

The Sankara-Parvati Endowment Lectures, 1976-77

**THE KALABHRAS IN THE PANDIYA
COUNTRY AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE
LIFE AND LETTERS THERE**

by
M. ARUNACHALAM

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M. ARUNACHALAM

INTRODUCTION

I am thankful to the authorities of the University of Madras and the Professor of History for having extended to me an invitation to deliver a course of lectures in the History Department under the Sankara-Parvati Endowment.

1

As you all know, I am not a historian; that is I am not a chronicler of political events. But I am a historian of literary events and my researches into the literary history of Tamil have also involved me in the past political history of the Tamil Nadu. As a historian of literature, I am primarily concerned not with the trends in the history of the people but with the trends in the writing, the social and political forces which influenced the writing and had conditioned it, the evolution and growth of a new genre, and of course with the period or approximate date of particular authors and their lives, if these could be ascertained with any amount of accuracy and authenticity.

The Indian people have been concerned more with the values in life and with how to live the life and how to uphold those values, and less or not at all with a record or chronicle of the living. Hence the charge that the people of India and the people of South India have no sense of history. This may be true. But they need not be apologetic about it. Life and values in life matter to us who have an unbroken literary and cultural tradition, a living tradition of over 2500 years, and mere dates do not certainly matter to us as much as

they matter to nations who have only a literary history of a few hundred years. We know probably something about the recent past but have no knowledge about the remote past. Hence in my attempt at reconstructing Tamil *literary* history, I have been going from the known to the unknown, from the recent known period to the less known earlier periods, backwards in time. I have begun with the 16th century and have gone upto the 9th century and am now proceeding to the history of the Eighth century. The research and the writing will take me in time to the First century A.D. and the centuries B.C.

Deep insight into the literature (including language and grammar) is necessary for this investigation. Besides, one should approach all literature not only with considerable erudition but also with reverence. Earlier views on all subjects are not to be brushed aside in a cavalier manner but should be accepted as they are, until they are proved wrong and the contrary is established. There is a trend in some quarters to discredit everything that has been said so far on all matters of literature and history, not on any scientific basis, but just for the fun of advancing some fanciful idea to belittle established theories. This does not help to advance thought or research on any matter. A truly scientific approach is necessary and one should not have pre-conceived views on any matter or conduct his research merely to prove such views or find justification for them.

Early in the writing of the literary history, I was convinced that it was not possible to write a cogent history merely by a study of the literature and its grammar. A real history of literature is possible not by a study of the language and literature alone, but by a co-ordinated study of the political and the social history, the inscrip-tional evidence and the religious trends also. If a literary history is to have any value, it should take stock of all the forces influencing literature and attempt to give a clear picture of the state of creative literary production during any period. Dismissing any period as dark will indeed leave this history incomplete. This realization made me examine every period more deeply. I was able in this way to reconstruct the period and arrive at some definite conclusions for the purpose of my literary history. This naturally led me

inevitably into the other fields of contemporary social and political history. My study has helped me to connect together many points, which had been left as loose ends by earlier literary historians, and piece together an acceptable history from fact, literature and sometimes legend also, and to weave a presentable fabric of the social history of the period in the Pandiya country in particular and the Tamilnad in general.

2 In trying to sort out the books that were written in the language during any period, the writer had to understand the social history and the evolution of the people's life and aspirations and find out the trends not only of the period but also of the later years. The general historian in the past is concerned in popular opinion, with dates of accession and crowning of kings, abdication, succession, wars and treaties etc. For a historian of literature, these factual particulars are not enough. He concerns himself with poets and their books, with the chiefs who were celebrated by the poets in their songs, the public benefactions they did; if there were no poets, he cannot just pass on; he has to stop and examine why there was no poetry or writing. Thus, where history poses no problem, the literary historian seems to face a number of problems.

I have been able to present a connected, acceptable and to a large extent authentic History of Tamil Literature because I had always tried to coordinate and weave together elements of not only literary effort, grammar and linguistics, but also religion and philosophy, epigraphy and history, including social history, into the fabric of my Literary History.

2

While proceeding thus, certain problems apparently inexplicable stared me in the face and presented hurdles. One of them is the history of the period immediately after the Sangham Age and earlier than the Age of the Hymns^{the} is, the Age of Devotional Poetry in Saivism and Vaishnavism. This is the period of about three hundred years after the Second century and before the Seventh century A. D., roughly between 250 and 550 A. D. This has been labelled by all writers, literary critics, historians and writers on philosophy in South India as the Dark Period of the Tamilnad in

the three spheres of religion, history and literature. A convenient label namely the *Kalabhra Interregnum* has been placed on this and most people have complacently ignored any discussion of this period, and its literary achievement, its social history and its religious evolution. However, this did not appear to me as a dark period at all. My approach has been from the literary angle, which gives a satisfactory continuity and cogency, and from literature, I proceed to social history and religion.

Ever since a copy of the Velvikkudi grant became available to the Epigraphists and the Historians of India, particularly of South India, the problem of the Kalabhras had assumed a position of importance in reconstructing the Pandiya history in the early centuries of the Christian era. The period after Pandiyan Palyagasalai Mudukudumip-Peruvaludi and before Nedunjadaiyan had been a blank. "In the Tamil country a long historical night set in after the close of the Sangham age until about the beginning of the seventh century. The only historical incident that has come to light relates to the complete subjugation of the Tamil country by a tribe called *Kalabhra* who overturned not only the political system of the land but also the old social order".¹ From the account given in the Velvikkudi plates it has been possible to reconstruct the history from Pandiyan Kadumkon (575 A.D.) to Nedunjadaiyan, the donor of the grant (765-790 A.D.). A period of three centuries from about 250 A.D. after the period of the Third Madurai Sangham to about 575 A.D. when Kadumkon overthrew the Kalabhras, is now called the *Kalabhra interregnum*, a period during which the ancient Pandiya rulers had been driven out of the throne which was usurped by force of arms by an alien tribe known to history by the name of the Kalabhras.

I chose the subject of the Kalabhra interlude in the Pandiyan history here as my subject for many reasons. One, it had been labelled by almost all scholars as a dark period and so I decided to see if I can help even in a small measure to dispel the darkness. Two, many problems in Tamil literary history can easily be solved if

1. K. R. Venkataraman, A note on the Kalabhras, Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India 1956-57, page 94.

we could throw some light on the period of the Kalabhra interlude lasting for over three centuries. Three, my history will not be complete unless I resolve the problems of the Kalabhra interlude into the Pandinad at least in a manner that can help to outline the continuity of the literary history.

I am trying to reconstruct the history of this period only from two distinct fragments of positive direct evidence. One is the epigraphic evidence mentioning the Kalabhras directly, an evidence which has given the very name to the problem, and the other is the literary evidence which mentions the Karunataka king who invaded and captured the Pandiya country. The second fragment is generally liable to be dismissed as legend by many who claim that they care only for scientific truth. But here we have to bear in mind one important factor. Where we do not possess any authentic historical sources, we have to find out the truth underlying the relevant legends. Legends came into existence in order to supply flesh and blood to a truth or mere fact which was just the skeleton of the matter. We should train ourselves to look through and beyond the legend in order to discover the truth or the fact which had been clothed in legend.

3

Sekkilar was a chronicler of the lives of the Saints mentioned by St. Sundarar. He and the other similar writers preceded us by eight centuries and a half and were much closer in point of time to the people and the events recorded by them. They could therefore have had more accurate and closer knowledge of the events and so their knowledge is much nearer, more reliable and relevant (although perhaps coloured by their own religious affiliations) than our conclusions at this distance of time. History has not been recorded for us in this part of the country and presented to us on a salver as it were. If that were so, there would be no need for research or exploration. With all available sources in literature, legend and inscriptional evidence, we are reconstructing social history. Dates by themselves have no significance. We are concerned only with broad trends in the life and aspirations of the people.

We are concerned with evolving some theory, some insight into the past and some ordering of the happenings, which will accomodate

all the available facts in literature, culture, religion and history, and harmonize all of them into something which comes nearest to Truth and True History. This is not a dogmatic assertion but a synthesis and a reconstruction. In the absence of direct evidence, circumstantial evidence can be accepted with caution, but should not be ignored.

Literature is not a chronicle. It is only concerned with a poetic expression of the author's experiences and the values he wanted to preserve. In the case of *Periya puranam*, for example, it is concerned with giving out the story of the *Siva bhaktas* of a past with a view to evoking *bhakti* similar to theirs in the readers and the devotees. We have to read between the lines to discover the true course of events and of social history. Again, inscriptions give only facts and dates. They do not give any social history directly. Rarely do they give the causes which gave rise to the epigraphic record concerned. We have to interpret them in order to get at a glimpse of the society of the period. But literature deals directly with society. Hence we may not be wrong if we say that literature is more valuable as source material than even dated inscriptions for understanding the social history of any period.

The Kalabhra problem, as I had been able to see it, was not merely a political problem but equally a cultural problem. Previous writers on the subject do not appear to have taken note of this. They had been concerned only with the political history, to the exclusion of social history. Only a few writers¹ had perceived the impact of the Kalabhras on the people and they had asserted boldly that the Kalabhras had been instrumental in suppressing the culture and religion of the Pandinad. But even they had not discussed *how* these had suffered at the hands of the usurpers. I have attempted to discuss this impact in sufficient detail, focussing attention on many points of literary development or arrest thereof.

In so doing, there may be naturally criticism of the culture and the religion of the Kalabhras. The criticism applies to what existed

1. Avvai S. Duraiswami Pillai, *Sivajnana Bodham Silururai*, Annamalai University 1968, Introduction pages 47-49; Sadasiva Pandarattar, *Pandiyar Varalaru* 1966, pages 32-35.

and what happened in the Pandiya country 1500 years ago and has no reference to any people or their religion in the modern day. The whole study has been done in a very objective manner.

4

This paper will consist of two parts—the first one on the Kalabhras and the second on their impact on the life and the culture of Pandinad.

The first lecture will deal with the questions of the origin of the Kalabhras. The various suggestions like the Gangas, Kalvar, Kalikula, Muttaraiyar and Pulli of Venkatam will be examined. With a view to a better understanding of all the problems involved, an explanation of some terms in the Velvikkudi grant will be given. Then the language and the religion of the Kalabhras will be taken up and a passing reference will also be made to the Kalabhras in Cholanad and the Kalabhras in Tondainad.

The Second lecture will take up the several problems in the history of the literature of the period which had probably caused the period of the Kalabhras to be called a dark period. The problems are raised and discussed in detail under the heads literary, cultural, religious, and historical and at every stage the solution is pointed out to lie in the occupation of Madurai and Pandinad by the Kalabhras who clamped a long period of cultural darkness there for 300 years. Reference is made to the literature produced in the Pandiya country as a silver lining around the dark clouds of the area, and literature of the period in other Tamil areas is also referred to.

Some detailed notes in the manner of elucidation of some references in the two lectures and some more short notes giving the Tamil literary references mentioned in the footnotes are appended.

With this preface, I shall now take up the two parts of the lecture proper.

Let me emphasize once again my approach. History deals with Facts but poetry deals with Values. As I am approaching the Kalabhra problem more from the literary point of view, my concern

and the problems raised by me will naturally be from the point of view of Values, of course augmented by historical evidence.

I am indebted to all the earlier writers on the subject, to the historians, epigraphists and literary historians and critics, but for whose careful studies on the different aspects of the problem, this study would not have been possible.

SECTION—I

THE KALABHRAS IN PANDINAD

THE PANDIYAS OF THE SANGHAM AGE

We are able to piece together only the history of the Pandiyas beginning from Kadumkon, through the elaborate references in the Velvikkudi grant and the later epigraphical records. But we have no manner of knowing the genealogy of the Pandiyas of the Sangham age and earlier. Had such a genealogy been available, it would have helped us to understand the political state of the Pandinad at the commencement of the Kalabhra invasion. As this is not available, we can only piece together the literary references in the poems of the Sangham age. These are naturally scrappy and disconnected. But yet, they are useful in one way, that is, in ascertaining the religious leanings of the Pandiya rulers of the period earlier than the advent of the Kalabhras in the history of Madurai.

We shall now glance through the list of the Pandiyas of the Sangham period. We have a mention of the Pandiyas who had established the first two Sanghams at the Southern Madurai and at Kapatapuram, both now submerged under the sea. Some would say that the existence of the two Sanghams might not have been a historical fact. That is not material to us for the consideration of the Pandiyas of the Sangham period. 89 Pandiyas from Kaysinavaludi to Kadumkon are said to have patronized the First Sangham, and 59 Pandiyas from Venter-Cheliyan to Mudat-Tirumaran had patronised the Second Sangham at Kapatapuram. We do not know the names or other history of any of these Pandiyas except two. One is Vadimbambalamba-ninra-Pandiyān and the other is Palyagasalai mudu-kudumip-Peruvaludi.

Vadimbambalamba ninra Pandiyān was also known as Nilamtaru Tiruvirp-Pandiyān and Pandiyān Makirtti. He had a very long

rule. *Tolkappiyam* was published in his court. He is the same as the Pandiya of the puranic legends who threw a spear at the on-rushing tidal sea and made it dry up, the Lord of the Sea bowing at his feet. In a famous *Purananuru* verse, poet Nettiimaiyar refers to the act of his drawing the course of a new river *Pahruli* in the Kumarinadu before its deluge by the sea and his celebration of a festival to the Sea god.¹

The other Pandiya ruler Palyagasalai Mudukudumi is dealt with fully in *Note A* at the end.

We shall now mention a few words about the Pandiyas who are mentioned in the Sangham poetry as having ruled at the present city of Madurai. Their chronological sequence is not ascertainable.

Mudat-Tirumaran was the last of the Pandiyas of the Kapata-puram line. When the Kumari nadu was submerged, he went north to the modern city of Madurai; at first Manalur was his capital and then this Madurai. He was also a poet and we have two of his songs in *Narrinai*.² The Dalavaypuram plates' mention of the Pandiya who "made the city of Madurapuram and who established the Sangham there and patronized Tamil" is taken to refer to this Pandiya, in conformity with the legend.

Porkaip-pandiyan is just a legendary figure who cut off his arm and replaced it with a golden arm. He probably belongs to an *earlier* period and nothing more is known about him. Mativanan was a Pandiya who wrote a dramatic treatise in his name called *Mativananar Natakam-Tamilnol*, according to Adiyarkku nallar, who gives some citations from the text.³

Kadalul-maynda Ilamperuvaludi was also a Pandiya ruler and poet who has contributed a verse each to *Purananuru* and *Pariṭṭadal*. He has praised Vishnu. Pandiyan Arivudai Nambi has sung four verses of which the one on children as the real wealth of man (*Puram* 188) is famous. Bhuta-pandiyan's queen has been a reputed poet.

1. Vide *Purananuru* verse 9 lines 8-12.

2. Verses 105 and 228.

3. Vide page 191, *Silappadhikaram*, Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar's edition 1927.

Nedumcheliyan the victor over the Aryan forces is said to be the Pandiya ruler whose death was caused by Kannaki. Then Nanmaran, who died in the art gallery. Neduncheliyan, who was the victor at Talaiyalamkanam, has sung a verse in *Purananuru* but is celebrated in many verses and in two copper plates. Ugrap-Peruvaludi, the victor at Kanapper was probably his son. He has sung some verses and is said to have been responsible for the compilation of *Ahananuru*. Besides these, there have been eight other Pandiyas, all poets, celebrated in poetry, including Maran Valudi who is said to have organised the compilation of *Narrinai*.

These names of the Pandiya rulers are given here to indicate that the Pandiya dynasty of the period was a valiant one, always victorious in battle, and that most of the rulers were eminent poets.

At this stage we have to take note of two factors. One is that not one of these Pandiyas was considered to be of the Jain faith or the Buddhist faith or to have given support to any non-*vaidika* path. In the line of Palyagasalai who performed vedic sacrifices and of Ilamperuvaludi who has sung on Vishnu, we are to conclude that all these were following the Vedic religions.

The second fact is that no where do we have any mention of Jainism or Buddhism in all the 2381 verses of the Sangham poetry. We have all other deities glorified - Siva, Muruha, Vishnu, Korravai etc. but no Jain or Buddha. This indicates in unmistakable terms that both the two cults Jainism and Buddhism were unknown in Madurai (Pandinad) in the Sangham period. Some critics would seek to call the poets, Nikanta and Ulochanar as Jains and Ilambodhi as a Buddhist. This requires re-examination in the absence of any reference to these cults in the Sangham period.

Some rockbed inscriptions near Madurai had been considered by epigraphists to refer to Jain monks, on the resemblance of the script to the Asokan Scripts. This also seems to require a re-examination, as we have absolutely no reference to these cults in the literary history of the period.

This survey of earlier Pandiyan history has become necessary in order to understand fully the nature of the impact of the Kalabhras in Pandinad which is the subject of our investigation here. Having in

mind the absence of any direct reference to Arha or to Jainism in any form in the Sangham literature and also the fact that the rock beds for Jain monks around Madurai are still an open question which may point to a later date, we may venture an opinion that Jainism was introduced into the Pandinad by the Kalabhras, as we shall see hereafter. Probably, we are not sure, there were Jain monks touring the Tamilnad for places of seclusion where they might perform *sallekhana* as was said to be done in the early periods by Bhadrabahu and Chandra Gupta at Sravana Belgola. But Jainism as a cult had not penetrated into the Pandinad until the raid of the Kalabhras.

THE VELVIKKUDI GRANT

The Velvikkudi grant is the first historical document to introduce the Kalabhras to the world of historians and Tamil scholars. This is in ten copper plates and preserved in the British museum, London. Copies of the plates were sent by Dr. Fleet to the Archaeological Department of the Government of India in 1893 but they were not studied for a long time. The grant was first commented upon by Krishna Sastri in 1923. Ten copper plate grants of the Pandiyas have been published so far¹ and of the ten, this happens to be the earliest; it is also the earliest among all the available grants of the Pandiyas, both on stone and on copper. It is valuable for the reconstruction of early Pandiya history. The grant is both in Sanskrit and in Tamil. Sanskrit words are written in the Sanskrit language. Sanskrit is in the *grantha* script while Tamil is in the *vatteluttu*.

The grant runs to 155 lines. The first 30 lines, lines 99 to 101 and 142 to 150 are in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit portion of the grant begins with an invocation to Siva and goes on to enunciate the greatness of the Pandiya dynasty which was crowned by sage Agastya. It ends with the statement that the donor of the grant was Jatilavarman son of Maravarman, also called Ranadhiran and Rajasimhan, through the daughter of a Malava Chief.

The Tamil portion is fully² in verse and begins directly with the subject, without any preamble. We shall give below in translation

-
1. *Ten Pandiya copper plates*: The Tamil Varlatru Kazhagam, Madras 1967.
 2. Although all transcripts of the grant have printed in prose the end portion relating to the boundaries of land gifted, it appears to have been composed in some poetic metre and can be printed in a verse form.

the portions relevant to an understanding of the advent of the Kalabhras and of the Pandiya history. "The great Pandiya King, Palyaga Mudukudumip-Peruvaludi caused a yajna to be performed in the Pahanurk-kutram by Korkai Kilan Narkotran who never left the path of the Vedas. The place of the yajna was then named as Velvikkudi (*velvi-yajna*, *kudi*-suffix denoting a village). The king then and there gave it with libation of water to Narkotran. He and his descendants possessed and enjoyed the land for a long time. Then a conceited (cruel) ruler named Kalabhra seized¹ the land driving away numberless princes and resumed also the village gifted above.

"Now appeared the Pandiyadhiraja named Kadumkon,² like the sun rising from the vast sea; he was the Tennavan with the brilliant spear, whose army removed by its might the hold of others over the lustrous Earth and brought her under the shade of his own protecting umbrella, after destroying the might of the enemies. Then came his son, Avani Chudamani Maravarman, then Seliyan Vanavan Sendan; his son was Arikesari Asamasaman Sri Maravarman; then came Ko-Chadaiyan; his son was Manavenkudai manter - Maran; and lastly his son Nedunjadaiyan.

"In the third year of Nedunjadaiyan's reign, one person came to the city of Madurai and cried 'O King'. The King (Nedunjadaiyan) immediately called him and asked him, 'What is your complaint?' He came and stood before the king and thus submitted his petition. "Oh mighty king of a great army! The place called Velvikkudi in Pahanurk-kutram was granted for vedic studies by your ancestor Palyaga Mudu Kudumip - Peruvaludi, the supreme Lord, who never swerved from the path of justice. But it was resumed by the Kalabhras with the unflinching vast army". "Well, well" said the King smiling, "Prove your right to it by a documentary evidence and have it". Thereupon he produced the documentary evidence. Then the king, greatly pleased, said, "What was justly gifted by our ancestors

-
1. The grant says definitely that the land was seized (*kaikkondatanai*) and not that it was resumed, as one writer has said.
 2. This Kadumkon is a historical figure. He should not be confused with the Kadumkon with whom the First Tamil Sangham at the Southern Madurai (submerged by the sea) abruptly terminated.

is hereby gifted again by us also". So saying the king with a large army of chariots gave the place to Kamakani Narchingan of Korkai".

Then follows a long description of the boundaries of the place. Finally the grant goes on to state that Kamakkani Suvaran Singan of Korkai who obtained this grant kept a third of the property to himself and in turn gifted away the remaining two-thirds to fifty brahmins of the place with libations of water.

EXPLANATION OF SOME TERMS

Many eminent scholars have ably interpreted this grant and its terminology. But yet we find there are some incorrect explanations and distortions out of context, and contrary to language traditions. Hence some comments on a few important and salient points, though they may be unimportant in themselves, may yet be necessary. The whole narration here is given a dramatic touch: it is not merely a prosaic statement but, very unusual in epigraphic records, we are placed here in the role of spectators in a drama being enacted before our eyes.

1. Line 2. Palyaga Mudukudumip-peruvaludi was a Pandiya ruler in the period of the Sangham poetry; he might have ruled some time during the period 300 B.C. to 100 A.D.¹ *Purananuru* has five beautiful verses composed in his honour by the poets Karikilar, Nettimaiyar and Nedumpalliyattanar. One of the verses celebrates the *yajna* conducted by him. The Sangham poetry had all been produced within a period of a few centuries round the beginning of the Christian era, i.e., between about 300 B.C. to 200 A.D. It is too late in the day for any one to attempt to deny the fact that there was a period called the Sangham age when a considerable volume of crisp and terse at the same time elegant Tamil poetry, both romantic and heroic, was produced. By no stretch of imagination can this King Palyagasalai Mudukudumip-peruvaludi be brought to any period after the 2nd century A.D., much less to the period, 7th century, as proposed by one writer.

1. Vide Appendix - Note A. Palyagasalai Mudukudumip-Peruvaludi.

2. Line 5. *Ter Maran*: Professor Nilakanta Sastri has cautioned scholars against construing the phrase *Ter-Maran* as the name of a king, a mistake made by Mr. Krishna Sastri. The lines occurring in the grant are to be translated as 'his son Maran of the horse chariot, King of kings, a member of the Pandiya family, the proud possessor of the white parasol etc. The professor's caution is *against* separating the words in the phrase *man-ter-maran* as *man* and *termaran*. The king's name is only Maran; *man-ter* is a compound adjective, where *man* (horse) qualifies *ter* (chariot) and the nominal phrase *man-ter* qualifies *Maran*, the Pandiya with the horse chariot'.

3. Line 6. *Korkai kilan Narkotran* means only Narkotran, headman of Korkai; it does not mean Lord of Korkai. This Narkotran again was a brahmin, and brahmins have never been lords anywhere in the past (during the period under consideration).

4. Line 7. *Kelvi antanalar* — means brahmins well versed in the Vedas. *Kelvi* is *sruti*, the Veda.

5. Line 10. *Nidu-bhukti-tuyttapin*: The right understanding of the phrase is important for the proper evaluation of the incidents narrated in the grant. *Bhukti* here is not a Tamil word nor a common word; it is a technical word, a legal term in the Sanskrit *smritis*.

We find here that the Velvikkudi grant is drawn up fully in terms of the *Dharma sastras*² like Yagnavalkya, Manu etc. The Sastras insist upon three *pramanas* or evidences to prove one's right in respect of immovable property and they are *bhukti*, *lekhyā pramana* and *sakshi*, namely possession and enjoyment, written documents, and witnesses. These have been, we know, fully utilised later by Sekkilar in the hearing of the plaint of the old brahmin in the Tiru Navalur Sabha to prove that Sundara was his slave. Sekkilar defines the three *pramanas* or evidences as *atchi* usage or enjoyment, *avanam* or written

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1. In spite of his caution, a writer says in 1976 that the name of the King can be only *Ter-Maran* and it is not right to take the name merely as *Maran*. This can only betray ignorance of Tamil literary traditions or a wilful distortion of the language.
 2. I am indebted to Dr. R. Nagaswamy, Director of the State Archaeology Department, for this information.

document, and *ayalar tangal katchi* or neighbours as witnesses.¹ It is remarkable that the rules of the *dharma sastra* are scrupulously mentioned by him effectively and in full. In the Velvikkudi grant also, which was about five hundred years earlier than Sekkilar, the *pramanas* are specifically mentioned.

The Velvikkudi grant mentions *bhukti* - possession and enjoyment first; *bhukti*, and it is *nidu bhukti*; enjoyment is here for a long period, not a few generations: the *smritis* say that the term *bhukti* goes to a period lasting beyond the memory of man or three generations, which period was equivalent in time to a period beyond the memory of man - father, grandfather and his father at the least; so the term '*nidu bhukti tuyttapin*' occurring in the grant means that the land was in the possession and enjoyment of the party for quite a long period, to warrant the evidence to be admitted by the king immediately. So *nidu bhukti* here is not a mere matter of a few years; it is indeed quite a long period.

6. Line 11. *Alavariya Aadhirajarai* — may simply mean that the kings were of limitless repute or might; *aadhirajar* - the kings who had been ruling the land. (*Aadhirajarai* is here in Sanskrit; the first vowel is aa, long.)

7. Line 12. *Kalabhran*: This is the most important point of dispute and conjecture in the whole series of sources for the history of this period. Here *Kalabhran* is used in the singular; when the same *Kalabhra* is referred to again in line 120 of the copper plate, it is *Kalabhrar* in the plural. Later on the Dalavaypuram plates² of a later day (908 A.D.) also refer to the *Kalabhrar* (*Kalappalar*) in the plural twice. Therefore we may take the major number of occurrence as the plural, and say this refers not to a single ruler but to a tribe or predatory clan which marched on Madurai, captured it and ruled it for over 300 years, till it was driven out by Kadumkon. The singular may also be indicative of the contempt of the present donor of the grant, to the *Kalabhras*.

1. Vide *Periapuranam*, *Taduttalkonda puranam*, verse 56.

2. Pages 83-140 of Ten Pandiya copper plates.

8. Line 12. *Kaliyarasan*: The word *kali* during the period of the grant could have meant only conceit; it can not give the sense of brave etc. directly. This also seems to be in agreement with the term used by Sekkilar in relation to the Karunada invader. '*Valindu nilam kolvanay*', seizing the land by force.¹ Aggression and conceit seem to be more appropriate than bravery. There are any number of later references in the Jain epic works referring to the word *kali* as a tyrannical rule. *Jivaka Cintamani* and *Culamani* use it a number of times to signify tyrannical rule.² So here the term can be interpreted only as *Kalabhra the tyrant*, the cruel ruler. It is not wicked as some have said. The donor of the re-issued grant would certainly not have referred to the aggressor in glowing terms as a brave king, but would only have mentioned him as a tyrant, a cruel person.³

9. Line 21. *Manam portta-tanai vendan*. The text has been printed as *manam pertta*. It should be '*manam portta*' in accordance with Tamil idiom. This means that *manam* (valour with honour) enveloped the king's army. This sense is more idiomatic than saying in this context that the army destroyed the honour of the enemy (by causing his defeat). *Pertta* for *portta* may be a scribal error.

10. Line 103. *Manupaman*: This is given as one of the titles of the Pandiya, in Sanskrit in line 99. It means that this Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan is comparable to Manu. Earlier we referred to the Dharma Sastras. The comparison to Manu in this line would concede that the reference was quite relevant, as *Manu Smriti* is one of the Dharma sastras. We may also recall here that line 136 of the Dalavaypuram plates refers to the King there as *Manusamanan*, one who was the equal of Manu; the date of that grant is the 45th regnal year (908 A. D.) of Varaguna (or Vira narayana, his younger brother?) Thus the comparison to Manu in the copper plate grants would support the view that the grants were all made on the basis of the code of *dharma* laid down in the *Smritis*. (It is of course usual to compare great and just rulers to Manu, but here in virtue of what

1. Vide *Periyapuranam*, *Murti Nayanar puranam*, verses 11-14.

2. *Jivaka Cintamani* verse 2323, 1926 etc.

3. Vide also the section on Kalideva and Kalikula later (page 24).

has happened, the comparison is quite appropriate and is invested with a special significance.)

11. Line 114. *Mel nal*: means in times long ago and does not mean in the recent past.

12. Line 114. *Nin guravaral*: By your ancestors; this will certainly not mean your immediate ancestor, not 'your father', as one writer has said. It will mean an ancestor in the distant past. The king later on also says (line 124) *em guravaral tarappattadu*: gifted by my ancestor. Had it been merely father, the petitioner would have said 'nundai' (your father) as in the Sangham poetry or Periya devar or Periya perumal as in the later epigraphical records, and the king also would have said 'endai' (my father) or Periya devar. In the *vaidika* tradition *guru* means preceptor; *guru* is singular and *guravah* is plural in Sanskrit; in the Tamil language it is *guravar*, here an honorific plural. The parents as well as the ancestors can be called *guravar*.

13. Line 114. *Palmuraiyin valuvamai* — means in strict hereditary enjoyment (vide line 124 also).

14. Line 118 *Palyaga mudukudumi ennum Paramesvaranal*: The petitioner is here standing before the king and giving out his oral plaint. If he were merely referring to the king's father he would have quite naturally referred to him as your mighty father. This would have been much more simple and would also have tickled the vanity of the king in no small measure. The king would also have taken it as a greater duty to set right a wrong done to a gift recently made by his own father. The terminology used here does not warrant such an interpretation. To extol Peruvuludi, the petitioner says he is *Paramesvaran*, because by reason of the long period of time that has elapsed his greatness is not remembered and has to be recalled by the use of such words. The lengthy and round about manner in which the king and his gift are here referred to gives us the impression that however great this *Valudi* might have been, the matter of the grant had become obscure, and to some extent gone out of man's memory. This implies a long period of interval between the grant and the petition for restoration. Hence the long interval of time between the two events read by the scholars is fully justified.

15. Lines 122-123. *Nattal-nin palamaiyadal katti ni kolka. Nattal tan palamaiyadal kattinan*: Here in both the places *nattal*, would signify 'with the aid of documentary evidence'; *nattu* means writing, a document. See also clause 5 above. It would appear as though two of the three *pramanas* or evidences as required in the *dharma sastras* are satisfied in this case - enjoyment with possession, and documentary evidence.

17. Lines 126-7. *Kamakkāṇi Nar-chingan*: This is the name of the petitioner. *Kamakkani* means right to property. Earlier we saw that the original donee in the days of Mudukudumip Peruvaludi was *Korkai kilan Nar Kotran*. Now after so many years, not only three centuries till the date of Kadumkon (575 A. D.), but after many more years till the days of Parantakan Nedunjadaian's third regnal year (about 768 A. D.) appears *Korkaikilan Kamakkani Nar-chingan* and makes his petition. The point to be carefully noted here is that *Nar-chingan* is a name different from *Nar-kotran* of the earlier period. Probably the father of *Nar-chingan* was *Suvaran*, as *Singan* is called here (in line 17 of the prose portion, as *Korkaikilan Kamakkani Suvaran Singan*). It should be clearly borne in mind that *Singan* and *Kotran* are different individuals of different periods. (*Suvaran Singan* means in contemporary Tamil usage *Singan* son of *Suvaran*.)

16. Line 123. *Angu-appolude*: The two words would indicate to us that the king was satisfied with the truth of the claim now made and re-issued the grant, without the least hesitation. The *dharma sastras* provide for such re-issue of grants on copper plate — *tamara-patra pramanam kalpayitva diyatam* — when the original had been irrecoverably lost.

We find here that the petition for the restoration of the property is made by a descendant of the original donee many centuries after the seizure of the land by the Kalabhras. Why was there so much delay in making the claim? The Kalabhras ruled for three centuries, during which period the claim naturally could not have been made. Then came Kadumkon. From Kadumkon to Nedunjadaian we have seven ruling monarchs. We can only infer that the successors of *Nar-chingan* either did not have the boldness to appear before the king and put in a petition, or that they did not get the original document of the grant of Mudukudumip Peruvaludi and so did not

know their right and muster up enough courage to call upon the king to restore their right.

It is also possible that some earlier descendants of Narkotran did make a petition to the king but they were not sympathetically listened to and nothing was done.

The Velvikkudi grant gives us only one instance of a *dharma* which had been stopped by the Kalabhra rule. There certainly would have been many more. All similar confiscations had not come into the picture of the epigraphical evidence. We have only to imagine the conditions. Besides, the defeat of the Kalabhras by Kadumkon does not tell us much about the life complex of the period. All the details have to be collected by the suggestions in the literature of the period and later.

WHO WERE THE KALABHRAS?

We find scholars giving wholly divergent solutions to the problem of the Kalabhras. One says that the Kalabhras were only Tamilians and they were in revolt against the Brahmin ritual of sacrifices in the land; in his view the Kalabhras were just revolutionaries. He says they were even Hindus and even Tamilians¹ Another says that there was no interregnum and no up-setting of the established political order, that the Kalabhras were merely the Gangas, their occupation of the Pandiya terrain was only short-lived, not extending beyond a period of a couple of years, that they had made only border line encroachments or incursions, that the invaders were also Saivas, patronizing Brahminical rituals and religion, and so on.² It is not my purpose here to answer all these wild, uncritical and conflicting series of misconceptions. But we shall try to get at the correct position with reference to a proper interpretation of the terms of the Velvikkudi grant which is the basis for the proposition of the Kalabhra occupation of Madurai.

The name Kalabhra is no where found in any literature except the few epigraphical records of the Pandiyas and the Pallavas. Both the Pandiya Kadumkon and the Pallava Simhavishnu who headed

1. Dr. K. P. Aravanan.

2. Dr. B. G. L. Swami.

new and important lines of the two dynasties Pandiya and Pallava respectively, both by the end of the 6th century (about 575 A. D.), have recorded that they overcame the Kalabhras. The name is totally unknown in early Tamil literature and history. The name Kalabhra is written in both the Pandiya and the Pallava inscriptions in the grantha script (Sanskrit) but the name is unknown in the Sanskrit language. The language of the Kalabhras has been known to be Prakrit and Pali, possibly early Kannada also. They were followers of Jainism in some places and of Buddhism in others. Hence they are correctly thought to be aliens on the Tamil soil.

We know from the Velvikkudi grant that the Kalabhras had been overthrown and their rule ended by about 575 A.D. by Kadumkon. But we do not know definitely the beginning of their rule, or in other words, when they entered the Pandinad and seized power at Madurai. Scholars of Tamil literary history have come to the conclusion that probably the middle of the third century (250 A.D.) may be taken as the date of the fall of the earlier Pandiya dynasty. *Silappadhikaram*, the great Tamil epic which glorifies woman and her accomplishing arts - music and dance - would have been written by the first half of the century, quite in conformity with Tamil Cultural Traditions, at a period when the Kalabhras had not usurped power at Madurai. This seems to have been generally accepted and so gives us the date 250 A.D. as the date of origin of the Kalabhra rule in Madurai.

The next important question is, who were the Kalabhras and wherefrom did they come.

The term Kalabhra (Kalabhara) is not mentioned anywhere in the Sangham poetry. Besides, when Varahamihira (505-587 A.D.) mentions the kings of the south, he does not mention the name Kalabhra. Hence it is clear that the Kalabhras were not an ancient dynasty or clan.

THE SATAVAHANAS

The Satavahanas ruled over India from the period of Asoka's death (B.C. 232) to about 227 A.D. Their territory extended from the northern parts of Mysore to the Narmada in the north and from

the confluence of the Godavari with the sea, west up to the Western Ghats. The decline of the Satavahana Empire in the first quarter of the third century A.D. loosened the bonds which had restrained the disruptive forces there which resulted not only in internecine wars but also in the expeditions of adventurous clans to seek their fortunes elsewhere. We may not be wrong if we connect one such clan with the Kalabhra tribe which invaded Pandinad by the middle of the third century A.D. (250) and overthrew the Pandiya rule. But there is no evidence to admit this hypothesis. Later on we shall be able to show that the Kalabhras of Madurai were merely one branch of a clan which started on a predatory march from the Sravanabelgola area simultaneously into several parts of Tamilnad.

THE KALABHRAS AND THE GANGAS

The Gangas were known to the early Tamil writers. *Ahananuru* mentions Gangan¹; *Silappadhikaram* mentions Gangar along with the rulers of six other areas whom Senkuttuvan engaged in battle.² Since the Pandiya inscription mentions only the Kalabhras as the rulers at Madurai, and not the Gangas as the invaders or the rulers, the inference is that the two were different. The Gangas are known in the period; the composer of the grant mentions the Ganga raja in line 79. Hence it is definite that the Kalabhras were definitely construed to be different from the Gangas.

The Gangas ruled over the territory mentioned in Tamil contemporary literature as *Erumainadu* (*erumai-buffalo*)³. The land is the modern Mysore State. *Erumai* in Tamil is *Mahisham* in Sanskrit and shows that what was just across the border from Tamil nad and was designated as the *Erumai nadu* by the Tamil people, came gradually to be called the *Mahisha nadu* — Mysore (capital city).

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1. Verse 44 mentions the Ganga as a chief of great might along with several others, all of whom the Chola chief Perum-poot-Chenni defeated.
 2. *Silappadhikaram Katchikkadai* lines 156-8.
 3. It is not known how this land had come to be known as the *Erumainadu*. Probably some people of the place at the time were black (and perhaps also short) and stout like the buffalo and so their land might have been called the *Erumai nadu*.

Erumainadu was outside the Tamilnadu proper; it is not mentioned as one of the twelve lands where Tamil was spoken¹. The rulers of the Erumai nadu were even called Erumai.² Kudanadu is one of the areas of Sen Tamil nadu and it forms part of modern Mysore (Karnataka). Some times the ruler of Erumainadu had captured Kudanadu and so an *Ahananuru* verse calls Kuda nadu as the land of one Erumai.³

The ruler of Erumainadu was always at loggerheads with the Pandiya in the opening years of the Christian era. We find that the Erumaiyuran was one of the foes whom Nedumcheliyan vanquished in the Talaiyalanganam battle.⁴ However we should remember that the land Erumainadu gets a royal dynastic rule only from Konkani varman I (c. 340-400 A.D.).⁵ It is clear therefore that there was no Ganga rule at the time of the Kalabhra invasion of the Pandiya country in about 250 A.D. From the middle of the next century the Erumainadu ruled by the Gangas comes to be known as Gangavadi, and as Gangapadi in the Chola inscriptions from the Tenth century onwards.

There are besides two references to *Erumai* in Sangham literature. One is that it is the name of a poet Erumai Velianar who has sung two verses in *Purananuru* (273 and 303) and one in *Ahananuru* (73); his son is Kadalamar, author of one verse in *Ahananuru* (verse 72). *Erumai-veli* might have been a tract or piece of land (probably in Madurai itself) and somehow the poet seems to have been known by that name; he might have belonged to that region. The second is a puram theme, known as *erumai maram*,⁶ a hero taking a firm and bold stand in the battle field against very heavy odds, like an unyielding buffalo, even after his own army had retreated and fled.

1. Vide the verse beginning *Tenpandi* enumerating the ten areas.
2. Vide *Ahananuru* 115 where the chief is called Erumai.
3. Ibid. Sometimes Erumai nadu had been captured by the Vaduhar and it is shown as belonging to them. This is explained later.
4. Vide *Ahananuru* 36 lines 15-20.
5. Vide M. V. Krishna Rao, *The Gangas of Talkad*, 1936.
6. The theme is mentioned not in *Tolkappiyam*, but in the latter *Purapporulvenba malai*; but the commentator has applied the term to some verses in *Purananuru* for explaining them.

Another point of interest here is that the Erumaiyuran, enemy of Nedumcheliyan, has now become the Ganga in the Sixth century and the Velvikkudi grant (line 85) says that Man-ter Maran had a *sambandham* with Ganga raja the king of Kongunad wearing fragrant garlands. *Sambandham* means marriage alliance, as we use the term today. These Gangas are the Western Gangas of Talkad (Talaikkad). The Velvikkudi grant itself says that the *Anatti* (the officer who defeated the Chalukyas when they tried to prevent the marriage of the Ganga's daughter with the Pandiyan Parantakan Nedumjadaiyan who is the donor of the Velvikkudi grant. This indicates that at this period of the grant (575 A. D.) there was cordial relationship between the Pandiya and the Ganga kings. Again, when the poet drafted this grant in this poetic form for inscribing on the copper plate, we find he uses the Sanskrit script for the word Ganga as he does frequently for many other words. So the word Ganga is well known to the poet. Hence since the poet has not used the word Ganga but has preferred the word Kalabhra, he is definite that the two are different. The Tamil writer would not have bothered to make the distinction between one branch of the Gangas and another, and so if the invading tribe was really a Ganga tribe, he would have simply said Ganga, instead of taking the trouble to put it down elaborately as Kalabhra the Kaliarasan. This decides this particular issue finally: the Kalabhras are not Gangas nor could they have been the forerunners of any branch of the Ganga dynasty.

There is an attempt to associate the Kalabhras with the Gangas in another way. Kalabha means a young elephant. The Gangas had the elephant on their banner. Hence Kalabhras had the elephant banner, had been known as Kalabhas and then Kalabhras. Very ingenious indeed. But no where have we any information about the banner of the Kalabhras much less that they had an elephant banner. So these are merely fanciful, unscientific etymological exercises.

KALIDEVA AND KALI KULA

It has been suggested and ably argued that the term kaliarasan may refer to the *Kalikulam*.¹ Kalikulam as the name of a dynasty is

1. K. R. Venkataraman, Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India 1956-57, pages 94-100.

mentioned in the Kopparam plates of the Chalukya King Pulikesin II. Kaliyabda (era) was also prevalent in South India. We find the consecration of the colossal statue of Gommatesvara at Sravana belgola mentioned in Kali era as 983, which suggests that that era commenced by 383 A. D. There was also said to be a *Kalideva* cult prevalent in the Kannada country and it was prevalent in some parts of the Kannada area till the eleventh century. They were also Jains. All these points have been marshalled together to suggest that kaliyaran in the Velvikkudi grant may after all be just a reference to the Kalikula.

But there is a strong objection to such an assumption of the name of a tribe or dynasty of Kali with reference to the Kalabhras. Buddha datta refers to the *Kalabbha kula*; in Pali, the *r* sound is softened and the term Kalabhra can sound only as Kalabbha in Pali. Accuta Vikkanta is of the Kalabbha kula, or Kalabhra kula. So it is clear that when Kalabhra itself can be the name of a kula, there cannot be an additional kula added to the name as Kalikula when referring to the Kalabhras of the Velvikkudi grant. And again, when we look at the phrase '*Kalappalar kulam kalaindum*' in the Dalavaypuram plates, we have to take it that the term Kalappalar or Kalabhrar was itself a *kulam*; so no addition of a *kali kulam* can be made. Besides the three Pallava copper plates refer to Kalabhra along with the Chola, Pandiya, Malava etc. signifying that the term Kalabhra is itself the name of a kula, tribe or dynasty just like the others. Hence it is clear here that a second dynasty or tribe name could not be attached to the name of Kalabhra. Therefore the term kaliyaran has now to be taken only in the accepted sense of a common noun as cruel, conceited or tyrannical (not wicked or brave), and not as a proper noun.

We shall remember the grant is in verse, or poetic composition, written by a competent poet. He would have used the word *kali* in a classical meaning, that of a tyrant, an evil doer, a cruel person; the other senses cannot be applied to kali.

Besides, the date of the Kali era may not quite fit in. It is generally agreed that the Kalabhra rule in Pandinad was for about 300 years from about 250 A. D. The Kalabhras who invaded the

country at this time could not have belonged to the *kula* which came into existence and established an era in its own name from 383 A. D.

THE KALVAR CLAN

Some try to derive the word Kalabhra from the Tamil word kalva — as kalava — kalavara — kalabara and kalabhra and so they go on to say that the Kalabhrar belong to the Kalvar (robber group) which is given as a dynastic name with reference to Pulli of Venkatam. According to them Kalabhra is a Sanskritized form of the common Tamil word *kalvar*. Kalva is a thief, a robber and it is ordinarily *steya* in Sanskrit. There will be nothing wrong if it is rendered into Sanskrit as the *Steyakula*. This is much more easy and simple than a Sanskritization. Since this has not been done, it is evident, that Kalabhra could not have been an evolution from the word *kalvar*.

Equating Kalabhra with Kalavar and Kalvar, we have heard some critic say that the great Vaishnava saint Tirumangai alvar also belonged to the Kalabhra clan, as he frequently calls himself Kaliyan. But the meaning of Kaliyan as used by the Alvar is different. Kaliyan is given as the term for a military commander in the Divakaram, a Tamil lexicon of the 9th century. The Alvar here uses the word in the sense of Kalikanri, a *suppressor of Kali*; in Sanskrit the name is frequently given as Kalidhvamsah and Kalivairi, which mean the annihilator and the foe of Kali. Because of this term and because the legend pictures this Alvar as a highway robber purely in a legendary manner, probably to enhance the value of the change in him into a *bhagavata*, he cannot be taken to be a Kalabhra. Alvar is very much Later in time (8th C. A. D.)

Many fanciful etymologies are invented for the term in the modern day. It is futile to relate a term (now completely forgotten) applied to a clan of the 3rd century A. D. and later, in the epigraphical records of the 7th century, to the modern etymological theories of the 20th century and invent new explanations and affiliation. The simplest thing to say is that we do not know, because we do not have sufficient evidence. But it is a known fact that the Kalabhras were an alien clan and today we are at a loss to know what the name represented in the past in the Kannada (or the Prakrita) language.

It is interesting to note that the term *kalebharam* has given rise in the modern day to several meanings like confusion, tumult etc. Kalabharam in Sanskrit and Tamil means the human body; Saints Appar and Sundarar use the term in this sense. The Tamil term *kalavaram* of unknown origin means confusion and tumult. It always occurs in the spoken form today as kalabaram to signify commotion and tumult. Its phonological identity with Kalabhra, the clan which caused considerable confusion and disorder in the Pandinad seventeen centuries ago, is very striking.

PULLI OF VENKATAM

Pulli of Venkatam has been mentioned in connection with the origin of the Kalabhras. He is mentioned in eight verses in the Sangham poetry — five by Mamulanar and three by Kalladar. Except one verse in *Purananuru*, all the others are found in *Ahananuru* and all these relate to the *palai* theme in love poetry. The reference to Pulli occurs generally in the lines where the mother of the heroine in the verse tries to describe the heat of the desert, through which her daughter had eloped with her lover, comparing it with the parched aridity of the Venkatam hill ruled by Pulli.

The following is a summary of the various references :

Venkatam in the wide region ruled over by Pulli; the tall hill Venkatam with bamboo forests of Pulli who fights with his large elephants ; like the hill of Venkatam belonging to Pulli; festive and prosperous Venkatam of the great giver Pulli, who wears the *kazhal* on his feet and who vanquished the Mazhava country; the forest of Pulli hill which is hard to cross ; the desert in the land of Pulli which is hard to cross ; Pulli the great giver, of unfaltering good repute ; the good land, with the hill where hang honeycombs, of boastful Pulli with many herds of cows.¹

From these references we find that Pulli was ruling over Venkatam during the period of the Sangham poetry, probably some

1. Vide verse 385 of *Purananuru* ; here the poet Kalladar praises his patron Ambarkilan Aruvandai and Pulli is merely mentioned by comparison with his Venkatam ; *Ahananuru* verses 83, 209 by Kalladar and verses 61, 259 311, 393 by Mamulanar,

200 years earlier than the Kalabhra raid over Madurai, that he was a bounteous patron and was chief of the Kalvar (clan). Kalvar is a Tamil word meaning robber, and by no stretch of imagination can we say that Pulli a chief of the period was celebrated as a robber chief. Kalvan means also a black person and perhaps he might have been called Kalvarkoman the black chief (like the Black Prince of England, Richard I). Some have argued that 'the word Kalvar in the palm leaf could as well have been read as Kalavar (without the dot on the Tamil letter la, because the dot is never marked in palm leaf); and so they would say that Kalavar is the Tamil form for Kalabha, which means an elephant. We find his valour celebrated in the verses and also his elephant and so he could have been a valiant chief with an elephant force. *Kalabha* had probably got further changed into Kalabhra; the Kalabhras can be just descendants of this chief of elephants'.

It is certainly possible that *kalvar* could have been *kalavar* but the language of the Sangham poetry would not warrant the use of the Sanskrit term Kalabha for the elephant in the Velvikkudi grant. If the name was really anything like kalvar or kalavar, naturally the Tamil epigraphic composer would not have ignored it in preference to an unknown and unfamiliar word Kalabhra and would not have taken pains to put it down in the Sanskrit script as Kalabhra in the middle of a Tamil poetic line.

And lastly, it may not be appropriate to take the Kalabhras to the Venkatam region, the region of the Vaduhar in later history in the face of two references in Tamil classical literature to the conquerors of Madurai as Karunatar (in *Kalladam* and in *Periyapuranam*)¹.

It is interesting to note that a copper plate grant of a later day mentions one Pulliyur. The Kosakkottai copper plates issued in the twelfth year of the reign of Konkanyadhirajar record a grant made by the mother of the Pallava king Simhavishnu (575 - 615) to build a Jain temple for the glorification of the Pallava line. The grant is inscribed in the old Telugu-Kannada script. It gifts away a place called Pulliyur, in the Ganga territory, the temple is built on land

1. These references are fully discussed later on.

donated by the Ganga King. This would indicate the happy relations between the Gangas and the Pallavas of the period. A line (33) on the reverse of the fourth leaf of the grant says that he who appropriates land gifted by himself or by some others will suffer for 60,000 years in a dark hell. It goes to state further the sin and punishment that will accrue to such an offender. Viewed in the light of such thoughts of sin and merit of a later day, we can realize how heinous a crime was the forfeiture by the Kalabhras of the Velvikkudi original gift.

Strangely enough, an *Ahananuru* verse¹ calls Pandiya the Tennen as the *Kalvarperumahan* the great *kalvar* hero. This may be probably by virtue of a battle the Pandiya might have fought with the Kalvar as *Kalvarperumahan*. But the verse does not give the name of either the Pandiya or the Kalvar chief. It is also doubtful if a crowned monarch of the great Pandiya dynasty would take upon himself the undignified title of *Kalvar perumahan*.

It is admissible in only one light and that is that the king was the chief of the raiders (Kalvar) who went out into the enemy territory and captured their cattle in the true *Vetchi-tinai* tradition.

VADUHAR AND THE KALABHRAS

A reference to the Vaduhar may not be absolutely necessary here, in a discussion of the Kalabhras, but still as they were considered to occupy the area north of Tamilnad proper in the past, a few observations may be made. Very ancient books mention the Himalayas as the northern boundary of the Tamilnad.² But however in a later day, the area had been restricted and the Venkatam hill had been specified as the northern boundary.³

The land beyond Venkatam was called 'the land where the language had changed' and the people there had been called Vaduhar.⁴ One line refers to them as the people whose language

1. Verse 342 of *Ahananuru*.

2. Vide *Purananuru* 6 and 17; *Maduraikkanjī* lines 70-72.

3. Vide the *Sirappup-payiram* of *Tolkappiyam*, of *Nannul* etc. *Sikhandi* cited by *Adiyarkkunallar*.

4. *Kuruntohai* 11, *Narrinai* 212, *Purananuru* 378 and many verses in *Ahananuru* mention the Vaduhar.

had not developed.¹ In later days Vaduhu had been used to denote the Telugu people and their country. A further development in the concept of Vaduhu was to designate some musical modes as vaduhu.² *Silappadhikaram* would say that *vaduhu* was one of the three types of dances *desi* (native), *vaduhu* (from that country) and *simhalam* (from the Sinhalese country, modern Sri Lanka).³ Adiyarkku-nallar the commentator (12th century) of *Silappadhikaram* says that in his day the languages in the north were all undeveloped languages.⁴ It had not been suggested that the Kalabhrar had anything to do with the Vaduhar and so we need not concern ourselves with them any further. However one more reference to the Vaduhar may be noted, where the Erumainadu is said to belong to the Vaduhar chief.⁵ But this might have been probably due to an imperfect knowledge of the land beyond the northern borders.

It had been the habit among the poets of the period to make a confusion of the two terms Vaduhu and Karnataka as we find in the words of even Sekkilar as *Vaduhak-karunada vendan*. Hence in view of what has been explained already, we may take it the Vaduhar do not come into the picture at all and that the Erumai nadu mentioned by many is part of the Karunataka nadu.

Two hills mark the place Sravana Belgola in the Karnataka state. They are known as the Dodda betta the larger hill and the Chikka betta the smaller hill. The Chikka betta is also known as Chandra giri, in memory of Emperor Chandragupta maurya. There is a Kannada tradition that the Jaina acharya Bhadrabahu who was at Ujjaini foresaw a famine of twelve years there and, not willing to get affected by it, he moved south and came to this area, with his disciples. Chandra gupta maurya, the father of Emperor Asoka, opted for Jainism at the end of his reign, became a disciple of Bhadrabahu and, abdicating his throne in favour of his son Asoka, followed

1. *Ahananuru* 107.

2. Vide *Pingala nighantu* which mentions *Vaduhu* as a secondary melody type of the *marudaiyal* and also as the *Indalap-pann*.

3. Verse 342 of *Ahananuru*.

4. *Silappadhikaram*, chapter 8 lines 1-3 commentary.

5. *Ahananuru* 253.

his master to the south as a *sannyasi* on foot. After the passing away of Bhadrabahu, Chandra gupta also stayed on here in a cave doing penance and gave up his life by 298 B. C. by performing *sallekhana* in the true Jain fashion. These stories have been recorded in later Kannada writing.

Historians have remarked that since nothing is recorded about the end of Chandra gupta, this story, legend though it be, may be accepted. Thus we may see that the Sravana Belgola area was an important centre in the South for Jainism from the early period, even long before the Christian era. It may also be remembered in a general way that the Asokan edicts are found upto the Kannada country but *nowhere* in the Tamil country.

Sravana Belgola (in Tamil, the Jain white tank, *sravana—samana, bel—vellai, gola—kulam*) is the place between the two hills mentioned and is about 60 miles north of Mysore. It is world famous by the statue of Gommatesvara created there in a single piece of stone reaching to a height of 57 feet from the ground level. The statue is naturally the most imposing sight, second perhaps only to the statues of Rameses in Egypt. It was caused to be constructed by Chamundaraya the minister of the Gangas in 983 A. D. Many sub-temples were constructed around the site by 1116. There are about 500 Kannada inscriptions in the area, many of which are ancient. By association with Bhadrabathu and Chandra gupta, the place had grown to be the most important centre for Jainism in the South. Literary history tells us that the period was one of peace in Tamilnad so far as incursions from outsiders were concerned. There were always internecine quarrels among the three dynasties of crowned monarchs here, the Seras, the Pandiyas and the Cholas, but the religion and literature at Madurai had a peaceful atmosphere. Possibly there were peaceful migrations from the Sravana Belgola area into the South, Pandinad, by the Jain monks and if the rockbeds around Madurai are really Jain, they will be explained by these migrations. The hospitable Tamil people would certainly have helped these migrators from a foreign linguistic area in the monk's robe to stay at peace and work up their *sallekhana*. As is evident from the literature of the period, they had no religious or social influence in the Tamil country, particularly the Pandiya country then.

Now coming to the Sravana belgola hills, we find that in the old Kannada inscriptions, the Chikka hill is designated as Kalavappu (Kalvappu) and Kalabappu in Kannada. It has been fully discussed by R. Narasimhachar, editor of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* Volume II (1923) which is wholly devoted to Sravana belgola. We find that the place had been considered as a holy place celebrated by the Jains of the area and around. Many other monks are also said to have attained *samadhi* there. The place had thus been one of great antiquity and veneration which had been a centre for propagation and for the distribution of Jain monks over the southern regions in later years.

The tribes of marauders or invaders into the three areas of Tamilnad beginning from the south, Madurai in Pandinad, Kaverippattinam in Cholanad and Kanchi in Tondainad, all on the banks of rivers, by about the middle of the 3rd century A. D. have all been called the Kalabhras and all of them belonged to a region other than Tamilnad, whose language was not Tamil, and whose religion was not the *vaidika* religion. Their place of origin can easily be seen to be the west in the period. It is quite likely that they would have been known in the areas they invaded by the known place of their origin and it is not likely that any dynastic name could have been attached to them because of the simple fact that they did not belong to any dynasty; they would have been known only by the tract from which they hailed. These people would have been called Kalabhras, from Kalabappu. The Tamil people of Madurai would have scant knowledge of the Sravana belgola area. Naturally the name Kalabappu would have been corrupted into some Tamilized form. (In the modern day we would normally refer to them as Kalabappuran, then Kalabhuran and lastly Kalabhran). When the *Meykkirtti* was composed and inscribed at Madurai in the Velvikkudi grant, they would have felt the name should be spelt correctly, and not finding any Tamil equivalent, would have given them a Sanskrit sounding name as the Kalabhran. We do not know how they were called at the time of the invasion in 250 A. D. nor at the time of Kadumkon's overthrowal by 575 A. D. We have only the form adopted by the officers in 768 A. D. when the grant was made again by Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan. It is therefore quite

appropriate to consider the term as allied to Kalabappu and the invaders themselves as *a tribe* originating from the Sravana belgola area, in preference to any other view. In the absence of definite recorded evidence, all other views are no doubt conjecture. The above view may be seen to be the most appropriate.

An old inscription from Halmidi in Belur district of Karnataka, quite close to the Sravana belgola area, mentions a local tribe whom it calls Kalabhōra. Here the Kadamba king Kakustha (about 425 - 450 A.D.) is said to be the foe of the Kalabhōrās (Srimat Kadamba parityaga sampannan Kalabhorana ari).¹ During this period we know the Kalabhras had been successfully entrenched at Madurai and also in Cholanad and in Kanchi. Kalabhra, Kalabha kula (in Pali) at Cholanad and this Kalabhōra are all phonologically similar terms which simply signify the proliferation of a single tribe in several areas through its various branches; this particular only helps us to identify the different branches as one in origin. We meet with the term Kalabhra in several references, but not this form Kalabhōra. Besides, this form in the Kannada area helps us to identify them as a tribe outside the Tamil linguistic areas, definitely as a tribe from the Kannada area whose language could have been the Prakrit (or Pali). The Sravana belgola area was an outlying area so far as the centre of Tamil was concerned. Its language could have been some early form of Tamil, since all the areas were classed as the *Dravida* area in the period of the Sangham poetry. We have definite recorded evidence in the shape of epigraphic records from Halmidi from about 500 A.D. for the Kannada language. It is said that Kannada was taking shape as a separate language even from the first century A. D. It might have been just then emerging from Tamil with Sanskrit influence through Prakrit and Pali. The Kalabhras who marched on Madurai had as their spoken, tongue this new emerging language along with some Prakrit, while for their administrative and religious purposes they would have used some kind of Prakrit or Pali, with Sanskrit, both of which were developed languages when compared with the new emerging Kannada of the period. This view seems quite sustainable in the absence of any evidence of Kannada

1. K. R. Venkataraman, A note on the Kalabhras, Transactions of the Archaeological Society, 1956-57 page 96.

then, which of course became the acknowledged language of the area in the later centuries.

WERE THEY TAMILS?

One writer adduces many fanciful arguments to show that the Kalabhras were indeed Tamils of the day¹. But the pains the scribe of a later period takes to inscribe the name in the Sanskrit letters as *Kalabhra* in the middle of a line of Tamil verse definitely clinches the issue, namely that the name was unfamiliar and unwritable in the Tamil letters. He does not even try to write it as *Kalappirar* (Tamilized form) ; he probably thought it not proper at the time to write a foreigner's name in the Tamil script. Note also that he writes *Ganga* in Sanskrit. All these prove that the Kalabhras were foreigners. What was their language? Most likely it was Sanskrit for writing, and Prakrit and Kannada for ordinary speech.² If it was the Prakrit, the name would certainly have been adapted into the Prakrita form as *Kalabha*, omitting the *r* sound as we find in the Pali writing of Buddha datta in the fifth century.

The same writer has said that the Kalabhra period in the history of Tamilnad was a golden period for the Jains.³ The statement may not be quite appropriate so far as the literature is concerned, because no valuable works were written by the Jains during this period. History tells us that the Jains produced some of their best works, their greatest contribution to the Tamil language and literature, in the age of the Imperial Cholas. The Epics *Cintamani* and *Culamani*, the grammatical works *Tapparamkalam* and *Karikai* with their valuable commentaries, *Nannul* and *Nambi Ahapporul* may be cited as instances. But it is a fact that that period, the Kalabhra period, was one of the worst periods in the culture of the Tamilnad, even like the seizure of Madurai by Malik Kaffur in the first quarter of the 14th century, and like the destruction of the Vijayanagar in the next century by the Muhammedan forces. It is a distortion of facts to say that the thriving of a small group of aggressors on the suppression of the whole country was golden age for anybody.

1. K. P. Aravanan, *Jain Contribution to Tamil Grammar* 1974, page 61.

2. Vide Sambandhar Devaram 3-39-2.

3. *Jain Contribution to Tamil Grammar* 1974, page 69.

No ruler had ruled any country without leaving an important imprint of his personality and culture on the land. The Kalabhras as foreigners had left nothing in the land except their own rule of suppression of the culture of the land. No Tamil ruler was ever out to suppress any aspect of the Tamil culture.

Besides, although we find the Kalabhras ruling over the Pandinad for a long period of more than three hundred years, we do not see it as a dynastic rule. Apparently it seems to have been just a story of subjugation of a land and its people, its arts, its culture, language and religion by an alien tribe. It was just a holding of the land against the will of its people, a story of repression. The poets of the period have not made a *single* reference to the tribe or to any of its leaders. In contrast, we may note the eulogy paid on Accuta Vikkanta in Cholanad in the same period, because evidently of his tolerant and benevolent rule. Similar also is the case of the Muttaraiyar. Though the Muttaraiyar had been a section of probably not the Kalabhras but their adherents in the early period, they had not been liquidated on the reassertion of supremacy by the Pandiyas. They seem to have moved out into the Chola country where they had carved out a substantial slice of the territory and ruled over it well, for one or two centuries till the middle of the ninth century. They seem to have merged with the people and shed their separate characteristics. They had also helped the native sculptural and architectural talent of the people by constructing temples like the Sendalai Siva temple and the Tirumayam Vishnu temple. No wonder we have some verses in their praise by good poets of their court in inscriptional records,¹ though not in the literature proper.

The Kalabhras did not come of any royal house. In that distant past, only royalty had any personality. We find the personality of royalty stamped on all literature, religious institutions and so on. Thus the Kalabhra clan, devoid of any royalty, had nothing positive to offer to posterity except their negative rule of suppression of language and culture. They had of course propagated their religion to the extent that at some periods the royal house of Pandinad itself was Jain later on (as in Pallavanad where also the royal Pallava house

1. Vide *Peruntotai* verses 1012-1020; also verse 1029

was also Jain for some time). But this was only short lived, as the crusade of Tiru Jnanasambandhar in the seventh century re-instated Saivism on its own legitimate pedestal after which both Saivism and by its supreme policy of tolerance Vaishnavism also grew in strength and spiritual depth. St. Appar did the same thing in regard to the royal Pallava house in Tondainad, but he did not follow the aggressive path of the young saint Jnanasambandha but followed the path of effecting a change of heart through his own sacrifices.

CONCLUSION

So we have now some idea of the origin and nature of the Kalabhras and the area they hailed from. They were not a remnant of the Satavahana power which proliferated over the entire Tamilnad. They had nothing to do with the Gangas nor with any Kalikula. They were not descended from Pulli and they were not Vaduhar. Their place of origin was not Venkatam or the Erumainadu in particular, but only the area around Sravana belgola, the originating centre of Southern Jainism after Bhadrabahu and the legendary Chandragupta. They were not a royal dynasty but only a predatory tribe, using Prakrit-Kannada, which launched successfully a three pronged attack on the entire Tamilnad front on Madurai, on Puhar and on Kanchi. They were not of course Tamils. So far as Pandinad is concerned, the Kalabhras did not bring about the extinction of the Pandiyas. They drove them away from Madurai. This is clear from the wording of the Velvikkudi grant (line 41), which says 'Pandya-dhirajan velippattu', the raja (who was in exile till then) *now appeared* to resume the sovereignty.

The Kalabhras did not occupy the entire terrain formerly ruled by the Sera, Chola and the Pandiyas. The Pandiyas were dislodged from their rulership at Madurai and the Cholas were dislodged from their overlordship at Kaverippattinam (Puhar). They had been having small territories under them and successive generations of the Cholas and the Pandiyas were waiting their time for reasserting themselves as overlords in their territories at their own ancient headquarters. The Pandiyas had been able to assert themselves and vanquish the Kalabhras at Madurai by the end the 6th century, while in the other places the Cholas were able to come into power

only at a later stage, middle of the 9th century; here again the Kalabhras had disappeared and a new clan known to history as Muttaraiyar were having sway over some parts of the Cholanad.

THE MUTTARAIYAR

We may make a passing reference to the Muttaraiyar here in the context of the Kalabhras and their rule in Madurai. Sendalai inscriptions tell us definitely that the Muttaraiyar were a clan of petty chiefs, who were some kind of feudatories under the Pallavas. They were ruling over part of the land around Tanjavur with their headquarters at Sendalai and Vallam. Their titles such as *mar-pidugu*, *videl-vidugu* and *pahap-pidugu* etc. which are Pallava titles, show their Pallava affiliation. Their records date from the first half of the eighth century. They had been playing a clever political game of convenience and probably their later allegiance to the Pandiyas resulted in their total overthrowal by Vijayalaya chola by 846 A. D. when he wrested Tanjavur, Vallam etc. from the Muttaraiyar. Vijayalaya was at the time a feudatory under the Pallavas, staying at Palaiyarai, one of the ancient Chola capitals. He was obviously waiting for a favourable opportunity to hoist the Chola standard and this occasion of his success over the Muttaraiyar entrenched him strongly at Tanjavur, though yet a vassal under the Pallavas. It was left to his son Aditya to raise his independent banner by about 880 A.D. (battle of Tirup-Purambiyam). The occupation of Tanjavur by Vijayalaya was a red letter day in the history of Tamilnad and of South India; it evolved a new dynasty of Imperial Cholas which lasted for well over four centuries till 1279.

This gives us no doubt particulars about the *passing out* of the Muttaraiyar as a separate force in the political history of the area but we do *not* know anything about their *origin*. The name itself has baffled scholars. Some would take it as *mut-taraiyar*, those who had the three lands, Sera, Chola and Pandiya under them. This does not appear to be plausible. By the time we come to hear of Muttaraiyar in Tamilnad history, Seranad had isolated itself and Pandinad and Cholanad were being ruled by separate dynasties and at no period of time (except in the later Imperial Chola period) can any one ruler be said to hold sway over all the three areas.

The Muttaraiyar are met with in inscriptions from the eighth century and they are not heard of after the ninth. Hence also this meaning cannot fit.

Another writer¹ says that the term is Muttu-arasar, the princes of pearls; they were engaged in pearl fisheries and they were *minavar* (*sembadavar*) or fishermen. As evidence, he remarks that they had the fish on their banner. (The fish as is well known was the banner of the Pandiyas.) Even this seems to be a wild guess, as nowhere have we so far heard that the fishermen were ruling over any part of the land. No one has so far come forward with the explanation that the Muttaraiyar were so called because they were the wearers of the *muttarai* which was an ancient piece of jewel, a waist band made of pearls.² The wearer of *muttarai* is naturally a *muttaraiyar*. Ignoring these explanations we have to confess that the term is obscure at this stage.

Leaving alone these conjectures, we may now examine some facts. Some of the hero stones newly discovered in North Arcot district and other places seem to throw considerable light on the Muttaraiyar. One refers to Vanako-muttaraisan who defeated and killed his uncle Pon-mantanar. From an examination of other similar hero-stones, some information has been brought to light regarding several Muttaraiyar³ who had been chiefs in various areas from the days of Pallava Narasimha Varma I (630-669) to the days of Nandivarman II (710-715) early eighth century A.D. Sendalai inscriptions had given us some details regarding Perumpidugu Muttaraiyan I, Kuvavan Maran, Maran Paramesvaran and Perumpiduku Muttaraiyan II Svaran Maran. Fresh evidence has now been gathered to show that there were about five chiefs beginning from Pon-Mandan, who were the ancestors of Suvaran Maran. The full list of eight covers the period Narasimha varman I to Nandivarman II.

The affinity of the Muttaraiyar to the Kalabhrar may also be established by a linguistic evidence. The names of some of the

1. N Kasinathan, *Muttaraiyar*, 1976 page 24-25

2. Vide *Silappadhikaram*, Chapter 6 line 87; another name for *muttarai* is given as *virisihai*.

3. Vide N. Kasinathan, *Muttaraiyar*, 1976.

Muttaraiyar who were chiefs are as shown below: Kuvavan (5), Kuvavan Maran (6), Kuvavan Sattan (7), Suvaran Maran (8)¹. These names make us ponder. There was no word or name in the Tamil language in the past corresponding to the term *Kuvavan*. It is a foreign word. Hence it stands to reason that the owner of the name was definitely of foreign descent. This confirms the view that these chiefs were of a foreign descent and in the context, might have been of Kalabhra extraction.

Then the word *Suvaran*. This is also a very unusual term. Nine verses are found in Sendalai celebrating the battles and victory of Suvaran Maran at Alundur, Manalur, Kodumbalur, Kandalur, Konadu etc. These words occur in the epigraphs of Suvaran Maran. There is also another verse celebrating *Suvaran Mapputan* cited in the commentaries of *Tolkappiyam*, *Yapparumkalam* etc.² The name Suvaran was an enigma to most scholars at the time and it did not make any sense. So it was read from the palm leaf manuscripts variously as Suvana-mapputan (*suvana* is gold, and Putan is Bhutan, a familiar proper name of the period), Suvana-mapputan (*suvanam* means a dog) and so on. These are only pointed out to indicate that this is also not a familiar name. Now of course it is known that Suvaran is a contraction for Paramesuvaran. (Mapputan's father was Paramesvaran). The confusion arose because *Paramesvaran* is never shortened by the Tamils as *Suvaran*; and so he who contracts Paramesvaran as Suvaran was certainly not a Tamilian.

Thus on the strength of the two non-Tamil names, Kuvavan and Suvaran, it is definite that these Muttaraiyar were not Tamils but foreigners (that is coming from areas outside Tamil nad) and history tells us that the only foreigners of any importance in the earlier period were the Kalabhras.

Another point may also be emphasized here. Many of the Muttaraiyar mentioned call themselves *Maran*. Maran is one of the names of the Pandiya dynasty. It had been usual in the past for the victor to assume the title of the vanquished. So when

1. Ibid. page 33, numbers in the geneological table.

2. Vide note 1 on page 34.

the Pandiyas were overthrown by the Kalabhras, the Muttaraiyar as probably a branch of the Kalabhrar, took on the title Maran for themselves.

Although we are able to solve the problem of the Muttaraiyar in this manner, accommodating all available facts, there is one difficulty. We have said that *Naladiyar*, one of the 18 *kilk-kanakku* poems, next in importance and popularity only to *Tiruk-kural*, was written probably by 450 A. D., prior to the establishment of the Vajranandi Sangham at Madurai in 470 A.D. This book refers to Muttaraiyar as Peru-Muttaraiyar (the great) in two of its verses. The verses are :

“The base will eat the curry and rice gladly given by the peru (great) Muttaraiyar. But to those who earnestly toil, even mere water will taste like nectar although they might not have known the name of curry”.

“ It is only they that are construed as poor who, though rich among all the people of the world, do not give alms. But they are Peru-Muttaraiyar who, though impoverished, do not beg of the rich”¹.

This was when scholars considered the poem *Naladi* to have been written by the eighth century, because the (peru) Muttaraiyar are mentioned here and the existence of the Muttaraiyar at a period earlier than that was not known through inscriptional evidence. Now we have references to them in the early seventh century. But from purely literary considerations however, we have remarked that the book can be taken to 450 A. D., earlier than the Vajranandi sangham. The verses would mean that the Muttaraiyar were there even by the middle of the fifth century, although we have no inscriptional evidence for it now. *Naladi* has been said to be composed by many poets, the tradition being that there were 8000 Jain monks who were leaving the Pandiya, that each composed one verse and left it behind in order to console him as he was not willing to allow them to go and that only 400 of such verses remained later to be collected as *Naladi*, a poem of four-line *venba* verses. Now the occurrence of the term Muttaraiyar in the book of the middle of the fifth century admits of three explanations.

1. Verses 200 and 296 of *Naladiyar*.

One, as said above, *Naladi* being a compilation, a book of collected verses, it is possible that the original did not contain exactly 400 verses; these two verses might have been written in the seventh century or so and added on later at the time of the arrangement of the verses in the 13th century by Padumanar. But tradition cannot accept this, as it is considered that the collection was made earlier, only once and that no addition was made to it.

A second explanation is that the term Muttaraiyar in the verses is not a proper noun but only a common noun. It means only princely people decked with pearls. The first verse refers to eating the food given by the Muttaraiyar, in an uncomplimentary manner. The second verse is more clear in mentioning the term as a common noun. This reasoning appears to be sound no doubt, but again the question arises why the author coins such an unusual word as this. We do not come across this word anywhere else in all literature. And so, even if it be used as a common noun here, it may be because there were some people known really as Muttaraiyar, and the verses merely allude to those people.

The third point is relevant here. The absence of any reference to Muttaraiyar in inscriptions earlier than the seventh century does not mean that they did not exist then. The Muttaraiyar as a branch or section of the Kalabhras might have existed even from the days of the Kalabhra raid on Madurai. Inscriptions of the early period are few and the negative evidence does not prove the non-existence of the Muttaraiyar in the fifth century.

All points considered, we have to conclude that the Muttaraiyar existed by the middle of the fifth century and that the term occurring in the two verses is not a definite mention of the chiefs but may probably be only an allusion to them.

It may be interesting to know how the term was interpreted in the period, earlier than epigraphic knowledge became available. One commentary¹ says: 'There was probably a person by name Murttaraiyar who was freely giving food and idlers were feeding upon it. There is also a legend that peru-Muttaraiyar ruled from Muttaraiyar'.

1. Published by Pushparatha chetti, Kalaratnakaram Press in 1904.

rasanallur near Sri Rangam. The term can also be interpreted as the three monarchs Sera, Chola and Pandiya or as the Pandiya the Lord of the great pearls'.

In conclusion, we may say that the Muttaraiyar were there under the Kalabhras, as part of their tribe even from the time of their invasion of the Pandinad and that later when the Kalabhras themselves disappeared from history, these people lived in some areas round Tanjavur and Vallam throwing in their lot with the Pallavas and the Pandiyas whoever had the upper hand, until finally they were completely liquidated as a political force by Vijayalaya chola.

The term Muttarasar seems to have been adopted as a sub-title by some Ganga kings of a later day. The Ganga king Sri Purusha (726 to 788 A. D.) calls himself *Konkani muttarasa*¹. This gives rise to interesting speculations. Probably the Muttarasara (Muttaraiyar in Tamil) were probably Konkanis.

The Ganga King assumes the title *Konkani muttarasa* apparently because he had vanquished the Muttarasar. From this statement we can draw several conclusions. The Muttaraiyar were probably a section of the Kalabhras. They were naturally different from the Gangas. But this should negative the theory that the Muttaraiyar had anything to do with a fight with the three monarchs Sera, Chola and Pandiya and that they defeated them. Besides, this would support the theory or supposition that the Muttaraiyar were also Jains. Probably they were converted at the time of Jnanasambandha's visit to Madurai, as we find later Muttaraiyar to have built temples for Siva and for Vishnu and to have followed the vaidika religion.

1. Vide M. V. Krishna Rao, *The Gangas of Talakad* 1936, page 89.

THE LANGUAGE AND RELIGION OF THE KALABHRAS

THE LANGUAGE OF THE KALABHRAS

We do not have any direct evidence bearing on the language of the Kalabhras. Their language was certainly not Tamil. We learn that Satakarni who ruled the land bordering on the Tamilnad of the 2nd century A.D. had issued coins in the bilingual form, where *pakata* or *prakrita* was given on one face and Tamil words were given on the other side. We can take it that persons or tribes hailing from outside the Tamilnad had been using some form of prakrit. So we may conclude that the Kalabhras were using some kind of prakrit in their transactions. This prakrit might have been the *Ardha magadhi*,¹ with probably a smattering of *Vadugu* and *Kannada* also. As the Kalabhras hailed from the Sravana Belgola area, we have no difficulty in considering their regional language to be Kannada. But the Kannada of the period was not a developed language. Hence it may be more appropriate to say that the language of the raiders as well as the educated and the cultured among them was some kind of prakrit. It may also be of interest to note here that the poet Jayamkondar (1105 A.D.) calling upon the Karunataka damsels to come out and open their doors to the victorious heroes returning from the Kalinga battle, addresses them²: 'O damsels of Karunataka who lisp a few words from the *Vadugu* and more from Tamil, rise up and unlock the doors'. Probably a section of the

1. It is interesting to note here a verse quoted in the *Tapparunkalam* commentary (a manual on poetics and prosody written by a Jain in the 11th century); it says that *Magadam* (as *Ardha magadhi*) was the language of Mahavira. A line in *Tirukkalambakam* (a Jain work of the 15th century, verse 109) calls this language as the one common language for all the eighteen languages. We may assume from this that it was the practice for any language outside the Tamilnad, on the borders of the Tamil speaking areas, to be called as *prakrit* or *pakata*.

2. *Kalingattupparam*: verse 22, Rajam Edition 1960.

Kalabhras knew *Pali* and most of them had of course a good knowledge of Sanskrit.

Speaking about the *Jains of Madurai* by about 650 A.D., Saint Tirujnanasambandhar says that many were the languages used by people of the world for worshipping the Lord but the Jains deceitfully used all of them, that they speak the *pakata (prakrit)* loudly; that their leaders go about like beasts without learning the essence of the Sanskrit and the Tamil languages.¹ St. Appar says in his song on Palaiyarai-Vadatali, where he caused the Siva temple closed by the Jains to be re-opened by the king, that the Jains did not study the Tamil language and did not dedicate their lives to God.² This will be understandable, because the Kalabhras came from a different land, a different religion and culture, and a different language, and so they did not care to learn the language of the land which they conquered. This can easily be understood from contemporary modern history. We have known our British overlords of the recent past imposing their language on all walks of life including education and administration. Even their churches used the *English* language and the *Latin* language for their rituals in the Tamilnad till a few years back. Such is naturally the linguistic bigotry of the conquerors. No wonder Appar has scolded them in this manner in the next century (7th).

Besides, he says in the same song that they spoke through the nose. This naturally has reference to the *prakrit* which had softened all harsh sound and made profuse use of the nasals. We may also remember the ridicule which St. Sundarar, a generation after Appar, heaps on them, imitating their nasal sounds, in a song.³ All these would go to show that those in power, the Kalabhras, did not set great store by the local or regional language but stuck to their own language. The converts to Jainism and the domiciled Jains probably after a few generations had of course no difficulty in speaking and using the Tamil language.

1. Sambandhar Devaram Book 3. 39. 2.

2. Appar Devaram Book 5. 58. 9.

3. Sundarar Devaram Book 7. 39. 9.

The establishment of the *Dravida* sangha at Madurai by Vajranandi also supports this view. The Sangha was not called a Tamil sangha, but was called a *Dravida* sangha; *dravida* was then a word which had not entered the Tamil vocabulary either then or even till a much later date. *Digambara darsana saram* was the book published by Vajranandi in the sangham. Except for this we have no record in any form of the existence of the Jain sangham or its achievements in the fields of religion or language.

THE SHADOW OF THE KALABHRA RULE

The shadow cast by the Kalabhras had indeed been long. St. Manikkavacakar who lived in the days of the Pandiyan Varaguna II (862-880) was, according to the legends about him, a minister of the Pandiya. In his soul-melting *Tiruvacakam*, we find one decad of ten verses with the title *Arut-pattu*. This has the refrain '*athenduve enru arulaye*' in each of the verses. The concluding lines in all the verses are: 'My Lord, when I fondly call you, who do you not deign to reply to me, what is the matter?'¹ *What is the matter* is represented in the text by the term, *athendu*. This is not a Tamil term; it appears to be Kannada. It has been puzzling all scholars and annotators. The term is a compound made up of two words *adu*-that, and *endu*-what. *Endu* is not Tamil; in the Kannada language it means, what. How does it happen that the Kannada word is used by St. Manikkavacakar? Trying to explain this, some writers have even taken Manikkavacakar to modern Bellary saying that he came from that area or that his *guru* came from that area, and so, because he is familiar with the Kannada language of that area, he uses this word here. This is not the right interpretation. The Kalabhras were Kannada speaking people and during their sway over Madurai, naturally many of their terms had been used in the administration. Even after the land had been rescued from them, remnants of their rule in the form of terms and customs would have stayed on in the administration, if not in the popular use. A remembrance of the many English terms and the very many Urdu terms which still linger in the administration and threaten to linger for ever in our country

1. Vide *Tiruvacakam* chapter 29.

today may make this clear. Manikkavacakar in the name of Tennavan Brahma rayan was the minister of the Pandiya. Naturally many of the residuary Kannada terms in the administration would have been familiar to him, although they might not have been familiar to the ordinary people. So unconsciously this term *endu*, one such, could have crept into his Tamil vocabulary. Quite naturally and very simply, he asks *adendu*. The passing of three hundred years from the fall of the Kalabhras to the days of Manikkavacakar does not make a difference in the language of a person who was the administrative head.

THE RELIGION OF THE KALABHRAS

The Kalabhras who seized power in Madurai by the middle of the third century were Jains. Coming as they did from the area around Sravana Belgola, they were a deeply religious clan which was intent upon suppressing whatever was alien to their cult. The group that went into Cholanad and seized power and was ruling from Kaverippattinam was a Buddhist clan and we find that it was not so very bigoted and intolerant as the clan that invaded Madurai. We have relics of Jainism in pre-Kalabhra days in Pandinad no doubt. But all of them relate to Jain monks who led a retired life of self-negation and self-mortification. They even commanded the respect of the people by their personal conduct and austerities. But the Jains in power were not the same. The culture and the might of the Pandiyas were founded on their religion. So naturally the first work of the invader was to undermine and suppress the established religion of the land. The lines from *Kalladam*, a poem which was earlier than Sekkilar's *Periyapurāṇam*, bears evidence to this fact. "The Karunata king who captured Madurai with his four-fold army drove away the Pandiyas; he was of the Aruhata persuasion and he closed down all Siva worship."¹ This is clear and definite in labelling the intruder into Madurai as a king from the Karnataka and of the Jain religion.

The political history of the Kannada territory tells us that its earliest rulers including the later Gangas were all Jains. The literature in the Kannada language was the Jain Puranas. It is therefore no wonder the Kalabhras who hailed from that area were ardent Jains.

1. Vide *Kalladam* verse 57, lines 12-14.

The overthrowal of the Kalabhras by Kadumkon is quite significant. An enthusiastic writer² has gone to great lengths and taken great pains to formulate a theory that the Kalabhras were only Tamil people, they were the spear-head of a native revolution which rose against the brahmins who were imposing their Vedic culture of sacrifices on a too willing Tamilian society, and the whole thing was just an uprising against the growing bramin influence and it voiced a cultural antagonism against the brahmins. However, we know the course of history was otherwise and the attempt to evaluate all ancient history and events by modern political trends and values is neither scientific nor is it real research.

The fusion of the Vedic culture with the indigenous Tamil culture had taken place long before the dawn of the Christian era. *Tolkappiyam* and the entire Sangham poetry reflects fully this fusion. If the Kalabhras typify a revolt against the Vedic cult, it is exactly because they were foreigners to the culture of the Pandinad and not because they were Tamils. The Kalabhra antagonism was not merely against any brahminism, it was against all Tamil culture, as can be gleaned from the songs of Tiru Jnanasambandhar.

We should not forget the major fact of history, that the Velvikudi grant gives us a picture of a foreign impact on Madurai, which was not merely the seat of one of the Tamil dynasties of the ancient past, but was the arterial centre in the day, for all that can be called Tamil language, literature, culture and religion, for the whole of Tamilnad. The fusion of what is called the Tamilian and the Aryan in all spheres had already taken place and the society of the Sangham age is certainly a product of the fusion. Kadumkon's overthrowal of the Kalabhras replaced the Tamil language on its pinnacle of eminence, as otherwise it was just possible that the *prakrita* of the Kalabhras might have suppressed the native language. Kadumkon's action in the political field was followed up by Tiru Jnanasambandhar in the next century in the fields of language and culture, including religion, and the Tamil nation once again came into its own. The elaborate description given by him clearly vindicates his fight for the *vaidika* religion in Tamilnad as against the religion of the Kalabhras.

2. K. P. Aravanan : *Jaina Contribution to Tamil grammar*, 1974.

The Kalabhras had left no relics of their rule or activity and the cumulative effect of all evidence then and later only shows that they were Jains.

THE KALABHRA JAINS OF THE PERIOD

We are here concerned with the religious persuasion of the *alien* tribe which invaded Madurai, drove away the Pandiyas then ruling there, and established itself as the ruling power for a period of three centuries, from the middle of the third century A. D. The discussion here is merely academic and historical and has nothing to do with the religious tenets of the Jains then or now. The Kalabhras happened to be Jains and their rule resulted in a suppression of the existing *vaidika* religion in the country at that period. By *vaidika* religion we mean both Saivism and Vaishnavism, the sects which accepted the authority of the Vedas, named as Hinduism in later history. This has nothing to do with Jainism as it is practised today anywhere in Tamilnad or elsewhere. We are concerned with a *foreign* rule in the ancient Pandinad of a period over 1700 years ago and the political events then. Looking back, we should be able today to see the events in the proper perspective and understand the trends and the course of events in an objective and dispassionate manner.

The Jains were called in Tamil *samanar*. This term is the Tamilised form of the word *sramana*, (*samana* through *prakrit*) which means an ascetic. The basic faith of Jainism was that only the ascetic, he who had fully renounced the world, could get *moksha* or final release. Hence the Jains were called *Samanar*.

The Jains in India were of two categories - the *Digambaras* and the *Svetambaras*. *Digambaras* (literally those whose garment was the very quarters) went about naked; the South Indian (and of course all the Tamilian) sect of Jains were the *Digambaras*; occasionally they wound round their loins the mat or the tree bark; sometimes they even wore the saffron robe of the *sannyasi*. The *Svetambaras* wore a white garment; they generally were found in North India. The *Nighantavadi* whom we meet in later polemic works was a *digambara*. (*Nighanta* means *Nirgranta*-one who was free from the

five attachments.) *Digambara* means of course *digambara sannyasi*. Sambandhar also refers to some of the *Svetambara* sect who went about in white.

We shall speak at length about the contribution of St. Jnanasambandhar to Tamil and what did to restore Tamil music which had been suppressed by the Kalabhras. His contribution as a Saiva saint in restoring Saivism in the Pandiya country is hailed as his greatest contribution. His struggles with the contemporary Jains had been dwelt at length in the *Periya puranam*. We may note in passing that Vaishnavism was a parallel religion of the period and there were also some important Vaishnava saints contemporary with Sambandhar and later, but we do not know of any who engaged in a struggle with the Jains.¹

Now, Jnanasambandhar had to struggle with the remnants of Kalabhra Jainism that he presents to us in his songs. The Jain way of living was opposed to all the values and the culture of the Tamils of the past and so Sambandhar had to fight the Jains in order to restore the Tamil culture. It is worth while to have here a composite picture of the Jains of the days of Sambandhar² as portrayed by him in his songs in different places. They represent the descendants of the original Kalabhras, an alien element still. "The Jains never bathed; their body was clothed in perspiration. They never bathed before food. Their hands were filthy. They never cleaned their teeth. Even without washing their face and cleaning their mouth, they used to eat their morning gruel. They ate their food standing. Food was served to them on their hands. They never took food after nightfall. They went about munching dry ginger. They were heavy eaters. They were naturally stout because of overeating. They went about naked. They did not wear even a loin cloth. Women used to ridicule their nakedness and close their doors whenever they went along the streets, but they went about in a shameless manner. They wore not clothes but mats or tree barks and even skin and hide. They plucked off the hair on

1. In later years the Vaishnavas had indeed a happy relationship with the Jains.

2. Vide Appendix Note B - Some rules of Jain discipline.

their heads and presented a shaven head.¹ (This gruesome act is indulged in by Jain ascetics even today.) They were fond of colouring their hands with the paste of ground *marutanai* leaves. They were always fond of a dialectic disputation. The Kalabhras could lisp in many tongues (such as Sanskrit, Prakrit, Kannada etc.) but they were not proficient in Tamil (and hence the harm done to the Tamil language). They were intolerant of other religions. They could not even tolerate the very air if it had passed over persons wearing the sacred ash.² They never respected the wives of their teachers.”³

All these traits are against the Tamil Culture. Early morning bath taken before food, the table manners, reverence not only to the teacher but equally to the teacher's wife, and a decent way of dressing were all part of the ordinary culture of the Tamil people. The Kalabhras coming from an alien land had scant respect for the Tamil culture. The general mass of the people had an ancient cultural heritage, but when the rulers had a different culture,⁴ they would certainly be people who, in order to please the ruler and get favours from him, always would like to tow the line of the rulers. In this manner the culture of the land had been considerably undermined. Besides, from the religious point of view, they were all atheists who refuted the authority of Vedas. So Sambandhar took the cudgels against all this.

Sambandhar besides reviving the Tamil language and its music in the Tamilnad, fought for re-establishing the values in social culture

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1. St. Appar also makes an interesting reference to the practice. “The Jains (ascetics) have women (presumably nuns) who never bathe with covered breasts, to touch them in turns as their very gods and get the hair on their head plucked; thus they do useless acts, thinking that they are penances, but do not know what is right” — *Devaram* Book 6. 3. 11.
 2. Sambandhar *Devaram* Book 3. 108. 8.
 3. Jnanasambandhar in his song at Tirukkudandaik-karonam says: They are a people devoid of shame; they do not know what is good; they do not honour their *guratti*; (*guratti* is the feminine form of *guru* and means here the wife of the guru.) In the Vaidika tradition, she deserves as much reverence as the guru. Sambandhar accuses the Jains of not respecting the *gurupatni*. *Guratti* may also mean here the nun.
 4. The area of origin of the Kalabhras was a Tamil area before the beginning of the Christian era but it had now taken on a different colour, imbibing for some centuries at least, a different culture - vide the section under the head Sravana Belgola.

and this is the main reason for his bouts with the Jains at Madurai. The alien rule had altogether effaced the native Tamil culture in the land and so he fought strongly for restoring that culture. But Sekkilar wrote a *purana* for glorifying the Siva *bhaktas* and Saivism and so the religious twist is always there in the *purana*. But we should not forget the important mission and work of Sambandhar which was to restore the ancient Tamil culture.

KALABHRAS IN CHOLANAD AND TONDAINAD

A consideration of the impact of the Kalabhras in Pandinad will not be complete without at least a passing reference to the impact of the Kalabhras on the other parts of Tamilnad. Several branches or divisions of the parental Kalabhra tribe started out from the common home land and fanned out in various directions into the Tamilnad. We have seen that the southernmost division went along the Vaihāi basin to Madurai, drove out the Pandiyas and seized power there. Another branch pushed towards the sea coast along the Kaveri basin elbowing the Cholas out of the way, reached Kaverippattinam (formerly Puhār in the Sangham poetry and *Silappadhikaram*) and successfully entrenched itself there. Another branch marched along the Palar basin, reaching Kanchipuram and areas to the north of it. We may say here a few words about the thrust of the Kalabhras in the central areas (Cholanad) and in the northern areas (Pallavanad or Tondainad.)

KALABHRAS IN CHOLANAD

The fortunes of the ruling dynasties have their ebb and tide. We do know that the Cholas were great rulers in the Sangham age but they suffered a kind of total eclipse in the post-Sangham age till about the middle of the 9th century, when Vijayalaya, a scion of the once glorious Chola dynasty, wrested a portion of the ancestral territory from the petty Muttaraiyar chiefs who were ruling there and re-established what has come to be known in the history of South India as the Imperial Chola Dynasty. Chola history during the intervening period is not ascertainable with any degree of authenticity. The new race of Pallavas who were ruling from Kanchipuram in Tondai Nadu were able to annex large areas of the northern part of the Cholanad. The Pandyas had annexed a good

portion of the southern and western parts of the Cholanad, so that the Cholas had confined themselves to small pockets like Puhar and Palaiyarai in the east. So, when the Kalabhras invaded the Cholanad, as they had done in the Pandinad in the South and the Pallavanad in the North, the Cholas had become weak and had already been reduced to an insignificant place in the administration. They were unable to resist.

On the secure installation of the Kalabhras at Kaverippattinam, the Cholas had gone west, and settled down at Uraiyur, an ancient and once glorious capital of the Cholas no doubt, but now reduced to an insignificant position. History knows no great ruler at this place at any time, the one exception being Koccengat Chola, hailed as a great temple builder and as a canonized Saint in Saivism. He lived probably in the middle of the 5th century A.D.¹ Contemporary with his rule, we have a Kalabhra ruling the Chola country from Kaverippattinam. He is known to history and literature as Accuta Vikkanta (Vikrama).

The Kalabhras were a race of marauders in all the three territories, Pandiya, Chola and Pallava. Their might was spent out in three centuries in all the areas. The Pandiyas and the Pallavas had moved into the Chola territory and prevented the rise of the Chola power for a further period of three centuries, at the end of which, by the inexorable laws of nature, they had spent themselves out, facilitating the rise of a glorious Chola power.

ACCUTA VIKKANTA

But all that is a later story. We find Accuta Vikkanta entrenched strongly in Kaverippattinam by about the latter half of the 5th century A.D. Buddha datta was a Buddhist writer of the period who had written two works *Abhidhammavata* and *Vinaya viniccaya* in the Pali language.

Buddha datta is said to be a contemporary of Buddha gosha but Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says: "The tradition that makes him a a contempory of Buddha gosha is late and not warranted by any sta-

1. A further account of this Chola is given later on in this paper.

tement in the extensive works of either of these divines. Buddha datta might have been the earlier of the two to visit Ceylon for studying Buddhism. It is quite certain that he lived in the dark period of South Indian History after the light of the Sangam literature fails and before a fresh dawn commences with the Pandiya and Pallava Charters and his evidence is all the more welcome". At the close of his book *Abhidammavata* he gives a glorious account of the greatness of the city of Kaverippattinam, its rich trading community, its palaces and pleasure gardens, which do remind us of the pictures of the city seen in *Pattinappalai* and *Silappadhikaram*. He lived there in a great monastery built by Kanha-dasa for some time and wrote this book at the request of Sumati, one of his pupils no doubt.

Buddha datta again says that he wrote the *Vinayaviniccaya* for the sake of Buddhasiha while he was residing in the lovely monastery of Venhudasa in a city on the banks of the Kaveri, by name Bhutamangalam,² described by him as the hub of Chola rattha (probably Chola rashtra, the Chola nad). He adds that this work was begun and completed at the time when Accuta Vikkanta of Kalabba kula³ was ruling over the earth. The Kalabhra is mentioned as *Kalabba kula* as is natural to the Pali and the Prakrit languages which soften the trill sounds.⁴ This is the only evidence we have of the

1. The Colas by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1975 - page 101.

2. Identification of this place is difficult. It is certainly not Budalur, west of Tanjavur, as P.T. Srinivasa Aiyangar has said, nor is it a place on the Koradacheri - Mannargudi road as stated by Prof. Sastri. We know that there was a place called Bodhimangai to the north of Karaikkal; Jnanasambandhar and his retinue went there after worshipping at Tiru-Telicheri (two miles north of modern Karaikkal; as they were passing along that place on their way to Tirukkadavur, about 8 miles from Tiru-Telcheri, the Buddhists in the monastery there obstructed them and engaged in a philosophical disputation with an assistant of Jnanasambandhar. The very name and the mention of the Buddhist monks in the monastery there help us to identify that place as the Bhutamangalam of Buddha datta. It may be about 12 miles due south of Kaverippattinam, the place of Accuta vikkanta.

3. Accuta was considered by some to belong to a Kalamba dynasty; but it has been seen to be wrong and there is no doubt now about his hailing from the Kalabhra kula.

4. It is significant that Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in the remarks quoted earlier, does not use the Pali text *Kalabba kula* as found in the writing of Buddha datta but uses only the Sanskrit version of it as *Kalabhra kula*.

Kalabhra in the Cholanad. This Kalabhra clan is of the Buddhist faith, while the one that held Madurai at the same period was of the Jain faith. Buddha datta says that Accuta was ruling over the earth; simultaneously there was alien rule in all the areas - Pandinad, Choland and Tondainad, and so naturally when Buddhadatta saw that the Kalabhra had subverted the natural rule in the areas and established their own rule, he says that Accuta is ruling over the entire land; this is no doubt a poetic exaggeration.

Buddha datta is said to hail from Uracapura which is Uraiyur where the Cholas, who were dislodged from Kaveripattinam, were reigning over a small territory, Sanskritists then and now have a flair for translating Tamil place names into the Sanskrit language in a suitable manner. Uraiyur had been done as Uracapuram (Uragapuri), giving a similarity of sound, though it did not translate the sense.

We have a few verses noted by the commentator of *Tapparunkalam* referring to this Accuta. One is a *kalippa* verse praying to the Buddha to grant that Accutan with the long arms like the clouds in giving, and with the fighting spear, might wield his sceptre over the whole world (*Peruntohai* 150). Two other verses (973 - 974) also in the *kalippa* metre are in the form of a direct benediction on Accuta called here as Accuta nandi and the Lord of Pahai, a sea port town and of the Nandi hill. In the true poetic convention, he is identified with Visṇu in protection, and all acts such as the feeding of the fire are attributed to him. The first blesses him with a long reign; it does not mention the name Accuta but mentions only Nandi. The second verse mentions both the names and is couched in the same strain ending with the statement that he is beyond the praise of poets.

Again there is a verse cited in the commentary (11th century) of Gunasagarar on *Tapparungalakkarikai* (also written by the author of *Tapparunkalam*) which also praises this Accutan. This verse says that the women of Korkai, the land protected by Accutan, cook the pearls of Korkai but the pearls are not comparable in beauty to the lustre of their teeth. (It is to be presumed that Accuta was ruling over at least a portion of Pandinad also, as claimed by Buddha datta during the period.)

These verses are an indication that this line of Kalabhras at Kaverippattinam, unlike the one at Madurai, was headed by benevolent and just rulers who had earned the love and esteem of the Tamil poets. It is possible that there were many such verses and even books, but we do not have them today.

Incidentally, we may note that the reference of Buddha datta to the glory of Kaverippattinam will help to resolve the problem of the date of *Manimekhalai*. Although tradition would make the two epics *Silappadhikaram* and *Manimekhalai* contemporary, a careful study of the two books will give the reader the impression that *Manimekhalai* must have been of a considerably later period. *Silappadhikaram* gives a graphic picture of the large city of Puhar (Kaverippattinam) and its culture and civilization, which are also attested by Buddha datta¹. But *Manimekhalai* mentions the great calamity of the destruction of the city of Puhar by tidal waves as a contemporary event.² It is thus clear that the city was a flourishing city in the days of *Silappadhikaram* (early part of the third century A. D.) and also in the days of Buddhadatta (fifth century) but is said to have been washed away by the sea by the time Sattan wrote his *Manimekhalai*. It is thus evident that the action of the sea was later than the fifth century, perhaps the sixth which may be taken also as the date of *Manimekhalai*. I am not proceeding further in this matter as this is not the subject of our enquiry here.

BUDDHISM

The coastal area of the Chola nad seems to have then become a land which had absorbed Buddhism in a happy manner. We find in the middle of the seventh century St. Tiru Jnanasambandhar was travelling along the coast towards the north and at a place called Bodhi mangai, a mile from modern Tirunallaru near Karaikkal, one of his disciples engaged in a philosophical disputation with Sari Putta, a Buddhist leader and defeated him. At this period and later

1. 'This fine description may raise a doubt whether the story of the destruction of the city by a tidal wave is to be accepted as literally true' — Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas* 1975 - page 107. The point to be remembered here is not whether the destruction was true or otherwise, but that there was certainly a deluge and *Manimekhalai* was written at the time of the deluge

2. Vide *Manimekhalai* — Chapter 24: lines 63-3, 25: 194-204 and 28: 79-82.

there was a Buddhist monastery at Nagappattinam which was, according to the Vaishnava *guruparampata*¹ of the 13th century, looted by Tirumangai alvar to build the Ranganatha temple at Sri Rangam. Yet much later, we find in the days of the Chola supremacy, of Raja Raja the great, a Chudamani vihara for Buddha was built at Nagappattinam by the Sailendra King of Sri Vijaya, Sri Mara Vijayottungavarman.

KALABHRA AND KALAPPALA

The Velvikkudi plates mention the form *Kalabhra*, written there in Sanskrit (grantha) characters (line 40) amidst the Tamil portion. The term occurs in the form *Kalappalar* in the Dalavay puram plates in lines 99 and 101. In the context of the mention of the names we have to assume that *Kalabhra* and *Kalappalar* are the same. Although the Velvikkudi plates mention *Kalabhran* in the singular, we have to take it in the plural as the Dalavaypuram plates mention the *Kalappazhar kulam*, and *Kalappalar* in the plural. So it was a group or a clan of people whom the plates refer to and not a single individual. The clan was designated both as the *Kalabhrar* (Sanskrit) and as the *Kalappazhar* (Tamil). The second term does not have anything to do with another term *Kalappalar*, which is a sort of family name, in vogue in the Tamilnad in several areas in the ancient past. It is quite possible that there were two independent terms in the same form as *Kalappalar* but had different connotations. It is not correct to identify the two as one.

One of the knotty problems relating to the *Kalabhras*, in addition to the name *Kalabhra*, to their origin and to the area from which they migrated, is the word *Kalappalar*. The Velvikkudi plates mention the form *Kalabhra* twice, in lines 40 and 114. The first occurrence is '*Kalabhran ennum kaliarasan kaikkondatanai irakkiyapin*'. Here the reference is to the *Kalabhran*, *kaliarasan*, in the singular. But in line 112 it is '*Kalabhiraral irokkappattadu*'. Again the Dalavaypuram plates mention the '*Kalappalar kulam kalaindrum* and' '*Kalappalaraik - kalaikatta*' (line 131). The word *Kalabhra* in the Velvikkudi plates is written in the *grantha* characters while the word *Kalappalar* is written in the other plates in the *Tamil*

1. *Guruparampara prabhavam, Arayirappadi* by Pinpalaiya Perumal Jiyar.

characters. In the several places where the word Kalabhra occurs in the Pallava copper plates, it is always Kalabhra in the *grantha* characters. So the correct form of the name of the tribe which seized the Pandiya country and had also been overthrown later by the Pandiyas, Pallavas etc., is certainly Kalabhra. The point to be decided is whether the Kalabhras and the Kalappalar are the same here.

The Dalavaypuram plates spell out the name as Kalappalar. Four Pandiyas had ruled over Madurai after the Velvikkudi grant was made and one hundred years had passed out of popular memory. Yet the composer of the lines of the Dalavaypuram plates desired to sing of the past glory of the Pandiya Kadumkon. Naturally, he wanted to mention the removal of the Kalabhras. Most likely he Tamilized the term Kalabhra into Kalappala which has indeed a Tamilian ring. The fact that the Velvikkudi grant goes out of the way to insert the name *Kalabhra* in the *grantha* script amidst the Tamil lines definitely indicates that the invader was known only as *Kalabhra* in the period and not by any other name; the term *Kalappalar* is a Tamilization which is the result of the passing of time by a hundred years. Kalappalar is the word and the ending *zhar* is obviously a mistake of the carver in stone for the *lar* ending. Thus we should take the word Kalappalar simply as a substitute for Kalabhrar and nothing more.

But there comes an apparently insurmountable difficulty. The *Velalar* of the country were a proud and noble race of native farmers and agriculturists and were patrons of art and letters. The story of Sadayappa Vallal of the 9th century and a host of others may be recalled in this context. A few decades after the suppression of the Kalabhras, we find Saint Tiru Jnanasambandhar singing the glory of the Velalar and their trait of giving and munificence in his song at Tiru Akkur: "The shrine of Siva who has Uma as his consort is the *Tantonrimadam* of Akkur, where live the industrious people called Velalar celebrated for their gifts and munificence".¹

So we see here that the Velalar had been a celebrated community noted for their munificence, specially mentioned by Sambandhar as early as about 650 A. D. Later literary history tells

1. Sambandhar Devaram Book 2.42.3.

us that one of the families of the Velalar was called *Kalappala*. This family was one of high repute. There was again in this family one Accuta Kalappala (early 12th century) whose son was Meykandar the first apostle of the Saiva siddhanta system of philosophy. Now the question which confronted all sincere scholars, was how to reconcile this highly respected and spritual community with this leader of the Kalabhra tribe if, as pointed out, the two were one. It is beyond reason to expect that the foreign Kalabhras after their political suppression had got assimilated into the general social stream of Tamilian life and had evolved into a highly respectable Saiva sect and even assumed spiritual leadership. When we recall that the Kalabhras were a race of bigoted Jainas of the *digambara* sect, the whole is not only untenable, but highly absurd in the eyes of ardent Saivas. Jnanasambandha carried on the severest tirade against the Jainas and to say that after some five centuries the descendants of those very Jains evolved the supreme spiritual leadership in the very religion of Sambandhar their sworn enemy, is certainly a hard pill to swallow. So scholars had vehemently protested that the Kalabhra-Kalappalar had nothing to do with the Velalar and their *Kalappala* families. The entire idea was anathema to them.

KALAPPALAR AND KALAPPALA-RAYAR

We can cerertainly agree with them. But the position is much simple and not so complicated as it appears to be. There have been a number of reputed chiefs in the 12th century in the name of Kalappalar; some of them are styled Kalappala rayar. There was one Kalappalarayar Nerkunram Kilar, hailing from the village of Nerkunram in Tondainad near modern Madras, who was both a chief and a patron, and also a poet. He was a devotee at the Siva shrine at Tiru-Puhalur in Tanjavar district, where St. Appar obtained his beatitude. Nerkunram kilar, also called Nerkunravanar, has sung a poem on Siva at Puhalur of 100 *Kattalaikkalitturai* verses, in *antadi* called *Tiruppuhalur antadi*. It is a poem couched in a difficult manner of writing, where in all the four lines of each verse, more than half a dozen letters after the first are identical. This form of composition is called *Tiripu antadi*, and it is quite a difficult composition. The poem is in print now and had been a text book for beginners in literature study up to the beginning of the 20th century. The father of

Meykandar the author of *Sivajnanabodham* and founder of Saiva Siddhanta as a distinctive and independent system of philosophy, was one Accuta Kalappala, also called Accuta Kalappalaraya.

In the days of Raja Raja III (1216-1256) there was one Sekkilar Palaravayanana Kalappalarayan at Tiru-Aratturai in South Arcot district who was responsible for donating some lands to the temple there for the celebration of the festival of Jnanasambandhar receiving a gift of the pearl palanquin from Siva enshrined there. Then in the days of Sadaya varman Sundara Pandiya (1251-1271) there was a Kalappala raya in Tillai who made some endowments to the Tillai Makali temple and also helped the people at Pattukkottai. In the days of Sadayavarman Virapandiyan, we meet a Kalappalarayar who built the entrance hall of the Uttamachola Chaturvedi mangalam of Cholaapuram near Koilpatti; it was called Udayar Kalappala rayar mandapam. In the days of Virarajendra deva of Kongunad, there was a Kaduvetti Kannan Kalappala rayar.

Haridasa, in the days of Krishna devarayar (1497-1540) of Vijayanagar wrote his *Irusamayavilakkam*, a large Tamil dialectical work; he was also a Kalappala raya. All these were Velalar. Kalappala is a family title among the Karkatta velalar of Tamilnad today. Their reluctance to trace their genealogy from the Jain Kalabhras of Pandinad notoriety is understandable. However an important truth emerges when we study together some other similar family (or *gotra*) titles of the Karkatta velalar. The *raya* and *araya* were titles conferred by the *Chola* monarchs of the past on the velalar who had helped them in their wars. We see titles like Sembiya taraiya and Seliya taraiya. These persons were originally given charge of certain small areas in Cholanad and Pandinad in the Pandiya and Chola days of Imperial rule, and were given these and similar titles. (Sembiya-Chola; Seliya-Pandiya.) There are numerous other titles such as Tennava raya, Vanadhi raya, Konga raya, Kalinga raya, Vanava raya, Malava raya and several others. These titles appear to have been given by the Cholas to the Velala captains and commanders who took part in their battles and came out victorious over the Tennavas (Pandiya), Banas, Kongus, Kalingas, Vanavas (Seras), Malavas and so on. One Munaya daraya took part in the victorious campaign of Kulottunga I against the

Kalingas. His descendants bearing the title Munaiyadaraya are still found in the Tanjavur and Tirunelveli districts. In the same manner we have to say that the Kalappala rayar mentioned were all descendants of the warriors who took part in a *suppression of the Kalappalar* (or *Kalabhras*) of Pandinad in 575 A. D. As the years rolled by, some retained the full title Kalappalaraya while some omitted the suffix and simply called themselves Kalappala. When the origins had been forgotten and the full name had been curtailed for long, the reluctance of the Velalar to call themselves Kalappala can be easily understood. In the light of the explanation offered above, all difficulties can easily be solved. Kalabhras and Kalappalar are the same. Those Kalabhras or whatever was left of them as Kalappalas got merged with the general stream of the Tamil people in a totally indistinguishable manner. The Kalappalar of the modern day are only Kalappala raya, the descendants of those who fought the Kalabhra-Kalappalar in the 6th century and suppressed them.

KUTRUVA NAYANAR

Periya puranam relates the story of Kutruva Nayanar, in 9 verses. He was a petty chief at Kalandai and a great devotee of Siva. Somehow he had a desire to be crowned as king with the crown of the Chola dynasty which was kept in the custody of the temple priests of Nataraja at Chidambaram. He requested them to crown him. But they declined saying that the crown could be placed only on the head of a Chola and not on any other. Disappointed, he prayed to Lord Nataraja, who placed His Feet on his head as a crown in a dream. Kutruva was much gratified at the recognition of his devotion. With the Feet as his matchless crown, he ruled over his territory.

Kutruva nayanar is of course mentioned by all the three - St. Sundarar in his *Tiruttondattotthai* as '*Kutran Kalandaikkon*'; St. Nambiyandar nambi in his *Tiruttondar antadi* as '*Kalappala-nahiya Kutruvane*'; and St. Sekkilar as '*Kalandai mudalvanar*' and '*Kalandaik-Kutranar*'.

Kalandai, the place of Kutruva nayanar, is now known as *Kalappal* near Tirut-turaippundi in Tanjavur district. It has an

ancient temple built by Aditta Chola (871-907) and sanctified by Karuvur Devar as Kalandai - Adittesvaram in a song of his included in the Ninth Book (*Tiruvaisaiippa*) of the Saiva canon. There are a few relics in the place now associated with Kutruvar, such as Kutruvan tidal, Kutruvan kulam etc.¹

Some persons would say that this Kalandai is a place in Tondainad, known as Kalattur. Considering all things, it has to be identified with the Kalandai of Cholanad (Kalappal) and not with Kalattur of Tondainad.

There are several features to be noted now in respect of Kutruva nayanar. Sundarar calls him simply Kalandaik-kon, the Lord of Kalandai. Sekkilar also calls him only Kalandai mudalvanar (chief) and Kalandai-k-kutranar. But Nambi calls him *Kalappalan - ahiya Kutruvan*; Kutruvan who is a Kalappalan. We should remember that Nambi elaborated the single line mention of Sundarar into a full verse, which in the next century Sekkilar elaborated into a *purana* of nine verses. Generally we can be sure that a subsequent writer did not deviate from or twist the earlier writer's words. In the case of Nambi, the earlier writer is St. Sundarar whom Nambi would not like to twist. So the term he uses, *Kalappalan ahiya*, has to be interpreted only in the terms of Sundarar's term Kalandaikkon. Hence Kalappalan is to be taken not as a separate term meaning something different but only as an elaboration of the earlier term Kalandai. Kalappalan is the the chief of Kalandai; Nambi has here abbreviated Kalandai as Kalappu and adding the suffix *alan* he has coined a new term Kalappalan, which only means in the light of the above explanation, chief of Kalandai.

Some have advanced the theory that Kutruvanar was a Kalappala which they would have as a Kalabhra on the lines of the mention in the other copper plate grants. In such a case he should have come from a stock which was originally non-Saiva and so the Tillai Andanar might be said to be certainly justified in declining to crown him. The Kalabhras who seized Madurai were bigoted Jains; but the same tribe which seized Kaverippattinam was not a Jain

1. It is not right to place this Kalandai in the Tondainad, because there are no early associations.

clan, but a Buddhist clan. All of them originally hailed from a central Jain area and we learn that at the centre the tribe might have taken its religion lightly, as Jain or Buddhist, as the occasion might have suited them.

But in the light of the explanation offered above, Kutruvan Kalappala is not a Kalappalar of the Velvikkudi grant. The two Kalappalar may be the same term; but Kalappalan in relation to Kutruvan can be interpreted only in the light of Kalandaik-kon of Sundarar and Kalandai mudalvanar of Sekkilar. Hence we definitely say that he has nothing to do with the Kalabhra.

Besides, we may remember that the period is about the Fifth-Sixth centuries A. D., after the days of Koc-chengat Chola. No Kalabhra descendant is likely to have embraced Saivism and aspired for being crowned as a king by the Tillaivazh-andanar. This is a presumption which history does not warrant. Change comes about only by 575 A. D. on Kadunkon's suppression of the Kalabhras.

M. Raghava Aiyangar has been quoted as noting that the word *Kalappalar* was derivable from *Kalappar*, just as *andanar* - *andanalar*, *aruvar* - *aruvalar* and *vel* - *velalar*. But the analogy does not fit; because in these three cases, the original simpler term is a common word and has a meaning; *andanar* - brahmin; *aruvar* - a person of the Tamil country or of the aruva nadu; *vel* - a member of the farming community. The suffix in all these cases denotes the possessor of these respective qualities, such as *antanmai* (brahminhood), Tamil citizenship and farming. But there is *no* such word as *Kalappar* and therefore also *no* such *quality* to which the suffix *aalar* can be added. Hence this derivation cannot be made.

So, we can only say that Kutruvan was a Kalandaik-kon but not the Kalappalar mentioned in the Pandiyan copper plates.

A LATER ACCUTA KALAPPALA

Some verses found in the *Tamil Navalai Charitai*, an anthology of about 260 verses made by an unknown compiler of the 17th century, are equated with the Accuta Kalabhra (Vikkanta), a few verses in whose praise are cited in the *Tapparunkala virutti*. Three

venbas are supposed to have been sung¹ by the Tamil monarchs, the Sera, Chola and Pandiya praising his prowess. The story is that he had vanquished them and put them in prison and when they were all released in the course of a celebration in the palace of Accuta on the occasion of the birth of a son and heir to him, they sang these verses. There are also other verses glorifying this Accuta, praising his valour and the march of his army.

The language of all the verses is quite modern and it is clear they cannot belong to the early period of the Kalabhras' sway over Pandinad. The *Charitai* is merely a compilation of the interesting verse which the anonymous compiler collected and noted down with the context as he came to know of it. The right contexts were not always known, and stories grew up attaching a wrong or false association to the subject. History does not give us any Accuta Kalappala of a later period, who was a ruler or had great might. The only one known to us is Accuta Kalappala, father of Meykandar in the 12th century and by no stretch of imagination can these verses be applied to him.

KALABHRAS IN TONDAINAD

The division of Kalabhras who entered the Tondainad marched along the Palar basin. Their domination over the Tondainad was ended by Siva Skanda varman temporarily by about the middle of the 3rd century A.D., probably the same period as that in which another group of the clan marching south had driven away the Pandiyas and occupied Madurai. The Kalabhra occupation of the Tondainad could have been partly responsible for some of the Pallava rulers to have been of the Jaina persuasion. The Kalabhra occupation of Kanchi and Tondainad does not appear to have been as decisive and complete as it was in Pandinad and in Cholanad. There had been frequent skirmishes between the Pallavas and the Kalabhras in and around Kanchipuram. The city of Kanchi had always been changing hands and finally Simhavishnu wrested it from the Kalabhras in the latter half of the 6th century. Although in

1. Vide the venbas beginning *Tinai vitanthar, Arasar kula tulan* and *Kurai-yular engirar*.

later history, others had also been holding the city for short periods, the Kalabhras could no more hold any prominent position in the Tondainad, which may be called the Pallavanad hereafter, as the Pallavas had finally established themselves there.

The Kasakkudi plates of Nandivarman II (732 A.D.) state that Avanisimha (Simha Vishnu) defeated Malva, Kalabhra, Chola, Pandiya, Singala and Kerala rulers. Then Nandivarman Pallava's plates state that Nandivarman secured a victory over the rulers of more than ten states of whom the Kalabhras are again mentioned. Again his Kotrangudi plates (771 A.D.) state that the rulers of seven states were waiting at his palace doors to learn his pleasure; of these the Kalabhras are again mentioned. All these would give us the impression that although the Kalabhras as a political force had been spent out in this part of the country, they had been offering resistance to the Pallava expansion by their alliance with the Cholas in the South, whom in an earlier period they had themselves driven away from power.

SECTION II

THE IMPACT OF THE KALABHRAS ON THE LIFE AND LETTERS IN PANDINAD

THE PROBLEMS IN LITERARY HISTORY

We have a continuous literary history in the Tamil language beginning from before 300 B. C. down to the 20th century, i.e. for a period of nearly 2500 years. But somehow, all scholars have been saying that the period *after* the Third Sangham at Madurai to the end of the sixth century A.D., i.e. from about 250 to 600 A. D., was a *dark period* in the history, although they very well knew that a considerable volume of poetic literature had been written in the period. There are a number of unsolved questions relating to this period, which are a kind of problems in a jigsaw puzzle, and these probably invited the term *dark period*. The problems resolve themselves into groups of three or four under the heads Literary problems, Cultural problems, Religious problems and Historical problems. I shall now mention the problems, which had made the period 'dark' and offer solutions based on the Kalabhra interlude which can help to solve the problems and 'illumine' the darkness.

THE LITERARY PROBLEMS

A. Foremost among the literary problems is the problem of the writing of *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal*. According to the *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal* commentary (8th century A. D.) the Pandiya king deploras the position that while experts mastering the three parts of grammar *eluttu* (orthography), *sol* (etymology) and *yappu* (prosody) were available, scholars in *porul* (grammar dealing with all themes relating to life) were not available. *Poruladhikaram* of *Tolkappiyam* was there in his day. How then does he say so?

B. The loss of many books of the Sangham period.

C. The early saints who sang hymns in the Vaidika religions such as Tirumular in Saivism and the Mudal Alvar in Vaishnavism had all evolved from the Cholanad and the Tondainad. Why had no early saint-singer evolved from the Pandinad, which housed the Sangham and where the stories connected with Sakti Minakshi and Lord Sundaresa had been enacted in the capital city?

D. The Saiva Saint Tiru Jnanasambandhar is hailed by Sekkilar as the champion of Saivism. But Saint Sundara who came immediately after Sambandhar, probably a generation or two later, says that Siva gave a pair of cymbals to Sambandhar and made him propagate *Tamil* through his sweet *music*. He does not mention Saivism. Can this have any significance?

E. The *Kilkanakku* consists of 18 minor poems, on ethical, romantic and heroic themes - 11 on ethical themes, 6 on romantic themes and one on a *puram* theme. In the period earlier than the *Kilkanakku*, we have had glorious women authors - more than 32 from the Imperial Queen's rank to the lowest rank of *kuratti* (gypsy) and *peymahal*. Women have sung in the *Ettuttohai* and in the *Pattupattu*; and they have contributed to the Saiva and the Vaishnava canons then and later. But among all the 18 *Kilkanakku* poems, we do not find a single woman. Why?

We shall now discuss these problems in detail.

A. APPEARANCE OF IRAIYANAR KALAVIYAL

The first circumstantial evidence provided for the rule of the Kalabhras in Madurai and their suppression of Tamil and its literature is provided by *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal* and its *urai* (commentary). The *urai* by Nakkirar (one of the several Nakkirar in Tamil literary history and certainly not the Nakkirar of the Sangham age) gives a detailed account of the Three Sanghams in ancient Pandinad - their name, location, periods for which they flourished, the Pandiya rulers who patronized them, the Pandiyas who were themselves poets there, the number of their works, their basic grammatical texts, and many similar particulars.

We are not concerned here with those critics who would say that all these particulars are merely drawn from the imagination and that no Sangham really existed. The *Iraiyanar* commentator, and later

Adiyarkku nallar¹ have no purpose in giving out or repeating these stories or histories except that they were really grieved to learn that the academies, their contribution to Tamil literature in the form of books and their very memories had been erased altogether by deluges. They had heard legends and fragmentary stories about the academies, and not willing to let the stories die, they had recorded them for the knowledge of posterity. The present habit of exaggeration and bold fictitious invention was not a characteristic of the writers of the past. With this explanation, we shall proceed with our investigation.²

It is not our purpose to go into the question of these academies and their periods of heyday. We shall be content with one statement therein, that *Agattiyam* and *Tolkappiyam* were the basic texts for the writers of the Third Academy; it also says that these two along with some other books were the texts for the Second Academy. The Third Academy is now generally accepted by most scholars to have existed during the centuries 3 B.C. to 2 A.D. This Academy flourished in the city of modern Madurai, called by the writers the North Madurai, to distinguish it from the South Madurai which was the first to be washed away by the sea.³

Of the two books *Agattiyam* and *Tolkappiyam* mentioned here, we know that somehow *Agattiyam* has been completely lost, while *Tolkappiyam* is now fully available. Two complete commentaries are now available for almost the entire book, written during the centuries 11 and 14, while four others are also available for the Second Book of *Tolkappiyam* written during the 13th and the 15th centuries. *Tolkappiyam*, we should bear in mind at this stage, is available in full and no scholar says that any part of it or any lines had been lost.

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1. A stray verse of a later day found in a manuscript of Silappadhikaram also mentions the Sanghams in detail — vide foot note to Adiyarkku nallar's preface to his own commentary, quoted by Dr Swaminatha Aiyar.
 2. Dr M. Govindaswami of the Annamalai University had come out with an explanation that the number of years given for the three academies might have been a mistake in reckoning and that the three respective periods 4440, 3700 and 1850 years might really have been 444, 370 and 185. This brings the whole question within the range of possibility.
 3. Vide *Note D* in the appendix — The Tamil Sangam at Madurai.

Now we shall give in translation the relevant passage of the *Kalaviyal* commentary: "During the period there was a famine in Pandinad for twelve years.¹ Hunger could not be pacified. The king called all the good people and told them, 'My friends, I am now unable to help you. The land is undergoing great suffering. You may now go to any place you know. Think of me and return here when the land again comes to normal'. So those people left the king and went away.² Twelve years passed. Then there was a downpour of rain and life came to normal. The king said: 'Now life has returned to normal. Get back the scholars'. Messengers were despatched on all directions. They met and brought back scholars well versed in *Eluttadhikaram*, *Solladhikaram* and *Yappadhikaram* (orthography, etymology and prosody), but said that they had not met experts in *Poruladhikaram* (that part of grammar which embraces the subject matter, namely aspects of life). The king was beset with anxiety. 'What shall I do now? The three parts *Eluttu*, *Sol* and *Yappu* are studied for the sake of *Porul*. If we are unable to secure *Porul* experts, it is as good as not securing any' said the king. Thereupon the crimson-hued Lord of Alavay (Lord Sundaresa of Madurai) thought: 'What a pity! The king is beset with grief and that grief is towards knowledge. We shall remove his grief.' So thinking, He inscribed these sixty *sutras* (aphorisms) on three copper plates and placed them beneath his seat.

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1. A famine for 12 years seems to be a favourite expression or anecdote with most people. The commentators here speak of a drought and famine for 12 years. We may take it that this was round 700 A.D. In a later day, we find the ballad, *Alli Arasani Molai*, (17th century) mentions a drought of twelve years. We see that Bhadrabahu, the great Jain acharya of Ujjaini foretold a long drought and famine of 12 years and left the place to go south and finally came and settled at Sravana Belgola. Dandi in his *Avanti Sundari Katha* mentions a terrible famine (probably of 12 years) in the period of Paramesvaravarman, the Pallava ruler, 670-685 A.D. This is very close to the probable date of *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal* which may be just after 700 A.D.
 2. The flight of the scholars from Madurai during a period of severe drought is recorded in a verse collected into the Tamil Navalar charitai, a compilation of the late 17th century. The verse (21 lines of *asiriyappa*) records the inhuman level to which people were reduced and says that one Ayindan of Alanjeri in Cholanad received the famine stricken poets, fed them and kept them for their period of forced exile from Madurai. A poet so entertained sings of the refuge he was given in a poignant verse.

"The next day, the person given the duty of cleaning the temple premises, swept the temple, sprinkled water, strewed flowers and, he who never swept under the seat, today 'under some divine prompting, thought. 'I shall sweep here also' and swept to his heart's content. Out came the plates! When he looked at them, he discovered that they were the much needed *Porul adhikaram*. Then the brahmin thought: 'This is probably given by our Lord who would have known the king's great anxiety in not being able to secure *Poruladhikaram*'. So without even returning to his own house, he went to the king's palace and informed the guard, who went in and reported his arrival to the king. 'Let him enter' said the king. The brahmin thus called in, went in and showed the plates to the king. Looking at them the king exclaimed 'Lo, This is *Poruladhikaram*! The Lord has given this to us out of His concern for our sad predicament, bowed in the direction of the Lords's temple, summoned the Academicians and said to them: 'Look, here is the *Poruladhikaram* given to us by the Lord out of His concern for us in our predicament. Examine it and discover its significance' ".¹

The story continues that they took it, tried to annotate it each in his own way, and finally one Rudrasarma examined their different annotations and found that of Nakkirar to be the best. Now, the portion given above is just the matter relevant for our investigation. The story told here is a straightforward one - simple, direct and forceful as a narrative. There is no embellishment but there is a remarkably natural dramatic effect. This gives it considerable authenticity and removes any possible criticism or suspicion of fiction.

Ignoring the supernatural elements, the point simply is this. Scholars who had mastered *Eluttu, Sol* and *Yappu* were available at Madurai, but those who had mastered *Porul* were not available. The plain question is, why was it so?

Besides, *Kalladam*, a poem of 100 verses on *aham* themes by the poet Kalladar of the 11th century, repeats this story about the origin of *Iraiyanaṇ Kalaviyal*: "The tradition of *Porul adhikaram* dealing with life had disappeared. The Pandiya and his poets were feeling confused. At that moment, the Tamil Lord of the South gave them

1. *Iraiyanaṇ Kalaviyal*, C. Namasivaya Mudaliar's edition, pages 9-11.

in clear language, sixty aphorisms, beginning *anbin aintinai*, collecting together the sweetness of the entire range of the Tamil language, out of His own divine voice from which originated the ancient great Veda, just like bringing to the shore the nectar collected out of the sea".¹ These words of Kalladar are the earliest expression of a reference to the story of the *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal*, besides the *Kalaviyal* itself.

In the early periods, there was *Tolkappiyam*, written probably earlier than 300 B. C.; it was available in the Sangham age. It was again available in the 11th century to Ilampuranar who was able to get at it, study it, understand it and annotate it. From the above narration, it looks as though there was no *Poruladhikaram* (or rather there were no Porul scholars) and this was the reason why Lord Sundaresa, or rather the poet Iraiyanar, had to compose the *Kalaviyal* for the edification of the Pandiya and his court in the 8th century. To put it shortly, *Tolkappiyam Poruladhikaram* was available in the Sangham age (up to the end of the 2nd century A. D.) definitely, but we find it was not available or in other words there were no Porul scholars in the 8th century, necessitating the writing of a fresh Porul part *Kalaviyal*, in that period. *Porul* is always said to be the most important part of all grammar; and of *Porul*, *ahapporul* still more important and of *ahapporul* the *kalavu* part, or *Kalaviyal* dealing with pre-marital love, was considered the most important. This might have been the justification for Iraiyanar writing only the *Kalaviyal* part. Again we are faced with the same question: what happened to *Tolkappiyam Poruladhikaram* during the period 3rd century to the 8th century? *Porul adhikaram* was later available to Ilampuranar and many other commentators and is available to us to day in full; no part of it is said to have been lost.

This question cannot be answered from the literary history; only the political history offers an answer. The Kalabhras were aliens in Tamilnad and in the Pandinad. They had a different culture, a different religion, a different language and they hailed from a different area, around Sravana Belgola in Mysore. Somehow they were able to drive away the Pandiya ruler by the middle of the 3rd century

1. *Kalladam* verse 3 lines 10-16.

A. D. and establish their own rule there, which lasted for over three centuries till 575 A. D. They were Jains of the *Digambara* sect. They were intent upon spreading their own religion and culture in the land of their conquest. It is well known that the Jain view was that women and music were hindrances in the way of man's spiritual progress. They were deeply religious and naturally whenever they found that women or music was given importance in society, they tried to put them down ruthlessly.

There is no evidence stating in so many words that the Kalabhras suppressed a study of *Tolkappiyam-Poruladhikaram*; but from the circumstances obtaining in the period leading to the writing of a fresh manual on this part alone, we cannot but draw this inference.

A further word may also be added. In Jainism, women because of their sex are not eligible for moksha. This aspect is well enunciated by all Jain writers. Ilampuranar the first commentator on *Tolkappiyam*, the epics *Cintamani* and *Culamani* and *Merumantra purana* emphatically state this. Women, after leading a righteous life on earth in this birth may be born in the next as males and then by virtue of their good life there, earn the right for moksha.¹

STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE SOCIETY AND IN LITERATURE

We shall take up the question of music later in the context of St. Tiru Jnanasambandar. Here we shall be concerned only with the status of women. The Tamilian society of the Sangham age was one where woman was given a prominent place in the home and in society. The story of the great poetess and grand old dame Avvai who strode from city to city, giving wise counsel to the rulers or rebuking them fearlessly where they went wrong is well known. 59 verses from her are yet available to us in the Sangham poetry. There have been more than a score of eminent women poets in the period whose songs have come down to us—Nanmullai, Masatti, Nachellai, Nakkannai, Kuramahai Ilaveyini, Tayamkanni, Paari Mahalir, Perunkoppendu the queen of Bhutappandiyan, Peymahai Ilaveyini, Nappasalai, Vennikkuyatti, Kama-kanni, Adimandi, Vellividhi and

1. Vide Appendix Note E. Women and Moksha in Jainism.

a host of others were reputed poets of the period. The prefix *na* to the names of some of them gives them the attribute of goodness. Paari Mahalir and the Queen of Bhutappandiyan came of royal families. Nachellai wrote a decad on a Chola ruler and got a present of immense gold from him. And so on the chronicle goes. We also see the estrangement between the the patron Pehan and his wife Kannaki and the efforts of several poets to reunite them. All these bespeak of a high level of culture, education and independence of the womenfolk of the period. Even women considered of a low class were renowned poets - Kuyatti (potter), Kuramahal (gypsy) and Peymahal were all from the lowest levels of society. The Tamilian society of the period was a truly democratic one where every one was a responsible member equal to any one else. This was something unknown, and opposed to the religious cult of the Kalabhras. Naturally when they gained political control of that society they could not tolerate such freedom among women and could not agree to their glorification.

One or two references from literature may be mentioned here. The Third Book of *Kural*, called the *Kamattuppal* or the *Inbattuppal*, devoted to the pleasures of conjugal love is virtually a testament on the glorification of woman and the married life. Karaikkal Ammai, referred to elsewhere also, has sung three lyrical hymns on Lord Siva as the Cosmic Dancer at Tiru Alankadu. She lived in the period of the Kalabhras but outside the Pandinad. Queen Mangaiyarkkarasi was the flower of womanhood in the Tamil nation a few decades after the Kalabhras. In a land where Jainism reigned she was a lone sentinel for Saivism along with the Minister Kulachirai and we know by her modesty, love, courage and steadfastness of purpose she had caused her husband the King to be re-converted to Saivism. It is to her eternal glory that Jnanasambandhar, who never sang on anyone except Siva, sang one complete song of eleven verses on her and sang half of another similar poem on her'. No less great is Andal of the next century who dedicated herself to Lord Vishnu as Ranganatha and sang the glorious *Tiruppavai* of thirty verses and 14 more decads on

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1. The decad (*padikam*) beginning '*mani ner vizhi madaray*', 39th *padikam*, and the verses bearing an odd number in the decad beginning '*mangaiyarkkarasi valararkon pavai*' 120th *padikam*, both in the Third Book of Sambandhar's songs.

the Lord and was finally united with Lord Ranganatha. Her songs form an important section of the Vaishnava Canon and part of their daily prayer book.

Such was the exalted position of women in the period *before* the onslaught of the Kalabhras on Madurai and *after* their overthrowal there by Pandiyankadumkon.

WOMAN IN GRAMMATICAL CONVENTION

Besides, this freedom was glorified in the Tamil culture. As remarked earlier, Tamil literary convention elaborated on the theme of love where particularly pre-marital and romantic love was given an honoured place. This was naturally anathema to the conquering Kalabhras. They suppressed the institution of women as laid down in the conventional grammar, ruthlessly. So the grammatical texts were suppressed. *Kalaviyal* and *Poruladhikaram* of which it forms the first four important chapters was suppressed. The messengers of the Pandiya, we found, informed him that they were able to find scholars expert in *Eluttu*, *Sol* and even *Tappu* but not experts in *Porul*. This very definitely proclaims to us that *Poruladhikaram* had been suppressed by the alien rulers. Any culture can be subverted and metamorphosed in the course of a rule of three hundred years. No wonder *Poruladhikaram* was forgotten. It had not become extinct - because we know it had been later discovered by Ilampuranar in the 11th century and written upon. The strange thing is that Ilampuranar himself was a Jain. He also believed that woman by virtue of her sex was not eligible for *moksha* and that she should be born in the next birth as man and qualify herself for *moksha*¹. By his time, Jainism thrust by the Kalabhras in the Tamilnad had faded out as a potent social influence and the tolerant and progressive Chola rule was on the ascendant.

And again, parts of *Tolkappiyam* were studied in other corners of Tamilnad no doubt. But at the period, thanks to the establishment of several academies in Madurai earlier, that city had been the nerve centre for all Tamil and, naturally, suppression of *Tolkappiyap-Poruladhikaram* meant that it was hardly studied anywhere. Now we

1. Vide Appendix - Note C E. Women and Moksha in Jainism.

can understand the Pandiya's anxiety for *Porul* and Iraiyanar's help in writing a *Poruladhikaram* - *Kalaviyal* text afresh. There are minor differences in the treatment of the *aham* theme between *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal* and *Tolkappiyam Kalaviyal* and *Karpiyal*. This also explains the disappearance of the tradition of *Tolkappiyam*. Iraiyanar (we shall forget it is the *Alavayy-peruman* for the moment) has tried to recapture the ancient *Tolkappiyam* tradition as best as he could from oral traditions and to write a new manual on the subject. The written form had disappeared and we have to presume it was not available to him.

The point emphasized in this discussion is that *Tolkappiyam* went out of currency on the advent of the Kalabhras in Pandinad, necessitating the writing of a manual on *aham* by Iraiyanar to satisfy the longing of the Pandiya ruler. This new treatise was written by the early 8th century, after Tiru Jnanasambandhar had re-established the Tamil culture, language and religion in the land. Kadumkon no doubt overthrew the Kalabhras. But their influence in all society and administration could not be removed or wiped out in a day, not by one decree of a new ruler, however powerful or popular he might be. It takes a powerful cultural and spiritual force to teach the people their past but forgotten heritage, and that force descended on the land in the form of the work of Jnanasambandhar later.

Though Iraiyanar's work is named *Kalaviyal*, it does not stop with clandestine or pre-marital love. It also deals with marital love and this part is known as *Karpiyal*. The two together (with 33 aphorisms in *Kalaviyal* and 27 in *Karpiyal*) form one whole and that is *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal*. Its other name Iraiyanar *Ahapporul* also makes clear this concept of fulness in the subject. This corresponds to the two chapters *Kalaviyal* and *Karpiyal* in *Tolkappiyam* also (chapters 3 and 4 of its *Poruladhikaram*).

B. THE LOSS OF MANY TAMIL BOOKS OF THE SANGAM POETRY

We are now left only with the *Ettut-Tohai* and the *Pattup-Pattu* as the books of Sangham Poetry, and *Tolkappiyam* as a Tamil grammatical manual of an earlier period. The commentary on *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal* gives an account in its prefatory section about the Three

Sanghams (Literary Academies or even Universities) and the numerous books written and published there. Besides the books mentioned above, the commentator speaks of many books, beginning with *Kuttu*, *Vari*, *Sitrisai*, *Perisai*. Not one of these books is available today. Besides, even among the books which have reached us, the first and the tenth decads of the *Ten Tens* have been lost. And more important, of the seventy *Paripadal* verses, we have only twenty two - the others have been lost. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Kalabhra interregnum, as it is called, was responsible for the loss of this vast volume of literature, both poetic and musical. "When we turn to the Velvikkudi plates we find that that was the period of the Kalabhra interregnum. That was the time when much confusion prevailed in the country, and the Sangham and its good work were somewhat unsettled. This is seen from the fact that the Sangham literature is at best a piece of mutilated literature. Several songs of the *Paripadal* are lost. The kings in whose times the collections were made are not known. We hear of one Purikko as the king who grouped the *Kuruntohai*. Who he was and when he lived, it is impossible to say. If the Pandiya rule had been continuous and undisturbed, there would have been no difficulty in obtaining these details'."

C. ABSENCE OF EARLY HYMNISTS IN PANDINAD

Another corroborative evidence is available to us from the distribution of the early Nayanmar and Alvar in the various regions of Tamilnad. At the outset we may say that all the early religious leaders in both Saivism and Vaishnavism hailed from *outside the Pandinad*.

If we consider the Saiva canon, we know factually that seven out of the list of the sixtythree *Nayanmar* had contributed poems to the different Books of the Saiva canon. Saint Tiru Jnanasambandar had sung the first three Books; St. Appar had sung the next three Books; St. Sundarar the Seventh. St. Tiru Mular had sung the entire Tenth. St. Karaikkal Ammai, Aiyadihal Kadavar Kon and Seraman Perumal had contributed three, one and three poems respectively to the Eleventh Book. One point may be noted.

1. C. V. Narayana Aiyar, *Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India*, 1936, page 411.

Although St. Manikkavacakar is a saint and one of the four Saiva Samaya Acharyas, and has contributed the sublimely poetic *Tiruvacakam* (Eighth Book of the Saiva Canon), he is not one of the sixtythree, because he did not live earlier than St. Sundarar and had not been mentioned by Sundarar. Other writers in the Saiva canon, Books Nine and Eleven, are also not among the sixty three.

Aiyadihal is identified with the Pallava ruler Paramesvara I (670-685) and from the present tense in which Sundarar refers to Aiyadihal,¹ the two are taken to be contemporaries. The *puranam* story is that Seraman was also a contemporary of Sundarar.² The other four whom Sundarar has mentioned in his poem giving the list of the devotees of God, *Tirut-Tondattohai*, are obviously earlier than Sundarar in point of time. St. Appar was a contemporary of Mahendravarman (C. 590-630 A.D.) and Sambandhar was a contemporary of Paranjoti, (his sacking of Vatapi was in 642 A.D.) who was commander under Narasimhavarman (630-668); besides he converted Arikesari Maravarman (640-670) from Jainism back to Saivism and his date is generally taken to be 630-646.

The other two require special consideration here. St. Tiru Mular was a contemporary of Ko-Chengat Chola in the 5th century A.D. This Chola is hailed as a Nayanar³ himself and their contemporaneity will be explained later. Sekkilar says that when Jnana Sambandha went to offer worship at Tiru Alangadu he would not set foot in the place because it was the place of Siva (Ammal-appar) where Karaikkal Ammai walked on her head.⁴ This would mean that Ammai was earlier. The incidents in her life would enable us to place her also in the 5th century, in the period of Kocchenganat Chola and Tiru Mular. Tiru Mular did his penance and composed his *Tiru mantram* songs from Tiru Avaduturai on the banks of the Kaveri, in the Chola nad. Ammai, as her name suggests, was born at Karaikkal in Cholanad.

1. *Tirutondattohai* verse 9.

2. *Periya Puranam*, *Kalarstrarivar puranam* and *Vellonaccarukkam*.

3. St. Sundarar, *Tirutondattohai* verse 11.

4. *Periyapuranam*, Tiru Jnanasambandhar Puranam verse 1008. Vide also the paragraphs D. 'Karaikkal Ammai' under the Section, the Religious Problems.

When we turn to the first Alvar in the Vaishnava canon, namely the three Mudal Alvar, we find that all of them were born (or appeared) in the Tondainad. Poihai alvar was born in Kanchipuram (at Tiruvehha), Bhutattalvar was born at Kadalmallai (modern Mahabalipuram) and Peyalvar was born at Mayilai (which is in the modern city of Madras). Not one of them was born in Pandinad.

Not only the first Nayanmar and Alvar, but even later saints were not born in any part of Pandinad for some time. Jnanasambandhar was born in Cholanad; Appar and Sundarar in Nadu nadu; Tirup-Panalvar in Sri Rangam, Cholanad; Tiru Malisai alvar in the place of that name in Tondainad; (even Kulasekhara alvar of the early 8th century is born in the Seranad;) not one is born in Pandinad. Only after Jnanasambandha had been to Pandinad to put down Jainism and reclaim the land back into the Vaidika fold, does any saint appear there. Periyalvar and Andal in Vaishnavism and St. Manikkavacakar in Saivism hail respectively from Sri Villiputhur and Tiru Vadavur in the Pandiya country, in the 8th and the 9th centuries. Till Jnanasambandhar's crusade in to that country, the climate does not appear to have been favourable for the evolution of any saint in any of the Vaidika religions, Saivism or Vaishnavism. The resurgence brought about by Sambandhar in Saivism caused a great revival in both the religions in Pandinad.

Madurai we should remember had been the arterial centre at the beginning of the Christian era for all Tamil - the language and literature as well as culture as evidenced by the establishment of the Third Sangham there and the patronage extended to it by generations of the Pandiyas, and for religion as evidenced by the stories of the sports of Siva as Lord Somasundara and Sakti Minakshi, and of His legendary presence in the Sangham itself in the form of a poet, a fact which is also vouchsafed by St. Appar in his song on Tirupputtur, a Pandinad shrine - *nanpattup - pulavanay sangham eri nar kanakak-kili Dharumikku arulinonkan*¹. Andal in the next century makes a reference to Sanghat-Tamil in the last verse of her famous Tiruppavai.² In the face of so much popular as well as literary lore

1. St-Appar, Sixth Book, Tirup-Puthur Tirut-Tandakam 76, verse 3.

2. St. Andal, Tirup-Pavai, last verse; *sanghat-Tamil malai muppadum*.

and legend, how are we to account for the fact that no saint in any vaidika religion was evolved in the area in the period immediately following the Sangham, while we find they have all come from the neighbouring Cholanad and even the distant Pallava nad?.

The only explanation for such a state can be that there was political suppression of the vaidika religions and all that they stood for - the language and literature, its music, culture, the temple worship and rituals and all the ideals of which they were the manifestations.

D. ADVENT OF TIRU JNANA SAMBANDHAR

We said that the Kalabhras as *digambara* jains had suppressed music in the Pandiya kingdom. Music was considered by the jains as a snare which hampered man's spiritual evolution. *Yasas tilaka champu* in Sanskrit (written by Somadeva Suri, 11th century) and *Yasodhara Kavya* in Tamil (by an unknown author, 13th century) depict the cruel murders of her own husband the king and his mother committed by the queen Yasodhara because of her infatuation for the music of the leprotic elephant keeper. Ancient Tamil was said to be of three divisions, as *Muttamil*, dealing with *Iyal*, literary Tamil prose and poetry, *Isai* music, and *Natakam*, dance and drama. *Silappadhikaram*, hailed quite deservedly as a great work dealing with the three was composed in the early years of the 3rd century, a little before the advent of the Kalabhras into the Pandiya history. It gives a very extensive account of the dance and music of the period in several of its chapters.¹ The commentators say that there were a number of treatises on dance and music available to the author of *Silappadhikaram* but were subsequently lost. Although the dance and music of this book represent them as they were practised in the Chola court, the manuals thereon were all preserved in Madurai, which was the seat of all Tamil and its divisions. But with the measures of suppression adopted by the Kalabhras, these books on dance and drama seem to have also perished. A large number of such works are mentioned by name by Adiyarkkunallar. But they are not extant.

1. *Silappadhikaram* - Chapter 3, 6, 7, 8 etc.

We have to remember the advent of the Saiva saint Tiru Jnanasambandhar in this context. He was no doubt a Saiva samaya Acharya, a hymnist, a saint who toured the whole of Tamilnad visiting the Saiva shrines and directing all the people to the form of the Divinity enshrined in the temples. This is the *Periya pūranam* approach to the life of Saint Jnanasambandhar familiar in popular lore. There is another approach, even more important than this mission of Sambandhar and that is his service to the cause of music in the country, the Second Division of Tamil, *Isai*. The hymnists in Saivism and Vaishnavism had all sung musical songs on their respective deities no doubt. St. Appar, an elder contemporary of Sambandhar had sung 312 *padikams* of which 22 are in *pann*, namely specially musical pieces while the others are in *nerisai*, *viruttam*, *kuruntohai* and *tandakam*, not specially musical. Sundarar has sung 100 *padikams* all set to music. But Sambandhar has sung 384 decads (*padikams*) all set to music. He has sung on the largest number of tunes. The alvar (excepting the three Mudalavar) had sung their songs to a musical pattern but their music was set for them later in the days of Nathamunihal in the 9th century.¹

There are a few features regarding the music of Sambandhar which are special to him and are not shared by any of the others in Saivism or in Vaishnavism. The first is that he sang his songs in the temples, marking time with his hands even as a little child. Sekkilar specifically mentions this and does not mention this with reference to the other two Saiva saints. Sambandhar went and worshipped at Tiruk-Kolakka, the second shrine to be sung by him. As a child he marked time for the song with his little hands. Siva enshrined there, fearing that the child's palms might get sore by the marking, caused a pair of cymbals to appear on his hands for marking time.² From that time he sang in the other temples sounding the cymbals in his

1. *Guru parampara - prabhavam, Arayirappadi* page 94. Nathamunihal caused his two nephews Melaiyahattalvan and Kilaiyahattalvan to learn the tunes and through them he propagated the musical singing of the *Nalayirap-prabandham*.

2. *Periyapuranam*, Tiru Jnanasambandhar, verses 101-105.

hand. No other saint in all Tamilnad has been given the cymbals.¹ This incident has been copied in iconography, and in all the temples in Tamilnad we find the image of Sambandhar in stone or bronze, is always featured with a pair of cymbals in his hands. As a matter of fact the cymbals are the distinguishing feature of the Sambandhar image.

Another feature. Jnanasambandhar is here the only Saint in all the canons who has been given an accompanist. Tiru Nilakantha Yalppanar, himself a saint among the 63, is made to accompany Sambandhar on his *yal* and go with him on his tours.² Such a privilege has not been extended to any one else anywhere. The incident where Sambandhar proves to Yalppanar that the vocal instrument is always superior to the man-made instrument is well known;³ he sang a song which has since come to be known as the *yal murip-padikam*,⁴ the song which caused the breaking of the *yal*. All these indicate that music is inextricably woven with the life and work of Jnanasambandhar.

We shall turn to the words of St. Sundarar in reference to Jnanasambandhar. Sundarar lived in the days of Rajasimha Pallava's father, Paramesvara Varman I (670-685) and so he could have been just one generation or two after Sambandhar. He mentions Sambandhar in a few places in his songs. In *Tirut-Tondattohai*, he refers to him as 'My lord Sambandhan who does not worship any but the Lord Siva who wears the *cassia* flowers'.⁵ In the other five places he mentions Sambandhar always associating him with Tamil:

1. Navukkarasu (St. Appar) and Tamil-Jnanasambandhar.
2. Jnanasambandhar who is master of sweet Tamil.
3. The garland of Tamil poems sung by Jnanasambandhar of sweet music and Navukkarasu.

1. Karaikkal ammaiyar is portrayed in panels in a ghost form with the cymbals; but they are not mentioned by Sekkilar in her *puranam*.

2. *Periyapuranam*, Tiru Jnanasambandhar, verses 131-141.

3. Ibid 444-452.

4. Tiru Jnanasambandhar *Devaram* First Book, Padikam 136 beginning 'madar madappidiyum'.

5. Sundarar *devaram* Padikam 39 verse 5.

4. You gave coins (to Sambandhar and Appar) out of a desire to listen to their Tamil with music.
5. He whose nature is to bestow a pair of cymbals in the presence of the whole world on Jnanasambandhar who is daily propagating Tamil with sweet music, and who showers His mercy on him.¹

Examining these references, we find that St. Sundarar considers Jnanasambandhar as master of Tamil (1,2); he is also a singer of sweet music (3,4). But the last reference is important. Here Sambandhar is mentioned as 'the propagator of Tamil with sweet music and one who received a pair of cymbals for marking time'. No where does Sundarar say that Sambandhar propagated Saivism. We may also point out here that Jnanasambandhar calls himself in a score of places as the *Tamil virahan* (master of Tamil), *Tamil Jnanasambandhan*, and Sambandhan who has praised the Lord in Music. All this naturally sets us thinking. Sambandhar had a mission in this life (for his *avatar* as Sekkilar would say²) and that mission is Tamil through music. In other words we may say that in the Pandiya country music had been snuffed out by the rulers and Sambandhar invited by the Queen Mangaiyarkkarasi and the Minister Kulacchirai to spread Saivism and reclaim the people back into the Saiva fold, really propagated there music and Tamil. The date of Sambandhar is the early part of the 7th century and we know from the copper plates that the Kalabhra rule lasted there till about 575 A.D. Besides restoring Saivism in the land, Sambandhar had the self-imposed mission of resuscitating and reinstating music in the land in all its glory. Along with the Saiva religion, music, the second division of classical Tamil, had been a victim of the Kalabhra suppression.

History tells us that the restoration brought about by the young saint had a very lasting effect. The hymns of the *Devaram* were being recited with music in all the temples from his day, a practice and a ritual which continue to this day. Even from the days of Nandivarman III of Kanchi (825-50 A.D.) we have epigraphical

1. Vide the *Devaram* of Sundarar.

2. *Periyapuranam*, Tiru Jnanasambandhar puranam, 26.

evidence to show that monarchs vied with one another in lavishly endowing temples for the recitation of the *Devaram padikams* in the Divine Presence.¹ The Chola monarchs were very liberal in their outlook, though they were all only Saivas, and had made endowments for singing *Devaram* in the Siva temples and *Tiruvaymoli*, *Tiruppavai* etc. in the Vishnu temples. Besides we find Rajaraja constructing over 400 houses for the Dancers, the *talippenduhal*, who were to sing and dance in the presence of the Lord at the Tanjavur Big Temple.

Temple orchestras began to sing the *Devaram pann* tunes. Later poets like Arunagiri fed this music with their inimitable and wonderful songs, culminating in the *kirttana* form in Tamil music from the 17th century, through the trio, Muttut-Tandavar, Marimuttap-pillai and Arunachala Kavirayar in the 18th century and Gopalakrishna Bharati and a host of others in the 19th century, down to the present day. But for the restoration brought about by St. Jnanasambandhar, the music division of Tamil would have died a pre-mature death and what is now celebrated as the *Karnatic* music would never have been born and even modern *Bharatanatyam* could not have survived.

A subtle clarification from the Vaishnava tradition may be mentioned here. According to it, music is of two classes, the human and the divine (the *manushya gana* and the *deva gana*). In the days of Nathamuni (middle of the 9th century) two young women competed for the Chola King's favour, one expert in *manushyagana* and the other expert in *devagana*. The king was charmed by the *manushyagana* and gave many presents to her. Disappointed, the other woman went about singing in the temples and finally at his place Nathamuni heard her and praised her. She reported this to the King who tested Nathamuni and then finally realised that *deva gana* was superior to *manushya gana*.² The incident though it does not have anything to do directly with the Kalabhra story, yet tells us that discrimination in music was at a low ebb in the country,

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1. Vide South Indian Inscriptions Vol. 3, page 93, Tiruvallam inscription recording a grant of Nandi varma pallavan for the *Devaram* singing besides other services.
 2. *Guruparampara - prabhavam Arayirappadi* of Pinpalabiya Perumal Jiyar, 1878 edition, pages 94-95.

certainly because of the earlier Kalabhra suppression which had coarsened popular taste.

*E. ABSENCE OF WOMEN POETS IN THE
18 KILK-KANAKKU*

The *Kilk-kanakku* is a term introduced by later commentators to refer to the 18 minor poems beginning with *Tirukkural* and ending with *Acharak-kovai*. All these poems are in the *venba* metre as against the general trend of Sangham poetry, which was always in the *asiriyam* metre. The only exceptions there are *Kalittotai* and *Paripadal*, which are in the *kali* and the *paripadal* metres respectively, as their very names indicate. Of the 18, it has been pointed out that one, *Kural*, belonged to a period earlier than the Kalabhra period, viz., the second century A. D. and two others, *Mudumolikkanni* and *Acharak-kovai* belonged to a later period, the 7th century. The other 15 definitely belonged to the period of the Kalabhras. Of the 15, eight are on ethical themes, one is on a *puram* theme and six are on romantic themes. We have to remember in this context that when gifted poets wrote poetry, they could not resist the attraction of the romantic poems during this period. We should say the *aham* poems were written now in imitation of the Sangham poetry, in spite of the Kalabhra influence.

Fourteen poets have written these fifteen poems but there is not one woman among them. Women had written poetry in the Sangham age, in the age following the Kalabhra period, and also in the Chola territory, outside Pandinad, during this period. A great epic had been written in the name of *Silappadhikaram*, earlier, glorifying woman. Kannaki is the great heroine of that epic which has no great hero. Towards the end of the Kalabhra period, we have *Manimekhalai* as a great epic heroine in a great poem which has no hero. We have to consider the authorship of all the 18 *Kilk-kanakku* poems against the Kalabhra background.

It is the antagonism of the Kalabhra Jains to the freedom of women that is responsible for the fact that there is no woman poet among the 18 *Kilk-kanakku* authors. Non-jains could have written something in Pandinad but they did not dare. In the later years, many Jain women had been good poets and learned women; they

were of the ascetic order and were known as *Ganthiyar*, nuns. We meet a venerable *Gavunthi adihal*, a nun who guides Kannaki and Kovalan to reach Madurai. Similar nuns had lived later and interpolated verses in *Paripadal* and in *Jivaka Chintamani*; one had written *Udayana Kumara kavyam*. Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar mentions a Jain housewife of his day at Kumbhakonam who had far more religious and literary knowledge of Jain scriptures than her own husband, in the 19th century. But as Jnanasambandhar points out, the Jains did not respect their nuns or the wives of their preceptors. Hence we are to conclude that the attitude of the ruling Kalabhras snuffed out all incentive or desire among the women of the day in Pandinad, Jain or otherwise, for literary composition.

THE CULTURAL PROBLEMS

We have then a few significant problems relating to the cultural life of the Tamil people of the period. Many changes had taken place on the cultural plane, which can not be explained in the ordinary way.

A. Foremost among the problems relating to the cultural tradition, we have that of the ancient music and dance of Tamilnad. *Silappadhikaram*, the first available epic, gives us an elaborate picture of dance and music in the Tamil language of its period (early third century). All this seems to have been lost as stated by Adiyarkkunallar in his commentary (12th century). What happened to the arts and the books on the arts, and when and how?

B. The *Panar* were a tribe of care-free wandering minstrels whose whole life was one of dance and music. They were an important feature in all Sangham poetry. But they seem to have totally disappeared from the country even before the 7th century as we can see from the story of Tiru Nilakantha Yalppanar, and the story of Nambiyandar Nambi's search for a musician in the opening years of the 11th century. What happened in Tamilnad in the intervening period to wipe off as it were the entire tribe and its music and dance?

C. We find some interesting developments in the thoughts as penned down in *Tirukkural* of about 200 A.D. and in some of the later

Kilk-kanakku poems by 550-600 A.D. I shall give here one example of the thoughts which are worth a special consideration.

Tiruk-kural suggests that the brahmin knows his scriptures well. But another book of the 18 *Kilk-kanakku* written by 550 A.D. implies that the brahmin does not know his scriptures. Why do the books, said to belong to the same group, say so differently?

These are typical of the cultural problems which arise during the period and a little after. They are discussed below and their solution is linked with the Kalabhra problem.

A. THE DANCE AND MUSIC OF SILAPPADHIKARAM

Silappadhikaram is the first epic of the Tamil language composed by about the early third century A.D. The story is well known. It is the only classical book treating of dance and music very elaborately. The Tamil language is said to be in three major divisions, *iyal*, *isai* and *natakam* (poetry, music and dance) and to this day *Silappadhikaram* is the only great book treating of these three divisions. These divisions have given the name *Muttamil* to the Tamil language. It is true that the term *Muttamil* is not found either in *Tolkappiyam* or in the Sangham poetry, but appears only in the songs of Sambandar, seventh century, and eighth century *Muttollayiram*.¹ But we may be sure that *Silappadhikaram* accentuated the concept of the three-fold division so much that there has been a systematic glorification of them in almost all later writing.

Now taking up the references in *Silappadhikaram*, we find eight chapters deal with these two divisions—chapter 3-*Arangetruk-kathai*, 6-*Kadal adu kathai*, 7-*Tanal vari*, 8-*Venir kathai*, 12-*Vettuva vari*, 17-*Aychiyar kuravai*, 24-*Kunrak-kuravai* and 29-*Valttuk-kathai*. In all we have here 8 chapters out of the 30 chapters of the epic dealing either with dance or with music. There seems to be no subject under these two heads which had not been dealt with by the author here. For example, the third chapter, *Arangetruk-kathai* deals with the qualifications of the dancer (woman), the dance master, the music teacher, the composer, the drummer, the flutist, and the *yaal*

1, Vide Tiru Jnanasambandar *Devaram* 3. 2. 11 and *Muttollayiram* verse 39 in the Madurai Tamil Sangham edition and *Purattirattu* verse 1469.

teacher; then the description of the stage, the *talaik-kol* or special insignia given to the dancer; then the nature of the dance proper and so on. The commentator Adiyarkkunallar (12th century) gives hundreds of quotations to illustrate the various details under each of these heads. In the preamble to his commentary he states that all the source books on dance and music had been irretrievably lost. He has given here the names of twelve books on dance and music. Since all of them had been lost, he says he is interpreting the text with the help of five later treatises on the subject. (Of these five again only one has been available and it was published only recently¹.) The volume of subjects and literature with quotations handed down to us by the commentator for this one chapter is as wide as the ocean. His writing on the seventh chapter, which deals with pure music, is not available now. The details and the literature supplied by him make us wonder what happened to the books and when. We are left with the facts that they had all been lost through the suppression of music and all that is associated with it by the Kalabhras in the Pandiya country in the period 250-575 A.D. The particulars of dance and music given in the text relate of course to Puhar (Kaverippattinam) in the Chola country. The Kalabhras who ruled over Kaverippattinam were not religious fanatics as we have pointed out elsewhere,² but the Kalabhras of Pandinad were a race of bigoted Jains who ruthlessly put down women and music as snares and hindrances to man's spiritual progress. In the early centuries, the Pandinad and the Madurai city, as the seat of the ancient Tamil Sangham, were looked upon as the custodians of all Tamil - its grammar and literary conventions including music and dance. So when there was the Kalabhra rule there, all these simply faded out of existence as the *Porul adhikaram* of *Tolkappiyam* had got forgotten as pointed out earlier, through repression.³

B. DISAPPEARANCE OF THE PANAR

The Panar were a tribe of folk artistes who were popular in the Sangham age. They had no fixed abode but led a wandering life.

1. *Panchamarapu* by Arivanar, published by V. R. Deivasikhamani Goundar in 1973

2. Vide page 55.

3. Vide also the remarks of C. V. Narayana Aiyar quoted on page 75.

They always went about in pairs, as husband and wife, as *panan* and *padini*. *Padini* was the name of the female and she was also called *virali*. The panar belonged to a low class in society then. This is clear from all the references in the Sangham poetry and also by a specific mention in a *Pura nanuru* verse which mentions *Tudiyan*, *Panan*, *Paraiyan* and *Kudumban* as the original inhabitants of the land. The *panar* always went about carrying their instrument, the *yaal*, which was also of two categories, the smaller and the bigger. The two *atruppadai* poems in *Pattuppattu*, *Sirupanatruppadai* and *Perumbanatruppadai* will substantiate this statement. They had also other musical instruments like the *kinai* (a kind of small drum or *udukkai*).

These *Panar* visited the courts of all the chiefs and patrons and the three ruling monarchs, entertained them with their songs and dance, and moved on to the next court. The patrons gave them lavish gifts of cloth, gold, flowers, and jewels, wine and food, and the like. Curiously, caste did not detract from the esteem in which they were held in the courts. They also visited battle-fields for entertaining the soldiers. Often they even acted as love-messengers between lovers. Rulers valued them as a necessity in court life. It was a matter of pride to have them in the courts. A court without the *panar* was a degraded one. The panar symbolized an artistic enjoyment of life, without any care. The entire picture should be clearly borne in mind before we pass on to the next point in our argument. Some of the best pieces of Sangham poems are those which concern the *panar*. In the poems which deal with the love themes in the Sangham poetry the *pana* is an indispensable character. Even later poetry, which had forgotten the Sangham poetic traditions and conventions, holds fast to the institution of the panar in love poetry.

Such was the picture that we get of the *Panar* in the Sangham age. But what happened to them in the next period - the period of the Kalabhra sway over Madurai? The Kalabhras we had seen, were sworn enemies of music and dance and so what could the panar whose very soul was music and dance, do? Artistes flower only under patronage. Here, not only was there no patronage but there was positive suppression. How could the panar survive in such an environment? They simply died out; the tribes did not die out, but their art died out. They had to give up their arts, music and dance and

had to live like other labourers and artisans. In order to eke out their livelihood, they had naturally to take to other avocations in life, such as farming, weaving and the like. During the Kalabhra rule of 300 years at Madurai, their art had faded from the majority of the *panar* in a few generations in the Pandinad, and survived only with a handful outside the Pandinad. We know of no *panar* in the country at any time thereafter.

When we proceed to the century next to the overthrow of the Kalabhras, we see Saint Tiru Jnanasambandhar flooding the country with his sweet songs set to music. Apparently there were no hereditary musicians or *panar* in the century anywhere. There was only one rare *pana* family, and this *pana* lived at Tiru Erukkattampuliyur in the modern South Arcot district. Somehow, he had received the music from his ancestors who had carefully preserved it in an unbroken line and he was an expert with the instrument *yal*. But that was a period when patronage for art had completely disappeared and so he sang only in the temples of Siva with his *yal*. Yet this *pana* would have been longing for some one who could listen to his music and appreciate it, but he was only longing in vain. After sometime, he heard of the divine child Jnanasambandha who had drunk deep at the fountain of the Grace of Lord Siva at Sikali, and so went with his wife and kin to him and was immediately admitted into the retinue of the Saint. For the *pana*, a life-long longing to pour forth his gift of music with the *yal* to God was now fulfilled, when he joined Sambandhar and began to tour the Siva shrines accompanying Sambandhar's vocal songs on his *yal*. This was a great event in the history of South Indian music.

A note may be added about the status of Tiru Nilakantha. He is an untouchable in the troupe of the high caste brahmin Jnanasambandha. We find that special privileges are extended to him, which we may take, as being given to the art of music which had become rare in the period. This *pana* and his wife are the only couple in Sambandha's troupe. They are treated not as low caste but as equals as evidenced by Sambandhar's concern for them at Sattamanagai and by St. Nilanakka's reaction by providing for the couple a retiring place close to the altar in the house.¹

1. Periyapuranam, Tiru Nilanakka nayanar puranam 30 - 31.

An equally moving story of the period in Vaishnavism is the story of Tirup-Panalvar. He was also a member of the pana tribe hailing from the Tiruchirappalli area. The pana we have seen was considered of a low caste, an untouchable. This Pana was consumed with devotion to Lord Ranganatha at Sri Rangam and so he wanted to lay his music at the feet of the Lord. But his caste deprived him of the privilege of setting foot on the island of the Lord at that period. So he stayed on the opposite bank of the river Kaveri encircling the Lord's temple and the Sri Rangam island, and poured forth his *yal* music on the Lord from a great distance. The Lord was much pleased with his music and his devotion. He made this known to the Bhattacharya (temple priest) Loka Sarangamuni in a dream and directed him to carry the Pana into the temple on his shoulders. Muni did so, and the Pana sang a decad on Lord Ranganatha saying that the eyes which saw Lord Ranganatha would not see anything else¹, and reached final beatitude there itself. The humble pana became *Tirup-Panalvar*, one of the Twelve Alvar of Vaishnavism, and his song is a part of the daily prayer book of the Sri Vaishnavas.

These two stories of the early 7th century - one in Saivism and one in Vaishnavism - are sufficient to indicate to us that the pana tribe had become rare and that it had generally ceased to be a tribe of musicians.

We shall now proceed from the 7th to the 11th century.

When Rajaraja recovered the *Devaram* song manuscripts from oblivion with the aid of St. Nambiyandar nambi, they wanted to fix the tunes for the *Devaram* songs. No one was available any where in the country who knew the *pann* or music of the songs. The race of panar had taken to other avocations and no one knew singing and those that were did not know the tunes. On a prayer from the king, so goes the legend,² a young girl who came of the tribe of Tiru Nilakantha Yalppanar at Tiru Erukkattampuliyur was gifted with the power of setting the tunes; she was brought to the Nataraja temple. She sang all the songs in their proper tunes and they came to be known as the appropriate tunes for the songs thereafter.

1. Vide the song *Amalanodhipiran* in the *Nalayiram*.

2. *Umapati Sivacharya, Tirumuraikanda puranam* verses 30 - 43.

These instances would definitely indicate the disappearance of music from the Pana tribe as a whole during the period of the Kalabhra rule at Madurai which cut at the root of all that was Tamil - its language and literature, culture and religion and its cherished institutions of music and dance. The women among the panar were equals to the men in music and dance as we see in all the Sangham poetry and certainly this could not be tolerated under the Kalabhras.

An incident in the life of Nilakantha Yalppanar is worthy of attention here. He went to the great city of Madurai to offer his *yal* music to Siva in the great temple. As he was an untouchable, he stood outside the main entrance and played his *yal*. Siva directed His devotees in a dream and then they took him inside the temple and there he continued his music in the Presence. Again there was a voice from the heavens directing the devotees to place a wooden seat for the Pana and his instrument, as the instrument would lose its sound if it came into contact with the dampness of the ground and got soaked in moisture. Accordingly they placed for him a *golden* seat. Seated on it, he played his music.¹ Probably there is a subtle point in this incident. Temple administration was with the king and naturally it was his duty and privilege to make the necessary arrangements for the visiting *bhakta* musician. The fact that Siva Himself had to arrange for this here now indicates that the king was an alien and would not do it.

Some would say that the panar had not their legitimate place of honour in the Chola courts. This view is not correct. The panar had ceased to exist as the pedlars of dance and music as explained above and hence their absence. They had given up their dance and music in the Kalabhra period, but after the revival of the arts thanks to the crusade of Tiru Jnanasambandar, the Cholas began to extend their patronage afresh to these artists. These had now become known as the pipers (*melakkarrar* and *nattuvar*) and their womenfolk were known as *talippenduhai*. No longer were they a carefree race going about in pairs but they seem to have settled down in fixed places under the

1. *Periyapuranam, Tiru Nilakantha Yalppanar puranam.*

patronage extended to them by the temples. They formed naturally the temple orchestra and the temple dance groups.

C. CHANGE IN THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

We find that certain fundamental concepts which had governed society in the earlier periods had undergone an irrational or spectacular change. I shall be content with pointing out a few of them, which are relevant to the occupation of Madurai by the Kalabhras.

The first relates to the Vedas. The Vedas were generally considered to be the special preserve of the brahmins in the past, into which of course the others had no entry. The first qualification of the brahmin then was his mastery of the Vedas. This was indeed a matter of pride at any period in the cultural history of the land. *Tirukkural*, in the fifth verse of its chapter on righteous behaviour, says: Even if a brahmin forgets his scriptures he can learn them again; but all will spurn him if he does not adhere to the great virtues inherent on his brahmin birth.¹ The words 'if he forgets his scriptures' actually imply that he never forgets his scriptures. *Tirukkural* is considered the earliest of the 18 *Kilkanakku* poems and its date may be fixed as the latter half of the 2nd century A. D. This concept is very important, that is, by the period of *Kural*, it was generally accepted that the brahmin was definitely *well versed* in the Vedas and never forgot them.

Iniya narpadu (The Sweet Forty) is also one of the 18 *Kilkanakku*, composed probably by 525 A. D. One of the verses in the poem says: '*Andanar othudaimai atra miha inide*'; 'It will be very sweet indeed if the brahmins know their scriptures'². This really implies that during the period of this writing the brahmins *did not know* their scriptures. The line in the text employs two adverbs to modify the verb, will be sweet: *atra* and *miha*: these mean *greatly* and *very*. These adverbs clearly indicate that it is definite that the brahmins did not know the scriptures at that time.

Now we have to consider two statements, both pronounced at Madurai with a gap in time of about three or four hundred years.

1. *Tirukkural* verse 134. 2. *Iniya narpadu* verse 7.

One - the brahmins knew their scriptures ; two - the brahmins did not know their scriptures. How are we to reconcile the two ? Without a knowledge of history, the two statements cannot be understood or reconciled. Something has happened in the intervening period of 400 years which caused or forced the brahmins to give up or forget their scriptures.

Shall we be wrong in surmising that the rule of the Kaliarasan, the cruel ruler, the Kalabhran, had been responsible for suppressing the religion of the land so much that the brahmin could not learn his scriptures and in the period of 400 years, forgot them ?

A second concept that would deserve our attention is the question of music, *pann*. From several references in *Nanmanikkodikai*, one of the 18 *Kilk-kanakku* poems, we may say that music was at a low ebb in the Kalabhra period. In several verses, the author Vilambi Naganar, who probably had a sensitive ear for music and was himself a musician, expresses his concern over music. 'If the *yāl* does not give forth the right tunes, better to have the drum!' In another place he says, 'if music falters, the very poetry will falter'. (This of course has reference also to the fact that in the Tamil language poetry is wedded so much to music). 'Music will be sweet when we have persons who understand it' is another statement. This emphasizes the well known truth that where there are sympathetic and accomplished listeners, the artiste can give full scope for the play of his or her imagination. The author's statements here would imply that such sympathisers did not exist in the period. (This poem was written about 500 A. D.) He goes further and says that 'music will die amidst people who do not know it'¹. This gives an edge to the earlier statements.

The author of *Inna-narpadu*, one Kapila devar, also has a word to say about music. 'It is painful to sing to the accompaniment of the *yāl* which is not properly tuned.'² Probably when the panar had abandoned their hereditary avocation of singing and dancing, musical

1. Vide verses 13, 19, 36 and 44 of *Nanmanikkadigai*, S. Rajam's edition, *Padinenkilkanakku* volume 2.

2. *Inna narpadu* verse 31.

instruments had been abandoned and right tuning of the instruments naturally would have been a problem.

These instances lend weight to the remarks made earlier that the Kalabhras had suppressed music in Pandinad.

Then we shall pass on to one or two statements regarding the royalty of the day. Elephantry was a division of the army in India and all royal monarchs possessed divisions of the elephantry. All the three crowned monarchs of Tamilnad had the elephantry in the early centuries, as we can find in the Sangham poetry. But in the post-sangham period, we find such statements like 'it is very painful to see rulers without elephants'; 'it is pleasant to look at an army consisting of the elephantry division also.'² These statements arose in a period (475 and 500 A. D.) when the rulers did not possess the elephant. These can apply only to the Kalabhras, who not being crowned kings, were not a royal house and so did not possess the elephant division.

Again the following statements : 'It will be sweet indeed if one can afford not to live under a ruler to whom he owes no loyalty'; 'it is sweet indeed to fight and keep at bay the forces of a ruler of might in a battle of swords'.³ Here are two statements which are derogatory to the general concepts of patriotism and loyalty. The first line praises disloyalty while the second one asks the people to fight the ruler. These two are possible only under an alien ruler. Disloyalty and fighting the ruler of the land will be valid and will be considered patriotic only if an alien ruler is ruling the land. Such a situation actually existed when the Kalabhras ruled the land; the citizen could have no loyalty towards the ruling house and he could certainly be tempted to fight the army of the ruler. These and many similar lines in the poems of the *Kilkanakku* would have any meaning only if we consider them in the context of the Kalabhra rule; it is evident that it was a rule of oppression and the people did not take kindly to it.

Lastly, there is one verse which is particularly significant in the backround of the *Velvikkudi* grant. One verse⁴ says: The mean

1. *Inna narpadu* verse 22

2. *Iniyavai narpadu* verse 4; also 8, 15.

3. *Ibid.* 32 33.

4. *Vide Tirikadukam* verse 26.

fellow who thrives by his arrogance, the prostitute who lives by selling her body, and the one who snatches away the charitable property given for the good people - the learned will not take a morsel of food from these. Of the three mentioned here, the last is significant. The Kalabhras we had seen, had confiscated the property endowed for the good brahmins of an earlier day. The poet here remembers this and so preaches here a kind of social boycott of such unjust people whom he classes along with prostitutes.¹

THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS

There are quite a few problems connected with religion which are equally baffling. People were certainly worshipping Vishnu during the period but the predominant religion of the land was Saivism, as we could gather from several sources. Many had been victims of the Jaina persecution during the period and later. We find that it was Saivism which had suffered at the hands of the Jainas of the period and nowhere do we have the story or legend of persecution of any follower of Vaishnavism during the period. This is quite understandable because Saivism was the basic religion from which all later converts separated. Vaishnavism itself sprang up from the Saiva base at a particular period of time and developed into an independent self-reliant religion to which a complete system of metaphysics and philosophy was later given by Ramanuja.

The lives of the Alvar and their supreme lyrical hymns of love and devotion as well as total surrender to the One Supreme Being in the name and form of Vishnu was instrumental in directing a section of the people in a different path and in evolving the Vaishnava school of worship and philosophy. As the system was just newly emerging, as Jainism itself had emerged, probably simultaneously or earlier, from the basic school, Saivism, the new Jainism did not make it the target of its attack but was content with directing its attack on Saivism. Besides, we may note that the ruling monarchs, the Pandiyas were Saivas, and so when the Kalabhras overthrew the Pandiyas, their acts of suppression and persecution were directed towards the religion of the Pandiyas. Hence it came about that Saivism was the worst sufferer in the Kalabhra period. As will be explained

1. Vide Appendix - Note F. confiscation of a charitable Endowment.

later under the head Kocchengat Chola, Vaishnavism also suffered no doubt, but the chief sufferer was Saivism.

Buddhism also was prevalent in the land, but it was a passive sect, not aggressive and fighting. Hence it was tolerated in the Cholanad and allowed to develop. But ultimately it came under the persecution of the Jainas in the later centuries, though not politically but in the field of philosophical disputation as can be seen in the writing, *Nilakesi*, in the eleventh century. The credit for total supplanting of Buddhism goes, not to Saivism, but to the Jains.

But this is all a digression. Let us now confine our attention to a few stories of the Saiva devotees who suffered at the hands of the Kalabhra Jains and point out to the solution to the problems that arise.

A. We have direct evidence of some *Nayanmar* who were victims of the Jain persecution at Madurai in the Kalabhra period.

B. Evidence of the Jain persecution of other *nayanmar* in areas outside the Pandinad.

C. The persecution of Saint Appar in the post-Kalabhra period, outside the Pandinad.

D. The story of Karaikkal ammai and her visit to Madurai.

E. Tiru Jnanasambandhar and his exploits at Madurai.

F. Absence of any statement of the Jain doctrines.

These are all no doubt legends preserved for us in the pages of *Periya puranam* relating to the Kalabhra period and immediately after. A brief discussion of each will help us to get a clear picture of the state of the religion of the period and the political oppression which is attributable only to the political overlords at Madurai.

A. VICTIMS OF KALABHRA PERSECUTION IN PANDINAD

Now let us have a look at the *nayanmar* who were victims of persecution during the period in the Pandinad. Nowhere is it said that it was the Kalabhras who were the persecutors but in the context of history we do see that the persecutors were really the Kalabhras.

From the list given by Sundarar, of nayanmar who had preceded him, we can pick out a few such.

Murti nayanar came of the city of Madurai in the merchant community. He was a devout worshipper of the Lord Siva in the Madurai temple and he had taken upon himself the duty of supplying the sandal paste required by the temple for applying to the form of Siva there. One day, a prince of the Karunataka region belonging to the *Vaduka* tribe marched upon Madurai with his fourfold army. Out of a greed to capture the country by force he defeated the Pandiya ruler and began to rule from Madurai. He was a follower of Jainism. He started persecution of the devotees of Siva, particularly Murti. But Murti ignored him and carried on his service of supplying sandal paste to the temple. Then the ruler caused the supply of sandal wood to Murti to be stopped. Murti was terribly upset. Not finding any solution to his problem of securing sandal wood, he began to grind his own elbow on the sandal grinding stone. Blood flowed, bones were ground to powder and the nerves also were completely ground.

His single minded devotion moved Siva so much that He could stand it no more. He asked him from the heavens to stop and informed him that he might become the ruler of the land. The hand which had been ground down now grew to normal, the Jain Karunataka ruler died, and the royal elephant sent out to bring a ruler, chose Murti. Then he ruled the land for sometime with Siva's sacred ash as his anointing material, the *rudraksha* beads as his royal jewels, and the matted locks, the emblems of Siva, as his crown. Because of these three insignia, St. Sundarar calls him 'Murti who ruled the land with the Three Emblems of Siva.'

Forgetting the legend, we have here a reference in the *Periya puranam* to the Vaduka king of Karnataka who captured Madurai. This is clearly a reference to the Kalabhras. The Kalabhras we are told here were Jains and they were wantonly being cruel to the established religion. Murti nayanar probably lived by the end of the 3rd century A. D. History well illustrates the religious intolerance

1. Periyapuranam, Murtti nayanar 1 - 49; vide verses 7, 11 - 13, 24 and 41.

2. Vide *Kalladam* verse 57 line 12 - 25

of the invader, the Karunataka rulers, the Kalabhras. The reference to Vaduha may not mean much, as the knowledge of the writers of the period of geography outside the Tamil borders was only vague, and the confusion in the terms Vaduha and Karnataka has to be overlooked.

Sekkilar wrote his *Periya puranam* in the days of Kulottunga Chola II, by the year 1140 A.D. Even a century earlier than his day (1050 A.D.), the poet Kalladar refers to the fact of a 'Karunata vendan' who had invaded Madurai and caused all temple services to be stopped because he was of the Jain persuasion: "A king of Karunataka marched on Madurai with his four-winged army, drove out the Pandiya and stopped all services to God, because he was a Jain. The Lord caused him to fall into the long sleep. Then since there was no one at the time in the royal family to succeed to the throne, He caused the devotee (Murti nayanar) who was the very personification of love of God, who ground his own elbow on the stone in the place of sandal, to become king and rule over land, giving him His three emblems as the crown, the ornaments and the fragrant sandal".

Nambi Tiruvilayadal, a large *purana* in 1753 verses on the sports of Siva at Madurai, was written by the end of the 13th century, 150 years after Sekkilar, by Perumparrappuliyur Nambi. Here, this poet also gives the story of the Karunata king's invasion of Madurai and the crowning of Murti nayanar. All the *purana* writers are naturally concerned about glorifying the Siva bhakta concerned; other information contained in the stories is merely incidental. We should be thankful to the writers for giving us some information on some historical facts, which are relevant to our research. The story of Murti is narrated here in chapter 51 in 15 verses; Nambi closely follows Sekkilar and even uses the expression '*mummaiya ulahanda Murti*' (Murti who ruled the land with the three symbols of Siva), an expression taken from Sundarar and Sekkilar.

All these would indicate to us that the invasion of Madurai by the alien Kalabhras (Karnataka in the legends) was an event which was long remembered by the people. It is no doubt a historical fact recorded in the inscriptions. The epigraphy version is that the

Kalabhras had seized and held Madurai for a period of more than 300 years. This length of time had been forgotten in popular memory and the legend says that death came upon the invader soon and a Sivabhakta was chosen to rule over the land. These two books *Kalladam* and *Periyapuranam* and even this *Tiruvilayadal* are books of devotion and they give a devotional twist to the story in point of time, without altering it in its essentials. A quick end for the invader and a miracle are puranic necessities.

B. VICTIMS FROM OTHER AREAS

We may in passing notice one or two similar legends of persecution of devotees in the areas outside the present Pandinad. We do not know if the Pandinad Kalabhras held sway over these areas. Other *nayanmar* stories in *Periya puranam* give us an account of the infiltration of the Kalabhra tribe into the other areas of Tamilnad. Two stories relate to Tiru Arur, a great city in Cholanad. Dandi adihal was a Siva bhakta of Tiru Arur who had no eyesight. The temple tank of the place was known as *Kamalalayam*. The jains had built their monasteries on its banks and encroached on the tank itself. Dandi, devout that he was, took upon himself the task of deepening the tank so that the encroachments might also be removed. So he got into the tank when it was dry, with a spade and a basket, scooped out the earth from the tank bed into the basket, carried it to the bank and deposited it at a convenient place. As he was engaged in this meritorious work, the Jains came to him and told him that many insects might die while he dug out the earth, railed at him that he had lost not only his eyes but his ears also, and challenged him to secure his eyesight from his god. Dandi blind as he was, had a rope to guide him from the bottom of the tank to the top of the bank. The Jains snatched away his basket and spade and also the rope and the poles to which the rope was fixed. The story goes on that by the grace of god, Dandi regained his eyesight and the ruler of the land, hearing of the harassment done to Dandi, drove away the Jains from Tiru Arur.¹

Another story relates to Naminandi. One evening, after worshipping Siva in the temple as usual, he desired to light some

1. *Periya puranam*, *Dandi adihal puranam* verses 1 - 26.

lamps. As it might take some time for him to go to his house a few miles away for getting oil for the lamps, he went to a house next to the temple and asked for some oil. It was a Jain house. He met with a rebuff. The Jains there said, "Why do you want oil? Your Lord carries fire in His hand. You may burn water for the lamps". Prompted by God, he did so and the lamp burned with the water.¹

These two stories of Cholanad deal with Siva bhaktas who were harassed by the Jains of the place and to whom Siva extended his succour and grace. There might also have been relics of contemporary Kalabhra persecution outside Pandinad.

The story of Meypporul nayanar of Tirukkavalur is a wonderful story where the chief who had been living a life dedicated to the revering of the Saiva emblem, the sacred ash, allows himself to be stabbed to death by an enemy called Muttanatha, just because he wore the Siva garb and the ash. Occurring in the period of the Kalabhra rule, Muttanatha is thought to be a Kalabhra also, although Sekkilar does not say so.²

The above gives an account of the persons who suffered by the Kalabhra suppression outside the Pandinad area.

C. PERSECUTION OF SAINT APPAR

The same kind of suppression continued in the next century also as an after effect of the Jain administration in the Pallavanad. We find several instances of it in the life of Appar. We shall just glance at them before proceeding further. Appar lived in the Nadu-nadu, modern South Arcot district. Sekkilar gives a long account of his travails under the Pallava ruler Mahendra Varma I when he was following the Jain faith. Appar had earlier embraced Jainism and he was then holding a high rank among the Jains with the name of Dharmasena. After his disillusionment and return to Saivism, he was subjected to many hardships. *Periya puranam* relates the hardships in great detail. Appar was placed in a lime kiln but remained unharmed by the heat. He was given poisoned food, still nothing happened. A

1. *Periyapuranam*, *Naminandi adithai puranam* verses 1 - 32

2. *Ibid* *Meypporul nayanar puranam* verses 1 - 24.

murderous elephant was marched on him but it bowed at his feet and went away. Lastly, he was bound to a stone and dropped into the sea, but using the very stone as a float he came ashore. On all these occasions, he uttered the praise of the Lord in song and remained unharmed.¹

Finally he broke off from his past and going a round of the Siva temples of Tamilnad, he found at Palaiyarai the temple closed and the Jains claiming it as theirs. He stayed there without food for some time and vowed not to move out without seeing the temple restored to Saiva worship. This was an act of *satyagraha* (if we may use a modern term). By divine direction the king heard of it, opened the temple and drove out the Jains² Appar went into the temple, worshipped there and sang a song. In the ninth verse he says that the thousand Jains there do not read the Tamil songs or become the servants of God.³

Appar is the only saint who had *suffered* at the hands of the Jains of his day and has *left a record* of it in his songs. Sambandhar had a duel of wits with the Jains at Madurai, but apart from the fact that they set fire to his lodging, he did not suffer at their hands. In Vaishnavism, although some have spoken of the Jains, no one had struggled with them as Sambandhar and Appar had done. Even Saint Sundara who condemns them, had no direct struggle with the Jains.

D. KARAICKAL AMMAI

Karaikkal Ammaiyar is one of the most respected saints in all *Periya puranam*. She is the only woman saint singer in the Saiva canon and the *puranam* says that she had the unique honour of going to Kailas and of being addressed as 'Mother' by Siva Himself. When Umadevi expressed great amazement at the love of the bone-form that was mounting the Kailas Mount, Siva told Her: "This is the Mother that worships us; She prayed to us and got this form".⁴

1. Periyapuranam, *Tirunavukkarasu nayanar puranam* verses 95 - 132.

2. Ibid verses 294 - 300.

3. Appar Devaram Book 5. 58, 9.

4. Sekkilar's *Periyapuranam*, *Karaikkal ammaiyar puranam* verses 59, 57.

Because of this unique honour, her natural name Punitavati has been dropped by the Saiva world, and she is simply known as the Ammai (Mother) of Karaikkal, her birth place. Of the three poems composed by her in the Eleventh Book of the Saiva canon, the first consists of two songs expressing her ecstatic pleasure experienced on witnessing the Dance of Nataraja at Tiru Alamkadu. These two songs are called the *Mutta padikam* or the Elder Decads and are always prefixed in the manuscripts of the *Devaram* to the songs of Saint Tiru Jnanasambandar which commence the First Book of the Saiva canon. Sekkilar calls her songs on Tiru Alamkadu dance as *Mutta padikam*. These not only point out to the veneration in which she was held by Sekkilar and the Saiva world but also indicate that she was earlier and elder to the Hymn singers in Saivism.

The story of Ammaiyyar is well known and need not be repeated here. She was an ardent Siva *bhaktai* and when her husband found that she was able to produce mango fruits by praying to Siva, he concluded that she was an angel on earth and decided that he should not live with her. He deserted her and set up business at Madurai as a prosperous merchant, married again and had a daughter there, whom he named Punitavati after his first wife. When his first wife was taken to him from Karaikkal, he came and prostrated before her saying 'This is an angel which every one should salute'. The dutiful young lady, naturally shocked at her husband's behaviour, wanted no more to live in the physical frame which was united to him in wedlock. She discarded it, prayed to Siva and got a ghost form and then started to Kailas to have a vision of the universal Father there. All her songs were sung after her discarding the mortal frame.

The interesting point for our purposes is that when she came to Madurai she could no longer live there her natural life. The *puranic* story contains considerable human detail which help to pass it on as a sacred legend. A sociological approach is also possible. We are here concerned with only one feature, namely, that the circumstances in Madurai were such that she could not live there her normal life. She had been a very pious young lady at Karaikkal, feeding Siva bhaktas and leading a life devoted to the Saiva religion. When she went to Madurai she found that this could not be. Saivism was no

there. She therefore decided that she should flee from Madurai rather than live the kind of non-religious life that Madurai could offer to her.

This is not of course the interpretation that the author Sekkilar gives. He has fed the story with much of detail and plot. Divested of all these, the simple story is as given above. Ammaiyar went to Madurai at a period when the Pandinad was under the Kalabhra heel and unwilling to lead a life without devotion to Siva and Siva bhaktas, she prayed for a ghost form and receiving it, went north.

A picture of Madurai and the conditions there can be seen if we recall that when Jnanasambandhar went there just seventy five years later, the Queen and the Minister were the only followers of Saivism. The moment he went and entered his lodging, it was set fire to. If this were the condition later, what might have been the condition when Karaikkal ammai went there by the end of the fifth century, a period when the Vajranandi Jain sangham was flourishing ?

E. ST. TIRU JNANASAMBANDHAR AND HIS EXPLOITS AT MADURAI

St. Tiru Jnanasambandhar is specially invited by the Pandiya Queen Mangaiyarkkarasi and the Minister Kulacchiraiyar to go to Madurai. He goes to Madurai and reclaims the country back to Saivism. The Jainism in Madurai can be considered as a spill-over from the post-Kalabhra period a few decades earlier. His overcoming the Jains there not only by argument but also by virtue of working many miracles is a long story told in minute detail by Sekkilar. Unlike St. Appar, Sambandhar did not suffer at the hands of the Jains except in the one instance, that as soon as he came to the city the Jains set fire to his residence. From this moment he is pitted against the Jains there. But the fight of Sambandhar against the Jains is not merely a religious one ; it concerned all aspects of language, literature, culture and so on, as has been dwelt at length in several places here.

We may briefly state here that single-handed, he fought the Kalabhra Jainism so successfully at Madurai that it never thereafter could raise its head as any great social influence. He restored Tamil music, temple worship and religion, and all the aspects of the earlier Tamil culture and the Tamil way of life.

The Tamils of the day were a race of people who accepted the authority of the Vedas. Religion (whether Saiva or Vaishnava) then meant following the Vedas, *vaidika*. This did not mean making of sacrifices and so on. We may note in passing that although Sambandhar obtained gold from Siva for his father's sacrifice, he asked him to perform it for removing evil and never gave it a second thought. *Vaidika* simply meant a particular code of life, a form of personal discipline, a pattern of social behaviour and the observing of a certain religious faith in theory and in practice. The Jains were totally opposed to all this. So, Sambandhar, who was a *vaidika*, fought those who reviled at the *vaidika* religion and supplanted them. Sambandhar, as a really godly person, always sought God's guidance in his fight with the ungodly, and through that guidance, always came out successful.

The Kalabhras had no doubt been overthrown by 575 A. D. by Pandiyan Kadumkon. But the effects of the religious persecution and suppression started by them in Pandinad would have survived till a much later period. The condition of the Saiva religion in the Pandinad by about 640 A. D. at the period when Sambandhar was invited by the Queen to go there is described by Sekkilar in many verses. "All the temples in the Tamilnad of the Pandiyas had been converted into Jain monasteries and Jain temples. There were only Jains every where, like groups of darkness carrying their peacock feather fans; wherever one turned there were only the hair-plucked heads, mat dress and peacock feather fans and the triple parasoles of the Jains. People had been lured into following their books and no one would turn their minds to the Saiva path." Wherever the young Saint turned he saw only this condition and so out of a concern for preserving the ancient faith of the people's ancestors, he could not but ask them to give up the false doctrines of the Jains and pursue their true faith. When he uses derisive words, we should note that they are always addressed to the Jain monks.

In almost every one of his 384 decads sung on the various Siva shrines during his tours, Sambandhar makes a reference in the tenth verse to the Jains and the Tera Buddhists. From the remarks made by him, we may be certain that the picture painted by Sekkilar is true. Sambandhar here always makes an exhortation to the Saiva people

not to listen to the pompous words of the Jains, their false doctrines based only on logical disputation, and not based on love or bhakti. He points out that those words would also lead to delusion and sorrow and so asks his people not to waste time in listening to their unwise advice. All these indicate that the Jains had really converted the masses to their faith and that Sambandhar had a hard time leading them back to the right path and in weaning them away from the Jain path.

It is true that Sambandhar heaps scorn on the Jains for their opposition to the Vedas and the Vaidika faith. "They abuse the Vedas and the sastras. They say that the brahmin worship of the fire is worthless. They oppose the Vedangas."¹ But this is only one aspect of his opposition to the Jains. His only anxiety is to wean away the Saiva people from the false faith to the True Faith, which was a reflection of the ancient Tamil culture and which the Jain practices had undermined.

An insight into the mind of Saint Jnanasambandhar will reveal to us that although he uses very strong language in condemning the Jains whom we might call the Kalabhra Jains, he was not prompted by any malice or narrow bigotry in carrying on such a tirade. He was deeply grieved at the negation of all the subtle elements in the culture of the Tamils and their language and certainly in their religion, and so went about pointing out in strong and detailed terms the anti-culture that had set in through the political power and influence of the Kalabhras. At the same time having faith in the *one* god and His Omnipotence and Omnipresence, he also felt that the whole thing was a sport of Siva and it was He who had allowed the non-vedic religions Jainism and Buddhism to be born and to thrive for some time. Some instances of his statement to this effect are given below. "It is the Lord Siva enshrined in the temple at Tiru-Irumpulai who created the Samann and the Sakkiyam (Jainism and Buddhism)." "My Lord enshrined at Tiruk-kalar, You revealed through Your lips the four Vedas; but yet it was You again who created the untruth that is the words of the Samana and the Tera

1. Vide Sambandhar Devaram; the whole of the *padikam* sung at Madurai Book 3 song 108.

(Jaina and Buddhist).” “He is the Pure who can take strange forms and have it as a sport to cause the bark-clad stout persons, who take their food from their hands and from whose body dirt falls out, never to utter the Truth.”¹ In trying to level the charges of bigotry and extreme intolerance at Jnanasambandhar, critics should not forget his concept of the Supreme Being, the One Universal God who controls and guides all religions, including the Jain.

An important aspect in the contribution of St. Sambandhar to the culture of Tamilnad vis-a-vis the Kalabhra Jains is his exaltation of women. It is no exaggeration to say that one of the main missions of his *avatar*² (as Sekkilar would call his birth) is to exalt women. This has been dealt with briefly earlier also. Many of the miracles performed by Siva on his prayers have been for helping women. He sang a song at Tirup-Pachilachiramam praying for relief to the young daughter of the Malava chief there from the dire disease of epilepsy (*muyalakan*) she was suffering from. At Tiru Maruhal he sang a song praying for the revival of the Chetti youth who had died of snake bite, in order to unite his lady love with him. The famous *Poompa-vaip-padikam* sung by him at Tiru Mayilai (modern Mylapore in Madras) brought back the young damsel Poompavai in all her radiant beauty, from her ashes preserved in a pot by her father, long after she had died of snake bite as a young girl. Because he gave life to her, he equates himself with the father of the girl. All his exploits at Madurai done for overthrowing Jainism and for restoring Saivism, winning back the people and the Pandiya king to the Saiva fold, were performed at the request of Queen Mangaiyarkkarasi. These instances will prove his concern for women. We should view all these in the context of the Jain doctrine denigrating women.

F. ABSENCE OF ANY STATEMENT OF THE JAIN DOCTRINES

Sattannar who wrote the second Tamil epic *Manimekhalai* was a Buddhist. He has set out to champion the cause of Buddhism in this book. The heroine Manimekhalai listens to an exposition of the

1. Tiru Jnanasambandhar *Devaram*, Book 2. 36. 10, 2. 51. 10 and 2. 84. 10, Book 3. 2. 10.

2. *Pariyapuranam*, Tiru Jnanasambandhar, verse 26.

doctrines of many schools of metaphysicists and philosophers.¹ Then she goes to Kanchi and there learns the Buddhist doctrines at the feet of the guru, Aravana adihal, embraces Buddhism and performs penance for getting over the cycle of births and deaths. When the guru teaches her the Buddhist doctrines², the Buddhist system of metaphysics and philosophy is fully explained in the book. In fact this is the *only exposition of Buddhism* in the Tamil language, contained in a Buddhist work. The period may be the sixth century A. D.³ It is strange that we do not have any such exposition of the Jaina philosophy in the Tamil language until a late period.⁴ It is worthwhile to note why the Jain doctrines were not drawn up as a treatise or were not explained in the Tamil language in the early centuries.

Here we have a glaring contrast of the two tribes of Kalabhras ruling from the Cholanad and the Pandinad respectively. Accuta Vikkanta (whom we have mentioned earlier) and probably his predecessors and successors at Kaverippattinam in Cholanad were of a tolerant nature and so we find the monarch praised in the Tamil poems by contemporary Tamil poets. He was a Buddhist and not being a bigot, he probably helped his men to propagate his religion Buddhism in the land, *in the regional language*, here of course Tamil. For aught we know, this Vikkanta or his successor might have extended his patronage to this author for writing the Tamil Buddhist epic. But the position is vastly different in Pandinad. The Kalabhras who seized Madurai were bigoted Jains and naturally they did not set much value by the regional language. Intoxicated

1. Vide Chapter 27 of *Manimekhalai*. Here the following ten schools are mentioned: The Logician, Saiva, Brahnavadin, Vaishnava, Veda, Ajivaka Nigantha (Nirgrantha), Samkhya, Vaisesika and Bhuta-vadi schools.

2. Ibid. Chapter 29, *Tavattiram pundu dharmam ketta kathai*.

3. Though the epic *Manimekhalai* is said and also considered to be a sequel to *Silappadhikaram*, giving it the date third century A. D., critical opinion now is of the view that the epic could have been written only by the sixth century. It may also be noted that generally the Kalabhra period was one which was not conducive to the glorification of women as the heroine of an epic poem and so the two epic poems *Silappadhikaram* and *Manimekhalai* could have been written by the first half of the third century and the end of the sixth century A. D. respectively.

4. In *Nilakesi*, a poem of the 11th century.

with power, they tried to suppress all that was Tamil in religion, culture, language etc. How will such a clan induce or patronize any writing in the *Tamil* language on the philosophical doctrines of *their own religion*? This certainly explains why there was no writing on Jain philosophy not only in the Kalabhra period but even long after.

HISTORICAL PROBLEMS

Lastly we come to some problems in history raised by the literature both contemporary and later. I shall mention them here and try to find a solution for them.

A. Sekkilar has sung in his epic *purana* the lives of 63 *nayanmar*. In his long book of 4286 verses, 1256 are devoted to the life and work of Tiru Jnanasambandhar. Leaving alone the three saints who were raised to sainthood by association with Sambandhar - the King, Queen and Minister of Pandinad - there is only one saint from Pandinad - Murti nayanar. How shall we explain this absence of Saiva saints in Pandinad?

B. Is there any significance in Kocchengat Chola the great Saiva saint building temples not only for Siva but also for Vishnu, in that early period as mentioned very approvingly by the Vaishnava Saint Tiru Mangai Alvar?

C. Tiru Mular mentions the ruining of temples and the stopping of temple worship. Did these really happen?

These problems will now be discussed in detail.

A. ABSENCE OF NAYANMAR IN PANDINAD

This is indeed quite a vexing question but easy of solution. *Periya puranam* speaks of nine groups of saints and 63 individual saints. All of these had been named by St. Sundarar in his *Tirut-Tondattohai*. He lived before 700 A. D. and so all the Saints had lived before him - some in his day, some in the days of Sambandhar and Appar by 650 A. D., and many sometime earlier. This takes us to the period of the Kalabhras in Pandinad, although a few like Kannappar and Chandesar would have lived very much earlier in point of time - probably by the centuries B. C. A break up of the Saints region-wise

may be given as follows : Cholanad 38 ; Nadunadu 8 ; Tondainadu 8 ; Pandinad 4 ; Malainad 2 ; Konadu 1 ; Mazhanad 1 ; and out side Tamilnad 1.

In this set up, we find that the number of *nayanmar* in Pandinad is only four. Of the four, three - King Pandiyan Nedumaran, Queen Mangaiyarkkarasi and Minister Kulachirai, are those who had come under the influence of Jnanasambandhar. Excluding these, there is only one other - Murti nayanar. It is certainly very strange that in the Pandiya country, with its headquarters at Madurai, the Siva *rajadani* where the legends say that Siva as Lord Sundaresa and Sakti as Minakshi ruled in the ages past, *only one* saint had been evolved, while areas without that much of religious backround such as Nadunadu and Tondainadu had evolved eight saints each. This will sound extremely puzzling, had we not known the Kalabhra interlude in the history of Madurai. The Kalabhra rule of 300 years over Madurai did not permit of any religious practices and so the atmosphere was one of such darkness that no saint could be evolved in the country. The aftermath of the Kalabhra rule produced a Mangaiyarkkarasi and a Kulaccirai and through them a Nedumaran. That was all. It is well to remember that Mangaiyarkkarasi was a daughter of the Chola royal family which descended from Kocchengat Chola the builder of Siva temples. Murti nayanar was an exception. His story is given earlier in Section A under Religious problems (pages 96 - 7).

So, this is the explanation. The Kalabhra administration and its suppression of religion and culture could not admit of the evolution of any saint in the Pandinad even for a considerable period later.

B. THE LIFE AND WORK OF KOCCHENGAT CHOLA

An elaborate and grateful reference on a Saiva prince and saint by an important Vaishnava saint acquires great importance in our investigation. Directing the Vishnu *bhaktas* to the presence of Lord Vishnu in the Tiru Naraiyur *madakkoil*, St. Tiru Mangai alvar sings: "May you all go and pray at the jewelled temple at Tiru Naraiyur-built by the Chola of the great lineage ruling over the world, who had built seventy beautiful *madakkoil* (temple on a raised base, a particular type of temple architecture) to the eight-shouldered Siva whose

lips the Rg Veda adorns"¹. This is the eighth verse of the Alvar's decad on this shrine. In the other verses of the decad, he heaps lavish praise on this Chola, Kocchengat Chola, who is Lord of the Kaveri land, Tamilian of the south, master of the north, who mounted on his elephant, defeated the opposing princes in the battle at Venni². In the last verse of the decad the Alvar speaks about the merit according to those who sing these verses and says that he is always truthful, never uttering an untrue word.³ Coming from such a great authority and a Vaishnava saint at that, the words have great weight. Kocchengat Chola and his great devotion to Siva is a great legend. A legend of Tiru Anaikka says that in a previous birth he was a spider which was always weaving a web over the head of a Sivalinga to prevent dry leaves and the like falling on it, that it bit the elephant which destroyed the web and then died, was born thereafter as this Chola ruler and had built many temples to Siva, on a raised base (*madakkoil*) making the entrance to the temple unpassable by an elephant, in remembrance of the occurrence in the previous birth.⁴ The Chola is considered to have defeated the Sera ruler Kanaikkal Irumporai in a battle at Venni. A *puram* poem was sung by a poet by name Poihaiyar celebrating this battle and the victory of the Chola. The poem *Kalavali narpadu* considered one of the 18 *Kilkkanakku*, celebrates in forty *venba* verses, the battle in which the Chola ruler defeated the Vanjikko.⁵ Although the poem lavishly praises the powers of the prince, contemporary history does not warrant the supposition that he was a mighty ruler. He ruled from Uraiyur over a small part of the once glorious Chola country. The major part of the northern area was taken away by the ruler at Kanchi, the Pallavan, and the southern part by the rulers of Madurai, the Kalabhras in this context. Besides, the eastern part of the Kaveri delta was then under the rule of the alien chief, Accuta Vikkanta, and we find Chenganan had been squeezed amidst all these. The praises showered by the poet are understandable if we

1. Tiru Mangai alvar, *Periya Tirumoli* 6 - 6 - 8.

2. Ibid. vide all the verses of the *padikam* 6 - 6

3. Ibid. 6 - 6 10

4. *Periyapuram*, *Kocchengat Chola nayanar puranam* - verses 4202-19.

5. Vide verse 39 of *Kalavali narpadu*

remember that he was interested in securing the release of the Sera ruler who was his own patron. There had been two skirmishes, one in the Sangham period¹ and another in the fifth century, in each of which a Chola by the name of Kocchenganan comes out successful against the Sera. Tiru Mangai Alvar speaks only about the later Chenganan and we are concerned only with this Chenganan here.

We find that Ko-Chenganan had built more than seventy² temples to Siva and had also built the Tiru Naraiyur temple to Lord Vishnu. We have been trained by our own historians, who had been tutored by Western historians, that the Saivas and the Vaishnavas had always been fighting with each other and that we had always had an atmosphere of intolerance and suppression. Against this general assumption, we find here a Saiva Chola monarch, praised as great and victorious by a Vaishnava saint and poet, extending his patronage to Saivism and Vaishnavism alike. How does this happen?

It is no doubt the duty of every good ruler to foster *all* the religions of the land and it may be that the Chola was only discharging his rightful duty in supporting both the religions. But contemporary history lends greater weight to the action of the King. He was a very ardent Saiva; his story is referred to in more than a hundred places by the three Devaram singers who always sing, 'this is the temple that the great Kocchengat Chola built'. Though an ardent *Siva bhakta* who had built by himself and through his subjects more than seventy Siva temples, he was unable to lift his little finger in defence of Saivism in the Pandiya country across his border where the Jain rulers were ruthlessly suppressing the orthodox religions. He saw before his eyes Siva temples being closed, worship being stopped, and all temple endowments confiscated. He was not able to interfere, because he was then not a very powerful ruler, ruling over a small territory. He was crippled and his territories in the north, the east and the south had been snatched away by the Pallava emperors and the Kalabhra intruders as pointed out above. He could not but

1. Vide verse 74 in *Purananuru* and its colophon.

2. Vide Appar *Devaram* Book 6-71-5. The 78 temples mentioned by this saint are to be taken as built by Chenganan, since there is no mention of any other Chola as having built temples. Perumkoil mentioned by St. Appar can mean in the context only *madak-koil* built by Kocchengat Chola.

helplessly watch the suppression of his own religion in the neighbouring powerful state. He was not capable of any armed interference there to restore Saivism. Naturally the condition of the *vaidika* religions in the south caused him great concern. This was the motive force which made him build and patronize the building of many temples in the Cholanad. He saw the suppression of both Saivism and Vaishnavism, that is the *vaidika* religions, in Madurai.

He felt that one section of the *Vaidika* religion could not prosper independent of the other and, like the liberal ruler that he was, tried to do all he could for the welfare of both the sects of the *vaidika* religion. This liberal view and tolerance was dictated by the political conditions in the neighbouring state of Pandinad and this explains his patronage both to Saivism and to Vaishnavism.

It is to this liberal attitude that Tirumangai alvar pays such a glorious tribute, not in one verse but in all the eleven verses of the Tiru Naraiyur decad.

We should also remember in this context that Tirumangai alvar belongs to the *alvar* tradition, where the *alvar* are all devotees of Vishnu, who not only would not speak of any other deity but would not also speak of a human being in their songs. The story of Tiru Malisai alvar, who left the city of Kanchi declining to sing the praise of the Pallava king in the anecdote of Kanikannan is well known.¹ Nammalvar coming later also says, that he has not come on earth to sing on man². In this tradition, we find Tiru Mangai alvar praising Kocchenganan, a Siva bhakta, not once but ten times in all the verses of the decad and also mentioning 'the Eight-shouldered Isa whose lips the R̥g Veda adorns'. So we have to realise how much the Alvar was impressed with the rare act of the Chola in the period of the Kalabhra suppression, to come forward boldly to build temples for Isa, not one or two or a score, but seventy. These words must be given the weight that is due to them.

This does not mean that the temples built by Kocchenganat Chola were large granite edifices as we see them today. Granite in temple build-

1. *Guruparampara prabhavam Arayirappadi* of Pinbalaḥiya perumal Jiyar, 1878 page 27-8. Also see Tirumalisai alvar, *Nanmukhan Tiru Antadi* verse 75.

2. Nammalvar *Tiruvaymoli* 3.—9.—9.

ing came many centuries later. He built large temples in brick and mud or mortar on a large base in the place of small temples, which were probably in mud and thatch, before him.

It may also be noted that Kocchengot Chola is credited with having built a temple for Vishnu inside the Siva temple at Tiru Vakkarai in the South Arcot district built by Queen Sembiam ma devi.

We may add here a note on the Cholas who were actually driven out of their territory. Kocchenganan was only one scion of the race of the Cholas who were displaced by the Kalabhras, of whom Accuta Vikkanta happened to be a remarkably noble example in Cholanad. However the main race of the Cholas had run away in a north-west-erly direction and established themselves in the area then known as *Renad* now forming the Cuddappah and Kurnul districts of Andhra Pradesh. They called themselves descendents of Karikal Chola. (Chola becomes Choda in the Telugu Language, because the sound *la* (*zha*) does not exist in that language.) Their emblem was the Chola emblem, the Tiger.¹

C. THE RUIN OF TEMPLES

A natural feature of any poetic writing may be recalled here. Whenever something unethical takes place, the great poets, who are deeply concerned with the well being of the social structure and who are anxious that society should stand on a firm ethical footing, write didactic and ethical works re-stating and re-emphasizing the dangers to society through an unethical behaviour or conduct. The dictum of Tolkappiyar may be remembered here. Speaking about the institution of marriage rituals, he says that 'after falsehood and lapses entered human conduct, the wise elders laid down rules'.² This dictum applies to all walks of life. Even eminent spiritual seers could not escape this involvement in the public good.

Tiru Mular, in a section on the spoliation of the (Siva) temples, makes the following remarks in two verses: "When the temples of

1. Vide Studies in the Early History of the Andhra : Mr. Rama Rao.

2. *Tolkappiyam Poruladhikaram*, sutra 143.

Siva (He who kicked Yama) fail to receive the *pujas* in the prescribed manner, unbearable epidemics will affect the land; rains will fail; and the armed might of the rulers will also be impaired. The Lord Siva has said that when the temple *pujas* are not performed, the ruler will come to grief, rains will fail, and thefts will be rampant in the country". In an earlier verse he has also said that if a temple stone is removed (i.e., if the temple comes to ruin), the king and the priests etc. will experience great harm.¹

These words of Tirumular are not uttered having in view only hypothetical conditions. We may be sure that he had seen before his eyes (or heard from eye witnesses) the wanton ruining of temples and the stopping of *pujas* in the temples in adjoining Pandinad. He lived on the banks of the Kaveri in the Cholanad and, pained at the closure of all temples in the Pandinad under the Kalabhras, he had written these verses to enjoin the people at large to do their duty of protecting the temples and the temple worship. This much is a fact. We may stretch his ideas further and say by inference that his influence was also responsible for inducing Kocchengat Chola to construct a number of temples in his domains and to repair and renovate existing ones. All these remarks and ideas help us to a number of important conclusions: that Tirumular and Kochengat Chola had been contemporary with the Kalabhra rule at Madurai at a later point of time, which may be about 500 A.D., after the period of Vajranandi's Jain Sangham at Madurai.

A line in the commentary of *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal* sets us thinking. Sutra 35 of the text deals with the separation of the lover from the lady love in the *aham* (romantic) poetic themes. *Tolkappiyam* lays down the causes for separation as the three²— study, fight with the enemy (*pahai*), and carrying a message to another ruler.

Iraiyanar Kalaviyal elaborates the three into six³ and the commentary gives an explanation of each. The explanation under *kaval*-defence of the country, requires some consideration here. One of the

1. Tirumular *Tirumantram*, verses 516—518.

2. *Tolkappiyam Poruladhikaram*, chapter 1 *sutram* 27.

3. *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal sutram* 35.

items under defence is given as an inspection of temples, public charities and public halls. Ilampuranar commenting on the *Tolkappiyam sutram* mentions under the *pahai* or defending and fighting mission, separation from the lady love on account of temple worship and temple festival; this explanation is much later in time, 11th century. Even taking this as admissible, the *Kalaviyal urai*'s explanation is significant. The lover here is permitted to go away for temple etc., inspection and for protecting families in difficulties. Tolkappiyar does not seem to have thought of these subjects, but they have become necessary by the time of the *Kalaviyal urai*. Why? The answer is obvious. Under the Kalabhra rule temples had been closed down and there was no worship. The advent of Jnanasambandhar had given a new hope and fervour of devotion to the people. Temples were being re-opened for worship. Hence an inspection of them became necessary in the early 8th century. The inspection of temples (*devakutam*) mentioned here reflects the condition of the temples under the alien Kalabhra rule.

THE SILER LINING

Even the darkest cloud has a silver lining. Although the Kalabhra period in the history of Madurai was a period of the suppression of all Tamil language and literature and the Tamil culture and the Vaidika religion, it cannot be said that the period was wholly non-productive in the history of literature. Several divisions of Tamil literature had indeed been enriched during the period, by writers not only in the other parts of Tamilnad but also in the Pandinad area.

The production of the 18 *Kilk-kanakku* excepting probably three, *Tirukkural* in the 2nd century and *Acharakkovai* and *Mudumolikkanni* in the 7th century, may be said to belong to the Kalabhra period. There is no evidence to say that they patronized the writing but it is certain that the 15 poems were written during the period. The one poem on a *puram* theme in the group, *Kalavali narpadu*, we have already pointed out, was written to please Kocchengat Chola, of course in the Chola region, outside Pandinad.

Taking the 18 as a group, we find that the Jainas and the Saivas have written five poems each; the Vaishnavas have written four and

four have been written by poets, who were of course poets of the Vaidika tradition but we are unable to say at the moment how many of them were Saiva and how many Vaishnava. In other words, we may say that against five books written under Jaina inspiration, thirteen had been written by the Vaidika schools of poets.

Of the six poems on the *aham* themes, one was written by a Jain writer (which is in itself curious), while the other five were by the writers of the Vaidika schools.

Vajranandi Sangham was established by the year 470 A.D. by Vajranandi, who was a disciple of Pujiyapada. It was a Jain sangham intended to propagate this religion and its observance. It had nothing in common with the Tamil Sangham of an earlier period and which came to a natural end soon after the Kalabhra captured Madurai. The Vajranandi sangham consisted of Jain ascetics. This does not mean that they were from a foreign land. The Kalabhra occupation was by 250 A.D. and they would all have become domiciled by the above period. Besides these ascetics were indeed Tamilians who had embraced the Jain faith and naturally the gifted among them could have been masters of the language. It is quite likely that of the *Kilk-kanakku*, *Naladi* and *Palamoli nanuru* would have been written earlier than the days of this Sangham, one after the other.

We may even go a step further and say that probably the Vajranandi sangham was established with a view to eclipse and erase the memory of the earlier Tamil Sanghams of Madurai. Those had all been *literary* academies, while the Vajranandi sangham was a Jain *religious* Sangham. The only work attributed to the Vajranandi sangham is a Jain religious work. Probably *Naladi* was composed earlier than 400 A. D., and the book probably was the inspiration to Vajranandi for the founding of the Jain sangham. The traditional account that *Naladi* was not the work of a single author but the composition of many Jain poets, may be true.

Tirikadukam and *Nanmanik-kadikai* give three and four ethical observations in each verse and were written by poets of the Vaishnava persuasion in the period. These might have inspired two writers to write on five and six observations in each verse under the names of *Sirupanchamulam* and *Eladi*. The other books also can be

explained in this manner and it is extremely satisfactory to note that a careful study of the Kalabhra period, of what is known as the dark period in the History of Tamilnadu, throws considerable light on the history of Tamil literature.

The evolution of the ethical poems of the *Kilk-kanakku* group reveals the need for such a piece of writing. Probably the thinkers of the day found that the Kalabhra rule had unleashed a reign of anarchy and godlessness where the values of life were thrown away. They had come to such a low ebb that all people, not only Vaidikas, Saivas and Vaishnavas, but perhaps even the Jains, had come to feel that some emphasis on right conduct was necessary. Earlier, excepting *Silappadikaram* which was an epic and *Tirukkural* which was of course the only work on ethics till that day, all writing was only on romantic and heroic themes. There seems to have arisen at this period a desire to re-state values and make people follow a life of righteous conduct. The suppression made by the Kalabhras had dug its own grave and so, right minds began to think and write with this purpose of lifting up people from the mundane life to a higher life. This is not to say that the Jain people of the day were all a bad people; far from that. They were, like all people at all times and climes, generally righteous in conduct, and interested in the welfare of society. But the alien Jain rulers were different. Having drunk deep at the fountain of power, they were oppressors which fact had an unhealthy impact on society. Hence the anxiety of the thinkers and writers of the period. This in a sense explains the rich and varied core of ethics in the poetry of this period. The books we should remember were not books on Jainism or the Vaidika religions, but were generally on an ethical or virtuous life. The writers did not say anything as a mandate or as a peremptory command. They tried to be a little persuasive. They did not say, do this; but said this will be good and pleasant; this will prove bad and disturbing and so on. Very many lines, not only in *Palamoli nanuru* but in almost all the other books, take on the tone of homely proverbs. The reason is only this that the authors wanted their writing to be acceptable and also wanted to produce a change in the people's lives. We may say they had been remarkably successful. No other period in Tamil literary history was devoted to ethical writing as much as this period.

We find also an interesting and very important development in the Tamil literary history of the post-Kalabhra period. Immediately after the period, we have the great religious revival when a very large volume of the Saiva and Vaishnava hymns were sung by God-intoxicated devotees. This was the 7th century A. D. Inspired by the great fillip to the evolution of literature, language, culture and religion given by these saints and their songs, the next century gives a great spurt of intensive consolidation and writing in the Tamil language, not only in the field of devotional literature but in other fields like epic literature as for example *Perumkathai*, the large epic on the story of Udayana and Vasavadattai. The more spectacular field of literary production is the field of grammar where numerous manuals have been written on all branches of grammar such as *aham* and *puram*, poetics and prosody, rhetoric and many other new divisions of poetry. There was a Perumdevanar in this period, who completed the great task of translating the *Mahabharatam* and so he had come to be known as *Bharatam Padiya Perumdevanar*, one who sang the *Bharatam* in Tamil. His work was so much appreciated by the discerning Tamils of that day that when all the Sangham poetry of the earlier pre-Kalabhra period was collected together and arranged in the Nine Books, the *Ettuttohai* and *Pattup-pattu*, this poet Perumdevanar was probably asked to write an invocatory verse for each of the Eight Anthologies, which he did. This is quite a significant event. The Sangham poetry was all sung in stray verse form (except two books *Ainkuru nuru* and *Kalittohai*) and so there was then no question of an invocatory verse. After the Sangham age we have the Kalabhra period of three centuries. Then intervened the period of the Saiva Nayanmar, Sambandhar, Appar and Sundarar and the Alvar, who sang only musical songs on God. Naturally when the Sangham poetry was all compiled in the form of a few anthologies, an invocatory verse for each was thought to be quite fitting. All this was certainly an outcome of the reaction to the earlier Kalabhra suppression. There was no invocatory verse for the Arhat.

What many writers had been labelling as a *dark age* has really been productive of quite a handsome volume of good literature as pointed out above. There has now been a transition from the *asiriyam* metre, to the *venba* metre as can be seen from the fact that 16

of the *Kilk-kanakku* poems had been written in the *venba* metre, while *Kural* was earlier written in the *kural venba* metre, and *Mudumolik-kanji* in the *kural ven sendurai* metre, both variants of the *venba* metre. This fact of the transition is important from the history of the literature, because it paved the way for another transition from the *venba* to the new field of *viruttam* and allied metres later.

This transition apart, other great poetry has also been written during this period, though not in the Pandiya country. Tirumular wrote all his *Tirumantiram* in over 3000 verses in the *kali viruttam* metre, from the Chola country. Karaikkal Ammai wrote two *padikams*, the fore runners of all the hymnal literature in Saivism and Vaishnavism, represented by the *Devaram* writers and the Alvar. She wrote her *Arbutha Tiruvantadi*, to be followed in the next century (6th) by the *First Three Antadi* poems of the Mudal alvar. Her *Irattai Manimalai* in twenty verses with *venba* and *kattalai-kalitturai* alternating, paved the way for scores of new *prabandha* poems through the succeeding centuries.

It is also likely that *Manimekhalai*, the only Buddhist work available, was composed towards the end or just after the Kalabhra rule. But we do not know where it was written and under whose patronage. It could have been written when the Kalabhra rule had ended at Madurai; probably it had inspiration and patronage at Kaverippattinam, under the successors of the *Kalabha kula* Buddhist King Accuta Vikkanta.

CONCLUSION

Now let me summarise what I had tried to express in the two lectures regarding the obscure problem of the Kalabhras in Pandinad.

In the first lecture, I emphasized the fact that the responsibilities of a literary historian are more broadbased than the historian proper, in that he is expected to trace social history and to explain literary production as well as non-production.

I am not advancing any new theory here. I am simply arranging all existing facts and views in such a manner that they will explain the motivation as well as the known events in a form acceptable

from all points of view. Certain repetitions are unavoidable because of the very nature of the treatment.

Pandiyan Palyagasalai Mudukudumip-Peruvaludi, a well known ruler of the Pandiya dynasty, lived in the centuries B.C. and he gave a grant of land in Pahanur to Narkotran, for performing sacrifices, to be enjoyed by the donee and his successors. But by the middle of the Third century A.D., a band of adventurers known to history as the Kalabhras captured Madurai and confiscated the land donated, and only after the lapse of about 300 years, another Pandiya ruler named Kadumkon, came upon the scene, drove away the Kalabhras, and re-granted the same land to Nar-Chingan, a descendant of Narkotran.

I explained how the Velvikkudi grant was drawn up according to the *Dharma sastras*, and dwelt upon some terms in the grant which it was necessary to interpret and understand correctly in order to have a full picture of the Kalabhra interlude in Pandinad. The term Kalabhra was traced through literature and epigraphy and it was pointed out that Kalabhra and the Kalappala of the Dalavaypuram plates were the same, although it was quite likely that there was an endogenous group which called itself *Kalappala (raya)* because it had originally helped in the overthrowal of the Kalappala or Kalabhra. In tracing the origin of the Kalabhras, the possibility of their relationship with the Gangas, with Pulli of Tiruvenkatam, with the Kalikula etc. and their relationship with the Muttaraiyar was examined and it was pointed out that the Kalabhras were in no way connected with the Kalvar kula but might have been an unfamiliar tribe in the area around Sravana Belgola. So naturally it may not be wrong to conclude that they came from the area known then and later as the *Erumainadu*. I have attempted to show that they were aliens in the Tamilnad, by language, by culture, and by religion.

The language of the Kalabhras would have been Prakrit (or Pali elsewhere) and some primitive form of Kannada and their religion was the *Digambara* sect of the Jains. A reference was also made to the Kalabhras in Cholanad (and also in Tondainad) referred to by Buddha dhatta who speaks of Accuta Vikkanta of the Kalabhra kula and by the laudatory verses on him in the Tamil language cited

by a commentator. An explanation has also been offered for the total absence of any mention of the Kalabhras in the Tamil literature in both the contemporary period and the later periods.

Finally I had pointed out that a number of literary, cultural, religious, and historical problems arise in a study of the literature of the period and that these problems can be answered only by having a clear picture of the Kalabhras in Pandinad and their impact on the language, culture and religion of the people there.

The second lecture gave a solution to the problems raised. The answer to the several problems lies in the fact that the Kalabhras were not a princely dynasty but were merely a sort of a marauding tribe and somehow conditions seem to have favoured them in their onslaughts over the Pandiya, Chola and Pallava regions at about the same period ; they were total strangers to the language, culture and religion of the land they conquered and their policy of suppression created all these problems and more. An outline of a survey of the literature of the period in depth has also been indicated.

APPENDIX

NOTE A. *PALYAGASALAI MUDUKUDUMIP*— *PERUVALUDI* (*Vide page 10*)

Palyagasalai Mudukudumip-Peruvaludi is the Pandiya king who had originally gifted the lands in Pahanurk-kutram to Narkotran for performing sacrifices and had renamed the place as Velvikkudi, because of the sacrifices performed there (*velvi*-sacrifice). The king is here described as he who dispersed a group of many enemy kings by marching a number of ferocious elephants on them. The attribute *palyagasalai* in his name indicates that he had performed many sacrifices. This Pandiya comes for great praise in the Sangham poetry. There are five verses in *Purananuru*¹ on this king, sung by the poets Karikilar, Nettimaiyar and Nedumpalliyattanar. Nettimaiyar has three verses, and the other two, one each. These poets are known only by the songs they have sung on him; they have sung no other songs and on no other kings. Some of the salient thoughts in the five verses will be noticed below.

Karikilar addresses him direct and blesses him that 'he may live long on earth like the moon with its cool moon beams and like the sun with its hot rays'. He is addressed as Kudumi and we find he is directing his elephant against the fortifications of the enemy and distributing the booty captured, to the poor poets who go to him; "May your forces and your subjects prosper. May your royal umbrella bow only for going round the temple of the Three-eyed Lord. May your head bow only to receive the blessings of the brahmins versed in the four vedas. May your wreaths fade if need be, only by the smoke that rises when the enemy country is burnt May your anger be pacified on seeing the cool countenance of your queen."

1. *Purananuru* verses 6, 9, 12, 15 and 64.

Nedum-palliyattanar as his name indicates was a *pana*, playing on many long musical instruments. (*Pal-iyam* - many musical instruments ; nedum-long ; or probably the poet was a tall man.) He tells his wife : "Let us now go and meet Kudumi so that we may get presents from him and give up eating our usual bare watery gruel". The poet's wife is also a poetess called Nedum-palliyattai and she has sung two verses in *Kurumtohai* on the *marulam* themes.

The first verse of Nettiimaiyar blesses Kudumi that 'he may live more days than the sands of the *River Pahruli* ;' it says that 'he always declares a righteous war and marches into the enemy land only after giving notice in the enemy territory, to the cows, the brahmins, women, sick people etc. to go away from the fighting area and seek refuge elsewhere'. The second verse addresses him directly and praises him for suppressing his enemies and for distributing their wealth to the poets and so forth. The third verse also addresses him and praises him for his prowess in battle and mentions that he had performed many sacrifices of the first order mentioned in the *Dharma sastras* and the *Vedas*.

All the three poets have spoken highly of his elephants. The sacrifices are performed by him as laid down in the *Vedas*. The poets were contemporary with the Pandiya and it is quite natural therefore that they express these features from a first hand knowledge. But it is remarkable that these are repeated in the Velvikkudi plates written probably five hundred years later. The glory of the Pandiya has been so well remembered and handed down to posterity and caused to be inscribed on plates by a capable and scholarly composer.

The Pandiya is here called *Kudumi*. Kudumi is a mountain peak. The name of Kudumiya malai and of Kudumi-devar on top of the Kalahasti hill mentioned by Sekkilar tells us that the term Kudumi is a Saiva name and the king is of course of the Saiva persuasion as is clear from the benediction of the poet Karikilar referring to the Three-eyed Lord.

Mangudi Marudananar singing the praise of Talaiyanam-ganattu-Cheruvenra Pandiyan Neduncheliyan refers to this Palyagasalai

Mudukudumi as an ancestor of Nedumcheliyan. He says: 'Your renowned greatness is also because of your association with the eminent teachers who were well versed in the performance of good sacrifices in the days of Palsalai Mudukudumi'¹. From the nature of the reference we may take it that Mudukudumi was an ancient ancestor of Nedumcheliyan. It may be necessary to take him as perhaps B.C. the Third and Fourth centuries, if we give a date like the First century A. D. or even B. C. to Nedumcheliyan. Talaiyanamganattu Cheruvenra Neduncheliyan was one of the early patrons of the Sangham period. His date might have been earlier than the First century A. D., and hence the greater antiquity of his ancestor Palyagasalai Mudukudumi.

NOTE B. SOME RULES OF JAIN DISCIPLINE

(Vide Page 49)

We have given a gist of the thoughts of Jnanasambandhar condemning the way of life of the Jains to be taken as the extremely vigorous Kalabhra jain *sanyasis* of his period. His condemnation was because the entire Jain personal discipline went against the culture of the Tamil people in general. It should be remembered that when one entered the Jain orders, he could not but adhere to the discipline of the order. We know St. Appar, referring to his past life in the Jain monastery, often says that he went about with a shaven head, took his food standing and so on. Given below are some of the more important rules of discipline for a Jain ascetic, for purposes of understanding Sambandha's remarks.

1. *Shaven head*: His head is to be kept bald. No shaving with a razor is permitted. So, each hair had to be plucked away. Nuns used to do the plucking for the male ascetic. There will be excruciating pain no doubt. This was considered a necessary step in the mortification of the body.

2. *Nakedness*: For the ascetic (of the digambara sect) the very quarters were his garment; in other words he went about naked. We

1. Vide Madurai-kanji lines 759-763. The full title *Palyagasalai* may be seen to have been abbreviated as *Palsalai* in Maduraik-kanji and as *Palyaga* in the Velvikudi grant.

have noticed that when these men went along the streets, the women folk used to go into the house and close the doors. Nakedness was supposed to make the man impervious to the feeling of heat or cold, to the bite of mosquitoes, and the like. They were permitted to have a peacock fan in order to whisk away flies and mosquitoes which settled naturally on their unwashed dirty bodies in large number.

3. *Non-bathing* : When they had adopted the *digambara* way of life, they did not bathe at all. The idea seems to be that the body does not deserve to be so carefully attended to, as after all it is itself something to be discarded.

4. *Sleeping* : They are to sleep on the floor without any mat or bed-spread ; they should condition the body and get it used to the hardship resulting from the hardness of the ground, pieces of stone or pebble, etc.

5. *Cleaning the teeth* : This is also not to be done. Cleaning means attachment and love of the thing sought to be kept clean, besides doing harm to the germs taking shelter between the teeth in the mouth.

6. *Standing and eating from the hand* : Having a seat or a plate or cup for eating, causes attachment to food, and so much attachment for food as a means of nourishing the perishable body is to be discouraged.

7. *One meal a day* : They are to have only one meal a day, some time after sunrise and sometime before sunset. No food after sunset.

These were part of the many more strict disciplines calculated to mortify the flesh to qualify man for the final path towards *parinirvana*. They were prescribed specially for the ascetics or monks among them.

All this is happily mostly a matter of the past. The Jain of to-day is in no way distinguishable from his brother Hindu. But this vigorous discipline was there in the early days when Jainism was being propagated for the first time in the Tamil country. Many may not know that some of these practices are still followed by the *Digambara jain gurus*. For the purpose of conversion, a stricter disci-

pline is always enforced even in the modern day. The discipline applies mostly to the *sannyasi* and not to the *śrāvaka* (the house holder). One who has subjected himself to a tortuous discipline commands greater respect among the lay people and hence this discipline of the ascetics. However, we find even devout modern jains revolting from the practice of naked jain gurus demanding that women should go and prostrate at their feet. When such practices still continue in the twentieth century, we can imagine what the position would have been under the Kalabhras in Madurai, flaunting their religion over a conquered country. Jnanasambandhar took it as his mission to fight this anti-culture and restore the real Tamil culture in the land. But as religion was the greatest influence in the day, his mission assumed the garb of religion. We may note that Jnanasambandhar has nowhere attacked the Jain doctrines. His concern was only that the suppression of the culture of the land should be removed, and the introduction of the Kalabhra Jain culture and way of life should be overthrown. His real mission was the restoration of the supreme Tamil culture and the Tamil language to their earlier pristine glory.

NOTE C. ACCUTA VIKKANTA (Vide Page 52)

In the context of the Kalabhra interlude in the Pandinad, it is worthwhile to know in detail the role of the Kalabhras in the Cholanad. A detailed account of the Kalabhras ruler Accuta Vikkanta is given on pages 52-55. There is still something more to be said. There are a number of verses cited by the anonymous commentator of the treatise on Tamil prosody, *Tapparungalam* (11th century) in the course of his explanation of the various types of the *kalippa* verse. The *kalippa* metre was one which had almost gone out of currency after the Sangham age; today it survives only in the tradition of being composed as the first verse of the later *kalambakam* poems (from the 9th century onwards).

Now we have about nine verses given as illustrations, the first five for *ambodaraṅga-ottaliśaik-kalippa* and the other four for *vannaka-ottaliśaik-kalippa*, both being types of *kalippa* which have no relevancy to any modern poetic composition but have only academic interest. The first of the verses begins *kedalaru ma munivar*; it is a prayer to Vishnu saying that the author prays to him in order that his patron

Accutan (Accuta Vikkanta) may rule the world as the sole emperor. The third line of the *suritakam* (end portion) of the verse refers to the fish, the bow and the tiger, the insignia of royalty of the three crowned monarchs Pandiya, Sera and Chola; Accuta is supposed to have vanquished all the Tamil ruling princes of his day (vide the paragraph under Accuta Kalappala, page 62-68).¹ This verse is said to be taken from *Vilakkattanar padal* by the commentator, who mentions it twice. The celebrated commentators Perasiriyar and Naccinarkkiniyar both cite this under *sutram* 146 of *Seyyuliyal of Tolkappiyap-poruladhikaram*. They also mention *Vilakkattar kuttu* which is said to be in *vendurai-seyyul*. The *kalippa* verse itself may be adapted to *kuttu*, dance; the first portion *taravu* is the introduction, the next *talisai*, *peren*, *sitren* etc. are all prayers or dialogues of the characters, and the last portion, *suritaham* may be the conclusion.

Now this particular verse is quoted not only in *Yapparungala virutti* but also in the *Karikai urai*. So considering the various authors who appear to be familiar with the verse, we may say that the text, *Vilakkattar kuttu* might have been quite a popular and well known work of the period of Accuta Vikkanta, the Fifth century A.D. devoted to music and dance.

The third verse beginning *alai kadar-kadir muttam*² is also a prayer to the Buddha to shower his grace on Nandi, the Chief of Nandi-mamalai. This chief is the same as Accuta nandi or Accuta Vikkanta and we here learn that he came from the Nandi hills area. Two other verses beginning *karai poru nirk-kadal* and *ahalidamum amarulahum*³ also refer to him; the first mentions him as the chief of the port of Pahal while the second calls him Accuta nandi, Chief of the Nandi hills. It is possible that the verse next to *kedalaru mamunivar*, beginning *nalamkilar tirumanium*⁴ which mentions Vinnavan, (means a celestial,) is here used to extol Accutan. These five verses are all in praise of Tirumal and the Buddha invoking them to protect Accuta. The first verse is said to be from *Vilakkattanar-kuttu*; hence it is possible that all of them are taken from the poem of

1. Vide verse 15, *Perumtohai*.

2. Vide *Perumtohai* verse 166

3. Vide *Perumtohai* verses 973 and 974.

4. Ibid verse 168.

that name, which was a poem for dance and drama, written in honour of Accuta. A further examination of the subject is outside the scope of our topic under discussion.

The point to be noted is that Accuta, though a Kalabhra, was a Buddhist and seems to have earned the love and esteem of the poets of his day, who are here praying to Vishnu and to the Lord Buddha to bestow their grace on this king.

NOTE D. THE TAMIL SANGHAM AT MADURAI

(Vide Page 67)

This is a larger problem discussed in great detail by many eminent scholars. But here in this dissertation on the Kalabhras a few words are necessary because some have said there was no Sangham and if there was one it was much later in point of time. The absence of the word *sangham* from the poetry of that period, namely from *Etta-ttohai* and *Pattup-pattu* of the Sangham age does not negate the existence of the Sangham. We shall give below chronologically a few notices of the Sangham in the early Tamil literature.

St. Jnanasambandhar makes two references to the Sangham in his songs. One is on the occasion of his singing the song called *Tiru-mukhap-pasuram*. The leaf on which the song was written went up against the current of the river *Vaihai* in the course of one of his contests with the Jains at Madurai. '*Andan Madurait-tohai-akkinanum petronruyartha peruman*'¹-'it was the bull-bannered Lord who called together the Poets' meet at Madurai.' Another is in the course of his worship at the shrine at Tevur in Cholanad: '*Puhali Jnana Sambandhan urai sey Sanghamali Sen Tamilhal pattumivai vallavarhal sankai ilare*': 'Those that master the ten verses of these Sangham type poetry will have no doubts at all'.² Sambandhar belonged to the period 630-646 A. D.

His elder contemporary St. Appar makes a still detailed reference to the Madurai Sangham, in his Tirupputtur *Tiru-tandakam*. He

1. *Sambandhar Devaram* Book 3, 54, 11.

2. *Ibid* 3, 74, 11.

went to the Sangham in the person of a poet of good poetry, and caused the purse of gold to be awarded to Dharmi'.¹ The story of Dharmi and the purse of gold and the poet Nakkirar of the Sangham age is well known. It is to be noted that Appar has sung this at a *Pandinad shrine*, Tirup-Puttur, one of the 14 sanctified shrines of Pandinad.

Next we see the Vaishnava Saint Andal also referring to the Sangham Tamil, when she names her song *Tiruppavai* as the *Sangham Tamil Thirty*². Tiru Mangai Alvar³ also refers to his songs as Sanghat-Tamil. These are in the 8th century A. D. These indicate a literary tradition among the poets of later years calling their poetry as Sangham poetry thereby substantiating the fact that there was a Sangham in the earlier period.

The Madurai Tamil Sangham should not be confused with the Jain Sangham of the Jain acharya Vajranandi convened in Madurai under Kalabhra patronage in Vikrama era 525 (A. D. 470). It was called Dramida Sangham. This was obviously for the propagation of the Jain doctrines. Vajranandi was a disciple of Pujapada also called Devanandi Acharya. This Sangham is mentioned by the Jain acharya Devasena in his work *Digambara darsanam* written in Vikram era 909 (A.D. 853).

Some would say that the Tamil Sangham which was flourishing in the city of Madurai was closed down by the Kalabhras. This may not be literally correct. The Sangham was the protege of the Pandiyas. When the Pandiyas were overthrown in Madurai, they had to make themselves scarce there at least temporarily and their absence extended to a period of 300 years. Naturally the poets of the Sangham grew old by efflux of time, and others could not come into the place of the older ones, because they were not encouraged, they were not wanted, and there was no royal patronage. So the Sangham, it is sad to note, slowly passed out of existence automatically, without any external pressure or suppression.

1. St. Appar Book 6. 76. 3.

2. Andal *Tiruppavai* versc 30 - *Sanghat-Tamil malai muppadum*.

3. Tirumangai Alvar, *Periya Tirumoli* - *Sanga-mukhat Tamil* 3. 4. 10; Sangamali Tamil 3. 9. 10.

Apart from the mention of *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal Urai*, there are the lines of *Silappadhikaram* of an earlier period to be considered. It says that nursing the grievance due to the charge of the spear of the king Vadimbambalamba ninra Pandiyan, the sea sent its swelling tides to wash away River Pahruli and the Kumari peak with its many ranges of hills¹. This was written by about the 3rd century A. D.

Still earlier in time we have the song of Nettimaiyar of the Sangham age referring to the river Pahruli.

NOTE E. WOMEN AND MOKSHA IN JAINISM

(Vide Page 61)

Women, according to Jainism from the most ancient period in Tamilnad, were not eligible for *moksha*. The woman's very birth was a result of sin and so the sinner had first to shed her sin in one birth or more, and then be born as a male human being, and by meritorious deeds and a righteous life then in that birth aspire for *moksha*. All Jaina literature makes the same statement regarding woman and here we shall deal with a few texts from literature to substantiate these remarks.

Jivaka Cintamani (end of the ninth century A.D.) the earliest of the Jain epics available today is of this view. The last chapter of the epic, *Mukti-ilambakam* is a very long one in 544 verses dealing with the renunciation of the chief characters in the story, their performance of penances and their *moksha* (*parinirvana*). 13 verses speak of the elevation or *moksha* of the queens of the royal household who undertook their penances and completed them - not for *parinirvana* or final liberation, but for getting over the female births. Then as a result of their penances, they were able to discard their disdainful female births, became Indras, had divine wisdom and reached *svarga* as Indras². Three verses mention this stage while the remaining ten speak of the enjoyment which these Indras had with the celestial women in the Indraloka. We need not go into these and the further details, but shall be content with pointing out that the

1. Vide *Silappadhikaram* 11-Kadukankathai line 18-20.

2. *Cintamani*, vide verses 3119-3121.

tapas or penance of these royal women was directed only towards getting rid of their female births.

Next we shall take up *Culamani* (10th century). Here again, one verse in the last chapter *Turavuc-carukkam* deals with the status and qualification of women for attaining *moksha*. "Who will consider the born idiot, the eunuch, the blind and similar persons as human beings on earth? In the same manner even though the female birth may have everything, it has no greatness about it"¹. According to this book then, the woman is not considered as a 'human being' at all. We need say no further.

Ilampuranar, a Jain writer of the 11th century, wrote a simple commentary on *Tolkappiyam* and it is our good fortune that the whole of it is now available while many others had been lost. He deserves our homage as the first impartial writer on *Tolkappiyam*. Now the very first *sutra* of *Tolkappiyam* says that the alphabets in the Tamil language begin with the letter *a* and end with the letter *ṇ*. Commenting on this, Ilampuranar makes a statement: 'A was placed first because it is itself active and it activates the consonants. Ṇ has been placed after, because it has the unique honour of signifying the male who is eligible for *moksha*'.² His implication is that woman is not eligible for *moksha* and so the letter *L* which could represent the female is not mentioned. Ilampuranar, although he is a most sensible writer, could not help making this remark, because he could not escape the indoctrination of his creed which is Jainism.

Arungalacceppu, an anonymous work on Jain ethics in the 12th century, says in many verses that women and eunuchs are not eligible for right understanding³ (a pre-requisite for liberation), and so the book implies that women are not entitled to *moksha*. A later religious book, *Merumantara puranam*, decries women at length and says that they cannot obtain release: "Even if one is the queen of Indra, she has no right to rule. Women are greatly sinful. The wise will be born as human beings, perform *danam*, *puja* and true *tapas*, and finally after going through many stages obtain *moksha*; but women

1 *Culamani*, *Turavuc-carukkam*, verse 145.

2 *Tolkappiyam Eluttadhikaram*, *Sutram* 1. commentary of Ilampuranar.

3 *Arungalac-ceppu* verse 49.

never.¹ There can be no greater emphatic pronouncement than this, of the Jain position regarding woman's status.

NOTE F. CONFISCATION OF A CHARITABLE ENDOWMENT

(Vide Page 83)

We find this subject to be an important one when poets take upon themselves the role of advising the ruler of the land. *Seviyari-vuru-u* is a theme of advising the king to follow the path of justice, virtue and righteousness. This theme is to be expressed in the *marutpa* metre, which is a metre combining the *venba* and the *asiriappa*; the last two or three lines in the verse generally are in the *asiriappa* while all the other lines are in the *venba*; the total number of lines may be anything from four to 25 as in the case mentioned below.

There is a long verse of 25 lines² quoted in the *Tapparungala virutti* (commentary) a grammatical treatise on prosody (11th century A.D). in which an unknown poet advises the Pandiya king, whom he mentions as the descendant of Pandiyan Neduncheliyan who won the battle of Talaiyalamkanam. The verse is repeated in the *Karikai urai* and *Virasoliya urai*. This Pandiyan was a descendant of the Palyagasalai Mudukudumi who was the donor of the original Velvikkudi grant. This Neduncheliyan is the hero of two poems in the *Pattuppattu* (or Ten Idylls as they are called), *Maduraikkanni* and *Nedunalvada*. Many eminent poets of the Sangham age such as Nakkirar, Kalladanar and Mangudi Marudanar have praised him. He was himself a poet (verse 72 of *Purananuru*). Ascending the Pandiya throne while very young, he had to face an invasion of the Pandiya kingdom by all his neighbours, the Chola, Sera, Aym-Peruvelir and others. He met them all at the gates of Madurai, defeated them and chased them as it were upto Talaiyalamkanam in Tanjavur district in the heart of Cholanad. Hence he was called the victor of Talaiyalamkanam.³ He took prisoner the Sera King.⁴ The poems in his praise would say that he also performed sacrifices

1. *Merumantara Puranam* 737, 738, 749.

2. Vide verse 509 of *Perumtohai* beginning *Palyanai mannar murunga*.

3. Verse 76 of *Purananuru*.

4. Ibid verse 17.

and this is quite fitting, coming as he does in the line of Palyagasalai Mudukudumi, the performer of sacrifices.

A Pandiyan king, descendant of this Pandiyan Neduncheliyan, is the hero of the *maruṭṭa* mentioned above.

The poet of the verse in question addresses his king as 'the descendant of the Talaiyalamkanam victor' and gives him an elaborate advice on many matters. Most of his advice consists of don'ts. One such piece of advice relevant to the present context is 'Do not covet the gift of land given for *dharma* which is so much prized by the people of Madurai, in order to give gifts to your warriors'. In the context of the Velvikkudi grant, which was earlier in point of time, this injunction is very significant.

Of course this is on a later day, probably some generations after Kadumkon. The name of this Pandiya is not given nor any of his achievements. This would imply that he might not have been any illustrious ruler, like for example Mudukudumi, or Neduncheliyan or even Kadumkon. But our interest is in the fact that the poet's exhortation to the king reminds us of the Velvikkudi incident.

A few other exhortations or pieces of advice are remarkable, as they are quite novel in the literature of the first millennium of the Christian era.

"Do not expropriate the property of the hard tillers of the soil causing them suffering, in order to help the soldiers who helped you to win wars. Do not choose as your ministers those who are able to point out the wealth amassed by the warriors.¹ Do not try to dig out hidden wealth by a greed for greater wealth. Do not covet and confiscate the charitable endowments so much prized by the citizens of Madurai in order to reward your soldiers."

In this context, see also the *Tirikadukam* verse (26) quoted under note 1 on page 93.

1. This reminds us of the Governments hunt for black money in the modern day.

THE TAMIL PORTION OF THE VELVIKKUDI GRANT

வேள்விக்குடிச் சாசனம்

[* இது, மூலத்தில் இத்தொடர் கீர்ந்த எழுத்து என்று காட்டும்.]

கொல்யாணை பலவோட்டிக் கூடாமன்னர் குழாந்தவிர்த்த
பல்யாக முதுகுடுமிப் பெருவழுதியெனும் பாண்டியாதிராஜ*னல்
நாகமா மலர்ச்சோலை நளர்ச்சினைமிசை வண்டலம்பும்
பாகனூர்க் கூற்றமென்னும் பழனக்கிடக்கை நீர்நாட்டுச்
சொற்கணுளர் சொலப்பட்ட சுருதிமார்க்கம்* பிழையாத
கொற்கைகிழா னற்கொற்றன் கொண்டவேள்வி முற்றுவிக்கக்
கேள்வியந்த னுளர்முன்பு கேட்கவென் றெடுத்துரைத்து
வேள்விச்சாலை முன்புநின்று வேள்விகுடியென் றப்பதியைச்
சீரோடு திருவளரச் செய்தார்வேந்த னப்பொழுதே
நீரோட்டிக் கொடுத்தமையா னீடுபுத்தி* துய்த்தபின் 10
னளவரிய ஆதிராஜரை* யகலநீக்கி யகலிடத்தைக்
களப்ர*னென்னும் கலியரைசன் கைக்கொண்டதனை யிறக்கிய
பின்
படுகடன்முளைத்த பருதிபோல பாண்டியாதிராஜன்*வெளிற்பட்டு
விடுகதி ரவிரொளி விலகலீற் றிருந்து
வேலைதழ்ந்த வியலிடத்துக்
கோவுங் குறும்பும் பாவுடன் முருக்கிச்
செங்கோ லோச்சி வெண்குடை நீழற்
றங்கொளி நிறைந்த தரணி மங்கையைப்
பிறர்பா லுரிமை திறவிதி னீக்கித்
தன்பா லுரிமை நன்கன மமைத்த 20
மானம் பேர்த்த தானை வேந்தன்
னெடுங்கா மன்ன ரொளிநக ரழித்த
கடுங்கோ னென்னுங் கதிர்வேற் றென்னன் ;
மற்றவற்கு மகனாகி மகீதலம்* பொதுநீக்கி
மலர்மங்கைஒடு மணையர்ந்த
அற்றமி லடர்வேற்றானை ஆதிராஜன்* அவனிதுளாமணி
எத்திறத்து மிகலழிக்கும் மத்தயானை மாறவார்ம்மன்* ; மற்றவற்கு
மருவினிய வொருமகனாகி மண்மகளை மறுக்கடிந்து

விக்ரம*த்தின் வெளிற்பட்டு விலங்கல்வெல்பொறி
வேந்தர்வேந்தன் 30
சிலைத்தடக்கைக் கொலைக்களிற்றுச் செழியன்வானவன்
செங்கோற்சேந்தன் ;

மற்றவற்குப் பழிப்பின்றி வழித்தோன்றி
உதயகிரி மத்ய*மத் துறுசுடர்போலத்
தெற்றென்று திசை*நடுங்க மற்றவன் வெளிற்பட்டுச்
சூழியாணை செலவுந்திப் பாழிவா யமர்கடந்து
வில்வேலிக் கடற்றூணையை நெல்வேலிச் செருவென்றும்
விரவிவந் தடையாத பரவரைப் பாழ்படுத்தும்
அறுகாலினம் புடைதிளைக்குங் குறுநாட்டவர் குலங்கெடுத்தும்
கைந்நலத்த களிறுந்திச் செந்நிலத்துச் செருவென்றும்
பாரளவுந் தனிச்செங்கோற் கேரள*ணைப் பலமுறையும்
உரிமைச் சுற்றமோ டவரயாணையும் 40

புரிசைம்மதிற் புலியூர்ப்
பகல்நாழிகை யிறவாமை இகலாழியுள் வென்றுகொண்டும்
வேலாழியும் வியன்பறம்பு மேலாமைசென் றெறிந்தழித்தும்
ஹிரண்யகர்ப்ப*முந் துலாபார*முந் தரணிமிசைப் பலசெய்தும்
அந்தணை*ர்க்கு மசக்த*ர்க்கும் வந்தணைகளன் றீத்தளித்த
மகரிகை*யணி மணிநெடுமுடி
அரிகேசரி யசமசமன் சிரீமாறவர்ம்மன்* ;
மற்றவற்கு மகனாகிக் கொற்றவேல் வலனேந்திப்
பொருதாரும் கடற்றூணையை மருதாரூண் மாண்பழித்
தாய்வேளை யகப்பட ஏயென்னாமை யெறிந்தழித்துச் 50
செங்கொடியும் புதான்கோட்டுஞ் செருவென்றவர்

சினந்தவிர்த்துக்

கொங்கலரு நறும்பொழில்வாய்க் குயிலோடு மயிலகவும்
மங்கலபுரமெனு மகாநகரு*ண் மகாரதரை* யெறிந்தழித்து
அறைகடல் வளாகம் பொதுமொழி யகற்றிச்
சிலையும் புலியுங் கயலுஞ் சென்று
நிலையமை நெடுவரை யிடவயிற் கிடாஅய்
மண்ணினி தாண்ட தண்ணளிச் செங்கோற்
றென்ன வானவன் செம்பியன் சோழன்
மன்னர் மன்னன் மதுரகரு நாடகன்
கொன்னவின்ற நெடுஞ்சுடர் வேற் கொங்கர்க்கோமான்

கோச்சடையன் ; 60

மற்றவற்குப் புத்ர*னாய் மண்மகளது பொருட்டாக
மத்யயாணை செலவுந்தி மானவேல் வலனேந்திக்

கடுவிசையா லெதிர்ந்தவரை நெடுவயல்வாய் நிகரழித்துக்
 கறுவடைந்த மனத்தவரைக் குறுமடைவாய்க் கூர்ப்பழித்து
 மன்னிகுறிச்சியுந் திருமங்கையு முன்னின்றவர் முரணழித்து
 மேவலோர் கடற்றூனையோ டேற்றெதிரே வந்தவரைப்
 பூவலூர்ப் புறங்கண்டும்
 கொடும்புரிநை நெடுங்கிடங்கிற் கொடும்பா னூர்க்கூடார்[தம்]
 கடும்பரியுங் கடுங்களிறுங் கதிர்வேலிற் கைக்கொண்டும்
 செழும்புரவிப் பல்லவனைக் குழும்பூருட் டேசழிய 70

எண்ணிறந்த மால்களிறு மிஷளிகளும் பலகவர்ந்தும்
 தரியலராய்த் தறித்தவரைப் பெரியலூர்ப் பீடழித்தும்
 பூவிரியும் பொழிற்சோலைக் காவிரியைக் கடந்தித்
 டமுகமைந்த வார்சிலையின் மழகொங்க மடிப்படுத்தும்
 ஈண்டொளிய மணியிமைக்கு மெழிலமைந்த நெடும்புரிசைப்
 பாண்டிக் கொடுமுடி சென்றெய்திப்
 பசுபதி*யது பதுமபாதம்* பணிந்தேத்திக்
 கனகராசியும் கதிர்மணியும் மனமகிழக் கொடுத்திட்டுங்
 கொங்கர்வன் நறுங்கண்ணிக் கங்க*ராஜனொடு
 சம்பந்த*ஞ்செய்தும்
 எண்ணிறந்தன கோசகசிர*மும் இரணியகர்ப்ப*முந்
 துலாபார*மும் 80

மண்ணின்மிசைப் பலசெய்து மறைநாவினோர் குறைதீர்த்துங்
 கூடல்வஞ்சி கோழியென்னு மாடமா மதில்புதுக்கியும்
 அறைகடல் வளாகங் குறையா தாண்ட
 மன்னர் மன்னன் றென்னவர் மருகன்
 மான வெண்குடை மானேர் மாறன் ;
 மற்றவற்குமகனாகி மாலுருவின் வெளிப்பட்டுக்
 கொற்றமுன் றுடனியம்பக் குளிர்வெண்குடை மண் காப்ப
 பூமகளும் புலமகளு நாமகளு நலனேத்தக்
 கலியரைசன் வலிதளரப் பொலிவினொடு வீற்றிருந்து
 கருங்கட லுடுத்த பெருங்கண் ஞாலத்து 90

நாற்பெரும் படையும் பாற்படப் பரப்பிக்
 கருதாதுவந் தெதிர்மலைந்த காடவனைக் காடடையப்
 பூவிரியும் புனற்கழனிக் காவிரியின் றென்கரைமேல்
 தண்ணாக மலர்ச்சோலைப் பெண்ணாகடத் தமர்வென்றும்
 தீவா யயிலேந்தித் திளைத்தெதிரே வந்திறுத்த
 ஆய்வேளையுங் குறும்பரையு மடலமரு ளழித்தோட்டிக்
 காட்டுக்குறும்பு சென்றடைய நாட்டுக்குறும்பிற் செருவென்றும்
 அறைகடல் வளாக மொருமொழிக் கொளீஇய

சிலைமலி தடக்கைத் தென்ன வானவன்

அவனே ,

100

சிரீவரன்+ சிரீமனோகரன்+ சினச்சோழன் புனப்பூழியன்
விதகன்மஷன் விநயலிச்சுதன் விக்ரமபாரகன் வீரபுரோகன்+
மருத்பலன் மான்யசாசனன் மநூபமன் மர்த்திதவீரன்+
கிரிஸ்தீரன் கீதிகிந்நரன் கிரிபாலயன் கிருதாபதானன்*
கலிப்பகை கண்டகநிஷ்டூரன் கார்யதக்ஷிணன்

கார்முகபார்த்தன்+

பராந்தகன் பண்டிதவத்ஸலன் பரிபூர்ணணன் பாபபீரு+

குரையறுகடற் படைத்தானைக் குணக்ராஹ்யன்+

கூடந்ருணயன்+

நிறையறுமலர் மணிநீண்முடி நேரியர்கோன் நெடுஞ்சடையன் ;
மற்றவன்றன் ராஜ்யவற்சரம்+ மூன்றாவது செலாநிற்ப ;
ஆங்கொருநான்

110

மாடமா மதிந்கூடற் பாடுநின்றவர்ஆக்ரோதி+க்கக்
கொற்றவனே மற்றவரைத் தெற்றென நன்குகூவி
என்னேநுங் குறையென்று முன்னாகப் பணித்தருள
மேனணின் குரவராற் பான்முறையின் வழவாமை
மாகந்தோய் மலர்ச்சோலைப் பாகனூர்க் கூற்றத்துப்படுவது
ஆள்வதானை யடல்வேந்தே வேள்விகுடியென்னும்

பெயருடையது

ஒல்காத வேற்றூனையொ டோதவேலி யுடன்காத்த
பல்யாக முதுகுடுமிப் பெருவழுதியென்னும் பரமேச்வர+னால்
வேள்விகுடி யென்னப்பட்டது கேள்வியிற் றரப்பட்டதனைத்
துளக்கமில்லாக் கடற்றூனையாய் களப்ர+ரா லிறக்கப்பட்டது 120
என்றுநின்றவன் லிக்ஞாப்ய+ஞ்செய்ய, நன்றுநன்றென்று

முறுவலித்து

நாட்டானின் பழமையாதய் காட்டிநீ கொள்கவென்ன
நாட்டாற்றன் பழமையாதல் காட்டினாங் கப்பொழுதே
காட்டமேனா ளெங்குரவராற் பான்முறையிற் றரப்பட்டதை
எம்மாலுந் தரப்பட்டதென்று செம்மாந்தவ னெடுத்தருளி
விற்கைத்தடக்கை விறல்வேந்தன் கொற்கைகிழான்
காமக்காணி நற்சிங்கற்குத்

தேரோடுங் கடற்றூனையான் நீரோட்டிக் கொடுத்தமையின் ;

மற்றிதற்குப் பெருநான்கெல்லை தெற்றென விரித்துரைப்பிற் -
புகரறுபொழின் மருங்குடுத்த நகருரெல்லைக்கு மேற்கும் ; 130

மற்றிதற்குத் தென்எல்லை குளந்தைவங்கூழ் வந்தெசைக்குங்
களந்தைக் குளத்தி லாலுக்கு வடக்கும்;

மற்றிதற்கு மேலெல்லை

அற்றமில்லாக் கொற்றன்புத்தாரொடு
மையிருப்பைச் செய்யிடை மேற்றலைப் பெருப்பிற்குக் கிழக்கும் ;
மற்றிதற்கு வடபாலெல்லை
காயலுட் கமலமலரும் பாயலுள் வடபாலைப்பெருப்பிற்குத்
தெற்கும் ;

இவ்வியைத்த பெருநான் கெல்லையிற்
பட்டபூமி காராண்மை மீயாட்சி யுள்ளடங்க
மேலென் குரவரார் கொடுக்கப்பட்ட பரிசே 140
யெம்மாலும் கொடுக்கப்பட்டது ;
மற்றிதற் காணத்தி குற்றமின்றிக் கூறுங்காலைக்
கொங்கர்வன் நறுங்கண்ணிக் கங்கராசனது கந்யாரத்தம்
கொங்கர் கோற்குக் கொணர்ந்து கொடுப்ப
ஆர்ப்பற வடற்றூனைப் பூர்வராசர் புகன்றெழுந்து
வில்விரவுங் கடற்றூனை வல்லபனை வெண்பைவாய்
ஆளமரு ளழிந்தோட வாளமரு ளுடன்வவ்விய
ஏனப்பொறி யிகலமரு ளிடியருமென வலனேந்த
மலைத்ததானை மதவிகலன் மன்னர்கோ னருளிற் பெற்றும்
கோல்வளைக்கும் வேற்றூனைப் 150
பல்வளைக்கோன் கொணரப்பட்டுப்
பொரவந்தவர் மதந்தவிர்க்கும்
கரவந்தபுரத்தவர் குலத்தோன்றல்
மாவேந்தும் கடற்றூனை முவேந்தமங்கலப் பேரரையனாகிய
வைத்யசிகாமணி மாறங்காரி
இப்பிரம தேயம் உடைய
கொற்கைகிழான் காமக்காணி சுவரஞ்சிங்கன்
இதனுள் மூன்றிலொன்றும் தனக்குவைத்
திரண்டுகூறும் ஐம்பதின்மர் பிராமணர்க்கு
நீரோ டட்டிக் கொடுத்தான் ; இதனுள் 160
மூர்த்தி எயினன் சவையோ டொத்தது
நான்கரை படாகாரம் உடையன் ; இதனுள்
தனக்குவைத்த ஒரு கூற்றிலுந் தம்பிமார்க்கு நான்குந்தஞ்
சிறப்பனார் மக்களுக்கு ஆறும்
சபையோ டொத்த படாகாரங் கொடுத்தான் ;
இப்பிரசுத்தி பாடின சேனாபதி ஏனாதி ஆயின
சாத்தஞ்சாத்தற்கு மூன்று கூற்றருமாய்த்
தங்களோ டொத்த நான்கு படாகாரங் கொடுத்தார் ;
மற்றிதனைக் காத்தார் மலரடியென் முடிமேல் என்று
கொற்றவனே பணித்தருளித் 170

தெற்றெனத் தாம்ர சாசனஞ் செய்வித்தான் ;
 இஃதெழுதின சுத்தகேசரிப் பெரும்பணைக் காரனுக்கு
 பெருமக்கள் அருளாற் பெற்றது ஒரு இல்லவளாவும்
 இரண்டுமாச் செய்யும் ஒரு புஞ்சையும் பெற்றான் :
 இவை யுத்தகேசரிப் பெரும்பணைகாரன் எழுத்து.

175

Note :

The text given in the *Ten Pandiya copper plates* is followed in this text.

Line 45. It is curious that the Tamil word *antanar* has been written in Sanskrit in the grantha script.

Line 47. The whole line is in Sanskrit.

Lines 102-106. All the five lines are in Sanskrit except the word கலிப்பகை in line 105.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

In the following pages, the Tamil sources which are found mentioned in the body of the text are given in the Tamil script, with short notes where necessary. The page number and the number of the note on that page are referred to and then the Tamil extracts are quoted. These may help the Tamil knowing scholars to understand the remarks given, more accurately.

Page 10 Note 1. *Purananuru* verse 9. Poet Nettimaiyar refers to Vadimbambala ninra Pandiyan in his song on Palyagasalai Mudukudumip-Peruvaludi (lines 8-11) :

எங்கோ வாழிய குடும்பி, தங்கோச்
செந்நீர்ப் பசும்பொன் வயிரியர்க் கீத்த
முந்நீர் விழுவின் நெடியோன்
நன்னீர்ப் பஹுளி மணவினும் பலவே.

Here Nediyan is this Pandiya. He was probably one of the legendary Pandiyas. The *Pahruli* river is said to be laid out by him. *Maduraikkanni* and *Silappadhikaram* sing his praises.

Page 15, note 1. *Ter maran*: Vide the name of a Pandiya, Venter-Cheliyan on page 9. His name is only Cheliyan; his chariot was probably painted white, and so he is known as Venter - Cheliyan.

Similarly we have many expressions like Ter-van Killi, where Killi is a Chola, *van* refers to his liberal gifts; the term means Killi mounted on the chariot and giving bounteous gifts. Besides we have many phrases like *Vaman-terk-Kodai* meaning the Sera (*Kodai*) mounted on the fast running horse chariot. (*Muttollayiram*, *Perumtohai* verses 567, 603, 606.) This writer takes Ter-maran together and says the term means Maran of discernment !

Page 16, note 1. Vide Sekkilar's *Periyapuranam*, *Taduttatkonda puranam*, verse 56:

ஆட்சியில் ஆவணத்தில் அன்றிமற் றயலார் தங்கள்
காட்சியில் முன்றில் ஒன்று காட்டுவாய் என்ன, முன்னே
முட்சியில் கிழித்த ஓலை படியோலை, மூல ஓலை
மாட்சியில் காட்ட வைத்தேன் என்றனன், மாயை வல்லான்.

Here *atchi* is possession and enjoyment; *avanam* is written document; *ayalar tangal katchi* is the evidence of neighbours (others).

Page 16, note 2. The Dalavaypuram plates were issued by Viranarayanan, brother of Varaguna II in his 45th regnal year. Varaguna ascended the throne in 863 A.D. Vide lines 46-50 and 96-97 or the Tamil *meykkirtti* portion :

மனஎதிரா வகைவென்று தென்மதுரா புரஞ்செய்தும்,
அங்கதனில் அருந்தமிழ்நற் சங்கம் இரீஇத் தமிழ்வளர்த்தும்
ஆலங்கானத் தமர்வென்று ஞாலங்காவல் நன்கெய்தியும்
கடிநாறு கவினலங்கல் களப்பாழர் குலங்களைந்தும்
முடிதுடிய முரண்மன்னர் எனைப்பலரும் முன்னிகந்தபின் ;
கற்றறிந்தோர் திறல்பரவக் களப்பாழரைக் களைகட்ட
மற்றிரள்தோள் மாக்கடுங்கோன் மானம்பேர்த் தருளியகோன்.

Page 17: *Manam Portta*: The Sanskrit *prasasti* of the Dalavaypuram plates, referring to Kadumkon (verse 23) says only *manam pertta* Kadumkon; here we find the letters upto *manam per* only written in Tamil and the other portion *rtta Kadumkon* written in the Sanskrit letters. But this does not alter the view held here regarding the idiomatic use *manamportta*; even then *per* might be an error for *por*.

Page 17, note 1: *Periyapuranam, Murti nayanar*, verses 11 - 14:

கானக் கடிதும் வடுகக்கரு நாடர் காவல்
மானப் படைமன்னன் வலிந்துநிலங் கொள்வாறாய்
யானைக் குதிரைக் கருவிப்படை வீரர் திண்தேர்
சேனைக் கடலுங் கொடுதென்திசை நோக்கி வந்தான்.

வந்துற்ற பெரும் படைமண்புதை யப்பரப்பிச்
சந்தப் பொதியில் தமிழ்நாடுடை மன்னன் வீரம்
சிந்தச் செருவென்று தன்னானை செலுத்து மாற்றாற்
பந்தப் பொழில்தும் மதுராபுரி காவல் கொண்டான்.

வல்லாண் மையின் வண்டமிழ் நாடுவளம் படுத்தி
நில்லா நிலைஒன்றிய இன்மையின் நீண்ட மேரு

வில்லான் அடிமைத் திறம்மேவிய நீற்றின் சார்பு
செல்லா தருகந் தர்திறத்தினிற் சிந்தை தாழ்ந்தான்.

தாளும் சமண்கை யர்தவத்தைமெய் யென்று சார்ந்து
வீழும் கொடியோன் அதுவன்றியும் வெய்ய முன்னைச்
சூழும் வினையால் அரவம் சுடர்த் திங்க ளோடும்
வாழும் சடையான் அடியாரையும் வன்மை செய்வான்.

Note the following expressions here: The *Vaduhak-karunata* king bent upon seizing the territory by force of arms came to Madurai. He set his mind on the path of the followers of *Arhat* (the Jains). Not only that: he began to harass the *Siva bhaktas*.

Ibid, note 2: *Cintanami*: கட்டியங்காரன் என்னும் கலியரசு
அழிந்தது (Vere 2323); திண்தோள் கலிகெழு நிலத்தைக் காவா
தொழியுமே காளைக்கு (1926).

Kali kelu nilam — the land which was with Kattiyamkaran. In both the instances, *kali* is used in the sense of cruel and tyrannical.

Page 22, note 1: *Ahananuru* verse 44 lines 7 — 15.

நன்னன் ஏற்றை, நறும்பூண் அத்தி,
துன்னருங் கடுந்திறற் கங்கன், கட்டி,
பொன்னணி வல்லில் புன்றுறை என்றருங்கு
அன்றவர் குழீஇய அளப்பருங் கட்டுர்ப்
பருந்துபடப் பண்ணிப் பழையன் பட்டெனக்
கண்டது நோன னாகித் திண்தோர்க்
கணையன் அகப்படக் கழுமலந் தந்த
பிணையலங் கண்ணிப் பெரும்பூட் சென்னி.

Ibid, note 2: *Silappadhikaram*, 25 *Katchikathai* lines 156-158:

கொங்கணர் கலிங்கர் கொடுங்கரு நாடர்
பங்களர் கங்கர் பல்வேற் கட்டியர்
வடவா ரியரொடு வண்தமிழ் மயக்கத்துள்.

Page 23, note 1: Quoted by Mayilainathar in his commentary on *Nannul* under *sutram* 272 (*Perumtohai* verse 2107):

தென்பாண்டி சூட்டம் சூடங்கற்கா வேள்பூழி
பன்றி அருவா அதன்வடக்கு - நன்றாய

சீத மலாடு புனல்நாடு செந்தமிழ்சேர்
ஏதில் பன்னிரு நாட் டெண்.

Ibid, note 2: Vide Ahananuru verse 115, lines 5-6:

நுண்பூண் எருமை குட நாட் டன்னஎன்
ஆய்நலந் தொலையினும் தொலைக.

Ibid, note 4: Ibid, verse 36 lines 13-20:

...கொடித்தேர்ச் செழியன்
ஆலங் கானத்து அகன்தலை சிவப்ப,
சேரல் செம்பியன் சினங்கெழு தீதியன்
போர்வல் யானைப் பொலம்பூண் எழினி
நாரரி நறவின் எருமை பூரன்
தேங்கமழ் அகலத்துப் புலர்ந்த சாந்தின்
இருங்கோ வேண்மான் இயல்தேர்ப் பொருநனென்று
எழுவர் நல்வலம் அடங்க.

Page 23, note 6: *Erumai maram*: the definition given in *Purapporul venba malai* 139:

பெயர் பொடிப்பச் சினங்கடை இப்
பெயர் படைக்குப் பின்னின் றன்று.

Page 27, note 1. *Purananuru* verse 385 lines 8-12:

காவிரி அணையும் தாழ்நீர்ப் படப்பை
நெல்லினை கழனி அம்பர் கிழவோன்
நல்லரு வந்தை வாழிய, புல்லிய
வேங்கட விறல் வரைப் பட்ட
ஓங்கல் வானத் துறையினும் பலவே.

The other verses: *Ahananuru*:

கழல்புனை திருந்தடிக் கள்வர் கோமான்
மழபுலம் வணக்கிய மாவண் புல்லி
விழவுடை விழுச்சீர் வேங்கடம் பெறினும். (61: 11-13)

கல்லா இளையர் பெருமகன் புல்லி
வியன்தலை நன்னாட்டு வேங்கடங் கழியினும். (83: 9-10)

மாஅல் யானை மறப்போர்ப் புல்லி
காம்புடை நெடுவரை வேங்கடத் தும்பர். (209: 8-9)

புடையலங் கழற்காற் புல்லி குன்றம். (295 : 13)

புல்லி நன்னாட் டும்பர்ச் செல்லரும்
சுரம் இறந் தேகினும். (311 : 12-13)

பொய்யா நல்லிசை மாவண் புல்லி. (359 : 12)

நிரைபல குழீஇய நெடுமொழிப் புல்லி
தேன்தூங் குயர்வரை நன்னாட் டும்பர்
வேங்கடம் இறந்தனர் ஆயினும். (393 : 18-20)

Page 29 : *Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta*: The story is found in the Pali work *Vathara tene, Bhadra bahu bhattara katha*.

Page 29, note 1. *Ahananuru* verse 343 : 3-10 ;

வெல்போர்க் கவுரியர் நன்னாட் டுள்ளதை
மண்கொள் புற்றத் தருப்புழை திறப்பின்
ஆகொள் முதூர்க் கள்வர் பெருமகன்
ஏவ லினையர் தலைவன் மேவார்
அருங்குறும் பெறிந்த ஆற்றலொடு பருந்துபடப்
பல்செருக் கடந்த செல்லுறழ் தடக்கைக்
கெடா நல்லிசைத் தென்னன்.

Page 29, note 2. Vide the following extracts :

வடாஅது பணிபடு நெடுவரை வடக்கும்
தெனாஅது உருகெழு குமரியின் தெற்கும். (Puram 6 : 1-2)
தென் குமரி வடபெருங்கல்
குணகுட கடலா எல்லை. (Ibid 17 : 1-2)

The second two lines occur verbatim in *Maduraik-kanji* lines 71-72.
Also vide a verse quoted in *Tapparumkala virutti* under *sutram* 94,
Perumto hai 584 :

தென்குமரி வடவிமய
மாஅவெல்லைத் தம்புகழ் விளங்க.

Vide *Sikhandi* quoted by *Adiyarkkunallar*, *Silappadhikaram* 8.
Venirkathai lines 1-2, commentary :

வேங்கடங் குமரி தீம்புனற் பௌவம் என்று
இந்நான் கெல்லை தமிழது வழக்கே.

Also, *Sirukkakkai padiniyar*:

வடதிசை மருங்கின் வடுகு வரம்பாக.

Ibid note 3. Venkatam is the modern Tiruppati which has gone to the Andhra Pradesh from 1953. The land beyond Venkatam was known as *moli peyar teyam*, the land where the language had changed. The prefatory verses of *Tolkappiyam* and *Nannul* respectively :

வடவேங்கடம் தென்குமரி ஆயிடைத்
தமிழ் கூறும் நல்லுலகத்து ;

குணகடல் குடகம் குமரி வேங்கடம்
எனுந்நான் கெல்லையின் இருந்தமிழ்க் கடலுள்.

Ibid note 4. Vide the following lines :

குல்லைக் கண்ணி வடுகர்.

Kurumthohai 11.

கடுங்குரற் பம்பைக் கதநாய் வடுகர்
நெடும் பெருங் குன்றம் நீந்தி.

Narrinai 212.

தென்பரதவர் மிடல் சாய
வடவடுகர் வாளோட்டிய...
நற்றூர்க் கள்ளின் சோழன்.

Purananuru 378.

வேங்கடத் தும்பர்...வடுகர் தேளம்

Ahananuru 213.

நேரா வன்தோள் வடுகர் பெருமகன்
பேரிசை எருமை நன்னாடு.

„ 253

முரண்மிகு வடுகர்.

„ 281

நோன் சிலைத்

தொடையமை பகழித் துவன்று நிலைவடுகர்
... மொழி பெயர் தேளம்.

„ 295

வம்ப வடுகர் பைந்தலை சவட்டிக்
கொன்ற யானை.

„ 375

Page 30 note 1. *Ahananuru* 107:

கல்லா நீண்மொழிக் கதநாய் வடுகர்.

Page 32: Note 1: Mayilai Venkatasami definitely says that the Kalabhras were not Tamils but were only Kannadigas and that the view of others is all wrong - Vide page 21 of his book, *Tamilnad under the Kalabhras* 1976.

Ibid note 2. *Pingala nighantu*, Sivan Pillai edition 1890 :

இந்தளம் வடுகெனல் — *sutra* 1397

மருத யாமோர் குலம் இந்தளமும் வடுகே — *sutra* 4020

Pingalam is a lexical work of the 10th century.

Ibid note 5. *Ahananuru* verse 253, vide page 144.

Page 34 note 2. *Sambandhar Devaram* Book 3-39 verse 2.

ஆகதத்தொடு மந்திரங்கள் அமைந்த சங்கத பங்கமாய்
பாகதத்தொ டிரைத்துரைத்த சனங்கள் வெட்குறு பக்கமா
மாகதக்கரி போல்திரிந்து புரிந்து நின்றனும் மாகசேர்
ஆகதர்க்கெளி யேனலேன்திரு ஆலவாய் அரன்றிற்கவே.

The second line பாகதத்தொடிரைத்துரைத்த refers to the people who always spoke in the *prakrita* (*pakatam*) tongue. The verse in which he says that they did not realise the higher values of the two languages *Aryam* (meaning the Vedic language) and *Sen Tamil*, is well known: 'ஆரியத்தொடு செந்தமிழ்ப்பயன் அறிசிலா ஈனர்கள்'. In another place also Tiru Jnanasambandha says that the Jains (naturally successors to the Kalabhra culture in language and religion) are deceitful people using many languages. Song 88 in Book 3, verse 10: 'மொழி பல கொள்ளிய களவினார்'.

Page 35 note 1. Verses in the inscriptions at Sendalai are in praise of the Muttaraiyar: vide *Perumtohai* verses 1012-1020. The following is an oft-quoted verse in praise of Suvaran Mapputan (Ma-Bhutan) *Perumtohai* 1029:

உதுக்காண்,
சுரந்தான வண்கைச் சுவரன்மாப் பூதன்
பரந்தானப் பல்புகழ் பாடி— இரந்தார் மாட்டு
இன்மை அகல்வது போல இருள்நீங்க
மின்னும் களித்தேர் மழை.

Some pillar inscriptions refer to the Muttaraiyar as 'Sri Kalvara Kalvar'. One writer sees here a corrupt form of Kalabhra Kalvar. This is just fanciful and does not fit. This is just a title intended to glorify the Muttaraiya character of pinching territories from weak neighbours. It does not refer to Kalabhras at all, vide Kalabhra rule in *Tamilnad*, Page 70).

Page 40 note 1. *Naladiyar* verses on the Muttaraiyar:

பெருமுத் தரையர் பெரிதுவந் தீயும்
கருணைச் சோரூர்வர் கயவர்-கருணையைப்

பேரும் அறியார் நனிவிரும்பு தாளாண்மை
நீரும் அமிழ்தாய் விடும். 200

மல்லல்மா ஞாலத்து வாழ்பவருள் எல்லாம்
செல்வர் எனினும் கொடாதவர்-நல்கூர்ந்தார் ;
நல்கூர்ந்தக் கண்ணும், பெருமுத் தரையரே
செல்வரைச் சென்று இரவா தார். 296

A deep thinking on the two verses will perhaps tell us that the Perumuttaraiyar here mentioned is not a proper noun but only a common noun, signifying one who is very rich. During the period of *Naladi* the term might have been a common noun ; but two centuries later probably this was adopted as the title of a clan of warriors who were just then rising to power. Viewed in this light, placing *Naladi* as a work of the latter half of the 4th or of the early 5th century may not pose any difficulties. There need have been no Muttaraiyar clan in that period. It is also to be noted that the term here is not Muttaraiyar but Perumuttaraiyar.

The prefix *peru* would rule out the possibility of any Muttaraiyar clan in the period. It is also to be noted that the commentators (13th century) of *Naladiyar* do not mention the Muttaraiyar as the proper name of any clan but mention the term only as the special attribute of richness.

Page 43, Note 1: vide *Perumtohai* verse 132 :

நாகிளம்பும் பிண்டிக்கீழ் நான்முகனுய் வானிறைஞ்ச
மாகதம் சேர் வாய்மொழியான் மாதவர்க்கும் அல்லார்க்கும்
தீதகல எடுத்துரைத்தான் சேவடிசென் றடைந்தார்க்கு
மாதுயரம் தீர்தல் எளிது.

Here *magadham ser vaymoli* means his language was Magadham (Ardhamagadhi as we know it today) - vide verse 109 of *Tirukkalam-bakam* lines 51-52.

...மூவாறு மொழிப் பொதுமை

ஒரு மொழியின் உயிர் பரந்த மருள்மருவா அருள் முதல்வனை.

"Thou art the Lord who taught the souls to get over karma employing the (Magadhi) language which was the language common to the thrice-six languages." (Thrice six are the eighteen according

to Tamil literary convention.) This is a long verse in praise of Arha deva in the now obsolete *vanjippa*. *Tirukkalambakam* is a Jain work in praise of Arha, written by Udisi devar in the 15th century.

Ibid note 2. *Kalingattupparani* verse 22 :

மழலைத்திரு மொழியிற்சில வடுகும்பல தமிழும்
குழறித்தரு கருநாடியர் குறுகிக்கடை திறமின்.

Karunadiyar is women of Karnataka. The reference to 'more words from Tamil' (பல தமிழும்) is significant. The work was composed by 1105 A.D. Vide also in this context the notes on note 2 on page 34.

Page 44, note 1 : Sambandhar *Devaram*, Book 3 : 39 verse 4.

மந்திபோல் திரிந் தாரியத்தொடு செந்தமிழ்ப் பயன் அறிகிலா
அந்தகர்க் கெளியேன் அலேன் திரு ஆலவாய் அரன் நிற்கவே.

Ibid note 2 : Appar *Devaram* Book 5 : 58 verse 9:

வாயி ருந்தமி மேபடித் தாளுரு
ஆயி ரஞ்சம னும் மழி வாக்கினான்,
பாயி ரும்புனல் ஆறை வடதளி
மேய வன்னென வல்வினை வீடுமே.

Ibid note 3 : Sundarar *Devaram* Book 7 : 33 verse 9 :

நமண நந்தியும் கருமவீரனும் தருமசேனனும் என்றிவர்
குமணமாமலைக் குன்றுபோல்நின்று தங்கள் கூறையொன்றின்றியே
ஞமண ஞாஞண ஞாண ஞோணமென் றேதியாரையும் நாணிலா
அமணராழிற்பழிப் புடையரோ நமக் கடிகளாகிய அடிகளே.

Here the words ஞாணஞாஞண etc. are in contemptuous ridicule of the Jain way of speaking the Prakrita language, which was like speaking through the nose as it was devoid of hard sounds and stops.

Page 45, note 1 : Vide the refrain in all the verses of *Arutpattu* of Tiruvacakam:

ஆதியே அடியேன் ஆதரித் தழைத்தால்
அதெந்துவே என்று அருளாயே.

Page 46 note 1. *Kalladam*, verse 57 lines 12-14:

படைநான் குடன்று பஞ்சவற் றுரந்து
மதுரை வவ்விய கருநட வேந்தன்
அருகர்ச் சார்ந்து நின்று அரன் பணி அடைப்ப.

Page 49, note 1. Some commands of Bukka I are very revealing in disclosing the condition of the Jains vis-a-vis the Vaishnavas in the period:

"The Jainas complained to the emperor Bukka I (1355-1376 A. D.) against some injustice alleged to have been done to them by the Vaishnavas. That they should have freely appealed to the emperor himself is not without its significance. The Emperor heard the representation of both the parties - the Vaishnavas were represented by the men of the eighteen *nadus* including acharyas from Srirangam, Tirumalai, Kanchi and Melkote - and brought about a compact. The concluding observation in the award merits reproduction and indicates the royal guarantee for the safety of a religious minority: 'For as long as the sun and the moon endure, the Vaishnavas will continue to protect the Jaina darsana. The Vaishnavas and Jains are one body, they must not be viewed as different.'—Transactions of the Archaeological Society for 1957-58, page 36."

Ibid. note 2: The composite picture of the Jains of the period is given in the quotations from Sambandhar by M. Balasubrahmanya Mudaliyar in his introductory notes to his *Adangal murai (Devaram)* edition of 1953, pages 90-97.

Page 50: *Pandiyas of Madurai*: When these Pandiyas were driven out of Madurai by the Kalabhras, they seem to have gone into Sri Lanka of the period with their armed forces that survived the Kalabhra onslaught and won the throne from Mitraserena who was seated there. Six Pandiyas ruled there from about 436 A.D. for 27 years (vide *Kalabhra Rule* in Tamilnad Pages 46-50). The throne of the country seems to have been drowned in the blood of the rulers killed by other aspirants to it.

Page 50 note 1. Appar Devaram Book 6:3 verse 11.

முலைமறைக்கப் பட்டுநீ ராடாப் பெண்கள்

முறைமுறையால் நந்தெய்வம் என்று தீண்டித்

தலைபறிக்கும் தன்மையர்கள் ஆகி நின்று

தவமே என்று அவம் செய்து தக்க தோரார்;

மலைமறிக்கச் சென்ற இலங்கைக் கோளை
 மதனழியச் செற்றசே வடியி னானை
 இலைமறித்த கொன்றையந் தாரான் தன்னை
 ஏழையேன் நான் பண்டு இகழ்ந்த வாறே.

Also vide the verse from St. Appar (4.101.8) where he remarks that the Jains believe it is bliss to pluck off the hair on the head:

கரப்பர்கள் மெய்யைத் தலைபறிக்கச் சுகமென்னும் குண்டர்
 உரைப்பன கேளாதிங்குய்யப் போந்தேனுக்கும் உண்டு
 கொலோ,
 திருப்பொலி ஆரூர்த் திருமூலட் டானன் திருக்கயிலைப்
 பொருப்பன் விருப்பமர் தொண்டர்க்குத் தொண்டராம்
 புண்ணியமே.

Ibid note 2. Sambandhar *Devaram* Book 3.108 verse 8:

நீற்று மேனிய ராயினர் மேலுற்ற
 காற்றுக் கொள்ளவும் நிலலா அமணரைத்
 தேற்றி வாது செய்ததிரு வுள்ளமே,
 ஆற்ற வாளரக் கற்கும் அருளினாய் !

Here the purport of Sambandhar seems to be to educate the Jains, as can be seen from the reference to Siva's mercy shown to Ravana by giving him the sword.

Ibid, note 3: Vennik-kuyatti is a poetess of the Sangham age who had sung on the victory of Karikal Chola over Seraman Peruncheradan, who however was much vexed over the wound he received on his back and gave up his life (*Purananuru* verse 65 and 66). K. P. Aravanan has made a remark that the name might have been Vennik-Kuratti; *Kuratti* is here *guratti*, the nun (or teacher's wife). In view of what has been said in the text, there was no Jain woman or nun (*guratti*) who sang or dared to sing a song, because she was never treated as a respectable member of the society by the Jains. Besides, *Kuyatti* (the woman potter) belongs to a low caste in society as do *padini*, *kuratti*, *Peymahal* etc. Men and women also from the lowest ranks had sung poems in the period and it is therefore quite fitting that a woman potter also sings. The name could never have signified a *guratti*. *Kuyam* also means the breast but that meaning is not relevant in the context.

Page 55 note 2. Erosion of the city of by Puhar by the sea a-Manimekhalai:

தீவகச் சாந்தி செய்யா நான் உன்
காவல் மாநகர் கடல்வயிறு புகுஉம். 24 : 62-3

வானவன் விழாக்கோள் மாநகர் ஒழிந்தது
மணிமேகலா தெய்வம் மற்றது பொருஅள்,
அணிநகர் தன்னை அலைகடல் கொள்கென
விட்டனள் சாபம், பட்டது இதுவால்;
கடவுள் மாநகர் கால்கொளப் பெயர்ந்த
வடிவேற் றடக்கை வானவன் போல. 25 : 197-204

.... மாநகர் கடல் கொள,
அறவண அடிகளும் தாயரும் ஆங்குவிட்டு
இறவா திப்பதி புகுந்தது. 28 : 79-81

Page 56 note 1 : *Guruparampara Prabhavam Arayirappadi* by Pinbala-hiya jeer 1878 edition pages 68-69.

நம் பெருமானுக்குத் திருமதிள் முதலான கைங்கர்யம் பண்ணு
விக்கத் தநார்ஜ்ஜநம் பண்ணும் விரகென்னென்று கேட்டருள,
அவர்களும் நாகபட்டினத்திலே புலையறமாயிருப்பதொரு புத்தப்
பிரதிமை ஹிரண்மயஸ்வரூபமாயிருக்கும் அத்தைக் கொண்டுவந்து
சிந்நபிந்நமாக்கி “அ று ப் ப தே கருமங் கண்டாய்” என்று
விண்ணப்பஞ் செய்ய, ஆழ்வாரும் அவர்கள் சொன்னபடியே
நாகபட்டினத்திலே போய் “ஈயத்தாலாகாதோ இரும்பினாலாகாதோ,
பூயத்தால் மிக்கதொரு பூதத்தாலாகாதோ, தேயத்தே பித்தனை நற்
செம்புகளா லாகாதோ, மாயப்பொன் வேணுமோ மதித்துன்னைப்
பண்ணுகைக்கே” என்று தத்பிம்பம் ஊளையிடும்படி அபகரித்துக்
கொண்டு வந்து பங்கப்படுத்தி, திருமதிள் கைங்கர்யத்துக்கு
அர்ஹமாம்படி சுட்டுரைத்து நன்பொன்னாக்கிக் கொண்டு கலப்படிக்க
கொக்க பொருதுலைப் படுத்தி தத்ரவ்யத்தையிட்டுத் திருமதிள்
முதலாகச் சிகரபர்யந்தமாகப் பண்ண வேணுமென்று உபக்ரமித்து,
திருமதிள் கட்டுவிக்கிற செவ்வி.

Page 57 note 1. *Tirujnanasambandhar Devaram* Book 2, Poem 42
on Tiru Akkur, verse 3 :

வாளார்கண் செந்துவர்வாய் மாமலையான் தன்மடந்தை
தோளாகம் பாகமாப் புல்கினான் தொல் கோயில்
வேளாளர் என்றவர்கள் வள்ளன்மையால் மிக்கிருக்கும்
தாளாளர் ஆக்கூரில் தான்தோன்றி மாடமே.

Page 63 note 1: The three verses are given below All of them mention Accutan. A fourth verse given in continuation is also given here:

தினேவினைத்தார் முற்றம் தினையுணங்கும், செந்நெல்
தனைவினைத்தார் முற்றம் அது தானும்;—கனைசீர்
முரசுணங்கச் சங்குணங்கும் முரித்தேர்த் தானே
அரசுணங்கும் அச்சுதன்முற் றத்து.

அரசர் குலதிலகன் அச்சுதன் முற்றத்தில்
அரசர் அவதரித்த அந்நான்—முரசதீரக்
கொட்டிவிடும் ஓசையினும் கோவேந்தர் கால்தளையை
வெட்டிவிடும் ஓசை மிகும்.

குறையுளார் எங்கிரார்? கூர்வேல் இராமன்
இறையாறு திங்கள் இருந்தான் ;—முறைமையால்
ஆலிக்குந் தானே அலங்குதார் அச்சுதன்முன்
வாலிக் கிளையான் வரை.

குடகர் குணகடலென் றூர்த்தார், குடகர்க்கு
இடவர் வடகடல்என் றூர்த்தார்—வடகடலர்
தென்கடலென் றூர்த்தார், தென்தில்லை அச்சுதா! நின் றன்
முன்கடைநின் றூர்க்கும் முரசு.

The last verse mentions Accutan of Tillai. From this we have to conclude rightly that the verses have nothing to do with any Kalabhra or with Accuta vikkanta. They may refer to an Accuta of a much later period.

Page 67, Note 1. Vide *Silappadhikaram* 1927, Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, Page 7, a long verse of 103 lines given in the foot-note beginning (*Perumtohāi*, Verse 1384):

வேங்கடம் குமரி தீம்புனற் பௌவத்து
இந்நான் கெல்லையின் இருந்தமிழ் பயின்ற
செந்நாப் புலவர் செய்தி.

Page 68 note 1. *Famine in Pandinad*. The occurrence of a famine in Pandinad seems to have been a regular feature even in the later periods. The epic *Manimekhalai* refers to a contemporary period of famine for twelve years—"There was no rain in Pandinad for a period of twelve years and many people died" (vide chapter 14, *Pathira marapu kuriya kathai*, lines 55-56):

பன்னீராண்டு பாண்டி நன்னாடு
மன்னுயிர் மடிய மழைவளம் இழந்தது.

Because the River Vaihāi carried water only occasionally and all the land was rainfed, we find a poet of the Sangham age, Kuda pulaviyanar, advising King Neduncheliyan to construct a large number of tanks to conserve rain water for irrigation purposes, as without rain water the country cannot be productive of food (*Pura nanuru* verse 18). From all that has been said, it is clear that the land had many visitations of drought and famine.

Page 68, note 2. A legend regarding one patron by name Alanjeri Ayindan who gave refuge to the fleeing poets in their banished plight is recorded in the *Tamil Navalār caritai*; vide verse 1391 of *Peruntohai* :

காலை ஞாயிறு கடுங் கதிர் பரப்பி
வேலையும் குளனும் வெடிபடச் சுவறித்
தந்தையை மக்கள் முகம்பா ராமல்,
வெந்த சாகம் வெவ்வே றருந்திக்
குணமுள தனையும் கொடுத்து வாழ்ந்த
கணவனை மகளிர் கண்பா ராமல்,
விழித்த விழியெல்லாம் வேற்றுவிழி யாகி
அறவுரை இன்றி மறவுரை பெருகி
உரைமறந் தொழிந்த ஊழிக் காலத்தில்,
தாயில் லாதவர்க்குத் தாயே யாகவும்
தந்தை யில்லாதவர்க்குத் தந்தையே யாகவும்,
இந்த ஞாலத் திருக்கண் தீர
வந்து தோன்றினன் மாநிதிக் கிழவன்—
நீலஞ் சேரும் நெடுமால் போல்வான்,
ஆலஞ் சேரி அயிந்தன் என்பான்—
தன்குறை சொல்லான், பிறர்பழி உரையான்,
மறந்தும் பொய்யான், வாய்மையும் குன்றான்,
இறந்து போகாது எம்மைக் காத்தான்;
வருந்தல் வேண்டா வழி !
இருந்தனம் இருந்தனம் இடர்கெடுத்தனே,

The verse is here given in full because it is not easily traceable in books.

Page 78 : note 1 : *Kalladam* verse 3 lines 10-16 :

உலகியல் நிறுத்தும் பொருள் மர பொருங்க
மாறனும் புலவரும் மயங்குறு காலை

முந்துறும் பெருமறை முனைத்தருள் வாக்கால்
 ‘அன்பினைத் திணை’ யென்று அறுபது சூத்திரம்
 கடலமு தெடுத்துக் கரையில் வைத் ததுபோல்
 பரப்பின் தமிழ்ச்சுவை திரட்டி மற்றவர்க்குத்
 தெளிதரக் கொடுத்த தென்தமிழ்க் கடவுள்.

Anbin aintinai is the opening phrase of the first aphorism of this *Kalaviyal*,

Page 72 note 1 : The two verses of Sambandhar *Devaram* are given below :

மானினேர்விழி மாதராய் வழுதிக்கு மாபெருந் தேவிகேள் :
 பானல் வாயொரு பாலனீங்கிவன் என்று நீ பரி வெய்திடேல்;
 ஆனைமாமலை யாதியாய இடங்களிற்பல அல்லல்சேர்
 னளர்கட் கெளி யேனலேன், திரு ஆலவாய் அரன் நிற்கவே!

மங்கையர்க் கரசி வளவர்கோன் பாவை
 வரிவளைக் கைம்மட மானி
 பங்கயச் செல்வி பாண்டிமாதேவி
 டணிசெய்து நாள்தொறும் பரவ,
 பொங்கழ லுருவன் பூதநாயகன் நால்
 வேதமும் பொருள்களும் அருளி
 அங்கயற் கண்ணி தன்னொடும் அமர்ந்த
 ஆலவாய் ஆவதும் இதுவே.

Page 76 note 1 : St. Sundarar *Tirutondattohai* verse 9 :

கடல் சூழ்ந்த உலகெல்லாம் காக்கின்ற பெருமான்
 காடவர்கோன் கழற்சிங்கன் அடியார்க்கும் அடியேன்.

This Kadavarkon Kalalsingan is identified as Paramesvara Pallava of Kanchi (650-685 A.D.).

Page 76 note 3 : *Tirutondattohai* verse 11 :

தென்னவனாய் உலகாண்ட செங்கணற்கு அடியேன்,

Ibid note 4 : Tiru Jnanasambandhar *puranam* verse 1008 :

இம்மையிலே புவியுள்ளோர் யாருங் காண
 ஏழுலகும் போற்றிசைப்ப எம்மை யானும்
 அம்மை திருத்த தலையாலே நடந்து போற்றும்
 அம்மை யப்பர் திருவாலங் காடாம் என்று

தம்மை யுடையவர் மூதூர் மிதிக்க அஞ்சிச்
சண்பை வரும் சிகாமணியார் சாரச் சென்று
செம்மை நெறி வடிவாத பதியின் மாடோர்
செழும்பதியில் அன்றிரவு பள்ளி சேர்ந்தார்.

Page 77 note 1. St. Appar, Tirut-Tandakam, 76-3 :

மின்காட்டும் கொடிமருங்குல் உமையாட் கென்றும்
விருப்பவன்காண் பொருப்புலவிச் சிலைக்கை யோன்காண்
நன்பாட்டுப் புலவனுய்ச் சங்க மேறி
நற்கனகக் கிழிதருமிக் கருளிஞோன் காண்
பொன்காட்டக் கடிக்கொன்றை மருங்கே நின்ற
புனக்காந்தள் கைகாட்டக் கண்டு வண்டு
தென்காட்டும் செழும் புறவில் திருப்புத் தூரில்
திருத்தளியான் காண் அவன் என் சிந்தை யானே.

Page 80 note 5. Tiruttondattotthai verse 5 :

வம்பரூ வரிவண்டு மணம் நாற மலரும்
மதுமலர்நற் கொன்றையான் அடியலாற் பேணு
எம்பிரான் சம்பந்தன் அடியார்க்கும் அடியேன்.

Page 81 note 1. Sundarar Devaram :

- a. நாவின்மிசை யரையன் னொடு தமிழ்ஞான சம்பந்தன்
யாவர்சிவ னடியார்களுக் கடியானடித் தொண்டன். 78-10
- b. நற்றமிழ் வல்ல ஞானசம்பந்தன்
நாவினுக் கரையன் நாளைப் போவானும். 55.4
- c. நல்லிசை ஞானசம்பந்தனும் நாவினுக்
கரசரும் பாடிய நற்றமிழ் மாலை
சொல்லிய வேசொல்லி ஏத்துகப் பானை. 67 5
- d. திருமிழலை
இருந்து நீர் தமிழோடு இசைகேட்கும்
இச்சையால் காசு நித்தம் நல்கினீர். 89.8
- e. நாளும் இன்னிசையால் தமிழ் பரப்பும்
ஞானசம்பந்தனுக்கு உலகவர் முன்
தாளம் ஈந்து அவன் பாடலுக் கிரங்கும்
தன்மை யாளனை என் மனக் கருத்தை

ஆளும் பூதங்கள் பாடநின் றுடும்
 அங்கணந்தனை எண்கணம் இறைஞ்சும்
 கோளிலிப் பெருங் கோயிலுளானைக்
 கோலக் காவினிற் கண்டுகொண் டேனே. 62.8

The last verse (62 . 8), it may be noted, has been sung by St. Sundarar in the shrine at Tiruk-Kolakka where Sambandhar got the gift of the cymbals.

Ibid note 3. Tiru Jnanasambandhar Puranam :

வண்தமிழ்செய் தவம்நிரம்ப மாதவத்தோர் செயல்வாய்ப்ப. 23

திசையனைத்தின் பெருமையெலாந் தென்திசையே வென்றேற
 மிசையுலகும் பிறவுலகும் மேதினியே தனிவெல்ல
 அசைவில்செழுந் தமிழ்வழக்கே அயல்வழக்கின் துறைவெல்ல
 இசைமுழுதும் மெய்யறிவும் இடங்கொள்ளும் நிலைபெருக. 24

அவம்பெருக்கும் புல்லறிவின் அமண்முதலாம் பரசமயப்
 பவம்பெருக்கும் புரைநெறிகள் பாழ்படநல் லாழிதொறும்
 தவம்பெருக்குஞ் சண்டையிலே தாவில்சரா சரங்களெலாம்
 சிவம்பெருக்கும் பிள்ளையார் திருஅவதாரஞ் செய்தார். 26

“The penances of rich Tamil were nearing fruition ; the glory of the south was to supercede the glories of all the other quarters ; Tamil was to overcome the trends of all the other languages ; music was to be spiritualized ; the other sects of little knowledge which merely continue the births were to be annulled ; Siva was to be glorified on earth - the divine child came on earth to achieve this purpose. ”

Page 85, note 1, St. Tiru Jnanasambandhar *Devaram* Book 3.2 verse 11.

தேம்பல் நுண்ணிடையர் செழுஞ்சேலன
 கண்ணியோடண்ணல் சேர்விடம் தேனமர்
 பூம்பொழில் திகழ்பொற்பதி பூந்தராய் போற்றுதும்என்று
 ஓம்புதன்மையன் முத்தமிழ் நான்மறை
 ஞானசம்பந்தன் ஒண்தமிழ் மாலை கொண்டு
 ஆம்படியிவை ஏத்த வல்லார்க்கு அடையா வினையே.

Muttolayiram, Madurai Tamil Sangham Edition 1903 verse 39 :

பார்படுப செம்பொன், பதிபடுப முத்தமிழ்நூல்,
 நீர்படுப வெண்சங்கும் நித்திலமும்,—சாரல்

மலைபடுப யானை, வயமாறன் கூர்வேல்
தலைபடுப தார்வேந்தர் மார்பு.

Page 88 note 1. *Tiru Niluakkka nayanar puranam* verse 30 - 31:

நின்ற அன்பரை, 'நீலகண்டப் பெரும் பாணனார்க்கு
இன்று தங்கஓர் இடங்கொடுத்தருளுவீர்' என்ன,
நன்றும் இன்புற்று நடுமனை வேதியின் பாங்கர்ச்
சென்று மற்றவர்க் கிடங்கொடுத்தனர்திரு மறையோர்.

ஆங்கு வேதியரில் அருதசெந் தீவலஞ் சுழிவுற்று
ஓங்கி முன்னையில் ஒருபடித் தன்றியே ஒளிரத்
தாங்கு நூலவர் மகிழ்வுறச் சகோடயாழ்த் தலைவர்
பாங்கு பாணியா ருடன் அருளாற் பள்ளி கொண்டார்.

Page 89 note 1. *Vide Nalayirappuandham Amalanadipiran* verse 10 ;

கொண்டல் வண்ணனைக் கோவலனாய் வெண்ணெய்
உண்ட வாயன் என் உள்ளம் கவர்ந்தானை
அண்டர்கோன் அணி அரங்கன்என் அமுதினைக்
கண்ட கண்கள்மற் றென்றினைக் காணுவே.

Page 90 note 1. *Tiru Nilakantha Yalp-panar puranam* verse 6 :

அந்தரத் தெழுந்த ஓசை அன்பினிற் பாணர் பாடும்
சந்தயாழ் வரையிற் சீதம் தாக்கில் வீக் கழியும் என்று
'சுந்தரப் பலகை முன் நீர் இடும்' எனத் தொண்டர் இட்டார்,
செந்தமிழ்ப் பாணனாகும் திருவருள் பெற்றுச் சார்ந்தார்.

Page 91 note 1. *Tirukkural* 134:

மறப்பினும் ஒத்துக் கொளலாகும், பார்ப்பான்
பிறப்பொழுக்கம் குன்றக் கெடும்.

Ibid note 2. *Iniyavai narpadu* verse 7 :

அந்தணர் ஒத்துடைமை ஆற்ற மிக இனிதே ;
பந்தம் உடையான் படையாண்மை முன் இனிதே ;
தந்தையே ஆயினும், தான் அடங்கான் ஆகுமேல்,
கொண்டடையான் ஆகல் இனிதே.

Page 92 note 1. *Vide Nanmanikkadimai* :

பறை நன்று பண்ணமையா யாழின் 13 ;
பண்ணதிர்ப்பிற் பாடல் அதிர்ந்து விடும் 19;

பண் இனிது பாடல் உணர்வார் அகத்து 36 ;
அரும் புணர்ப்பிற் பாடல் சாம், பண் அறியாதார் முன்னர் 44.

Ibid note 2. Inna narpadu 31 :

பண்ணமையா யாழின்கீழ்ப் பாடல் பெரிதினனா.

Page 93 note 1. Inna narpadu 22 :

யானையில் மன்னரைக் காணில் நனி இன்னா.

Ibid note 2. Iniyavai narpadu :

யானை யுடைப் படை காண்டல் மிக இனிதே 4 ;
கார் வரைபோல் யானைக் கதம் காண்டல் முன் இனிதே 8 ;
மறமன்னர் தம் படையுள் மாமலை போல் யானை
மத முழக்கம் கேட்டல் இனிது 15.

Ibid note 3. Ibid :

பற்று அமையா வேந்தன்கீழ் வாழாமை முன் இனிதே 32 ;
வான் மயங்கு மண்டமருள் மாறாத மாமன்னர்
தானை தடுத்தல் இனிது 33

Ibid note 4. Tirikadukam 26:

செருக்கினால் வாழும் சிறியவனும், பைத்தகன்ற
அல்குல் விலைபகரும் ஆய்தொடியும், நல்லவர்க்கு
வைத்த அறப்புறம் கொன்னானும், இவ்முவர்
கைத்துண்ணார் கற்றறிந்தார்.

Page 96 note 1. Vide Murti nayanar puranam verses 11-14 quoted on page 140-141 and also the following verse 41:

வையம் முறைசெய் குவனாகில், வயங்குநீறே
செய்யும் அபிடேகமு மாக, செழுங்கலன்கள்
ஐயன் அடையாளமு மாக, அணிந்து தாங்கும்
மொய்புன் சடைமா முடியே முடியாவ தென்றார்.

Page 100 note 3. Appar Devaram Book 5. 58. 9 :

வாயிருந் தமிழே படித்தானாரு
ஆயிரஞ் சமனும் அழிவாக்கினான்,
பாயிரும் புனல் ஆறை வடதளி
மேயவன் னென வல்வினை வீடுமே.

Ibid note 4. Karraikkal Ammaiyar Puranam verses 58, 59 :

‘வருமிவள் நம்மைப் பேணும் அம்மைகாண், உமையே, மற்றிப்
பெருமைசேர் வடிவம் வேண்டிப் பெற்றனள்’ என்று பின்றை,
அருகுவந் தணைய நோக்கி, ‘அம்மையே’ என்னும் செம்மை
ஒரு மொழி உலக மெல்லாம் உய்யவே அருளிச் செய்தார்.

அங்கணன் ‘அம்மையே’ என் றருள்செய, ‘அப்பா’ என்று
பங்கயச் செம் பொற்பாதம் பணிந்துவீழ்ந் தெழுந்தார் தம்மைச்
சங்கவெண் குழையினும் தாமெதிர் நோக்கி, ‘நம்பால்
இங்கு வேண்டு வதென்?’ என்ன, இறைஞ்சி நின்றியம்புகின்றார்.

*Page 104 note 1. Opposition to the Vedas and the Vaidika faith :
the first verse in the padikam sung by Sambandhar in the Madurai
temple as soon as he reached there (3. 108. 1) :*

வேத வேள்வியை நித்தனை செய்துமல்
ஆத மில்லி அமனெடு தேரரை
வாதில் வென்றழிக் கத்திரு வுள்ளமே,
பாதி மாதுட னாய பரமனே!

ஞால நின்புகழே மிகவேண்டும், தென்
ஆலவாயில் உறையும் எம் ஆதியே.

Page 105 note 1, Sambandhar Devaram :

துணைநன்மலர் தூய்த்தொழும் தொண்டர்கள் சொல்லீர்,
பணைமென்முலைப் பார்ப்பதி யோடுட னாகி
இணையில் விரும்புனை இடங்கொண்ட ஈசன்
அணையில் சமண் சாக்கியம் ஆக்கிய வானே. 2.36.10

பாக்கியம் பல செய்த பத்தர்கள்

பாட்டொடும் பல பணிகள் பேணிய
தீக்கியல் குணத்தான் சிறந்தாருந் திருக்களருள்
வாக்கினால் மறை ஓதினாய், அமண்

தேரர் சொல்லிய சொற்க ளானபொய்
ஆக்கிநின் றவனே, அடைந்தார்க் கருளாயே. 2.51.10

கையினில் உண்டுமேனி உதிர்மாசர் குண்டர்

இடுசீவரத்தி னுடையார்
மெய்யுரை யாதவண்ணம் வினையாட வல்ல
விகித்தத் துருக்கொள் விமலன்

பையுடை நாகவாயில் எயிரூர மிக்க

குரவம் பயின்று மலரச்

செய்யினில் நீலமொட்டு விரியக் கமழ்ந்து

மணம்நாறு கொச்சை வயமே.

2.83.10

குலவுபூங் குழலாள் உமைகூறனை வேறுரையால்

அலவை சொல்லுவார் தேர் அமண் ஆதர்கள்

ஆக்கினான் தனை நண்ணலும் நல்கும்நற்

புலவர் தாம்புகம் பொற்பதி பூந்தராய் போற்றுதுமே.

3.2.10

Ibid note 2. Tiru Jnanasambandhar Puranam verse 26 :

சிவம்பெருக்கும் பின்னையார் திருஅவதாரம் செய்தார்.

vide note 3, page 80.

Page 109 note 1, St. Tirumangai Alvar, Periya Tirumoli 6. 6. 8:

முருக்கிலங்கு கனித்துவர்வாய்ப் பின்னை கேள்வன்

மன்னெல்லாம் முன்னவியச் சென்று வென்றிச்

செருக்களத்துத் திறலழியச் செற்ற வேந்தன்

சிரந்துணித்தான் திருவடிநும் சென்னி வைப்பீர்,

இருக்கிலங்கு திருமொழிவாய் எண்தோள் ஈசற்கு

எழில்மாடம் எழுபது செய் துலகம் ஆண்ட

திருக்குலத்து வளச்சோழன் சேர்ந்த கோயில்

திருநறையூர் மணிமாடம் சேர்மின்களே.

Ibid note 2. Vide also the following lines in the same poem :

செழும் பொன்னி வளங்கொடுக்கும் சோழன் 2 ;

கவ்வை மாகளிறுந்தி வெண்ணி ஏற்றக்

கழன் மன்னர் மணிமுடிமேல் காகமேற,

தெய்வவாள் வலங்கொண்டசோழன் 3 ;

வெங்கண் மா களிறுந்தி வெண்ணி ஏற்ற

விறல் மன்னர் திறலழிய வெம்மா வுய்த்த

செங்கணை கோச்சோழன் 4 ;

பொன்னி நாடன் தென்தமிழன் வடபுலக் கோன் சோழன் 5 ;

மின்னாடு வேலேந்து விளந்தை வேளை

விண்ணோறத் தனிவேலுய்த்து உலகம் ஆண்ட

தென்னாடன் குடகொங்கன் சோழன் 6 ;

பாராளர் அவரிவரென்று அழுந்தை ஏற்றப்
படை மன்னருடல் துணியப் பரிமா வுய்த்த
தேராளன் கோச்சோழன். 9.

Ibid note 3. Ibid 6. 6. 10 :

செம்மொழி வாய் நால்வேத வாணர் வாழும்
திருநறையூர் மணிமாடச் செங்கண் மாலேப்
பொய்ம் மொழியொன் றில்லாத மெய்ம்மை யாளன்
புலமங்கைக் குலவேந்தன் புலமை யார்ந்த
அம்மொழி வாய்க் கலிகன்றி இன்பப் பாடல்
பாடுவார் வியனுலகில் நமனார் பாடி
வெம்மொழிகேட் டஞ்சாதே மெய்ம்மை சொல்லில்
விண்ண வர்க்கு விருந்தாகும் பெருந்தக் கோரே.

Ibid note 5. Kalavali narpadu verse 39 :

மைந்துகால் யாத்து மயங்கிய ஞாட்பினுள்
புய்ந்துகால் போகிப் புலால் முகந்த வெண்குடை
பஞ்சிபெய் தாலமே போன்ற ; புனல் நாடன்
வஞ்சிக் கோ அட்ட களத்து.

Page 110 note 2. St. Appar Tirut-tandakam 71. 5 :

பெருக்காறு சடைக்கணிந்த பெருமான் சேரும்
பெருங்கோயில் எழுபதினே டெட்டும் மற்றும் ..
தாழ்ந்திறைஞ்சத் தீவினைகள் தீரும் அன்றே.

Page 111 note 1. Vide the verse (Perumtohai):

கணிகண்ணன் போகின்றான், காமருபூங் கச்சி
மணிவண்ணு, நீகிடக்க வேண்டா-துணிவுடைய
செந்நாப் புலவன் யான் செல்கின்றேன், நீயும் உன்றன்
பைந்நாகப் பாய் சுருட்டிக் கொள்

and its amended version asking Vishnu not to go but to unfold
his serpent couch and stay; *Nannukhan Tiru antadi verse 75 :*

நாக்கொண்டு மானிடம் பாடேன்.

Ibid note 2. Tiruvayveli 3. 9. 9.

வாய்கொண்டு மானிடம் பாடந்த கவியேனல்லேன்.

Page 112 note 2. Tolkappiyam Porul sutram 143 (Karpial) :

பொய்யும் வழுவும் புகுந்த பின்னர்
ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணம் என்ப,

Page 113 note 1. Tirumantram verses 516 - 518:

கட்டுவித் தார் மதிற் கல்லொன்று வாங்கிடில்
வெட்டுவிக் கும் அபி டேகத் தரசரை
முட்டுவிக் கும் முனி வேதிய ராயினும்
வெட்டுவித் தேவிடும் விண்ணவன் ஆணையே.

ஆற்றரு நோய்மிக் கவனி மழை இன்றிப்
போற்றரு மன்னரும் போர்வலி குன்றுவர்
கூற்றுதைத் தான்திருக் கோயில் களெல்லாம்
சாற்றிய பூசைகள் தப்பிடில் தானே.

முன்னவனார் கோயில் பூசைகள் முட்டிடின்
மன்னர்க்குத் தீங்குள, வாரி வளங்குன்றும்
கன்னங் களவு மிகுத்திடும் காசினி,
என்னரு நந்தி எடுத்துரைத் தானே.

Ibid note 2. Tolkappiyam Porul chapter 1, sutram 27 :

ஓதல் பகையே தூதிவை பிரிவே.

Ibid note 3. Iraiyanar kalaviyal sutram 35 :

ஓதல் காவல் பகைதணி வினையே
வேந்தர்க் குற்றுழி பொருட்டிணி பரத்தை என்று
ஆங்கல் வாறே அவ்வயிற் பிரிவே.

Page 122 note 2. Pahruli : the following lines of verse 9 of Purananuru may be considered here (lines 8 - 11):

எங்கோ வாழிய குடுமி, தங்கோச்
செந்நீர்ப் பசும்பொன் வயிரியர்க் கீத்த
முந்நீர் விழுவின். நெடியோன்
நன்னீர்ப் பஹுளி மணலினும் பலவே.

The early reference of the poet to the river Pahruli means that people in the days of Mudukudumi were quite familiar with the fact of the existence of the Pahruli in the earlier days.

Page 123 note 1 : *Maduraik-kanji* by Mangudi Marudanan, line 759 - 763 :

பல்சாலை முது குடுமியின்
நல்வேள்வித் துறை போகிய
தொல்லாணை நல்லாசிரியர்
புணர் கூட் டுண்ட புகழ்சால் சிறப்பின்
நிலந்தரு திருவின் நெடியோன் போல.

Page 126 note 1: The relevant portion of the *Tapparamkalam* verse (*Perumtohai* 15) is given below (*suritakam*) lines 32 - 37 :

அடுத்திறல் ஒருவ, நிற்பரவுதும் எங்கோன்
தொடுகழற் கொடும் பூண் பகட்டெழில் மாட்டிற்
கயலொடு கலந்த சிலையுடைக் கொடுவரிப்
புயலுறழ் தடக்கைப் போர்வேல் அச்சுதன்
தொன்றுமுதிர் கடலுலகம் முழுதுடன்
ஒன்றுபு திகிரி உருட்டுவோன் எனவே.

Page 126 notes 1-4. The first lines of the *suritakam* (the end portion) of some of the verses are almost identical :

கெடலரு மாமுனிவர் — அடுத்திறல் ஒருவ நிற்பரவுதும்;
நலங்கிளர் திருமணியும் — அருள்நெறி ஒருவ நிற்பரவுதும்;
அலைகடற் கதிர் முததம் — அருளுடை ஒருவ நிற்பரவுதும்;
கடையில்லா அறிவோடு — அருளுடை ஒருவநின் அடியினை
பரவுதும்.

The similarity would warrant the assumption that they were probably sung by the same poet and that they were all part of the *Vilakkattanar kuttu*. (The last verse '*kadai illa arivodu*' is not in praise of Accuta nandi.)

It may also be noted here that dance and drama which were anathema to the Kalabhra jains of Madurai were not so to the others but that they were patronized by the Kalabhra Buddhists.

Page 127 note 1, Sambandar *Devaram* Book 3. 54. 11

அற்றன்றி அந்தண் மதுரைத் தொகை ஆக்கி னானும்
தெற்றென்று தெய்வம் தெளியார்கரைக் கோலை தெண்ணீர்ப்
பற்றின்றிப் பாங்கெதிர்வி னூரவும் பண்பு நோக்கில்
பெற்றென்று யர்த்த பெருமான் பெரு மானு மன்றே.

Ibid note 2. *Ibid* 3. 74. 11:

துங்கமிகு பொங்கரவு தங்குசடை நங்களிறை
துன்று குழலார்
செங்கயல்கள் மங்கையுமை நங்கையொரு பங்கனமர்
தேஜ ரதன்மேல்
பைங்கமல மங்கணிகொள் திண்புகலி ஞானசம்-
பந்த னுரை செய்
சங்கமலி செந்தமிழ்கள் பத்துமிவை வல்லவர்கள்
சங்கை யிலரே.

Page 128 note 1. *Appar Devaram* 6. 76. 3 - verse beginning
மின் காட்டும் கொடி மருங்குல் — *Vide* note 1, *page* 77.

Ibid note 2. *Andal Tiruppavai* verse 30 :

பைங்கமலத் தண்தெரியல் பட்டர்பிரான் கோதைசொன்ன
சங்கத் தமிழ்மாலை முப்பதும் தப்பாமே
இங்கிப் பரிசுரைப்பார் ஈரிண்டு மால்வரைத்தோள்
செங்கண் திருமுகத்துச் செல்வத் திருமாலால்
எங்கும் திருவருள்பெற்று இன்புறுவர் எம்பாவாய்.

Ibid note 3. *Tirumangai Alvar, Periya Tirumoli* 3.4. 10 :

செங்கமலத் தயனனைய மறையோர் காழிச்
சீராம விண்ணக ரென் செங்கண் மாலை
அங்கமலத் தடவயல்தும் ஆலி நாடன்
அருள்மாரி அரட்டமுக்கி அடையார் சீயம்
கொங்குமலர்க் குழலியர்வேள் மங்கை வேந்தன்
கொற்றவேல் பரகாலன் கலியன் சொன்ன
சங்க முகத் தமிழ்மாலை பத்தும் வல்லார்
தடங்கடல்தும் உலகுக்குத் தலைவர் தாமே.

Periya Tirumoli 3. 9. 10 :

சங்குமலி தண்டு முதல் சக்கர முன் ஏந்தும்
தாமரைக் கண் நெடிய பிரான் தானமருங் கோயில்
வங்கமலி கடலுலகில் மலிவெய்து நாங்கூர்
வைகுந்த விண்ணகர்மேல் வண்டறையும் பொழில்தும்
மங்கையர்தம் தலைவன் மரு வலர்தம் உடல் துணிய
வாள்வீசம் பரகாலன் கலிகன்றி சொன்ன
சங்கமலி தமிழ்மாலை பத்து இவை வல் லார்கள்
தரணியொடு விசும்பாளும் தன்மை பெறு வாரே.

Page 129 note 1. Vide *Silappadhikaram*, 11. *Kadukankathai* lines 18-20:

வடிவேல் எறிந்த வான்பகை பொழுது
பஹுளி யாற்றுடன் பன்மலை யடுக்கத்துக்
குமரிக் கோடும் கொடுங் கடல் கொள்ள.

Ibid note 2. *Cintamani Mukti-ilambakam* verses 3119 - 3121 :

வல்லவன் வடித்த வேல்போல் மலர்ந்துநீண் டகன்றவாட்கண்
மெல்லவே உறவி ஓம்பி ஒதுங்கியும் இருந்தும் நின்றும்
முல்லையஞ் துட்டு வேயின் முரிந்துபோம் நுசப்பின் நல்லார்
மல்லற்குள் நேந்தி யன்ன மாதவம் முற்றி னாரே.

தும்பொற் பாவையைச் சூழ்ந்து புல்லிய
காழகப் பச்சை போன்று கண்தெறாஉம்
மாழை நோக்கினார் மேனி மாசு கொண்டு
ஏழைப் பெண்பிறப்பு இடியச் சிந்தித்தார்.

ஆசை ஆர்வமோ டையம் இன்றியே
ஓசை போயுல குண்ண நோற்ற பின்
ஏசு பெண்ணெழித் திந்தி ரர்களாய்த்
தூய ஞானமாய்த் துறக்கம் எய்தினார்.

Page 130 note 1 : *Culamani, Turavucarukkam* verse 145 :

அண்ணை அலிகுரு டாதி யவர்களை
மண்ணுயர் ஞாலத்து மானுட ராகவைத்து
எண்ணுநர் யாருளர் ? எல்லாம் அமையினும்
பெண்ணின் பிறவியும் பீடுடைத் தன்றே.

Ibid note 2 :

“அகரம் தானும் இயங்கித் தனிமெய்களை இயக்குதற் சிறப்பான்
முன் வைக்கப்பட்டது. எனகரம் வீடுபேற்றிற்குரிய ஆண்பாலை
உணர்த்துதற் சிறப்பான் பின்வைக்கப்பட்டது.”

Commentary of Ilampuranar on the first sutra of *Tolkappiyam Eluttadhikaram*. The implication of the author is that the female is not eligible for *moksha* (*viduperu*).

Ibid note 3 : *Arungalacceppu* verse 49 :

பெண்டிர் நடும்சகர் ஆகார்—பிழைப்பின்றிக்
கொண்டநற் காட்சி யவர்.

Page 131 note 1. *Merumantara puranam* verse 737, 738, 740 :

விதியினால் கதிகள் நான்கில் மேவநின்றார்கள் தம்முள்
மதியினால் பெரிய நீரார் மக்களாய் வந்து தோன்றி
விதியினால் தானம் பூசை மெய்த்தவம் செய்து வீட்டைக்
கதிகளைக் கடந்து செல்வார்; காரிகை யார்கள் செல்லார்.

இந்திரன் தேவிமார்க்கும் இறைமைசெய் முறைமை இல்லை,
பைந்தொடி மகளி ராவார், பாவத்தாற் பெரிய நீரார்.

மாதவம் தாங்கி லையத்து ஐயராய் வந்து தோன்றி
ஏதமொன் றின்றி வீடும் எய்துவர் தைய லார்கள்.

Aiyar here means the male birth.

Ibid note 2. Vide the following verse cited in the *Tapparumkala virutti* under *sutram* 55 (*Perumlohai* 580) :

பல்யாணை மன்னர் முருங்க அமருமந்து
கொல்யாணை தேரோடு கோட்டந்து - நல்ல
தலையாலங் கானம் பொலியத் - தொலையாப்
படுகளம் பாடுபுக் காற்றிப் பகைஞர்
அடுகளம் வேட்டோன் மருக, - அடுதிறல்
ஆழி நிமிர்தோட் பெருவழுதி, எஞ்ஞான்றும்
ஈர முடையையாய் என் வாய்ச் சொற் கேட்டி !
உடைய உழவரை நெஞ்சனுங்கக் கொண்டு
வருங்கால் உழவர்க்கு வேளாண்மை செய்யல்;
மழவர் இழைக்கும் வரைகாண் நிதியீட்டங்
காட்டும் அமைச்சரை ஆற்றத் தெளியல்;
அடைத்த அரும்பொருள் ஆறன்றி வெளவல்;
ஈகைப் பெரும்பொருள் ஆசையாற் சென்று
பெருங்குழிசி,
மன்ற மறுக அகழாதி ; - என்றும்
மறப்புற மாக மதுரையார் ஓம்பும்
அறப்புறம் ஆசைப் பட்டேற்க;-அறத்தால்
அவையார் கொடுநாத் திருத்தி; - நவையாக
நட்டார் குழிசி சிதையாதி; - ஒட்டார்
செவிபுதைக்குந் தீய கடுஞ்சொற் - கவிபடைத்தாய்
கற்றூர்க் கினனாகக் கல்லார்க் கடிந்தொழுகிச்
செற்றூர்ச் செகுத்துநிற் சேர்ந்தாரை ஆக்குதி;
அற்றம் அறிந்த அறிவினாய், - மற்றும்
இவையிவை நீயா தொழுகின், நிலையாப்

பொருகட லாடை நிலமகள்
ஒருகுடை நீழற் துஞ்சுவன் மன்னே.

This verse is in the *kalivenba* metre ending in lines of *asiriyam*, which came to be called as *marutpa*, and is in praise of a later Pandiya in the line of Nedum cheliyan.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE LOSS OF PARIPADAL SONGS.

(Vide the Section B The loss of many books of the Sangham poetry pages 74-75)

Tamil literary tradition has it that *paripadal* was a type of musical composition of the Sangham period and the pre-Sangham period, where against each verse were mentioned, the author, the tune in which the song was to be sung and the name of the tune setter. Both *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal urai* and *Adiyarkku nallar* (opening lines of chapter 8 of *Venirkathai*, *Silappadhikaram*) state that there were innumerable *Paripadal* songs prior to the Third Sangham and they had all been lost.

However, the Third Sangham seems to have produced 70 *Paripadal* songs, they were compiled and the book was numbered as the fifth book in the Ettut-tokai group of the Eight Anthologies. From a scrutiny of the book, we see that the verses are made out of *asiriyam*, *vanji*, *kali*, and *venba* verses including *Kural venba*. Tradition says that the book contained 70 verses; Parimelalahar wrote a commentary on them. They were in praise of Tirumal (8 verses), Sevvel (31), Kadukilal (1), River Vaihai (26) and the City of Madurai (4). But of these 21 had been available in manuscripts and 3 have been taken from the commentaries on *Tolkappiyam*, making a total of 24, distributed as follows; Tirumal (7), Sevvel (8), and River Vaihai (9). Full verses on the others are not available.

The songs seem to have been composed by 13 poets of whom two can be seen to be members of the Pandiya royal dynasty. The tunes mentioned are three—Pannu-ppalaiyaal, pan-notiram and pan-gandaram. The tune-setters are seven, of whom two, Nallachutanar and Kesavanar, were themselves also composers.

We have lost not only the others but their tunes and the manner of singing them. This is the only book of music in the Sangham poetry and the loss of the major part of this poetic volume, makes us pause; all the other books, the seven others in the *Ettut-tohai* and the *Pattuppattu* complete are more or less available in full. (The opening and the concluding sections of the *Paditruppattu* have also been lost; this may be through neglect in preserving the manuscript.)

Now why should this book of music alone be lost in this manner? We may attribute it to the Kalabhra interregnum and say that the general suppression of music had been responsible for the loss of the major part of *Paripadal* (a musical anthology) also. The tunes and the manner of singing the *Paripadal* have never been recaptured.

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