranattumalai. (30) The figure of the Yakṣī Ambika at this place carved by Ajjanandi deserves attention in connection with an observation made by Desai that Ambika, the attendant deity of the 22nd Tirthankara Neminatha had won greater reverence

(29) Desai, Ibid., pp. 72-3. "The presence of this kind of popular cults in Jainism shows that it had passed beyond the circle of monasticism and become popular religion with a cult. These fertility spirits are present here because the people are here". A.K. Coomaraswami, op. cit., p. 33.

(30) RAI, Vol. II, part II, p. 125ff. and plates see also Ibid., Vol I, pp. 193-5.

from the people of Tamilnadu in the early period. (31) Next preference was given to Siddhāyika of Mahāvīrā. In Kerala, Siddhāyika was installed in the Kallil temple near Perumbāvoor in the Ernakulam District.

A common feature of the early centres of the cult of yaksis should not be overlooked. They were situated on the top of hills. According to tradition Holacarya, the originator of the cult of Jvālemālini, propitiated the goddess on the Nilagiri hill. (32) Most of the Jaina temples in Tamilnadu were on hill top. In Kerala also the early centres are in the hilly regions like Tiruccārattu and Kallil removed far away from the fertile plains. It has been observed that 'tentric survivals are more noticeable in the peripheral areas than in the heart of Brahmanical centres. (33) The above mentioned centres are all far away from Brahmanical Settlements which were situated invariably in the fertile agricultural regions.

(31) loc. cit., p.69.

(32) Ibid., p.73.

(33) N.S. Sharma, 'Material Milieu of Tentricism' in Indian Society: Historical problems, p. 107.

Prof. Sharma is speaking about the macro level of the whole of India but this seems to be applicable to the micro level of South India, especially Tamilnadu and Kerala also.

In the later period we see more centres of yakṣi worship coming up in the plains. One such centre is at Paruvaśēri in the Palghat District. An image of Chandraprabha Tīrthankara which was formerly installed in the central shrine is now removed to an out enclosure where he receives worship as Sāsta or Ayyappa. The female deity, probably Jvalamalini who is the attending deity of Chandraprabha, is worshipped as Bhagavati. At Nīlampōrūr in the Kottayam District a yakṣi is enshrined in a temple usually known as Pallibhagavati temple. The invoking hymn of this deity proves beyond doubt that this was a yakṣi. (34) Siddhāyika in the Kallil temple is worshipped by local Hindus as Bhagavati or Durga but the Jains from Cochin and Alleppey come here and pay their homages to this deity as a yakṣi.

Apart from these independent shrines for Yakṣis, several Hindu temples in Cochin and Central Travancore have Yakṣis as subordinate deities either enshrined in separate enclosures outside the Central shrine or installed somewhere, sometimes in the mandapa, front porch, in a prominent place, as in the case of Tiruvalla Temple. (35)

(34) "MAIĀMI YAKṢIḤ DHAVALĀMBARĀBHĪYĀMI" meaning I bow to the Yakṣi who is attired in white robe.

(35) The Yakṣi in the Tiruvalla temple is referred to as Māyiyakṣi or Mahayakṣi in a copper plate inscription which is attributed to the 12th, 13th century A.D. see TAS, Vol II, pt. III, p. 163. 1.412.

From the above survey it is clear that the revivalistic movements of early Medieval Jainism in South India reached Kerala with all its characteristic features like temple worship, Bhakti devotionalism and tantricism like the cult of yaksas and yaknis. Temple, as a Bhakti disseminating centre, played an important role in the Jaina order. A perusal of the Jaina records in Kerala would show that the Jaina temples acted as a centre of social, cultural and economic activities.

The first and foremost function of a temple is to provide the common people a religious centre for worship. The Jaina centres both early and later were such places with temples of Jaina deities.(36) For common folk, religious belief is based on rituals performed at such centres where images of gods are installed and the rituals were part and parcel of the cult of Bhakti which was a characteristic feature of medieval Jainism. The inscriptions yielded by various Jaina sites in Kerala give us some idea of several rites performed in the Jain temples in Kerala. Ālōkīyā stone inscription of 9th century A.D. refers to such a rite i.e. lighting a lamp for yakṣa. (37) Another record of about the same period registers a grant for two perpetual

(36) For identification and description of Jaina sites in Kerala see Appendix II.

(37) See Supra Chapter II, note 51.

lamps in the temple at Kinalūr. (38) According to another inscription of 1606 A.D. the Jaina chiefs at Karkala offered a number of maps to a basti in Wynad. (39) Jains attach much importance to the lamp offering to Jaina deities. Jaina Canonical texts and Purānās like Paramārthaprakāśa and Padmapurāna of early medieval period ordain Jaina devotees to make arrangements for the eight fold worship among which lamp is an important component. (40)

We get a fairly detailed account of daily offerings made in a Jaina temple from the Nagercoil records of Bhūtalavīra Udaya Marthānda Varma of the Year 1506 A.D. (41) These records register several grants made by the king to the Jaina monastery at Nagercoil in different years beginning from the Kollam year 681 (=1506 A.D.). According to these grants arrangements were made by the donor for daily offering of Pāyasam (sweet rice) in the morning and sacred lamp and rice offering at noon. Apart from these, garland,

(38) See Supra, Ch. II, Note 54.

(39) H.R. Kaghava Varier, The Varadur Jain Inscription of Saka 1606 JAS, 1976 December.

(40) Paramārthaprakāśa, v. 168, p. 312; Padmapurāna, pt. I, ch. 14, vv. 92-3, p. 313.

(41) TAS, VI, pt. I, p.153 ff. The king is described as the senior member of the Ciravāy family which was the rulers of Venād.

rosewater, camphor and saffron were also offered on Sundays in the month of Tai. (42) The Kiṅālūr inscription is another record which gives us some more valuable details about the daily rituals in a Jaina temple. Sandal paste and flower garlands were offered daily in addition to perpetual lamps. The rite of śrībali was also observed daily. An interesting piece of information supplied by this inscription is that arrangements were made for a daily offering of umbrella. Medieval Jain texts like Paramārthaprakāśa and Vasunandī Śrāvakācāra praise the offerings of incense, flower, unboiled rices, sweets and umbrella as meritorious deed. (43) A peculiarity of this kind of rituals is that they are in one way or other related to some mythological beliefs. It is the mythological concept that gives the religious beliefs and rituals their character. Even iconographic features of certain gods and goddesses are based on the mythology as in the cases of Yaksi padmavati and Yakṣa Dharaṅendra, who are the attendant deities of Pārsvanātha. The worship of personal gods can be introduced only after the emergence of the

(42) Ibid., pp. 157-9.

(43) Paramārthaprakāśa, v. 169, p. 312; Vasunandī Śrāvakācāra, vv. 483-92, pp. 135-6.

mythological concepts of gods, demigods and attendant deities. Elaborate rituals of individual gods are formed on the basis of these concepts and beliefs. The rituals become in their elaborate nature the instrument which strengthens and renews the religious conviction. (44)

One of the important characteristics of the medieval South Indian Bhakti revivalism is its tendency to employ artistic devices which were later institutionalised in the dissemination of Bhakti through temples. The mass media of music and dance were used in the propagation of Bhakti devotionalism and such media were common to all religions. While the Bhakti movement utilized the potentials of art for propaganda, the art on its part helped Bhakti to take root in the society.

Artistic performances like music and dance were common to the medieval temples of South India. The presence of such activities in medieval Jaina temples shows that Jainism had become a popular religion. This observation is supported by eminent sociological thinkers who have pointed out that 'mass religion' is frequently and directly dependent on artistic devices for the required potency of its effects, since it is inclined to make concessions to the needs of the masses which everywhere tend to

(44) For a detailed discussion on the ritual and ceremonial aspects of religion see Melville J. Herskovits, Cultural Anthropology, Delhi, 1974, pp. 210-33.

foreward magic and idolatry'. (45)

Inspite of the extreme limitations of our sources, we have a few references to some of the recreational aspects of the medieval Jaina temples in Kerala. The Kinālūr inscription, among various daily offerings, refers to Kūttu, dance for which certain amount of paddy was set apart. (46) This interesting reference to Kūttu reminds one of the similar practice which was prevalent in the medieval Brahmanical temples in South India. Sometimes the performance was based on Sanskrit dramas for example, Kāliyāṅkam kūttu, the fourth act of the Sanskrit play Bālacarita, which is usually attributed to the celebrated author Bhāsa. (47) This kind of activities have been viewed as a powerful medium through which Brahmanical ideas, ideals and mythological concepts were propagated among the masses. (48) However, our sources do not provide us any clue to infer upon the nature and character of the Kūttu performances referred to in the record. But it is interesting to note that the performance of music and dance in temple was not unknown to the Jains of medieval South India. Varāṅgacarita shows that music

(45) Ibid.

(46) Supra Chapter II, note 51.

(47) TAS, II, pt. I, p. 267. Winternitz's RVRIB, V, pt.I, pp. 10-11, K.R. Pisharody, IHQ, 19, 1925 pp. 238 ff.

(48) For a discussion on the temple dance in Kerala see H.G.S. Narayanan, Aryanisation in Kerala, Trivandrum, 1972, p. 43ff.

and dance were items which were considered important in the evening worship. (49) Padmapurāna also describes music and dance performed in the temples as meritorious offerings by which the devotee gains eternal bliss. (50) Epigraphical evidences also go to prove that the performance of dance with musical accompaniments were prevalent in Jaina temples in the early medieval period. In one of such instances a Rastrakuta King donated a village to make provisions for dancers and drummers. (51) An inscription in Kalugumali in Tirunelveli District records that a certain image was caused to be made by Tiruccāranattu Kurattikal for the merit of certain Kūttan Kāman of Perumbāṣūr in Kōṭṭūr Nadu, evidently a dancer who was in some way or other connected with Tiruccāranattu malai. (52) Dancing halls were also attached to Jain monasteries as attested by a Sravanabelgola epigraph which refers to a nrttalaya, dancing hall, constructed by a certain setti in front of the Nagara Jinalaya. (53)

The sacred procession during the daily sribali rituals and festivals conducted on certain occasions has got some recreational value. According to the Kiṅālūr inscription arrangements were made to set apart paddy for the purpose.

(49) Varāṅgacarita, ch. 23, v.10, p.221.

(50) Padmapurāna, pt. II, ch. 32, v. 171, p. 98.

(51) EC, IX, pp. 44-5.

(52) Supra, chapter II, note 21.

(53) EC, II, no. 457.

From contemporary sources it is learnt that in Brahminical temples the śrībali rituals were accompanied by drummers and musicians etc. (54)

Festival celebrations form part of important entertainment items in temples. There were many such occasions when the community as a whole assembled in the temple and took part in various activities, sacred as well as secular. The consecration days of the deities of a temple seems to be such an occasion on which special rituals were observed and offerings were made. From our sources it appears that the consecration day of the temple at Tirukunavāy, which was the model for most of the Jaina temples in Kerala, was one among such occasions. This is only a surmise arrived at by the fact that donations to some of the medieval Jaina temples like that in Talekkavu in south Wynad and Kinālūr in Calicut District were made seemingly on the consecration day of Tirukkunavay.

Vrścika vilakku, the lamp festival in the month of Vrścika (November) is a celebration mentioned in our sources. The Kinālūr inscription refers to this festival and sets apart certain landed property for the purpose. That the lamp festival in the month of Vrścika was popular in Kerala during this period is clear from the contemporary epigraphic and literary sources. The Solar month of Vrścika

(54) Rajan Gurukul, Socio Economic Role of Kerala Temple (unpublished M. Phil. dissertation, JNU) Delhi, 1973, p. 108.

is almost the same as Kārttika. This was considered to be sacred for burning hundreds of lamps in houses and temples. The festival of Vrścikavilakku, also known as Kārttika vilakku was considered by Vaiṣṇavites as a favourite occasion for Sri Kṛṣṇa. Padmasaṁhita, a medieval Sanskṛt text states that during this festival lamps were lit in hundreds and thousands on walls and porches and towers. (55) In the Padmanābhasvāmi Temple at Trivandrum two lamps were offered by a devotee for the shrine of Tiruvāyaṁpātippilla, the child of Ambādi, i.e. Sri Kṛṣṇa. (56) Kollūr Matham records of 1189 A.D. tells us that twenty seven and a half large measures of paddy, four measures of rice, fifteen measures of oil and one palam (1/3 of a pound) of thread, one hundred betel leaves and 24 arecanuts were allotted for the occasion of this festival. (57) In the Tiruvalla Temple, one of the biggest temples in Medieval Kerala special offerings were made on the occasion. (58) This festival can be traced back to the Cankam period. An Akam song describes how people observed it. In this song the heroine comforts herself that her lover would join her in the festival that would be celebrated by many after the days of cultivation are over in

(55) Quoted by K.V. Subramanya Iyer, TAS, III, pt. I, pp. 4-5.

(56) Ibid.

(57) TAS IV, p. 46ff. 11 60-65.

(58) Ibid., II, pt. 1, 1.267.

the ancient victorious city, by hanging up garlands and lighting lamps in the streets on that bright midnight when the moon would be full enough to reveal the rabbit (the shadow in the moon) in a clear sky with the constellation of Kārttika. (59)

From the Jātaka stories we understand that the Kārttika lamp festival, which was popular all over India, was held on the full moon day and that the king went round the city in a procession on this occasion. (60) From very early times onwards Jains also celebrated this festival. The Kādamba King Ravivarma issued an ordinance that the festival of Jinendra lasting for eight days should be celebrated regularly every year on the full moon day of the month of Kārttika and for this purpose he set apart the revenue from the village of Purukhota. (61) It is interesting to note in this connection that according to the Padmapurāna of Raviṣeṇa, the rain retreat of Jain monks which starts from the full moon day of Āṣāḍha ends on the full moon day of Kārttika. (62) During this season the monks lived in caves or on the banks of river or in a Jain temple. Hence the importance attached to this festival by Jains.

(59) Akanṇūru, 141. See also M.R. Raghava Varier, Temple Festivals in Medieval Kerala, JKS, V, March, 1973, pp. 58-9.

(60) J.D. Cowell, The Jatakas, Vol. I, London, 1957, p.261.

(61) IA, VI, No. 22, p. 27.

(62) Padmapurāna, pt. I, ch. 22, v. 66, p. 463 and v. 3, p. 464.

Religious ceremonies such as festivals and processions provide opportunity for group worship. It has been suggested that the first effects of religious ceremonies are to put the members of a particular belief-group into action, to multiply the relation between them and to make them more intimate with one another by uniting them with a common conviction. By celebrating ceremonial rituals "man's thoughts are concentrated upon their common beliefs, traditions and the memory of their ancestors - in a word, upon social things". (63) Ceremonialism, undoubtedly, is a powerful agent in uniting people which is evident from its very common and wilful participation of the members of the society. Thus the recreational aspects of the religious centres of Jains in Kerala attracted people into their fold.

By various activities both sacred and secular, the medieval temple in South India was a community centre and those of the Jains are no exception. We have seen that the Jain temples in Kerala are located on conjunctural trade routes. This fact would indicate that these centres possibly served the purpose of inns or temporary resting places for itinerary trading groups. Donation of landed property to Jain religious institutions by kings and chieftains implies that a section of the common tillers and other labourers, however small might be their number, were attached to the

(63) Emile Durkheim, Elementary Forms of Religious Life,

p. 343 ff.

temple. Through the landed property and the revenue from them royal personages and local bodies were also in touch with the temple. (64) Apart from these, groups of pilgrims, both monks and laity seem to have visited temples from time to time. The Kinalur Inscription states that arrangements were made for one akkiram (agram), food for one brahmin and two pocanam (bhojanam, literally means food) daily. (65) From our sources the actual technical difference between agram and bhojanam is not clear but as they are differently stated it can be assumed that food was served from the temple for different sections of people. Thus the Jaina temples in medieval Kerala attracted various sections of people enlisting participation of various social groups and thereby extending the benefits of the religion to different strata of the society. On the one hand it linked itself with the ruling elite by holding landed property and attracting mercantile groups. On the other hand it attracted the common folk by adopting and assimilating their cults and arranging entertainments for them from time to time. They also attracted pilgrims and became parts of the religious network which was a powerful medium for the propagation of the religion. That the temples acted as community centres is clear from all these facts.

(64) This problem has been dealt with in detail in the previous chapter.

(65) 11. 46-47.

The material basis of the Jaina temples in Kerala was provided by generous patrons, mostly members of the ruling families in the forms of grants and donations. A grant of Ārappan Kuñci alias Kuruaporai says that forty potis of paddy from his portion of land in Kāntapuram, Mutakkariyūr and Painkaṇṭattūr was made over to the temple at Kunavāynallūr to meet various expenses. (66) Bhūtalavira Udayamārttāṇḍa Varṇa, the King of Travancore is known to have donated vast areas of paddy fields to the Nagarkovil temple and the land was entrusted with two ascetics of the temple, Kamalavahana Pandita and Guṅsira Pandita. This grant is termed as Palliccantam, meaning a donation to a non-vedic religious institution. (67)

Jaina religious institutions were supported by mercantile groups like Nārpattennayiravar as testified by the Tālekkāvu stone inscriptions. (68) This record says

(66) No. 14 of 1901, ARIE, S11 VII no. 174, p. 74.

Malabar Manual II, App. XXI, p. CCC XXIII, 11. 10-15.

(67) TAS VI, pt. I, pp. 153ff. Nagarcoil formed part of the erstwhile Travancore state. see also TAS, I, p. 194 and II, pp. 127-9.

(68) *Supra*, chapter II note 54. The text given by Prof. M.S.S. Narayanan was prepared by an eye copy given by the present writer. The incomplete text was published in Cultural Symbiosis, Trivandrum, 1972, p. 75. The comments made in this dissertation are based on a complete text prepared by the present author.

that the body of Nārpattennāyiravar, having constituted endowed a lamp for the Yaksa, a certain amount of land was set apart for the purpose. The body of Nārpattennāyiravar occurs in the inscription of Alattur also. In this record this body is present along with certain other officials at the time of making some arrangements regarding the temple properties. Commenting on the word Nārpattennāyiravar, K.G. Krishnan says that they are apparently a body of laymen but from the Talekkavu inscription it is clear that they were merchants. (69) The Alattur record also shows that the body of Nārpattennāyiravar had some important roles to play in the administration of the temple.

The property owned by the Jaina temple was called 'Devaswam'. (70) Generally the land made over to the temples appears to have been exempted from taxes. The Governor and the temple servants are warned against receiving any income from the (property of the) deity of Tiruvannūr. (71) The Alattur record prevents the property from being misappropriated (pugavu) mortgaged (orri), pledged (panaiyam) or paid of as find (tantam). (72)

(69) K.G. Krishnan, Tirukunavay end the inscription of Alattur, JKS, I, serial 1, July 1973, p.30.

(70) 220 of 1895 ARIE, SII, V, no. 734 (1836) p.338, ¶.6.

(71) 11 5-6 of the same inscription.

(72) K.G. Krishnan, op. cit., p. 23.

The safety and preservation of the economic rights of the Jaina religious institutions were guaranteed by the donors or the temple authorities as the case may be, under moral threats as well as penal measures. Misappropriation or alienation of any kind of the temple property was held as a heinous crime in the imprecatory portions of the Jaina inscriptions. Ālattūr record states that those who transgress the arrangements made by the authorities shall incur the sins of having defied the order of Tirukkunavāy, having slayed sages, brahmanas and cows. (73) The records from Tiruvannur and Tālekkāvu also have same injunctions which equate the obstructors of the respective arrangements as those who obstruct the Tirukkunavay temple. Apart from the moral threat the obstructors had to remit fines to the temple. Tiruvannur record fixes the fine to be remitted by the transgressor as 25 Kalañjus of gold. (74) Kinalur inscriptions says that the defaulter shall be removed from his right if he fails to act according to the agreement. (74) Protection of the temple property is often entrusted with some local groups like Arunurruvar, Elunnurruvar etc. who had to see that the agreement between the authorities and the tenants are obeyed correctly. (75)

(73) Ibid.

(74) Same as 70 above.

(75) 14 of 1901 ARIE., SII, VII, no. 174, p. 74, 11 26, 49, 50.

The land donated to the temple was leased out to individuals as well as groups or group leaders by the temple authorities. The income from such lands would be utilized for various temple expenses like lighting lamps, performing daily rituals and conducting various offerings. For example a private individual called Cāttanārukkati, literally meaning the slave of Cāttanār was appointed as the tenant for the land donated by Ārappan Kuñci alias Kurumporai. Similarly a certain cattan Cirikanāṭan was appointed as tenant of the Tevakinatai Compound who would conduct the Vriccikavilakku in the temple having enjoyed the tenancy of the above said compound. (76)

Though the actual tillers are not mentioned in our records, the vast area of land brought under cultivation presupposed a large number of labourers. Apart from the agricultural labourers and tenants attached to the temple properties some temple servants are also mentioned in our sources. The inscription from Tiruvannur mentions Poduvāl, Ulpādu Ceyyumavan and Paniyutaiyavagal. From contemporary Hindu temple inscriptions with similar designations, it is learnt that Pōduvāl was the general secretary of the temple and Ulpādu Ceyyumavan or Ulpādan was the officer who looked after the internal affairs of the temple. (77) Paniyutaiyavagal denote temple servants in general.

(76) Ibid.

(77) Rajan Gurukkal, op. cit., p.47.

The Ālattur record mentions some other names such as Pati, Pātamūlam, Attikōśa, Sirratāni and Atikanācr. Unfortunately the exact duties and functions of these servants or groups of servants are not known. However the group of pātamūlam occurs in contemporary as well as later records and the work connotes the temple servants. (78) Our sources are silent about the remuneration paid to these servants. Nevertheless, it can be inferred that the temple servants earned their livelihood from the income granted by the temple. Thus the system prevailed in these religious institutions served the purpose of distribution of wealth among various groups within the society.

The temple authorities who wielded considerable control over the lands granted to the temples acted as landed intermediaries between the donors and the tenants. Thus we can see some traits of feudal system in the Jaina temple administration. (79)

The records which mention gold as fine to be remitted by the obstructors would lead to the assumption that temples had gold in their control. However, the

(78) 39 of 1895, 110 of 1910, ARIN.

(79) R. S. Sharma has suggested that with the grants of Land free from royal interference the Buddhist temples grew into later mathas which assumed a feudal character. This seems to be applicable to the South Indian Jain temples of medieval period. R. S. Sharma, Lights on Early Indian Society and Economy, p. 150.

income from fines and other penal measures are quite unpredictable and far from regular source. But we have some references of gold received by temples as offering.

Tiruccānattu Bhatāriyar (the goddess of Tiruccanattu Malai) received 15 kalañjus of gold from Gunandangi Kurathikal, a disciple of Arattānemi Bhatārar of Pērāyakkuti. (80) The donation is for offering aravikkattappon for the deity and the offering shall be made with the interest out of this gold. This record seems to be significant in more than one aspect. Firstly it implies that gold money transaction of some kind or other took place in the temple. The temple was able to receive interest only when the amount is invested for some profitable purpose. Probably the gold must have been lent to some mercantile group of Jains who visited the place from time to time. The Tiruvannūr inscription referred to above mentions Paliyathu Kannan Kantan, Governor of Irāmavalanādu as one who had some claim for some gold from the deity of Tiruvannūr. (81) However, the Tiruvannūr inscription rejects the claim and states that no official shall receive any kind of amount from the temple.

The above records clearly show that the Jain temples were involved in economic activities such as receiving land and leasing out them for cultivation.

(80) TAS, II, pt. II, p. 126.

(81) 220 of 1895 ARIE, II. 4-5.

Regular income from the land was accepted by the temples. The records show that the temples had control over gold also. It was either invested in some profitable transactions or lent to the needy people receiving interest out of it. This is quite in keeping with the practice of the medieval temples of South India. The economic activities of the temples on the one hand brought certain sections of society under the control of the temples with certain duties and rights. On the other hand it served as a wealth distributing agency through which the wealth accumulated by the temples was distributed among various groups of people in its fold. It was a necessity of those sections to stick on to the temple which was the pivotal centre having control over land and gold which were the two main forms of wealth.

.....

APPENDIX-I

A

I

- Place : Tiruccānattu mala near Kulittura in
Vilavankōd Taluk, Trivandrum District.
- Donor : Gunandāngi Kurattikal, desciple of
Arattanēmi Bhatārar of Pērāyakkuti.
- Donee : Tiruccāranattu Bhatāriyar
- Date : 28th regnal year of Vikramaditya
Varaguna - 926 A.D.
- Script : Vatteluttu
- Language : Tamil
- Purport : To register a gift of some golden ornaments
to the deity in the temple at Tiruccanattu
malai. The offering was to be made out
the interest from the gold given by
Gunandāngi Kurattikal.
- Ref : TAS Vol II, Part II, pp. 125-26.

II

- Place : Kinālūr in Quilandi Taluk, Calicut District.
- Donor : Arappan Añci alias Kurumporai
- Donee : Tirukkāliyappaḍārar
- Date : 189th year after consecration of
Tirukkāliyappaḍārar (1083 A.D.).
- Script : Vatteluttu
- Language : Tamil showing characteristic of early
Malayalam.
- Purport : To register a base of some land to
Cattanārukkati of Tiruvañcikkulam who is
to pay for various offerings in the temple
such as sribali, sānti, Kuta (umbrella-
perhaps the triple tier umbrella), Kūttu
(dance), sandal paste, flower garland etc.
perpetual lamp is mentioned as an important
item. Vr̥scikavilakku is mentioned in the
record for which certain amount of paddy
is set apart. Arrangements were made for
one Agram (food for Brahmins) and two
Bhojanam (perhaps food for ascetics).
- Ref : 1) Malabar Manual, II App. XXI, CCCXXIII
2) ARIE No.14 of 1901.
3) SII VII p.74. No. 174.
4) JIH XLVIII pt. III, p.691 ff.

III

- Place : Pāmbra in S. Wynād Taluk, Calicut District.
- Donor : Thakkura Kīkaṭa
- Donee : --
- Date : V.S. 1338 = 1286 A.D.
- Purport : To record that the donor got a pañcāyatna made for the merit of a lady named Bhaku and others belonging to the Prāgvāṭa community. The inscription says that the image was consecrated by Ratnaprabha Sūri son of Chandraprabha Sūri.
- Ref : ARIE - App. B. No. 239 of 1960-61.

IV

- Place : Nagerkoil, Nagerkoil District.
- Donor : Udayamarttāṇḍa Varma, the King of Vēṇād.
- Donee : Kēraḷa Nārāyaṇan alias Guṇavīra Paṇḍita and
Jīvakarudaiyan alias Kamala Vāhena Paṇḍita.
- Date : 21st Arppasi, Kollam 681 (1506-7 A.D.)
- Script : Tamil
- Language : Tamil mixed with Malayalam.
- Purport : To register some gifts made by the donor as
Paḷliccandaṃ to meet the expenses for the
offerings to be made in the Jain temple.
Several pieces of land in Muḷayannūrpaṛṛu in
Nāñjinad was given to the two priests whose
names are given above. The offerings include
pāyasam (sweep rice) for morning worship,
oil for sacred bath and for lamp and rice
offering at noon and night and garland,
rosewater, camphor, Saphron etc. on Sundays
of the month of Tai.
- Ref : TAS VI, part I, p. 157-59, no. 115.

- Place : Nagerkoil, Nagerkoil District.
- Donor : The King (Udayamārttānda Varma) staying in the palace belonging to Aditya Varma Annan in Ayappillaiputtūr.
- Donee : Kamala Vāhānapāṇḍita and Gunavira Paṇḍita.
- Date : Kollam 692. (1517 A.D.)
- Script : Tamil
- Language : Tamil
- Purport : To register gift of land for providing offering at morning, noon and night and for special offering on Sundays.
- Ref : TAS VI, pt. I, pp. 159-60, no. 116.

VI

- Place : Nagerkoil, Nagerkoil District.
- Donor : The King of Venad (Udayamāarthānda Varma) camping in the house of Śingapperumāl at sevval.
- Donee : Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita and Gunavīra Paṇḍita
- Date : 20th Mārkaḷi, Kollam 692 (1517 A.D.)
- Script : Tamil
- Language : Tamil
- Purport : To register gift of land as palliccandam and money for various offerings like Sāttuppādi, garlands, oil for sacred bath of this image and rice offering.
- Ref : TAS VI, pt. I, p.161, no. 117.

VII

- Place : Nagerkoil, Nagerkoil District
- Donor : The King (of Vēnād, Udamā^{ya}rthāṇḍavarma
Couping at Sucindram.
- Donee : Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita and Guṇavira Paṇḍita.
- Date : 7th day in the month of Masi Kollam 694
(1519 A.D.).
- Script : Tamil
- Language : Tamil
- Purport : To register a gift of 15 mas of land in
śēravan mādegi as Palliccandam. The taxes
such as Kadamai, Upadi, Viniyogam, Komuraippādu
etc. were exempted on these lands.
- Ref : TAS, VI, pt. I, pp. 162-63, no. 118.

VIII

- Place : Nagerkoil, Nagercoil District
- Donor : Śankaranārāyaṇan Vṇṇuman kaṇḍa Bhūtalavira
Udayamārttāṇḍavarṇa of Jayatuṅganādu, the
senior member of Ciravāy family.
- Donee : Gunavira Paṇḍita and Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita.
- Date : 11th day in the month of Cittirai Kōllam
696 April 7th, Sunday 1521 A.D.
- Script : Tamil
- Language : Tamil mixed with Malayalam
- Purport : To register a gift of land for the expenses
for the mid-day worship in the name of
Viramārttāṇḍan Śānti.
- Ref : TAS, VI, pt. I, pp. 164-5, no. 120.

IX

- Place : Nagerkoil, Nagerkoil District.
- Donor : The King Camping in the house of
Cempakavanapperumāl at Sēdancēri Agaram.
- Donee : Kamala Vāhana Paṇḍita and Guṇavira Paṇḍita
- Date : 25th day of..... Kollam 696.
- Script : Tamil
- Language : Tamil
- Purport : To register a gift of land as Palliccantam
for the expenses of providing offering
perpetual lamp.
- Ref : TAS, VI, pt. I, p.163, no. 119.

X

Place : Nagerkoil, Nagerkoil District.

Donor : The king.

Donee : Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita and Guṇavīra Paṇḍita

Date : Kollam 697 (1522 A.D.)

Script : Tamil

Language : Tamil

Purport : To register a gift of land for offering
Sarvaprāyascitta (purification ceremony).
 Remitted certain taxes due to be levied on
 the land.

Ref : TAS, VI, pt. I, p. 165, no. 121.

XI

- Place** : Varadūr near Panamaram in N. Wynad Taluk,
Cannanore District.
- Donor** : Lalitappa the grand son of Bommarasa in the
Karkāla Palace basti.
- Donee** : Various temples in Wynad
- Date** : Saka 1606 equal to 1684 A.D.
- Script** : Kannada
- Language** : Kannada
- Purport** : To register grants of various puja equipments
to different Basadis in Wynad. The Basadis
mentioned in this record are Arepati, Hanneradu
bidi, Bennegōdu, Puttaṅgadi, Hosēṅgadi and
Pālagundu, all in N. Wynad. Among these
Arepati is now extinct. Hanneradubidi may
be identified with the basadi at Sultan's
Battery, in South Wynad, Calicut District.
- Ref:** JKS, IHC Special No. Doc. 1976.

XII

Place : Kalpetta, South Wynad, Calicut District.
Donor : Muttamma Kōvil
Donee : Puttaṅgadi Basadi
Date : 1704
Script : Vatteluttu (later)
Language : Malayalam
Purport : To register a grant of land to the Basadi.
Ref : JKS, IHC Special no., Dec. 1976.

B

I

- Place** : Tiruccānattu malai near Kulittura in
Vilavaṅkōd Taluk, Trivendrum District.
- Donor** : Chāttan Varagunan (Varaguna the student or
disciple) of Pattini Bhatarar of
Tiruccāranattu mala.
- Donee** :
- Date** : Undated c. 9th Century characters
- Script** : Vatteluttu
- Language** : Tamil
- Purport** : To record the carving of an image in the
cave temple at Tiruccānattu mala.
- Ref** : TAS Vol II, part II, pp. 125-6.

II

- Place : Tālekkāvu, in Pūtati near Pulpalli in
South Wynaḍ Taluk, Calicut District.
- Donor : Nārpattennāyiravar
- Donec : Yakṣa in the temple
- Date : 159th year of Tirukkunavayattēvar 9th
cent. A.D.
- Script : Vatteluttu
- Language : Tamil
- Purport : To register a grant of land at Kutampati
and Nakarporai for a perpetual lamp
for the yakṣa.
- Ref: : JIH, ZLVIII, pt. III, Dec. 1970.

III

- Place : Tiruccānattumalai near Kulittura in
Vilavankōḍ Taluk, Trivandrum District.
- Donor : Ajjanandi Adigal
- Donee : Tiruccānattu Cave Temple
- Date : Undated. 9th-10th cent. A.D. Characters
- Script : Vatteluttu
- Language : Tamil
- Purport : To record the carving of an image of the
Yaksi Ambika
- Ref : TAS, Vol II, part II, p. 126.

IV

- Place : Tiruccānattumalai near Kulittura in
Vilavankōḍ Taluk, Trivandrum District.
- Donor : Uttnendi Adigal
- Dānee : Tiruccānattu Cave Temple
- Date : Undated - 9th-10th cent. A.D. characters
- Script : Vatteluttu
- Language : Tamil
- Purport : To record the carving of an image hailing
from Kāttāmpalli monastery at Tirunedumpurai.
- Ref : TAS, Vol II, part II, pp. 125-6.

V

- Place : Tiruccānattu malai near Kulittura in
Vilavankōḍ Taluk, Trivandrum District.
- Donor : Vīraṇandi Adigal of Holṅpalli monastery
at Tirunarungṅḍai.
- Donee : Tiruccānattu cave temple.
- Date : Undated. 9th-10th century characters
- Script : Vatteluttu
- Language : Tamil
- Purport : To record the carving of an image at
Tiruccanattu hill. Tirunarungṅḍai in
Tirukkōyilur Taluk in South Arcot District,
Madras State. It has retained its importance
as a Jaina pilgrimage centre.
- Ref : TAS, Vol II, part II, pp. 125-6.
ARIE 1939-43, pp. 1-2 and 272-3.

- Place : Kāvassēri in Ālattūr Taluk, Palghat District
- Donor : --
- Donee : --
- Date : Undated. 10th Century characters.
- Script : Vaṭṭeluttu
- Language : Tamil
- Purport : To register an agreement by several bodies like Nārpattennāyiravar, adhikārar of Tirukkunavāy, Attikōśam, Cirratāni and the adhiganmār of certain palli. Ulaikkalam is mentioned as a levi collected by the palli. The meaning of Attikōśam, Cirratāni etc are not known.
- Ref : 1) ARIE No. 238 of 1960 and p. 26.
 2) JIH, XLIV, part II, pp. 537-43
 3) JIH, SLVIII pt. III Dec. 1970, pp. 691-703
 4) JKS, Vol I, Sl. No. 1 July 1973. pp. 27-32

VII

- Place : Tiruvannur near Calicut, Calicut Taluk,
Calicut District.
- Donor : --
- Donee : --
- Date : The 4th year opposite to the fourth year of
the regnal year of Sri Irai Irayare c 11th
Cent. A.D.
- Script : Vatteluttu
- Language : Tamil showing characteristics of early Malayalam.
- Purport : To register an agreement by Paliyattu Kannan
Kantan, the governor of Irama Valanādu,
Paniyudayavakal (officers), the Arunurruvar
(the six hundred), and the Hilalōr (shadow
men, companions).
Dēvaswam (temple property) and Brahmaswam
(Brahmin's Property) are mentioned in the
record, which are subordinate to the Six
Hundred. The local bodies mentioned in the
record are the Six Hundred and Hilalōr. Temple
servants mentioned in this record are Ulpodu
Ceyyumavan (the sanctum keeper?) and Poduvāl
(General supervisor or secretary). Tirukunavāy
is mentioned in this record in connection with
the punishment to those who fails to remove the
grievances. Such people shall be deemed as

those who destruct the offerings at
Tirukkunavāy.

- Ref : 1) 220 of 1895 ARIE, 3 JIH, XLVIII, part III,
Dec. 1970.
2) SII, V, 1926, No. 784, p.338.

JAINA VESTIGES IN KERALA

District	Taluk	Place	Nature of Remains	Reference
1. Trivandrum	Vilavankōdo	Chitrāl - Tiruccānatturalai	Cave temple and sculptured rock-walls, loose images, inscriptions.	TAS. Vol I, pp. 193ff TAS. Vol II, pp. 125ff See appendix A. No.
2. Dhanukal	Porumbōveor (Muvattupuzha)	Kallil	Cave temple, sculptured rocks and loose images	TAS Vol. II, pt.II, pp. 125ff.
3. Palghat	Ālattūr	Kavāśōri, Chākyarthottan	loose images, pillars, beams and an inscription	See appendix A. no.
4. Palghat	Palghat	Jainakōdu Palghat Muni- pality	loose images of Tirthankaras Yakasa and Yakais a modern temple	
5. Palghat	Palghat	Īsvarakōtta Kōñēd	a small shrine and an image installed in it depicting a Jina medi- tating under a tree	
6. Palghat	Palghat	Paruvāśōri	A temple and a loose image of Chandraprabha Tirthankara.	ARADG, 1936-37 p. 72 and plates IV, V, VI and RVRID, VI p. 118
7. Calicut	Calicut	Tiruvannūr with- in the city limit.	An apical shrine and an inscription in Vastolattu	See appendix A. no.

8. Calicut	Calicut	Near 1st Railway gate	A circular shrine with a modern temple on the old basement loose images of Tirthankaras and an inscribed image, attendant deities.	The temple is known as Aryan Trikkovil. The inscription is in Kannada script.
9. Calicut	Gullendi	Kinālūr	An inscribed stone	see appendix A no.
10. Calicut	S. Wynad	Chandragiri near Kalpetta	pieces of broken images a new temple has been built up the top of this hill.	
11. Calicut	S. Wynad	Jina Candrayya's house, Kalpetta	two copper plate inscription copies of same record.	See appendix A no. 20
12. Calicut	S. Wynad	Kidānṇanād, Sultan's Batteri.	A dilapidated bestipillars with sculptured Jina images.	see appendix A no. 19
13. Calicut	S. Wynad	Pambra Estate	An inscribed image	see appendix A no. 1
14. Calicut	S. Wynad	Pulpalli Tālokkāvu	An inscribed stone	see appendix A no. 1

15.	Cannanore	N. Wynad	Venāṅḡi near Panamaram	A nodorn Basti various puja equipments loose images of jinas and attendant deities and an inscribed copper Dharapitha.	See appendix A no. 19.
16.	Cannanore	N. Wynad	Puttaṅḡēdi Panamaram	Dilapidated rectangular shrine with Navaranga hall and sculptured pillars. These sculptured pillars depict Jinas attendant deities as well as some Vaisnava images.	See appendix A no. 19.
17.	Cannanore	N. Wynad	Vennayōtu Panamaram	An old basti loose images of Jinas and attendant deities.	See appendix A No. 19.
18.	Cannanore	N. Wynad	Pālakunnu	The old basti and loose images of Jinas and attendant deities	See appendix A no. 19.
19.	Cannanore	N. Wynad	Nanantōdy (on the western side of the river)	A basti built on the remains of an old one sculptured pillars and beams icons.	See appendix A no. 19

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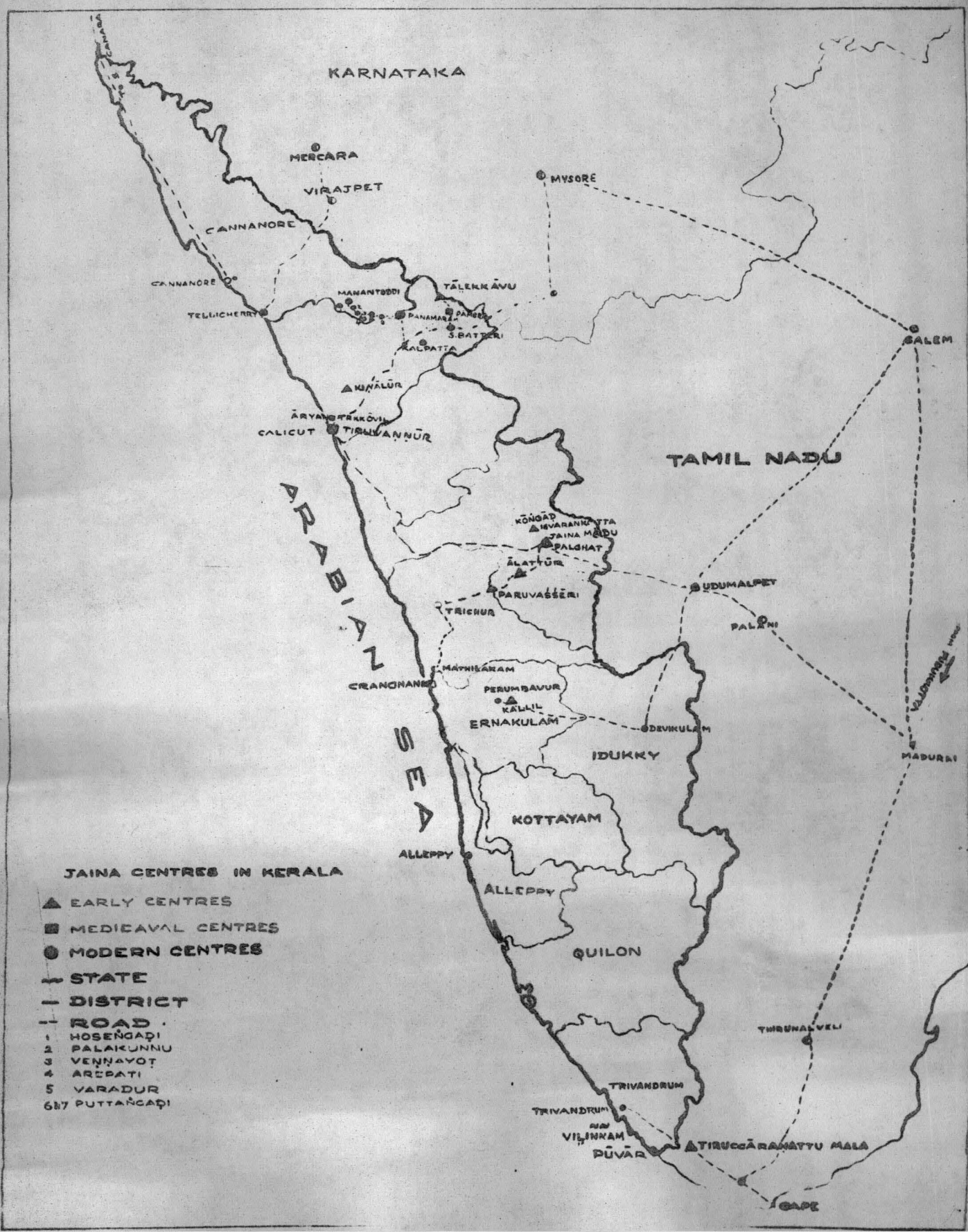
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KARNATAKA

TAMIL NADU

ARABIAN SEA

JAINA CENTRES IN KERALA

- ▲ EARLY CENTRES
- MEDIEVAL CENTRES
- MODERN CENTRES
- STATE
- - DISTRICT
- - ROAD
- 1 HOSENGADI
- 2 PALAKUNNU
- 3 VENNAVOT
- 4 AREPATI
- 5 VARADUR
- 6&7 PUTTANCAPI

MERCARA

VIRAJPET

MYSORE

CANNANORE

CANNANORE

TELLICHERRY

MANANTODI

TALEKKAVU

PANAMALI

PAROOR

S.BATTERI

KALPATTI

KUNJALUR

ARYANGIRAKOVAL

CALICUT

TIRUVANNUR

KONJAD

SHIVARANIPETTA

JAINA MANDU

PALGHAT

ALATTUR

PARUVASSERI

TRICHUR

SUDUMALPET

PALANI

CRANGANAM

MATHIKARAM

PERUMBAVUR

KALLIL

ERNAKULAM

DEVKULAM

IDUKKY

KOTTAYAM

ALLEPPY

ALLEPPY

QUILON

THIRUNALVELI

TRIVANDRUM

TRIVANDRUM

VILINNAM

PUVAR

TIRUCCARAMATTU MALA

CAPE

SALEM

MADURAI

VALADAMPALAYAM

