JAINA LITERATURE IN TAMIL

By

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PREFACE

Jaina authors have made remarkable contributions to the various domains of Indian literature in Sanskrit, Prākrit and other languages. The classical dignity and the literary refinement which Tamil and Kannaḍa languages have reached are entirely due to the pioneer work of Jaina authors in the field. Jainism being a religion of preeminently humanitarian values, these authors have left behind a noble heritage for the benefit of the society through their literary productions.

In the following pages a modest attempt has been made to take a survey of Jaina contributions to Tamil literature. Prof. A. Chakravarti is a great Tamil scholar; and there could not have been a better choice for this undertaking. This survey, we are sure, would be quite useful for preparing a systematic history of Tamil literature on the one hand and for a comparative study of Jaina literature in different languages on the other.

It was very kind of Prof. Chakravarti to have allowed the Editors to publish this excellent essay in the Jaina Antiquary; for this they are highly thankful to him. It is their earnest desire to publish similar monographs in English on the Jaina contributions to Sanskrit, Prākrit, Kannaḍa, Telugu, Hindī and Gujarāti literatures with the cooperation of different specialists

Thanks are due to Dr. Raghavan, Madras University, who kindly added diacritical points on Tamil words in the press-copy. The Table of contents and Index are added by Dr. A. N. Upadhye hoping that they would heighten the referential value of the book.

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JAINA LITERATURE IN TAMIL.

A casual perusal of Tamil Literature will reveal the fact that, from the earliest times, it was influenced by Jaina culture and religion. It is a well-known fact that Jainism was a religion originated in Northern India and thus must be associated with Āryan culture. When the Jainas migrated to the South and how they came in contact with the original Tamilians are problems which still remain obscure. But some light may be thrown on these problems if we turn our attention to the fact that even from the earliest times of Āryan settlement in the Indus valley, there was a section among the Āryans which was opposed to the religion of sacrifice and which was standing by the doctrine of Ahiṃsā. Even in the Ṛgveda Hymns we have evidence to substantiate this proposition. The story of Śunaḥśepha, a Brahmin youth, who was released by Viśvāmitra from being sacrificed is an important fact. The conflict between the Rājarṣi Viśvāmitra and Vaśiṣṭha probably represents the starting point of a great conflict between the school of sacrificial ritualism led by Brāhmaṇa Ṛṣis and the anti-sacrificial doctrine of Ahiṃsā led by the Kṣatriya heroes. Even in Ṛgveda Saṃhitā we have references to Ṛṣabha, Ariṣṭanemi, the former the first of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and the latter 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, a cousin of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

When we leave the period of the Saṃhitās and enter the second period known as the period of the Brāhmaṇas, we come across some more interesting facts relating to this cleavage among the Āryans. About this time the Āryans migrated towards the Gangetic valley, and they built kingdoms and settled down in the countries of Kāśi, Kosala, Videha and Magadha. Āryans living in these countries were generally designated as the Eastern Āryans as distinguished from the Western Āryans living in the Kuru Pāñcāla countries of the Indus valley. They looked down upon the Eastern Āryans as distinctly inferior to themselves in as much as they lost the orthodoxy associated with the Kuru Pāñcāla Āryans. The Orientalists suggest that the Eastern Āryans in the Gangetic valley probably represent an earlier wave of

invaders who were pushed towards the east by the later invading hordes who settled down in the Indus valley. It is necessary to hold some such view in order to explain certain fundamental differences between the two sections. The Brāhmaṇa literature distinctly reveals the existence of political and cultural differences between the two groups of Āryans. On several occasions, armies were led to the eastern country against the Eastern Aryans. But there are two or three important facts mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa literature which constitute interesting evidence as to the difference of culture. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the orthodox Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru Pāñcāla countries are warned about their treatment in the eastern countries of Kāśi, Kosala, Videha and Magadha. It is mentioned there that it is not safe for the Brāhmaṇas of Kuru Pāñcāla countries to go to these countries of the east ' because Aryans in these countries have forgotten their Dharmas of Vedic ritualism ; not merely that they have given up the sacrifice but they have started a new Dharma according to which non-sacrificing is itself real Dharma. What kind of respect can you expect from such a lot of heterodox Aryans who have lost reverence for Dharma ? Not merely this, they have also lost touch with the language of the Vedas. They cannot pronounce Sanskrit words with accuracy. For example, wherever *ra* occurs in Sanskrit words they can pronounce only *la*.

Again, in these eastern countries, Kṣatriyas have attained social supremacy in as much they claim to be higher than the Brāhmaṇas. Consistent with the social aggrandisement, the eastern Āryans led by the Kṣatriyas maintain that Rājasūya Yāga is the highest type of sacrifice as against Vājapeya sacrifice which is the highest according to the orthodox Kuru Pāñcālas. These are some of the reasons given why orthodox Kuru Pāñcāla Brāhmaṇas should avoid travelling in the eastern countries.

Again from an evidence in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa it may be inferred that on certain periods anti-ritualistic sections among the Āryans were more dominant and thus preached against Indra worship which did involve sacrifice. The persons who preached

against Indra worship and anti-sacrificial ritualism are described as 'Yatis' with clean-shaven heads. When Indra-worship was revived once again by a powerful king, under the influence of the orthodox section, the revivalism led to the destruction of these Yatis whose heads were cut off and cast to the wolves. These facts given from non-Jaina literature are of great value in as much as they give us an inkling as to the antiquity of the religion of Ahiṃsā.

Now turn to the Jaina literature What do you find there? Of the 24 Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras beginning with Ṛṣabha and ending with Mahāvīra, all are from the Kṣatriya clan. It is said that Lord Ṛṣabha, the first of the Tīrthaṅkaras, was the first to preach the doctrine of Ahiṃsā and turn the attention of the thinkers to the realisation of Self or Ātman by the path of Tapas or Yoga. Most of these Jaina leaders of Religion are associated with eastern countries; Ṛṣabha from Ayodhyā and Mahāvīra from Magadha and of the intervening 22 mostly from countries generally grouped as Eastern Āryan countries. The language in which the Jinas preached their message was not Sanskrit, but a dialect of Sanskrit in the form of Māgadhī Prākrit. The early sacred literature of the Jainas is mostly in Prākrit language evidently a spoken language of the masses in those days. This liberal section of the Āryans evidently adopted this spoken language for the purpose of preaching to the masses their religious doctrine of Ahiṃsā.

When we come down to the period of Upaniṣads we see again the clash between the two different cultures: the sacrificial ritualism of the Kuru Pāñcālas and Ātmavidyā of the Eastern Āryans. The Upaniṣadic doctrine of Ātmavidyā is associated mainly with Kṣatriya heroes, and scholars from Kuru Pāñcāla countries are seen at the courts of these eastern kings, waiting for the purpose of being initiated into the new wisdom of Ātmavidyā. The Upaniṣadic world represents a stage at which these two sections were attempting to come to an understanding and compromise.

King Janaka represents such a spirit of compromise and Yājñavalkya, an eastern Āryan scholar, probably represents the force that

effected the compromise and adjustment. The old sacrificial ritualism instead of being discarded altogether is retained as an inferior culture side by side with the new wisdom of Ātmavidyā which is recognised as distinctly higher. Such a compromise, no doubt, was a victory to the orthodox section of the Āryans. But such a compromise must have been unacceptable to the members of the liberal school who must have stood aloof; that such was the fact is evidenced by a small instance mentioned in the Jaina Rāmāyaṇa. When there was a talk of Rāma's marriage mooted in Daśaratha's court one of the ministers suggested that Janaka's daughter Sītā would be the proper bride. But it was seriously objected to by many ministers who pointed out that Janaka was no more the follower of the doctrine of Ahiṃsā in as much as he went back to the opposite camp. But it was finally decided that, from the political and military point of view, the alliance would be desirable in spite of this religious difference. This fact clearly suggests that Janaka was considered as one of the liberal Āryans till he changed side. It would not be far wrong to suggest that the Eastern Āryans who were opposed to the sacrificial ritualism and who were led by the Kṣatriya heroes were believers in Ahiṃsā doctrines and as such the forefathers of the Jainas. This liberal school created out of itself, about the time of Mahāvīra, another radical school led by another Kṣatriya hero in the person of Gautama Śākyamuni, the founder of Buddhism. In the life of Gautama Buddha the Śākya clan to which he belongs is traced to Ikṣvāku dynasty which played a very important part in shaping the culture of ancient India. But even in Purāṇic Hinduism the services of the Kṣatriya heroes are recognised in as much as they are elevated as Avatāras of Viṣṇu for whom temples are raised and worship is conducted. It is strange that this doctrine of Ahiṃsā should be preached by Kṣatriya heroes who were generally associated with military exploits and who went about with bow and arrow.

How Ahiṃsā came to be associated with them remains a mystery. But the fact that they were the founders of the doctrine of Ahiṃsā is a fact which cannot be doubted. That these Kṣatriya leaders, wherever they went, carried with them their fundamental

doctrine of Ahiṃsā, preached against animal sacrifice and promulgated vegetarianism are facts which every student of Indian History ought to acknowledge. In the drama Uttararāmacarita by Bhavabhūti this fact is well borne out in one of the scenes laid in Vālmiki Āśrama. Both Janaka and Vaśiṣṭha visit the Āśrama as guests. When Janaka is entertained as guest he is given pure vegetarian food and the Āśrama is cleaned and kept pure. But on the day when Vaśiṣṭha visits the Āśrama, a fat calf is killed in honour of his visit. One of the disciples of the Āśrama cynically asks a co-disciple of his whether any tiger visited the Āśrama ; and the other rebukes him for his disrespectful references to Vaśiṣṭha. The former apologises and explains himself by saying that, 'because a fat calf did disappear, I had to infer some carnivorous animal like tiger must have entered the Āśrama,' over which the former offers the explanation that Rājarṣi being a strict vegetarian must be entertained accordingly, whereas Vaśiṣṭha not being a strict vegetarian was entertained to suit his taste. These facts clearly indicate the the significance and potency of Ahiṃsā doctrine, and it is well reflected in Tamil literature after the migration of the Jainas to the south and due to their participation in the creation of Tamil literature. The early Jainas should have adopted the propaganda work of their religion and hence they freely mixed up with the aboriginal people of the land. This is again borne out by the fact of their friendly relations with the aboriginal people. The people of the land against whom the Āryans had to fight their way were called Dasyus, who, though described in uncomplementary terms elsewhere, are all described with a certain amount of respect in Jaina literature. To give one single illustration the monkeys and Rākṣasas who figure in Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa are all described as Vidyādharas in Jaina Rāmāyaṇa. It is also clear from the Jaina literature that Kṣatriya heroes belonging to the Āryan clan freely married the princesses from the Vidyādhara clan. Such a matrimonial alliance, most probably contracted for military and political reasons, must have paved their way for the introduction of the Ahiṃsā doctrine among the original inhabitants of the land. Some such reason must be assumed as the cause for the migration of the people from the

north to the Tamil country and for introducing their culture, based upon Ahiṃsā. The orthodox school of Āryans must have appeared in the field of Tamil country much later as is quite clear from the fact of later Hindu revivalism which led to the downfall of Jaina supremacy in the South.

The migration of Jainas to South India is generally supposed to be at the time of Bhadrabāhu, the Guru of Candragupta Maurya. At the approach of a terrible famine of twelve years in the North, Bhadrabāhu led a whole Jaina Saṅgha towards the Deccan, that he was followed by his disciple Candragupta who abdicated his throne in favour of his son and that they came and settled for some time in Mysore Province, that Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta lost their lives on Candragiri at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and the rest migrated to the Tamil country are facts generally accepted by oriental scholars. But, as I mentioned elsewhere, this could not be taken as the first approach of the Jainas towards the South. That the migration to the South must have been conducted with a hope of hearty welcome from a friendly race for thousands of monks is the only reasonable suggestion. It is clear from the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela that the Pāṇḍyan king sent shiploads of presents to King Khāravela at the time of latter's Rājyābhiṣeka. That Khāravela was an important Jaina emperor and that the Pāṇḍyan king was also the follower of the same religion are facts independently borne out by the inscription and Tamil literature. In connection with the Tamil work called 'Nāladiyār,' it is said that eight thousand Jaina monks who came and settled in the Pāṇḍyan country on account of the famine in the north wanted to go back to their country, which the Pāṇḍyan prince did not like. Hence they all left in a body the Pāṇḍyan capital, one night, each recording a stanza on a palm leaf which was left behind. The collection of these individual stanzas constitutes a book called 'Nāladiyār'; and this tradition is generally accepted in the south both among the Jainas and the non-Jainas. This fact also supports the view that even before the migration of Bhadrabāhu there must have been Jaina princes in the Tamil land. This naturally creates a problem as to the exact period

of the migration of the Jainas to the Tamil land and what occasioned this. But it is enough for our purpose if we maintain that the introduction of Jainism in the south must be somewhere prior to the 4th century B. C. This view is in conformity with the conclusions obtained by the Tamil scholars after careful research. Mr. Sivarāja Piḷḷai in his 'Chronology of the Early Tamils' writes about the early Tamilians: "Before their contact with the Āryans, Dravidians, as I have elsewhere pointed out, were mainly engaged in building up material civilisation and securing for themselves the many amenities of life, individual and communal. Naturally, therefore, their lives took on a secular colour and came to be reflected as such in the literature of that period. The impulse of religion, which came to possess them at a later period, was then absent. And when the first infiltration of the Āryans began, the Jains and Buddhists seem to have been the earlier batch, all facts and traditions considered. These heretical sects finding in the Tamil land no Brahmanic religion on any scale to oppose had to contend themselves with the composition of works mostly ethical and literary. The Tamils too seem to have taken themselves readily to this impulse which ran in the direction of their national bent, and the second period accordingly was throughout ethical and literary in substance and tone and seems to have been ushered in by the writing of such works as Kuṛal, Tolkāppiyam, etc. The Hindu Āryans were the last to come, and with their arrival was opened quite a new channel of national activity into which the whole of Dravidian life and thought have flowed since."

We cannot talk of Tamil literature without reference to what is known as the 3 Saṅgams. Tamil literature, especially the latter one, refers to the 3 Saṅgams or Academies under whose guidance Tamil literature was cultivated. The story of the Saṅgam is shrouded in a good deal of mythology. In the earlier works supposed to be Saṅgam literature the several collections such as the 8 collections, the 10 idylls etc., there is no reference to Saṅgam literature. The modern oriental scholars rightly conclude that the whole tradition is fictitious, and was created by some fertile imagination. The same

author Mr. Sivarāja Piḷḷai referred to above, after an elaborate discussion about the Saṅgam tradition, writes thus—

"Reasons so many and substantial as these should lead any fair-minded scholar to reject the Saṅgam tradition as entirely apocryphal and not deserving of any serious historical consideration. It will, however, furnish a chapter in the study of myths and the psychological tendencies of the age in which it arose. Though worthless as testifying to any objective facts of Tamil history, the tradition itself claims our notice as a phenomenon of a certain type at a particular period of a nation's thought. I strongly suspect whether the eighth century tradition is not after all a faint reflex of the earlier Saṅgam movement of the Jains. We have testimony to the fact that one Vajranandi, a Jain Grammarian and Scholar and the pupil of the Devanandi Pūjyapāda, an accomplished Jaina Sanskrit Grammarian, in the Kanarese country, of the sixth century A.D., and the author of a grammatical treatise, 'Jainendra,' one of the eight principal authorities on Sanskrit Grammar, went over to Madurā with the object of founding a Saṅgam there. Of course, that 'Saṅgam' could not have been anything else than a college of Jain ascetics and scholars engaged in a religious propaganda of their own. This movement must have first brought in the idea of a Saṅgam to the Tamil country. It is more than likely that, following closely the persecution of the Jains ruthlessly carried out in the 7th century A.D., the orthodox Hindu party must have tried to put their own house in order and resorted to the creation of Saṅgams with divinity too playing a part therein, for the express purpose of adding to the authority and dignity of their literature. It was sacerdotal 'Saṅgam' of the early Jains that most probably supplied the orthodox party with a clue for the story of a literary Saṅgam of their own on that model. The very name 'Saṅgam' unknown to the early Tamils proclaims its late origin and to attempt to foisting the idea it singnified on the so-called Saṅgam literature as its inspiring cause is little short of perpetrating a glaring and absurd anachronism."

The only thing that I want to add to this is the existence of the Drāviḍa Saṅgha, otherwise known as Mūla Saṅgha, about the first

century B. C. at southern Pāṭalipura, identified with modern Tiruppāppuliyūr, a suburb of Cuddalore. This Drāviḍa Saṅgha was presided over by Śrī Kundakundācārya, a great Jaina teacher, who is held in high veneration by the Jainas all over India. The attempt by Vajranandi to revive the Tamil Saṅgam in the Tamil Nāḍu implies rather the downfall of the earlier Mūla Saṅgha associated with Śrī Kundakundācārya. This fact is mentioned merely for the information of research students who may be interested in the chronology of the Jaina influence in the Tamil land. One other interesting fact which deserves to be mentioned, in this connection, is the reference to the Prākṛta language and its prevalence in all countries. The collection of Sūtras supposed to be the remnants of the great grammatical work of Agastya contains a section on northern languages, the Sanskritic languages. Here, after referring to Sanskrit and Apabhṛṃśa, it speaks of 'Pahatam' as a language used by all the countries. On a former occasion we had to refer to the fact of Prākṛta being specially associated with the Jaina leaders of thought in the North. A reference to this in the Tamil grammar as a language spoken all over the land is a very significant fact in as much as it would imply the early introduction of Prākṛta literature and the migration of Prākṛta speaking people into the Tamil land. Another relevant fact is the description of 'Vaḍakkiruttal' or Sallekhanā found in some of the so-called Saṅgam collections. This 'Vaḍakkiruttal' is said to be practised by some kings who were followed by their friends. An important religious practice associated with the Jainas is what is known as 'Sallekhanā'. When a person, suffering from illness or otherwise, realises that death is at hand and that it is no use to waste time in drugging the body, he resolves to spend the rest of his life in meditation and prayer. He no more accepts food or medicine till the end of life. This practice is called 'Sallekhanā' and a reference to this is found in the earliest Tamil collections where it is spoken of as 'Vaḍakkiruttal'. There is some doubt as to the derivation of this word, though the significance is quite clear. All these facts taken together constrain us to believe that we have traces of Jaina influence discernable even in the earliest Tamil literature extant, not to speak of

the Jaina contributions to the literature with which we are directly concerned.

1. Tolkāppiyam.—This authoritative work on Tamil grammar is supposed to be written by a Jaina scholar. The fact is disputed by some scholars and various views are entertained as to the religion of the author. We shall merely state some of the facts of internal evidence and leave it to the reader to judge for himself. Though it is a work of grammar, it contains a mine of information about the social Polity of the early Tamilians; and research scholars are mainly dependent upon this work for information relating to the customs and manners of the early Tamilians. It has not been fully availed of by students of historical research. It is supposed to be based on earlier works on grammar such as Aindra which probably refers to a system of Sanskrit grammar. This is considered to be an authoritative work on grammar, and all later writers in Tamil language faithfully conform to the rules of diction enunciated therein. The author of this work, Tolkāppiyam, was supposed to be a student of Agastya, the mythical founder of Tamil literature. It contains a preface by a contemporary author, Panampāraṇār, who certifies that the 'Aindiram-nirainca-Tolkāppiyam', the Tolkāppiyam full of Aindra grammar system, was read in Pāṇḍyan assembly and approved by Adaṅkōṭṭāśān. Dr. Burnell maintains that the author of the Tolkāppiyam was a Buddhist or Jaina and he is one of the unquestionably old Tamil authors. In the same preface, Tolkappiyar is referred to as the "great and famous Paḍimayōn." The word 'Paḍimayōn' is explained by the commentator as one who performs Tapas. It is well known to students of Jaina literature that Pratimā Yoga is a Jaina technical term and some Jaina Yogis were spoken of as Pradhāna Yogadhāris. On this basis, scholars like S. Vaiyapuri Piḷḷai infer that the author of Tolkāppiyam was a Jaina by religion. The same author strengthens his conclusion by quoting the sūtras from Tolkāppiyam referring to the classification of Jīvas according to sense-organs possessed by the Jīvas. In the section called Marabiyal Tolkāppiyam speaks of Jīvas with one sense, such as grass and trees, Jīvas with two senses such as snails, Jīvas with three senses such as ants, Jīvas with four senses such as crabs and Jīvas of fiv

senses, such as higher animals and Jīvas with six senses such as human beings. It is not necessary for me to point out and emphasise the fact that this forms a philosophical doctrine of Jaina thought. This classification of Jīvas is found in all the important Jaina philosophical works both in the Sanskrit and Tamil. Works, such as Merumandirapurāṇam and Neelakeśi, two of the Jaina important philosophical works, contain description of Jīvas in this manner. It is but natural to conclude that this refers to the Jaina conception of life, and it goes without saying that the author was well-versed in Jaina philosophy. There is one other fact, not noticed by the research students, which must also be considered as an important evidence in favour of this conclusion. In another Sūtra in the same Marabiyal Tolkāppiyam introduces the classification of literary works, according to Tamil tradition, Mudal Nool and Vaḷinool, primary and basic work and secondary and derivative work. When he defines 'primary and basic work,' Mudalnool, he speaks of Mudalnool as that which is revealed by the Lord of Jñāna obtained after complete liberation from Karmas, *i.e.*, knowledge revealed by Sarvajña after Karmakṣaya. It is not necessary to emphasise the fact that, according to Jaina tradition, almost every writer would trace the first source of his information through his previous Ācāryas and through Gaṇadharas to the Tīrthaṅkara himself propounding his dharma in the Samavasaraṇa. But to every unbiased student who is acquainted with this Jaina tradition it would be clear that the reference contained in this definition of the basic work is distinctly a reference to Sarvajñavītarāga as the fountain source of all knowledge. From all these it would be clear that the view that the author was a Jaina is more probable than the opposite view. The persons who tried to reject this suggestion have cited no serious argument in support of their view. One critic refers to the fact that such a classification of Jīvas as is contained in this work is also contained in an obscure Tantra work. But the verses referred to are not fully quoted. Even granting for argument's sake that it is referred to in that Tantra work, it will be of doubtful value as an evidence. Here it is necessary to point out that this classification of Jīvas based on sense-organs is not found in any of the other Darśanas

or systems of Indian thought. It is peculiar to Jaina philosophy and Jaina philosophy alone. We may leave further discussion of this point to other competent scholars interested in such research. It is enough for us to note, at this stage, that the composition of this work on grammar, one of the earliest Tamil works, was probably by a Jaina author who was equally well-versed in Sanskrit grammar and literature. As to the exact age at which it was composed there is a good deal of controversy, and we need not enter into that discussion for the present.

This grammatical treatise consists of three great chapters 'Eluttu,' 'Śol', and 'Porul'—letters, words and meaning respectively. Each chapter consists of nine 'Iyals' or sections. On the whole it contains 1612 sūtras. This forms the foundation of the later grammatical works in the Tamil language. Unlike the Sanskrit grammar or Vyākaraṇa which has the 1st and 2nd alone, this contains three chapters, the third being on 'Porul.' This 3rd chapter contains lot of extra-grammatical matter dealing with love and war, and thus offers many useful suggestions for reconstructing the history of the early Dravidians.

It is said that there are five commentaries on this treatise written by

1. Iḷampūraṇar.
2. Pērāśiriyar.
3. Sēnavaraiyar.
4. Naccinārkkiniyar.
5. Kallāḍar.

The first is the oldest of the commentators and is generally referred to as 'The Commentator' by the later ones.

This great work of Tamil grammar is assigned by tradition to the second Saṅgam period. We know that all the existing Tamil works are generally assigned to the last and the third Saṅgam period. Hence this Tolkāppiyam must be assumed to be anterior to practically the whole of the existing Tamil literature. This would be a

curious tradition to be accepted, for it is not likely that a work of grammar would precede all the other works in a particular language. As a matter of fact, grammar is but a science of a language codifying the literary usages and as such must presuppose the existence of a vast literature in that particular language. Even the Tamil grammarians have recognised this fact in as much as they speak of 'literature first and grammar second'. Hence if we are to accept the tradition that Tolkāppiyam belongs to the period of the middle Saṅgam, we have to assume a vast literature prior to that, now somehow lost completely. Such a supposition would not be altogether improbable, if we call to our mind the condition of the early Dravidian civilisation. About the time of Aśoka, the Tamil land consisted of three great kingdoms, Cēra, Cōla and Pāṇḍya. Aśoka does nol refer to having subdued these kingdoms. They are mentioned in the list as friendly states around the Aśokan empire. That the Tamil land contained excellent harbours, carried a flourishing sea-borne trade with the European nations around the Mediterranean basin, that the Tamil language contributed important words to foreign vocabulary and that Roman gold coins indicating contact with the Roman empire are found in various places in the Tamil country are all well-known facts to students of history. This, taken together with the recent explorations and discoveries in Mohanjadaro and Harappa, reveals a civilisation prior to that of the Āryans and gives us an idea of the high state of civilisation that must have been attained by the early Dravidians. For the present all these would remain in the field of speculation till we come across sufficient evidence to reconstruct this early Dravidian culture. Since the extant Tamil literature is said mainly to belong to the 3rd Saṅgam period, most of the works that we are going to consider must be assigned to this period. This would probably mean from 2nd century B. C. to the 7th century A.D. Since the institution of Saṅgam or Academy is taken to be a doubtful entity, the term Saṅgam is merely used as a conventional term to indicate a certain period in the history of the Tamils.

The classification of Tamil literature into three distinct periods natural, ethical and religious, suggested by Mr. Sivarāja Piḷḷai may

be taken as a convenient frame-work, since it broadly represents the historical developments of Tamil literature. Some of the ethical works such as Kuraḷ and Nāladiyār are freely quoted in the later literature. Hence it could not be altogether a mistake if we suppose that ethical literature seems to be earlier than the Kāvya literature. In this group of ethical literature, the influence of Jaina teachers is prominently felt. The two great works, Kuraḷ and Nāladiyār, were the work of Jaina teachers who settled down in the Tamil country.

Kuraḷ.—The ethical work called 'Kuraḷ' is a most important work in Tamil literature, judged from its popularity among the Tamil speaking people. It is composed in the form of couplets known as Kuraḷ Veṇbā, a metre peculiar to the Tamil literature. The term Kuraḷ means 'short' as opposed to the other type of Veṇbā which is also a metre peculiar to the Tamil literature. The book derives its name Kuraḷ from the metre employed in its composition. It is a work based on the doctrine of Ahiṁsā; and throughout, you have the praising of this Ahiṁsā-dharma and the criticism of views opposed to this. The work is considered so important by the Tamils that they use various names to designate this great work, such as 'Uttaraveda', Tamil Veda, 'divine scripture,' 'the great truth,' 'non-denominational Veda' and so on. The work is claimed by almost all the religious sects of the Tamil land. The Śaivaite claims that it was composed by a Śaivaite author. The Vaiṣṇavaites claim it as their own. The Reverend Pope who translated this into English even suggests that it is the work of an author influenced by Christianity. The fact that the different communities are vying with one another in their claim to the authorship of this great work, is itself an indication of its great eminence and importance In the midst of all such various claimants we have the Jaina who maintains that it is the work of a great Jaina Ācārya. The Jaina tradition associates this great ethical work with Ēlācāriyar which is the other name for Śrī Kundakundācārya. The period of Śrī Kundakundācārya is covered by the latter half of the first century B. C. and the former half of the first century A. D. We have referred to Śrī Kundakundācārya as the chief of the Dravidian Saṅgha at southern Pāṭaliputra.

We are not merely to depend upon this tradition to base our conclusions.

We have sufficient internal evidence as well as circumstantial evidence to substantiate our view. To any unbiased student who critically examines the contents of this work it would be quite clear that it is replete with the Ahiṁsā doctrine and therefore must be a product of Jaina imagination. Unbiased Tamil scholars who are entitled to pronounce an opinion on this point have expressed similar opinion as to the authorship of this work. But the majority of the Tamil scholars among the non-Jainas are not willing to accept such a verdict based upon scientific investigation. This opposition is mainly traceable to religious feeling. About the time of the Hindu revival (about the 7th century A. D.) the clash between the Jaina religion and the Vedic sacrificial religion of the Hindu reformers must have been so tremendous that echoes of it are felt even now. In this conflict the Jaina teachers were evidently worsted by the Hindu revivalists who had the support of the newly converted Pāṇḍyan king on their side. As a result of this it is said that several Jaina teachers were put to death by impaling them. How much of this is history and how much of this is the creation of fertile imagination fed by religious animosity, we are not able to assess clearly. But even to this day we have this story of impaling the Jainas painted on the walls of the Madurā temple, and annual festivals are conducted celebrating the defeat and destruction of religious rivals. This would give us an insight into the attitude of the Tamil scholars towards the early Jainas. It is no secret, therefore, that they generally resent the very suggestion that this great ethical work must have been written by a Jaina scholar.

According to one tradition the author of this work is said to be one Tiruvaḷḷuvar about whom nothing is known except what is concocted by the imagination of a modern writer who is responsible for the fictitious story relating to Tiruvaḷḷuvar. That he is born of a Cāṇḍāla woman, that he was a brother and contemporary of almost all great Tamil writers are some of the absurd instances mentioned in this life of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. To mention it is enough to

discredit it. But the more enthusiastic among the modern Tamil scholars and modern Tamils have elevated him into a God-head and built temples in his name and conducted annual festivals analogous to the festivals associated with the other Hindu deities. And the author is claimed to be one of the Hindu deities and the work is considered to be the revelation by such a deity. From such quarters, one cannot ordinarily expect application of canons of historical criticism. So much so, whenever any hypothesis is suggested as a result of critical examination of the contents, it is rejected with a vehemence characteristic of uninstructed religious zeal. Many so-called critics who have written something or other about this great work have been careful to maintain that peculiar intellectual attitude which Samuel Johnson had when he had to report the proceedings of the House of commons. He was particular to see that the Whigs had not the better of it. When such is the general mentality of the Tamil students and when the real spirit of research adopting the scientific and historical method is still in its infancy, it is no wonder that we have nothing worth the name of Tamil literature. Hence we are handicapped in our own attempt in presenting anything like a historical account of Jaina literature.

Turning from this digression to an examination of our work, we have to mention certain salient facts contained in the book itself. The book contains three great topics, 'Aram, Porul, Inbam' *i.e.*, 'Dharma, Artha and Kāma.' These three topics are so interpreted and expounded as to be in thorough conformity with the basic doctrine of Ahiṁsā. Hence it need not be emphasised that the terms here mean slightly different from what they imply in the ordinary Hindu religious works. Later Hindu religious systems, in as much as they are resting on the Vedic sacrificial ritualism, cannot completely throw overboard the practice of animal sacrifice enjoined in the Vedas. The term Dharma could mean, therefore, to them only Varṇāśrama-dharma based upon Vedic sacrifice. Only three Indian systems were opposed to this doctrine of Vedic sacrifice: Jaina Darśana, Sāṅkhya Darśana, Bauddha Darśana. Representatives of these three Darśanas were present in the Tamil land in the pre-revivalistic period. In the very

beginning of the work, in the chapter on Dharma, the author gives this as his own view that it is far better and more virtuous to abstain from killing and eating any animal than to perform 1000 sacrifices. This one single verse is enough to point out that the author would not have acquiesced in any form of such sacrificial ritualism. The verse is nothing more than the paraphrase of the Sanskrit words 'Ahiṁsā Paramo Dharmaḥ.' I was surprised to see this same verse quoted by a Śaivaite Tamil scholar to prove that the author had as his religion Vedic sacrificial ritualism.

In another section devoted to vegetarian food the author distinctly condemns the Bauddha principle of purchasing meat from the butcher. Buddhists who offer lip service to the doctrine of Ahiṁsā console themselves by saying that they are not to kill with their own hands but may purchase meat from slaughter-house. The author of the Kuraḷ in unmistakble terms points out that the butcher's trade thrives only because of the demand for meat. Butcher's interest is merely to make money and hence he adopts a particular trade determined by the principle of 'supply and demand.' Therefore the responsibility of killing animals for food is mainly on your head and not upon the butcher's. When there is such an open condemnation of animal sacrifice sanctioned by Vedic ritualism and the Buddhistic practice of eating meat by a convenient interpretation of the Ahiṁsā doctrine, it is clear by a process of elimination that the only religion that conforms to the principles enunciated in the book is the religion of Ahiṁsā as upheld by the Jainas. It is maintained by a well-known Tamil scholar living, that the work is a faithful translation of the Dharmaśāstra by Bodhāyana. Though very many Sanskrit words are found in this work and that from among the traditional doctrines some are also treated therein, still it would not be accurate to maintain that it is merely an echo of what appeared in the Sanskrit literature because many of these doctrines are re-interpreted and re-emphasised in the light of Ahiṁsā doctrine. It is enough to mention only two points. This Bodhāyana Dharma Śāstra, since it is based upon the traditional Varṇāśrama, keeps to the traditional four castes and their duties. According to this conception of Dharma, cultivation of the land is left to the last class of Śūdras and

would certainly be infra dig for the upper classes to have anything to do with agriculture. The author of Kuraḷ, on the other hand, probably because of the fact that he is one of the Veḷāḷa or the agricultural class of the land, placed agriculture first among the professions. For he says, "living par excellence is living by tilling the land and every other mode of life is parasitical and hence next to that of the tiller of the soil." It is too much to swallow that such a doctrine is borrowed from Sanskrit Dharma Śāstras. Another interesting fact mentioned in Dharma Śāstras is the mode of entertaining guests by the householders. Such an entertainment is always associated with killing a fat calf; the chapter on guests in Bodhāyana Dharma Śāstra gives a list of animals that ought to be killed for the purpose of entertaining guests. This is a necessary part of Dharma and violation of it will entail curse from the guests is the firm belief of those who accept Vedic ritualism as religion. A cursory glance at the corresponding chapter in the Kuraḷ will convince any reader that Dharma here means quite a different thing from what it means in the Dharma Śāstras of the Hindus. Hence we have to reject this suggestion that the work represents merely a translation of the Dharma Śāstras for the benefit of the Tamil reading public.

Turning to circumstantial evidence, we have to note the following facts. The Jaina commentator of the Tamil work called Neelakeśi freely quotes from this Kuraḷ; and whenever he quotes he introduces the quotation with the words "as is mentioned in our scripture." From this it is clear that the commentator considered this work as an important Jaina scripture in Tamil. Secondly, the same implication is found in a non-Jaina Tamil work called Prabodhacandrodaya. This Tamil work is evidently modelled after the Sanskrit drama Prabodhacandrodaya. This Tamil work is in Viruttam metre, consisting of four lines. It is also in the form of a drama where the representatives of the various religions are introduced on the stage. Each one is introduced while reciting a characteristic verse containing the essence of his religion. When the Jaina Sanyāsi appears on the stage, he is made to recite that particular verse from the Kuraḷ which praises the Ahiṁsā-doctrine that "not killing a single life for the purpose of eating is far better

than performing 1000 yāgas." It will not be far wrong to suggest that in the eyes of this dramatist the Kuraḷ was characteristically a Jaina work. Otherwise he would not have put this verse in the mouth 'Nigantavādi.' This much is enough. We may end this discussion by saying that this great ethical work is specially composed for the purpose of inculcating the principle of Ahiṁsā in all its multifarious aspects, probably by a great Jaina scholar of eminence about the first century of Christian era.

This great ethical work, which contains the essence of Tamil wisdom, consists of three parts and of 133 chapters. Each chapter contains 10 verses. Thus we have 1330 verses in the form of couplets. It has three or four important commentaries. Of these, one is by the great commentator Naccinārkkiniyar. It is supposed to be, according to the Jaina tradition, but is unfortunately lost to the world. The commentary that is popular at present is by one Parimēl-alagar and is certainly later than the Naccinārkkiniyar's, and it differs from the latter in the interpretation of many important points. Recently another commentary by Maṇakkuḍavar was published. Students of Tamil literature entertain the hope of obtaining and publishig the commentary by the great Naccinārkkiniyar. But up to the present there has not been any trace of it.

The work is translated into almost all the European languages, the very good English translation being the work of Rev. G U. Pope. This great work together with the other work Nāladiyār, of which we shall speak presently, must have been important factors in shaping the character and ideals of the Tamil people. Speaking of these two ethical masterpieces, Dr. Pope writes as follows:—
" Yet pervading these verses there seems to me to be a strong sense of moral obligation, an earnest aspiration after righteousness, a fervent and unselfish charity and generally a loftiness of aim that are very impressive. I have felt sometimes as if there must be a blessing in store for a people that delight so utterly in compositions thus remarkably expressive of a hunger and thirst after righteousness.

They are the fore-most among the peoples of India, and the Kuraḷ and Nāladi have helped to make them so."

Let us turn our attention to the last mentioned work Nāladiyār. Kuraḷ and Nāladiyār serve as mutual commentaries and 'altogether throw a flood of light upon the whole ethical and social philosophy of the Tamil people.' Nāladiyār derives its name from the nature of the metre, just as Kuraḷ. Nāladiyār means a quatrain or 4 line Veṇbā metre, The work consists of 400 quatrains and is also called the Vēḷāḷar Vedam, the Bible of the cultivators. It is not the work of a single author. The tradition supposes that each verse is composed by a separate Jaina monk. The current tradition is briefly this. Once upon a time 8000 Jaina asceties driven by famine in the north migrated to the Pāṇḍyan country whose kings supported them. When the period of famine was over they wanted to return to their country, while the king desired to retain these scholars at his court. At last the ascetics resolved to depart secretly without the knowledge of the king. Thus they left in a body one night. In the next morning it was found that each had left on his seat a palm leaf containing a quatrain The king ordered them to be thrown into the river Vaigai, when it was found that some of the palm leaves were seen swimming up the river against the current and came to the bank. These were collected by the order of the king and this collection is known by the name Nāladiyār. We are not in a position to estimate the amount of historical truth contained in this tradition. If we rely on this tradition we havn to connect these 8000 Jaina ascetics with the followers of Bhadrabāhu who migrated to the south on account of the 12 years famine in Northern India; and this would place the composition of this work somewhere about 3rd century B.C. We cannot dogmatise upon it. All that we can say, with a certain amount of certainty is, that it is one of the earliest didactic works in the Tamil language and is probably of the same age or slightly earlier than the Kuraḷ. The 400 isolated stanzas are arranged according to a certain plan after the model of Kuraḷ. Each chapter consists of 10 stanzas. The first part on 'Aram'—Dharma, consists of 13 chapters and 130 quatrains. The second section 'Poruḷ' contains 26 chapters and 260 quatrains; and

the 3rd chapter on 'love' contains 10 quatrains Thus 400 quatrains are arranged into 3 sections. This arrangement is attributed by one tradition to the Pāṇḍyan king, Ugraperuvaḻuti, and by another tradition to the Jaina scholar named Padumanār. Of the 18 didactic works in the Tamil language Kuraḷ and Nāladiyār are considered to be the most important. The moral principles enunciated in this work are accepted by all classes without any difference of caste or religion. The traditional course of Tamil study necessarily involves the study of these two works. None is entitled to be called a Tamil scholar unless he is thorough with these two great works.

On account of the word 'Muttaraiyar' which occurs in one or two quatrains it is contended by some scholars that the work must be brought down to this side of 8th century. They take their standard on the fact that this word 'Muttaraiyar' refers to a minor chief within the Pallava empire. This conclusion is entirely resting upon a meagre philological evidence of this single word There is no further evidence to connect this chieftain with the Jaina ascetics who were no doubt responsible for the composition of the quatrains. On the other hand, the word 'Muttaraiyar' may very well be interpreted as "King of pearls" referring to the Pāṇḍyan kings. It is a well-known fact of ancient history, that pearl-fishery was an important industry of the Pāṇḍyan country, and pearls were exported to foreign countries from the Pāṇḍyan ports. It is but fitting and natural that the Jaina Munis should pay a glowing compliment to their patron belonging to the Pāṇḍyan dynasty. There is another line of argument which tries to bring the age of this work to the later period of the Christian era. Scholars are of opinion that several stanzas in this work are but the echo of the Sanskrit work by Bhartṛhari. Bhartṛhari's Nītiśataka was composed about 650 A. D. and therefore Nāladiyār is supposed to be later than the 7th century A. D. This argument must also be rejected, because the Jaina scholars who are experts in both the languages, the Tamil and the Sanskrit, were probably acquainted with certain old Sanskrit sayings that were perhaps incorporated by Bhartṛhari in his work. Even if you maintain that the Jaina ascetics responsible for Nāladiyār

were probably members of the Drāviḍa Saṅgha presided over by Srī Kundakundācārya, the work could not be assigned to a period later than the first century A.D. It is relevant to mention, in this connection, that quatrains from this Nāladiyar are found quoted in the well-known commentaries in Tamil language from very early times. Besides these two great works, several others (such as 'Aranericcāram' the essence of the way of virtue, 'Palamoli', Proverbs, Ēlāti etc.,) included in 18 didactic works probably owe their origin to Jaina authors. Of these we may notice a few in short.

1. Aranericcāram—"The essence of the way of virtue," is composed by a Jaina author by name Tirumunaippāḍiyār. He is said to have flourished in the last Saṅgam period. He describes in this great work five moral principles, associated with Jainism, though common to the other religions in the south. These principles go by the name of Pañcavratas, the five rules of conduct governing the householder as well as the ascetic. These are Ahiṁsā (non-killing), Asteya (non-stealing), Satya (truth-speaking), Brahmacarya and Parimita Parigraha (avoiding unnecessary luxury and paraphernalia and limiting oneself to the bare necessities of life). These constitute the five-fold principles of ethical conduct, and they are enunciated in this work called Aranericcāram.

2. Paḷamoḷi or Proverbs The author is a Jaina by name Muṉrunaiyār Araiyanār. It contains 400 quatrains of Veṇbā metre like Nāladiyār. It consists of valuable old sayings containing not merely principles of conduct, but also a good deal of worldly wisdom. It is assigned a third place in the enumeration of the 18 didactic works which begins with Kuraḷ and Nāladiyār.

3. Another work belonging to this group of 18 is "Tiṇaimālai Noorraimbatu" by Kaṇimēdaiyār. This Jaina author is also said to be one of the Saṅgam poets. This work treats of the principles of love and war and is quoted freely by the great commentators of the later age. Stanzas from this work are found quoted by Naccinārkkiniyar and others.

4. Another work of this group is 'Nānmaṇikkaḍigai', the solver of the four gems, by the Jaina author by name Vilambinathar. This is also in the Veṇbā metre well-known in the other works. Each stanza deals with four important moral principles like jewels; and hence the name Nānmaṇikkaḍigai.

5. Next Ēlāti, Cardamon and others. The name Ēlāti refers to the mixture of perfumes of Elā, (cardamon), Karpūram (Camphor), Erikarasu (the odorous wood), Candanam (Sandal), and Tēn (Honey) The name is given to this work because each quatrain is supposed to contain five or six such fragrant topics The work is of a Jaina origin, and the author's name is Kaṇimēdaiyār whose knowledge is appreciated by all. It is also one of the 18 lesser classics of Saṅgam literature. Nothing is known of the author except that he is said to be a disciple of Mākkāyanār, son of Tamiḻāśiriyar, a member of the Madurā Saṅgam. Though these works are usually included in the general group of the 18 minor classics, it should not be assumed that they all belong to the same century. They must be spread over several centuries; and the only thing that we may assert with a certain amount of certainty is, that they all belong to pre-revivalistic period of the Hindu religion in the south. Hence they must be assigned to the period before the 7th century A. D

Next we turn to Kāvya literature Kāvya literature is generally included into 2 groups: the major Kāvyas and the minor Kāvyas. The major Kāvyas are five in number: Cintāmaṇi, Śilappadikāram Maṇimēkhalai, Vaḷaiyāpati and Kuṇḍalakēśi. Of these five Cintāmaṇi, Silappadikāram and Vaḷaiyāpati are by Jaina authors and the other two by Buddhistic scholars. Of these five, only three are available now, because Vaḷaiyāpati and Kuṇḍalakēśi are completely lost to the world. Except a few stanzas quoted here and there by commentators, nothing is known of these works. From the stray stanzas available, it is evident that Vaḷaiyāpati was composed by a Jaina author: what the frame-work of the story was, who the author was, and when he lived are all matters of mere conjecture. Similarly,

in the case of Kuṇḍalakēsi, the Buddhistic work, nothing is known about the author or his time. From the stanzas quoted in the work of Neelakēśi it is clear that Kuṇḍalakēsi was a work of philosophical controversy, trying to establish the Bauddha Darśana by refuting the other Darśanas such as the Vedic and the Jaina Darśanas. Unfortunately, there is no hope to recover these two great Kāvyas. Only the other three are now available, thanks to the labours of the eminent Tamil scholar Dr. V. Swaminātha Ayyar. Though in the enumeration of the Kāvyas, Cintāmaṇi occupies the place of honour, because of the undisputed literary eminence of the classic, it could not be supposed that the enumeration is based upon any historical succession. Probably, the two lost works Valaiyāpati and Kuṇḍalakēśi deserve to be considered as historically earlier than the others; but since nothing is known about these works, we cannot speak with any certainty. Of the remaining three, tradition makes Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai contemporary works whereas Cintāmaṇi is probably a later one. Māṇimēkalai, being a Buddhistic work, cannot be brought in our review, though the story is connected with that of Śilappadikāram, which is distinctly a Jaina work.

Śilappadikāram 'the epic of the anklet' is a very important Tamil classic, in as much as it is considered to serve as a land-mark for the chronology of Tamil literature. Its author is the Chera prince, who became a Jaina ascatic, by name Ilaṅgovaḍigal. This great work is taken as an authority for literary usages and is quoted as such by the later commentators. It is associated with a great mercantile family in the city of Puhār, Kaveripūmpaṭṭanam, which was the capital of the Chola empire. The Heroine Kaṇṇaki was from this mercantile family and was famous for her chastity and devotion to her husband. Since the story is associated with the attempt to sell the anklet or Śilambu in Madura, the capital of the Paṇḍyan kingdom and the consequent tragedy the work is called the epic of the anklet or Śilambu. Since the three great kingdoms are involved in this story, the author who is a Chera prince elaborately describes all the three great capital Puhār, Madura and Vañji, the last being the capital of the Chera empire.

The author of this work Iḷangōvaḍigal was the younger son of the Chera king Cēralādan whose capital was Vañji. Iḷangōvaḍigal was the younger brother of Śeṅguṭṭuvan the ruling king after Cēralādan. Hence the name Iḷangōvaḍigal, the younger prince. After he became an ascetic he was called Iḷangōvaḍigal, the term 'Aḍigal' being an honorific term referring to an ascetic. One day when this ascetic prince was in the temple of Jina situated at Vañji, the capital, some members of the hill tribe went to him and narrated to him the strange vision which they witnessed relating to the heroine Kaṇṇaki. How they witnessed on the hill a lady who lost one of her breasts, how Indra appeared before her and how her husband Kōvalan was introduced to her as a Deva and how finally Indra carried both of them in a divine chariot: all these were narrated to the Chera prince in the presence of his friend and poet Kūlavāṇigan Śāttan, the renowned author of Maṇimēkalai. This friend narrated the full story of the hero and the heroine which was listened to with interest by the royal ascetic. This story narrated by Śāttan contained three important and valuable truths in which the royal ascetic took great interest. First, if a king deviates from the path of righteousness even to a slight extent, he will bring down upon himself and his kingdom a catastrophe as a proof of his inequity; secondly, a woman walking the path of chastity is deserving of adoration and worship not only by human beings but also by Devas and Munis; and thirdly, the working of Karma is such that there is an inevitable fatality from which no one can escape, and the fruits of one's previous Karma must necessarily be experienced in a later period. In order to illustrate these three eternal truths, the royal prince undertook the task of composing this story for the benefit of mankind. In this classic called Śilappadikāram or the epic of the anklet, the first scene is laid in Puhār, the Chōḷa capital. This was evidently an important port at the mouth of Cauvery, and it was the capital of the Chōḷa king Karikāla. Being an important commercial centre, several great commercial houses were situated in the capital. Of these there was one Māśattuvan a merchant prince belonging to this noble family of commercial magnates. His son was Kōvalan, the hero of our story. He was

married to Kaṇṇaki, the daughter of another commercial magnate of the same city whose name was Mā Nāyakan. Kōvalan and his wife Kaṇṇaki set up an independent home on a grand scale fitting their social status and were living happily for some time in conformity with the rules and conduct associated with the householders. Their happiness consisted in lavish hospitality to all the deserving ones among the householders as well as the ascetics.

While they were thus spending their life happily, Kōvalan once met a very beautiful and accomplished dancing girl by name Mādhavī. He fell in love with the actress who reciprocated it; and therefore he spent most of his time in the company of Mādhavī, to the great grief of his wedded wife Kaṇṇaki. In this erotic extravagence, he practically spent all his wealth; but Kaṇṇaki never expressed her grief, and she was quite devoted to him as she was in the beginning of her wedded life. There was the Indra festival celebrated as usual. Kōvalan with his mistress also went to the sea-shore to take part in the festival. While they were seated in one corner, Kōvalan took out the Viṇā from the hands of Mādhavī and began to play some fine tunes of love. Mādhavī gently suspected that his attachment to her was waning. But when she took the Viṇā from his hand and began to play her own tunes that aroused his suspicion that she was secretly attached to some other person. This mutual suspicion resulted in a break-off, and Kōvalan returned home in a state of complete poverty with a noble resolution of starting life again as an honourable householder. His chaste wife, instead of rebuking him for his past waywardness, consoled him with that kindness characteristic of a chaste wife and encouraged him in his resolve to start life again by reviving his business. He was practically penniless, since he lost everything when he was associated with his mistress Mādhavī. But his wife had two anklets still remaining. She was willing to part with these, if he would care to sell these and have the sale proceeds as the capital for reviving his business. But he was not willing to stay in his own capital any longer. Hence he decided to go to the Pāṇḍyan capital, Madura, for the purpose of disposing off these anklets. Without the knowledge of anybody, he left the Choḷa capital the same night accom-

panied by his wife and started for Madura. On his way he reached an āśrama of the Jaina ascetics on the northern banks of Cauvery. In that āśrama he met the female ascetic Kaundhi who was quite willing to accompany these two, in order that she might have the opportunity of meeting the great Jaina Ācāryas in the Pāṇḍyan capital of Madura. These three continued their march towards Madura. When, after crossing the Cauvery, resting on the banks of a tank, Kōvalan and his wife were insulted by a wicked fellow who was wandering there with his equally wicked mistress. This provoked their ascetic friend Kaundhi who cursed these two creatures to become jackals. But after the earnest requests of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki the curse was revoked that they would resume their normal human form in a year.

After undergoing the troubles of the tedious journey, they reached the outskirts of Madura, the Pāṇḍyan capital. Leaving his wife Kaṇṇaki in the company and charge of Kaundhi, Kōvalan entered the city for the purpose of ascertaining the proper place where he could begin his business. While Kōvalan was spending his time in the city with his friend Māḍalan, Kaundhi wanted to leave Kaṇṇaki in the house of Mādhari a good natured shepherdess of that locality. When Kōvalan returned from the city, he and his wife were taken to Āyarpāḍi and were lodged in the shepherdess' house. Her daughter was placed at the service of Kaṇṇaki who and her husband were the honoured guests in that Āyarpāḍi. After feeling sorry for the troubles and privations, Kōvalan took leave of his wife and returned to the city for the purpose of selling one of the anklets. When he entered the principal market street he met a goldsmith. He spotted him out as a goldsmith patronised by the king and told him that he had an anklet worthy of being worn by the Queen and wanted him to estimate the value of the same. The goldsmith wanted to see the value of the anklet which was accordingly delivered by the owner. The wicked goldsmith thought within himself of deceiving Kovalan, asked him to wait in a house next to his own and promised to strike a very good bargain with the king, for the anklet was so valuable that only the Queen could offer the price of it. Thus leaving poor Kōvalan alone he took the anklet

to the king where he misrepresented facts reporting that Kōvalan was a thief having in possession one of the Queen's anklet which was stolen from the palace a few days before. The king without further enquiry issued orders that the thief must be killed and the anklet must be recovered at once The wicked goldsmith returned with king's officers who carried out the orders of the foolish king to the very letter ; and thus Kōvalan had to end his life, while attempting to start life again, in the foreign country. In the meanwhile Kaṇṇaki who resided in the shepherdess' quarters had observed several evil omens prophetic of the great calamity awaiting her. When Mādhari, the shepherdess, went to bathe in the Vaigai river, she learnt from a shepherdess returning from the city the fate of Kōvalan who was killed by the command of the king on a charge of theft of the Queen's anklet. When this was reported to Kaṇṇaki, she, in a rage entered the city with her other anklet in hand in order to vindicate the innocence of her husband before the king. Reaching the palace Kaṇṇaki intimated through the sentinel that she wanted to have an interview with the king in order to vindicate the innocence of her husband who was cruelly put to death without proper enquiry. She demonstrated before the king that her anklet taken from her husband as the stolen one contained gems inside whereas the Queen's anklet contained pearls inside. When this fact was demonstrated to the king by breaking open Kaṇṇaki's anklet, the king realised the immensity of his blunder in cruelly putting to death an innocent member of a noble family of merchants. He cried that he was foolishly led into this blunder by the wicked goldsmith, fell down unconscious from his royal throne and lost his life immediately. After vindicating the innocence of her husbsnd Kaṇṇaki with unabated rage and anger cursed the whole city of Madura that it should be consumed by fire and tore off her left breast and cast it away over the city with her curse. The curse took effect and the city was burnt to ashes. Having learnt from the Goddess of Madura that all this was but the inevitable result of her past Karma and being consoled by the fact that she would meet her husband as a Deva in a fortnight, Kaṇṇaki left Madura and went westwards towards Malaināḍu. Ascending the hill called Tiruchchenguṇṛam she waited under the shade of a Vēngai tree for

fourteen days when she met her husband Kōvalan in the form of a Deva who took her in a Vimāna to Svarga, while being adored by Devas themselves. Thus ends the second chapter called Madurai-k-kāṇḍam.

Next is the third part of the work called Vañji-k-Kāṇḍam relating to the Chera capital Vañji. The members of the hill tribe, who witnessed this great scene of Kaṇṇaki being carried by her husband in the divine chariot, celebrated this event in their hamlet, in the form of 'Kuravaikoottu' evidently a form of inspired folk-dance. Then these hunters wanted to narrate this wonder to their king Śeṅguṭṭuvan and thus marched towards the capital each carrying a present to the king. There they met the Chera king Śeṅguṭṭuvan who was with his Queen and his younger brother in the midst of his four-fold army. When the king heard this narration how Kōvalan was killed in Madura, how the city was consumed by fire by the curse of Kaṇṇaki and how the Pāṇḍyan king lost his life, he was very greatly impressed by the greatness and chastity of Kaṇṇaki. As desired by his Queen, he wanted to build a temple for this Goddess of chastity. With this object in view he set out with his ministers and army towards the Himālayas for the purpose of bringing a rock to be sculputured into the idol of Kaṇṇaki to establish it within the temple built in her name. There he met with the opposition of the several Āryan princes who were defeated by this Chera king and were brought as captives back to the Chera capital. There he had the temple built in the name of Kaṇṇaki and celebrated the Pratishṭhā Mahōtsava according to which the idol of Kaṇṇaki, the Goddess of chastity, was placed in the temple for the purpose of worship. In the meanwhile, the parents of both Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki, learning the fate of their children, renounced their property and became ascetics. When the Chera king Śeṅguṭṭuvan built the temple in honour of the Goddess of chastity several kings of Āryāvarta, the Mālwa king, Gajabāhu the king of Laṅkā, who were all there at the Chera capital, decided to build similar temples for Kaṇṇaki at their own capitals and wanted to conduct worship in a similar manner, so that they

might also obtain the Goddess of Chastity's blessing. Thus arose the Kaṇṇaki worship which brought all prosperity and plenty to the worshippers. Thus ends the story of Śilappadikāram. It consists of 3 great divisions and 30 chapters on the whole. The work has a very valuable commentary by one Aḍiyārkkunallār. Nothing definite is known about this commentator. Since he is referred to by Naccinārkkiniyar, another commentator of a later period, all that we can say is that he is of a period earlier than Naccinārkkiniyar's. That he must have been a very great scholar is evident from his valuable commentary on this work. That he was well-versed in the principles of music, dance and drama is very well borne out by the elaborate details given by him in this commentary elucidating the text relating those topics. This work, the epic of the anklets, contains lot of historical information interesting to the students of South Indian History. From the time of Kanakasabhai Piḷḷai, the author of "*The Tamils 1800 years ago*" up to the present day, this work has been the source of information and guidance to the research students in the Tamil land. The information that Gajabāhu, the king of Ceylon, was one of the royal visitors to the Vañji capital is emphasised as an important point for determining the chronology of the work. This Gajabāhu is assigned to the 2nd century A. D. according to the Budhistic account contained in Mahāvaṁśa. Relying upon this, critics are of opinion that the Chera king Śeṅguṭṭuvan and his brother Iḷangōvaḍigal must have lived somewhere about 150 A. D. and hence the work must be assigned to that period. All are not agreed on this point, but those who are opposed to this view would bring down the period several centuries later to the period of another Gajabāhu mentioned in the same Mahāvaṁśa. Mr. Logan in his 'Malabar District Manual' states several important points indicating the Jaina influence over the people of Malabar coast before the introduction of Hinduism. Since we are not directly concerned in the chronology, we may leave that topic to the students of history. In our opinion the view associating this work with the earlier Gajabāhu of the 2nd century is not altogether improbable. But we want to emphasise one important fact. Throughout the work we find doctrines relating

to Ahiṁsā expounded and emphasised; and in some places we have reference to the form of temple worhip described according to this doctrine. About this time worship with the flowers was prevalent throughout the Tamil land. This is referred to as "Pooppali" that is, Bali with flowers. The term 'Bali' refers to such sacrificial offering and 'Pooppali' is interpreted by the commentators as worship of God with flowers.

The Chera prince is complimented by his Brāhmaṇa friend Māḍalan as one who introduced the purer form of 'Pooppali' in temple worship. Incidentally we may mention another interesting fact. There are two terms in early Tamil literature 'Andaṇan' and 'Pārppān' each with a story behind. It is generally assumed that these two are synonyms. In several places they are probably used as synonyms. When in the same work these two terms are used in a slightly different connotations, they must be taken as different. In this epic of anklet the term 'Andaṇan' is interpreted by the commentator to mean 'Śrāvaka' the householder among the Jainas. This is very interesting piece of information. These two terms again occur in the famous Kuraḷ where the term 'Pārppān' is interpreted to mean one who makes Veda Adhyayana; where the term 'Andaṇan' is defined in a different manner as "as one who is all love and mercy to all the living creatures." Evidently the term 'Andaṇan' was conventionally used by early Tamil authors to describe the followers of Ahiṁsā doctrine irrespective of birth, while the term 'Pārppān' was reserved by them to designate the social caste af the Brāhmaṇas. This suggestion is worth investigating by scholars interested in the social reconstruction of the early Tamils.

Jīvaka Cintāmaṇi.—This work, the greatest of the five Mahākāvyas, is undoubtedly 'the greatest existing Tamil literary monument.' In grandeur of conception, in elegance of literary diction and in beauty of description of nature it remains unrivalled in Tamil literature. For the later Tamil authors it has been not only a model to follow but an ideal to aspire to. The story that is told of Kamban, the author of the great Tamil Rāmāyaṇa, that when he introduced his Rāmāyaṇa before the academy of scholars, when some of the

scholars remarked that they discerned traces of Cintāmaṇi there, Kamban, characteristic of intellectual courage and honesty, acknowledged his debt with the following words :—

"Yes, I have sipped a spoonful of the nectar from Cintāmaṇi," This indicates with what veneration the classic was held by the Tamil scholars. 'This great romantic epic which is at once the Iliad and the Odyssey of the Tamil language' is said to have been composed in the early youth of the poet named Tiruttakkadēva. Nothing is known about the author except his name and that he was born in Mylapore, a suburb of Madras, where the author of Kuraḷ also lived. The youthful poet together with his master migrated to Madura the great capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and the centre of religious activities. With the permission of the teacher the young ascetic poet got introduced to the members of the Tamil Academy or Saṅgam at Madura. While in social conversation with some of the fellow members of the academy he was reproached by them for the incapacity of producing erotic work in Tamil language. To this he replied that few Jainas cared to write poetry in Śṛṅgāra Rasa. They could very well do it as well as the others, but the fact that they did not indulge in such literary compositions was merely the result of their dislike of such sensual subjects and not due to literary incapacity. But when his friends taunted whether he could produce one, he accepted the challenge. Returning to his Āśrama he reported the matter to his master. While himself and his master were seated together there ran a jackal in front of them which was pointed out by the master to his disciple who was asked to compose a few verses relating to the jackal. Immediately Tiruttakkadēva, the disciple, composed verses relating to the jackal, hence called Nari viruttam, illustrating the instability of the body, ephemeral nature of the wealth and such other topics. The master was pleased with the extraordinary poetic ability of his disciple and gave him permission to compose a classic describing the life history of Jīvaka. It contained all the various aspects of love and beauty. To mark his consent the master composed an invocatory verse to be used by the disciple as his first verse of his would-be work. Then his disciple Tiruttakkadēva started composing another verse in adoration of

Siddha which was accepted by his Guru as much more beautiful than his own and instructed him to keep this as his first verse while his own was assigned a second place. Thus the verses containing Siddhanamaskāra starting with the words 'Moovāmudalā' is the first verse in Jīvaka Cintāmaṇi while 'Arhan Namaskāra' composed by the Guru beginning with the words 'Śempoṇvaraimēl' is assigned the second place in the work. Thus as the result of the challenge from his friendly poet of Madura Saṅgam, the Cintāmaṇi was composed by Tiruttakkadeva to prove that a Jaina author also could produce a work containing Śṛṅgāra Rasa. It was admitted on all sides that he had succeeded wonderfully well. When the work was produced before the academy, the tradition says, that the author was asked by his friends how he, from his childhood pledged to perfect purity and celibacy, could compose a poem exhibiting such unequalled familiarity with sensual pleasures. In order to clear up this doubt it is said he took up a red-hot ball of iron with these words "Let this burn me, if I am not pure"; and it is said he came out of the ordeal unscathed, and his friends had apologised to him for casting doubt on his purity of conduct.

Unlike the previous work Śilappadikāram which is supposed to deal with the historical events which took place during the life-time of the author, this classic deals with the Purāṇic story of Jīvaka. The story of Jīvaka is found in Sanskrit literature in plenty. The continuation work of Mahāpurāṇam by Jinasena composed by his disciple Guṇabhadra contains the story of Jīvaka in a chapter of Mahāpurāṇa. The story is again found in Śrī Purāṇam which is a prose in Maṇipravāḷa style, probably a rendering of this Mahāpurāṇam. In Kṣatracuḍāmaṇi, in Gadyacintāmaṇi and Jīvandhara Campū we have the same story worked out. Whether the author of the Tamil work had any of these Sanskrit works as the basis for his composition we cannot assert with any definiteness.

Of all these Sanskrit works, Mahāpurāṇa is certainly the oldest and we have definite information that it belongs to the 8th century A.D., since it was composed by Jinasena the spiritual teacher of

Amoghavarṣa of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. But Jinasena himself speaks of several previous works on which he bases his own composition. Anyhow it is generally agreed by scholars that this Tamil classic Jivakacintāmaṇi is probably later than the 8th century A.D. We may accept this verdict for the present. The work is divided into 30 Ilambakas or chapters, the first beginning with the birth and education of the hero and the last ending with his Nirvāṇa.

1. Nāmagal Ilambagam—The story begins with the description of the country Hemāṅgada in Bharata Khaṇḍa. Rājamāpuram is the capital of Hemāṅgada. The ruler was Sachchandan of the Kuru dynasty. This Sachchandan married his maternal uncle's Śrīdattan's daughter named Vijayā. This Srīdattan was ruling over the country of Videha. Since the king Sachchandan was so much in love with his wife who was extremely beautiful, he spent most of his time in her apartment without attending to his state affairs. He delegated to one of his ministers Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran the royal privileges to be exercised. This Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran, when once he tasted the power and privilege of royalty, desired to usurp the the same. The king, ignorant of such a Machievallian policy of his minister, to whom he foolishly entrusted the state affairs, discovered the mistake a little too late. In the meanwhile, the Queen had three dreams of rather an unpleasant nature. When she wanted the interpretation from the king, he somehow consoled her not to worry about the dreams. Anticipating troubles from his ungrateful minister, it is said that he had constructed for him a sort of aerial vehicle like the modern aeroplane in the form of a peacock. This peacock machine was secretly constructed within the palace in order to carry two persons in the air, and he instructed his Queen to manipulate this machine. When the queen was in the state of advanced pregnancy, the ungrateful Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran wanted to realise his wish to usurp the kingdom and thus besieged the palace. Since the peacock machine was constructed to carry the weight of two persons alone and since the queen was in advanced state of pregnancy, the king thought it advisable to place the machine at her

disposal and himself stayed behind. When the machine started up with the queen on it, the king with the drawn sword in his hand came out to meet the usurper. In the melee of the fight the king lost his life and the wicked Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran proclaimed himself the king of Rājamāpuram. The queen, who by that time reached the outskirts of the city, heard this royal proclamation resulting from the death of her royal husband and lost control of the machine which descended and landed on the cremation ground in the outskirts of this city. In the darkness of night she gave birth to a son in those pitiable surroundings. The queen had nobody to help her and the child was crying helpless in the pitch-dark night on the cremation ground. It is said that one of the Devatās taking pity on the queen, assumed the form of one of her attendants in the palace and did service to her. Just then one of the merchants of that city carrying his dead child to be buried came there. There he met the beautiful child Jīvaka which was left alone by his mother at the advice of the Devatā. The merchant by name Kandukkaḍan was very much pleased at the sight of the royal baby which he recognised as such from the ring in the child's finger and took the live baby, the royal child, back to his house and gave it back to his wife, saying that her child was not dead. His wife gladly accepted this gift from her husband and brought him up thinking it her own. This child was Jīvaka, the hero of our story.

The queen Vijayā accompanied by the Devatā went to Daṇḍakāraṇya where she assumed the form of a female ascetic and stayed in a Tāpasa Āśrama Jīvaka was brought up in the merchant's house with a number of his cousins. As a youth he was educated by one Accaṇandi Ācārya and also learnt archery and other arts requisite for a prince. The Guru who was attracted by the ability of his student one day narrated to him the tragic story of his royal family and took a promise from the youthful prince that he should not rush to revenge and recover his state till the expiry of one complete year. After getting this promise from the youthful disciple the Guru blessed the prince that he would recover his kingdom after that period and discovered to him his own identity.

Afterwards the Guru left him and went his own way to perform Tapas and attain Nirvāṇa after worshipping at the feet of the 24th Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra. Thus ends the first chapter devoted to the education of the prince Jīvaka, hence called Nāmagal Ilambagan, Nāmagal meaning Sarasvatī the Goddess of tongue or speech.

2. Govindaiyār Ilambagam—While the prince was spending his time with his chetty cousins in the family of Kandukkkaḍan, the hill tribes from the borders carried away the cattle belonging to the king. The shepherds in charge of the cows, being unable to prevent this, ran to the king for help. The king immediately ordered his 100 sons to go and fight the hunters and recover the cattle. But they were all defeated by the hill tribes. The king did not know what to do next. But the chief of the shepherds had it published in the city that he would give away in marriage his daughter Govindā to any one who could successfully recover and bring back the king's cows. Jīvaka heard this proclamation, went in pursuit of these 'Vēḍars', and recovered all the cows. Since it would not be proper for a Kṣatriya to marry a shepherd maid, he with the consent of the Nandakōn the shepherd chief had Govindā married to his friend and associate Padumuhan Thus ends the second chapter dealing with the marriage of Govindā

3. Gāndharvadattāiyār Ilambagam—Gāndharvadattā was the daughter of a Vidyādhara king named Kaluṣavega. Learning from an astrologer that his daughter would marry someone in Rājamahāpura, he wanted to send his daughter to that city. When he was waiting for an opportunity for this, a merchant from that city Rājamahāpura by name Śrīdatta was returning home with ship-loads of gold as a result of his sea-borne trade. Just like the magic ship-wreck effected by Prospero in Shakespeare's Tempest, this Vidyādhara king did create a magic ship-wreck and managed to bring the merchant Śrīdatta to his court. There he was intimated why he was brought to the Vidyādhara capital; and he was instructed to take with him the princess Gandarvadattā to be given in marriage to anybody who would defeat her in a Viṇā contest. Returning to his capital with this Vidyādhara princess, Śrīdatta proclaimed to the citizens the

conditions of Viṇā Svayaṁvara and offered the Vidyādhara princess to one who would succeed in this contest. This contest was arranged with the permission of Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran the then ruling king. Members belonging to the first three Varṇas were invited for the contest. Every one got defeated by this princess Gandharvadattā. Thus elapsed six days. On the seventh day the prince Jīvaka, who was taken by the citizens for merely a merchant's son, wanted to try his chance in this music contest. When Jīvaka exhibited his musical skill in this contest, the Vidyādhara princess acknowledged him to be victorious and accepted him as her husband. Several princes who were assembled there, out of jealousy, wanted to fight Jīvaka but all these were defeated and finally Jīvaka took Gāndharvadattā home where he celebrated the regular formal marriage. Thus ends the third chapter of the marriage of Gāndharvadattā.

4. Guṇamālaiyār Ilambagam—On another day during Vasanta festival the youth of the city went to the adjoining Park for play and enjoyment. Among these were two young ladies Suramañjarī and Guṇamāḷā. Between them there arose a discussion as to the quality of the fragrant powder used for the purpose of bathing. Each claimed that her powder was superior. The matter was referred to the wise youth Jīvaka, who gave a verdict in favour of Guṇamālā. Hearing the decision Suramañjari was sorrow-struck and decided to shut herself up in Kaṇyāmāḍa with a vow that she would never see male's face, till this very Jīvaka would come begging for her hand in marriage. While Suramañjari desisted from taking part in the Vasanta festival Guṇamāḷā encouraged by the verdict in her favour went out to enjoy the festival. Jīvaka himself on his way observed a dog beaten to death by some Brāhmaṇas whose food was touched by this poor dog. When he saw the dying dog, he tried to help the poor creature and whispered to him the Pañcanamaskāra with the hope that it would help the creature to have a better future. Accordingly the animal was born in Devaloka as a Deva called Sudañjaṇa. This Sudañjaṇa Deva immediately appeared before Jīvaka to express his sense of gratitude and was willing to serve him. But Jīvaka sent him back with the instruction that he would

send for him whenever he was in need. While he thus dismissed the Deva, he witnessed a terrible scene. The king's elephant escaped from its place and immediately ran towards the Udyāna in front of the people returning home after the festival. Just then he saw Guṇamālā with her attendants returning home. They were all frightened at the sight of the mad elephant Jīvaka rushed to their rescue, subdued the king's elephant and made it return home quietly; and thus made the way clear for Guṇamālā and her friends. While Guṇamālā saw the beautiful prince, she immediately fell in love with him. This was reported to her parents who arranged for the marriage of Guṇamāla with Jīvaka, which was accordingly celebrated. But the king Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran came to know of the chastisement of his royal elephant and sent his sons and brother-in-law Madanan to bring this Chetty boy Jīvaka They with a number of soldiers came and surrounded Kandukkaḍan's house. Though Jīvaka wanted to fight against them, he remembered his promise to his Guru to keep quiet for one full year and therefore was not in a position to defend himself. Thus in difficulty he remembered his friend Sudañjaṇa Deva who immediately brought about a cyclone and rain thus created confusion among his enemie. In this confusion Jīvaka was lifted and carried away by his friend Sudañjaṇa Deva to his own place. The king's officers, in their confusion, were not able to find out Jīvaka; they killed some one else; and reported the matter to the king that they could not bring Jīvaka alive and therefore they had to kill him in the confusion created by the cyclone The king was very much pleased with this result and rewarded them all amply.

5. Padumaiyār Ilambagam—Since Jīvaka expressed his desire to return home, Sudañjaṇa Deva, before parting with his friend Jīvaka, instructed him in three important vidyās which might be useful to him in life. These are: (1) the capacity to assume a beautiful form to be envied even by the God of Love, (2) to cure the effects of deadly poison, (3) and to take any form desired. After instructing him in these three useful Mantras, the Deva directed his friend the way he is to take to reach home. Leaving the land of his friend Sudañjaṇa Deva, he roamed about in several places doing

useful service to very many who were in suffering. Finally he reached the city of Chandrābha in Pallava Deśa. There he became a friend of Lokapāla, the Pallava prince. This Prince's sister Padmā, one day, when she went to gather flowers, got bitten by a cobra. Jīvaka saved her from the effect of poison through the Mantra given to him by Deva Sudañjana. As a reward of this good service, he had Padmā given to him in marriage by the Pallava king. There he stayed for a few months when he left the city *in cognito* all of a sudden. The princess was in great sorrow because of the disappearance of her husband. The king sent messengers in search of his son-in-law Jīvaka, who were told by Jīvaka himself in disguise that there would be no use in searching for him now, and that he would of his own accord return after nine months. With this glad tidings the messengers went back and comforted the princess Padmā. Thus ends the Padumiyār Ilambagam.

6. Kēmaśariyār Ilambagam—Then Jīvaka reached Kēmapurī in Ṭakka Nāḍu. In that Kēmapuri there was a merchant by name Subhaddiran. He had a daughter by name Kemaśari. Astrologers told this merchant that the youth who at the sight produced the emotion of modesty and love in his daughter would become her husband. The merchant in search of a son-in-law tried several times to bring about such a situation to discover the predicted emotions in his daughter. But all cases proved failure till he came upon Jīvaka. When Jīvaka was invited to his house, he observed to his great joy that his daughter Kemaśari at the first sight fell in love with Jīvaka. He gladly gave his daughter Kemaśari in marriage to Jīvaka who stayed with his wife for some time. Again he left the place in disguise, without the knowledge of anybody, to the great grief of his new wife Kemaśari.

7. Kanakamālaiyār Ilambagam—Then Jīvaka reached Hemapura in Madhya Deśa. Reaching the Udyāna in the outskirts of the city, he met Vijaya the son of Daḍamittan, the king of Hemapura. This Vijaya was attempting to get a mango fruit from a tree in the garden with the help of his arrow. But he could not succeed. The

stranger Jīvaka brought down the fruit at his first aim; at this Vijaya was very much delighted; and he reported the stranger's arrival to the king, his father. The king was very much pleased to receive Jīvaka and requested him to instruct his sons in archery. When his sons became experts in archery as a result of Jīvaka's instruction, the king out of gratitude and pleasure offered his daughter Kanakamālai in marriage to Jīvaka. He was living with Kanakamālai for some time In the meanwhile, his cousin Nandaṭṭan not knowing the whereabouts of Jīvaka wanted to go about in search of him. Gāndharvadattā, the Vidyādhara princess and Jīvaka's first wife, gave the information about the exact whereabouts of Jīvaka at the moment. Through the help of her Vidyā, she managed to lead Nandaṭṭan to Hemapura where he stayed with his friends. Jīvaka's other friends went in search of him. On their way they met the old queen Vijayā in a Tavappaḷḷi. She was informed of all that happened to Jīvaka after she left the baby on the cremation ground. And she expressed a great desire to meet her son, and they promised to arrange for such a meeting within a month and left the Tavapaḷḷi to go to Jīvaka. While Jīvaka was living with his new wife Kanakamālai, they pretended to besiege the town in order to meet Jīvaka. Jīvaka with his cousin Nandaṭṭan gathered large forces and went out to meet the besieging army in battle. Padumuhan who was in charge of the army outside and a friend of Jīvaka despatched his first arrow with a message tied to it informing Jīvaka of his own identity and the object of the visit. When the arrow fell at the feet of Jīvaka, he picked it up and read the message to his great joy. Recognising that they were all his friends, he invited them all into the city and introduccd them to the king and father-in-law. When Jīvaka learnt from his friends about his mother and her eagerness to meet him, he took leave of the king and his wife Kanakamālai who was asked to stay with her father. He started from the city with all his friends to meet his old mother. Jīvaka together with his associates reached Daṇḍakāraṇya and met his old mother Vijayā. Vijayā embraced her son with great joy because of the separation of several years. Thus he spent 6 days in the Tavapaḷḷi with his mother Vijayā.

She advised her son to meet his maternal uncle Govindarāja and to take his advice and help for the purpose of recovering his father's lost kingdom. He sent his mother in the company of a few female ascetics to his uncle's place, while he himself with his friends went towards Rājamahāpuram They all camped in a garden adjoining the city Next day Jīvaka, leaving his friends there, went into the city assuming a beautiful form which could attract even the God of Love. While he was walking along the streets of the city, there appeared before him Vimalā who ran into the street to pick her ball which went astray while she was playing. At the sight of that handsome Jīvaka, she fell in love with him. She was the daughter of a merchant by name Sāgaradatta. Jīvaka went and sat in Sāgaradatta's shop just to take rest The large stock of sugar, which he had in store for a long time unsold, was disposed off immediately after the visit of the stranger to the shop. This was taken to be a very good omen by the merchant Sāgaradatta, as he had learnt previously from the astrologers "that he whose presence would lead to the complete disposal of his unsold goods would be the proper son-in-law for him." He gladly offered his daughter Vimalā in marriage to this beautiful youth. Jīvaka accepted Vimalā in marriage and spent with her just two days and the third morning he went back to his friend's camp in the garden outside the city.

Suramañjarī Ilambagam—His friends observed Jīvaka with the marks of a fresh bridegroom and wanted to know the identity of his fresh matrimonial conquest. When Jīvaka told them that he married Vimalā, the merchant's daughter, they all congratulated him that he was the veritable Kāma. But one of his friends named Buddhiṣeṇa was not willing to congratulate him for this paltry achievement; for in the city there was one Suramañjarī who would not brook to see a male's face; and if Jīvaka succeeded in marrying her, then he would be congratulated as the veritable God of Love. Jīvaka took up the challenge. Next day he assumed the form of a very old Brāhmaṇa mendicant and appeared before the gate of Suramañjarī. Suramañjarī's maid servants informed their mistress of the appearance of the old Brāhmaṇa mendicant at her gate begging for some food. Suramañjarī, thinking that an old

and frail Brāhmaṇa mendicant would not lead to the violation of her vow, instructed her servants to bring the old man into the house. There the old mendicant was received as an honoured guest and was offered the finest food that she could arrange for. After dinner the old man took rest on a beautiful bed prepared for him. After a few minutes' nap the old man sang a very beautiful song which was identitfied by Suramañjarī as Jīvaka's. This roused in her the old desire to win over Jīvaka for herself. She decided to go to the temple of Love the next day to offer worship to the God of Love that she might at last get Jīvaka as her husband. Even before Jīvaka took the shape of a Brāhmaṇa mendicant, he arranged with his friend Buddhiṣeṇa that he should remain hiding behind the God of Love in the temple and that when Suramañjarī begged the God to help her to win Jīvaka he must answer her favourably from behind the idol So next day when Suramañjarī with her attendants wanted to go to the temple of Love, she took with her in the carriage this old Brāhmaṇa mendicant. He was left in one of the front rooms of the temple, while Suramañjarī went into the temple to offer Pūjā. After the Pūjā was over, she begged the God of Love to promise success in her adventure. Immediately there came a voice from inside the temple "Yes, you have won already Jīvaka." In great delight she wanted to return home; and when she went to pick up the old mendicant on her way, Lo! she found there the youthful prince Jīvaka instead of the old Brāhmaṇa mendicant. There was no limit to her joy. She clasped him in great delight and announced that she would marry him. The matter was intimated to her father Kuberadatta who was very glad to have the marriage celebrated immediately. From this city of Rājamāpura he took leave of his foster-father and went out with his friends in the disguise as a horse-dealer.

Maṇmagal Ilambagam—Thus Jīvaka with his friends entered Vidaiya Nāḍu, the land of his uncle Govinda Rāja. He was received by his uncle with great joy. There he discussed with his uncle as to the method of reconquering his country Hemāṅgada from the usurper Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran. Govinda Rāja tried to get

Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran to his place by a stratagem. This Govinda Rāja had a beautiful daughter named Ilakkaṇai. He proclaimed the conditions of a Svayaṁvara and set up a machine in the form of a boar which was always rotating; he who successfully hit the rotating boar would be accepted as the fitting husband to the princess. Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran and several other princes were assembled at the court of Govinda Rāja in order to try their luck at the Svayaṁvara. But none was really successful At last Jīvaka appeared on the scene on the back of an elephant. The very sight made Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran frightened. Jīvaka, whom he considered to be dead and gone, was before him fully alive. He got down from the elephant's back and hit at the boar mark successfully with his arrow, and won the hand of the princess in the Svayaṁvara. Then his uncle Govinda Rāja openly announced who this young man was and sent an ultimatum to Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran to return back his kingdom. But Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran accepted the challenge and preferred to fight. He was defeated and killed in a regular battle together with his hundred sons. Jīvaka was victorious. At the news of the victory, his old mother was in great joy and felt that her life-purpose was fulfilled.

Pūmagal Ilambagam—Then Jīvaka after the victory marched to his own city Rājamāpuram where he had the coronation ceremony conducted in a grand manner to the delight of his friends and relations. This is spoken of as the marriage with the Bhūmi Devi, the Spirit of the earth, because Jīvaka's previous career was one of a glorious stream of marriages.

Ilakkaṇai Ilambagam—After assuming the kingship over Hēmaṅga Nāḍu he had the celebration of the marriage with his uncle's daughter Ilakkaṇai who was won in the last Svayaṁvara, by his successful hitting at the boar-mark, and rewarded all his friends in a fitting manner. His foster-father was elevated to royal honour. His friends were given several presents. He gave away all the wealth of Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran to his uncle Govinda Rāja. He built a temple in honour of his friend Sudañjaṇa Deva. Thus during his reign all were satisfied and the country enjoyed plenty and prosperity.

Mutti Ilambagam—While they were all living in happiness, one day his old mother Vijayā expressed her desire to renounce all these worldly pleasures and wanted to live the life of an ascetic. Thus, with the permission of her son and king, she spent her remaining days in a Tāpasa āśrama in prayer and spiritual discipline. The king Jīvaka, while wandering in the Udyāna one day, noticed a curious phenomenon. He observed a monkey with her lover enjoying their happy life. Immediately he saw the male monkey fetching a fine jack fruit to offer to his mate. Just then the gardener noticing the jack fruit in the hands of the monkey, beat him with his stick and took away the jack fruit which he did eat. When this was noticed by Jīvaka, he realised that this was symbolic of all worldly riches, always taken possession of by the mightier at the cost of the weaker. Even royal honour is no exception to this. Everywhere he found the principle "that might is right" triumphant He saw that in the life of Kaṭṭiyaṅgāran and he intimately knew in his own life the same principle illustrated. Royal honour resting on such unethical foundation was certainly not the thing to be coveted for. Therefore he resolved to abdicate his kingdom in favour of his son and retire from sovereignty to spend the rest of his life in penance. So he went away to the place where Mahāvīra was, got instruction in spiritual matters from Gaṇadhara Sudharma who initiated him into spiritual life and penance. Thus Jīvaka spent the rest of his period in meditation and finally attained Nirvāṇa as the fruit of his meditation and penance. Thus ended the glorious life of the great Kṣatriya hero Jīvaka in whose honour this monumental Tamil classic was composed by the author Tiruttakka Dēva.

This classic contains 3145 stanzas. An excellent edition containing a fine commentary by Naccinārkkiniyar is now available, and it is by the famous scholar Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Ayyar who has devoted all his life to the publication of rare Tamil classics.

Let us now turn to the five minor kāvyas which are (1) Yaśōdhara Kāvya, (2) Cūḍāmaṇi, (3) Udayaṇan Kathai, (4) Nāgakumāra

Kāvyam, and (5) Neelakēśi. All these five minor epics were composed by Jaina authors.

(1) Yaśōdhara Kāvya—Unlike Jaina literary works in Sanskrit where the authors generally give a bit of autobiographic information, either at the beginning or at the end of the work, in Tamil literature the author maintains absolute silence on that matter. It is very often difficult to know even the name of the author, not to speak of other details relating to his life. We have to depend upon purely circumstantial evidence as to the life of the author. Sometimes such circumstantial evidence will be extremely meagre, and we have to confess our ignorance about the author and his life. Such is the case with this Yaśōdhara Kāvya Practically nothing is known about the author except that he was a Jaina ascetic. From the nature of the story all that we can infer is that it is later than the Hindu doctrine of Yāga as reformed by Madhvācārya. Madhvācārya, the famous Vedantic scholar, introduced a healthy reform that Vedic ritual could very well be continued without involving animal sacrifice if a substitute for the animal be introduced in the same form made of rice-flour. The story of Yaśōdhara Kāvya is evidently intended to reject this ritualism even with this substitute. The moral value of conduct depends upon the harmony between thought, word and deed, Manas, Vāk and Kāya. In this particular form of ritualism, though the actual deed is avoided, there is still lacking the harmony and co-operation of the other two. The desire to sacrifice an animal and to pronounce the necessary Mantras being there, the substitution of a mock-animal would not relieve an agent of any of his responsibility for animal sacrifice. This seems to be the main theme of the story in which incidentally many of the doctrines relating to the Jaina religion are introduced. Hence the work must be placed after the period of the reformation in ritualism associated with the founder of Mādhva philosophy.

The scene of the story is laid in Rājapura in Ouḍaya Deśa, in Bhārata Khaṇḍa. Māridatta is the name of the king. There is a Kāli temple in the city dedicated to Caṇḍa Māri Dēvi. It was the time of a great festival for this Caṇḍa Māri Dēvi. For the purpose

of sacrificing, there were gathered in the temple precincts, pairs of birds and animals, male and female, such as fowls, peacocks, birds, goats, buffaloes and so on. These were brought by the people of the town as their offerings to the Devi. The king Māridatta, to be consistent with the status and position of Rāja, wanted to offer as sacrifice not merely the ordinary beasts or birds but a pair of human beings as well. So he instructed his officer to fetch a pair of human beings, a male and a female, to be offered as sacrifice to the Kāli. The officer accordingly went about in search of human victims. Just about that time a Jaina Saṅgha consisting of 500 ascetics presided over by Sudattācārya came and settled at the park in the outskirts of the city. In this Saṅgha there were two youths Abhay aruci and Abhayamti, brother and sister. These two young apprentices, since they were not accustomed to rigorous discipline characterstic of the grown up monks in the Saṅgha, were very much fatigued on account of the long travel and were permitted by the head of the Saṅgha to enter the town for obtaining the alms for themselves. The officer of the king, who went about in search of human victims, was very glad to capture these two beautiful youths and marched them to the Kāli temple and informed the king of his capture. The king Māridatta gladly went to the Kāli temple with the object of offering his sacrifice with these beautiful youths. The people assembled there asked these two beautiful youths to pray to Kāli that, as a result of this great sacrifice, blessings must be showered on the king and the land. The two ascetics smiled at this request; and they themselves blessed the king that he might be weaned from this cruel form of worship, so that he might have the pleasure of accepting the noble Ahiṁsā Dharma which would lead him to a safe spiritual haven. When they pronounced this with a smile on their beautiful faces, the king was nonplussed for he could not understand how two such young and beautiful persons, in the face of death, could have such peace of mind as to laugh at the whole game as if it were none of their own concern. Therefore the king wanted to know the reason why they laughed at such a grave moment and expressed a desire to know who they were, and why they came to the city, and so on. The sword drawn for

sacrifice was sheathed again, and the king was in a mood to know the reason of the queer behaviour of the two youths. As desired by the king the brother Abhayaruci began to answer. "The reason why we laughed, without being in fright, was the result of knowledge that everything that happens to an individual is but the fruit of his previous Karma. Fear to escape the fruits of one's own Karma is but the result of ignorance. Hence we were not afraid of our own fate which is the consequence of our own previous action. We have to laugh simply because the whole scene here is steeped in so much ignorance. As a result of our own conduct that we sacrificed a fowl made of rice flour, we had to suffer and endure for seven births successively taking the form of lower animals and suffering all sorts of pain. Only in this period, we have the good fortune to regain our human form. We know very well that all this suffering was the result of our silly desire to offer sacrifice to Kālī, though the actual victim of sacrifice was merely an imitation fowl made of flour. After realising this, when your people asked us to pray to Caṇḍa Māri Devi for the propsperity and welfare of of yourself and your kingdom as a result of sacrifice of several animals and birds together with human beings, we could not but laugh at the simplicity and ignorance of people here."

When the king heard this, he gave up the idea of sacrifice and wanted to know more about the life of the two victims who exhibited such magnificent peace of mind even in the very jaws of death. Thus ends the first section.

In the second section is narrated the story of these two youths and how they brought upon themselves all the troubles on account of sacrificing a mock fowl. The scene is laid in Ujjain, the capital of Avanti of Mālavadēśa. The ruler of the country was one Aśōka. His queen was Candramatī. Yaśōdhara was their son. It is this prince Yaśōdhara that is the hero of this story. This Yaśōdhara married a beautiful princess by the name of Amṛtamati. This beautiful queen gave birth to a son Yaśōmati. The old king Aśōka abdicated the kingdom in favour of his son Yaśōdhara and instructed him to observe the principles of righteous rule according to Rājanīti.

He instructed his son how he should safeguard Dharma, Artha and Kāma, the three Puruṣārthas. He should maintain religion and religious worship at a high level of purity based upon Ahiṁsā doctrine. Having given all this advice and establishing his son as the king of the land, the old king adopted the life of an ascetic and spent his time in an Āśrama. While king Yaśōdhara and queen Amṛtamati were living happily, one early morning the queen heard the the sweet music of the elephant-keeper singing in Mala-pañcama-rāga. The queen was attracted by the music and sent her attendant Guṇavati to procure the person who was responsible for such sweet music. This information created a surprise in that attendant who advised the queen to remember her status and prestige; but as she insisted on having the person with whom she fell in love, the attendant had to bring the keeper of the elephant who was a detestable leper. Even in spite of this deformity, the foolish queen entered into an intimacy with that wretch. The king was at first ignorant of the whole affair. But soon the king came to know of this disgusting behaviour of the queen. Noticing the peculiar estrangement in her behaviour, he himself grew weary of worldly riches and was trying to discard the kingly pleasures and renounce the world. Just then he had an ominous dream in which the moon from the high skies was observed to fall down towards the earth losing all her light and glory. The king feared that this was symbolic of some calamity and wanted to know how to avoid the evil foretold in this dream. The queen-mother was consulted by the king who was advised to offer some animal sacrifice to Kāli for the purpose of warding off such a calamity. The king, because he was a faithful follower of Ahiṁsā Dharma, could not reconcile himself to animal sacrifice. Hence the king and his queen-mother both arrived at a compromise according to which the king had to offer a fowl made of rice-flour as a sacrifice to the Kāli. So the mock fowl was offered as a sacrifice to Kāli Thus troubles began. In the meanwhile, the queen knowing that her conduct was discovered by the king and the queen-mother, hated them both and finally succeeded in killing them by poisoning them Thus, after disposing off the king and his mother, this wicked queen Amṛtamati

made her own son Yaśomati king of Āvantidēśa. After the death of Yaśodhara and his queen mother Candramati as a result of the sin of the sacrificing to Kāli, they were born as lower animals for seven births in succession.

The third section is the description of the various Janmas taken by king Yaśodhara and his mother as lower animals and birds, and the grief and suffering that they had to undergo.

In the fourth section the narrative of the new king Yaśomati is given and also the story of Abhayaruci and Abhayamati who were in their previous births Yaśodhara and his queen mother Candramati. Finally, when Māridatta learnt the whole story, he desired to know more about this noble Truth Ahiṁsā; and he was taken to the Guru who was camping in the Udāyna in the outskirts of the city where the king had the initiation into the noble faith of Ahiṁsā. Thereafter, he not only gave up the offering of animal sacrifice to Kāli himself, but also proclaimed to his people that such a sacrifice should not be offered any longer. Thus he elevated the religion and temple worship to a higher and nobler level all over his land. This is the story of the Yaśodhara Kāvya in Tamil about whose author we know nothing The story is found even in Sanskrit literature. There is a Sanskrit Yaśodhara Kāvya dealing with the same story. But it is not clearly known which is earlier, the Tamil or the Sanskrit one.

This Tamil Yaśōdhara Kāvya was first published by late T. Venkaṭarāma Iyengar an esteemed friend of the present writer. Unfortunately the edition is out of print and hence not available to readers at present.

(2) Cūḷāmaṇi—It is composed by the Jaina author poet Tolāmoḻittēvar. He was evidently under the patronage of the chief Vījaya of Kārvetnagar. The editor of this work, Damodaram Piḷḷai, is of opinion that it must be earlier than some of the Major Kāvyas. His conclusion is based upon the fact that several stanzas from Cūḷāmaṇi are quoted by Amṛtasāgara, the author of Yāpparuṅgalakārikai. Cūḷamaṇi is based upon a Purānic story contained in

Mahāpurāṇa by Jinasena. The hero of the story is one Tiviṭṭan one of the nine Vāsudevas according to the Jaina tradition of whom, Kṛṣṇa of Bhārata fame, is one. Cūḷāmaṇi resembles Cintāmaṇi in poetic excellence. It contains 12 sargas and 2131 stanzas on the whole. The story runs as follows. Prajāpati, King of Suramaidēśa, whose capital was Pōtanapura had two principal queens Mṛgapati and Jayavati. Tiviṭṭan, the hero, was the son of Mahādevi Mṛgapati, Vijaya the son of Jayavati and this was the elder of the two. Vijaya and Tiviṭṭan were exactly corresponding to Balarāma and Kriṣṇa, the former fair, and the latter dark in complexion. A soothsayer told the king Prajāpati that his son Tiviṭṭan would marry a Vidyādhara princess very shortly The Vidyādhara king of Rādānūpura had a daughter by name Svayamprabhā who was very beautiful. This Vidyādhara king also had a prediction made by a soothsayer that his daughter Svayamprabhā would marry a Kṣatriya prince of Pōtanapura. The Vidyādhara Monarch sent one of his ministers with a letter to king Prajāpati offering his daughter in marriage to Tiviṭṭan. King Prajāpati of Potanapura, though surprised at first at this offer from the Vidyādhara king, consented to the marriage. In the meanwhile, the matter was known to the Vidyādhara emperor Aśvagrīva to whom both king Prajāpati and the father of Svayamprabhā were subordinates Aśvagrīva, the Vidyādhara emperor, demanded from the father of Tiviṭṭan the usual tribute. King Prajāpati fearing the wrath of the Vidyādhara emperor ordered the tribute to be paid immediately. But his son Tiviṭṭan would not permit this. He denied allegiance to the Vidyādhara emperor and sent the messenger back saying " No tribute will be paid hereafter." One of the Vidyādhara ministers attached to Aśvagrīva's court, wanted to kill this foolhardy Kṣatriya youth Tiviṭṭan by a stratagem. He assumed the form of a lion and destroyed the cattle of the land Suramai belonging to the king Prajāpati. The sons of Prajāpati, Tiviṭṭan and Vijaya, set out to slay the lion. The lion which is the assumed form of the Vidyādhara minister cleverly decoyed Tiviṭṭan into a cave. Tiviṭṭan pursued the lion into the cave. There was a real lion which devoured the Māyā lion

and wanted to have Tiviṭṭan also Tiviṭṭan was not to be frightened by this. The Vidyādhara lion having disappeared into the mouth of the real lion of the cave, he caught hold of the head of the real lion and killed it easily. This killing of the lion was a part of the prediction given by the sooth-sayer to the king of Rādānūpura, the father of Svayamprabhā, who was to be given in marriage to Tiviṭṭan. Therefore the king of Rādānūpura set out with his daughter Svayamprabhā for Pōdanapura where the Vidyādhara princess was given in marriage to the gallant Tiviṭṭan. Vidyādhara emperor Aśvagrīva, boiling with wrath, because of the treatment meted out to his messenger by his subject's son Tiviṭṭan, had now his anger aggravated because of the marriage with a Vidyādhara princess. He could not brook the idea of an ordinary Kṣatriya prince, and that too the son of his own subordinate, marrying a Vidyādhara princess of his own noble race. He marched with his mighty force against Tiviṭṭan. A war ensued. Tiviṭṭan being a Vāsudeva, was in possession of divine magic powers, and with his Cakra made a clean sweep of the Vidyādhara army and finally slew the Vidyādhara emperor Aśvagrīva himself. The result of this victory made Tiviṭṭan's father-in-law suzerain lord for the whole of Vidyādhara land. Tiviṭṭan himself inherited his father's domain and lived happily with his Vidyādhara bride Svayamprabhā together with his several thousand other spouses. He had a son by his Vidyādhara bride Svayamprabhā named Amṛtasena. He gave his sister in marriage to his brother-in-law Arkakīrti and by his sister a daughter was born called Sudārai and also a son. Tiviṭṭan had another daughter by name Jōtimālai for whose marriage he proclaimed a Svayaṁvara. This daughter chose as her husband her maternal uncle, Arkakīrti, whereas the Vidyādhara princess chose his own son Amṛtasena. Thus by these two marriages the alliance between Pōdanapura dynasty and the Vidyādhara dynasty was further strengthened. Thus, when the two countries were living in happiness and the people were enjoying prosperity, the old king Prajāpati renounced the kingdom in favour of his son and passed the remainder of his life in Yōga and meditation. But as a result of this Jinadīkṣā and spiritual penance king Prajāpati escaped

from Saṁsāra and attained Mukti. Thus ends the story of Cuḷāmaṇi, a very important work included in the category of the five minor kāvyas.

(3) Neelakēśi.—This is also one of the five minor kāvyas which is evidently by a Jaina philosopher poet about whom we know nothing. It is a controversial work dealing with the system of Indian philosophy and it has an excellent commentary called Samaya Divākara by one Vāmana Muni. This Vāmana Muni is the same as the author of another classic called Mērumandirapurāṇam. Neelakēśi appears to be a refutation of the Buddhistic work called Kuṇḍalakēśi which is unfortunately lost now. This Kuṇḍalakēśi was included under the category of the five Mahākāvyas. Though the Tamil classic of this name is lost to the world, the story of Kuṇḍalakēśi as found in the Buddhistic work is given below for the simple reason that the related story of Neelakēśi is modelled after Kuṇḍalakēśi and is intended to be a refutation of Kuṇḍalakēśi's philosophy. The story of Kuṇḍalakēśi is as follows taken from "The Buddhist Legends" (H. O. S.)

A rich merchant of Rājagṛha, it seems, had an only daughter who was about sixteen years of age, and she was exceedingly beautiful and fair to see. When women reach this age, they burn and long for men. Her mother and father lodged her on the topmost floor of a seven-storied palace in an apartment of royal splendour, and gave her only a single slave-woman to wait upon her.

Now one day a young man of station was caught in the act of robbery. They bound his hands behind his back and led him to the place of execution, scourging him with lashes at every cross-road. The merchant's daughter heard the shouts of the crowd, said to herself, "What is that?", looked down from the top of the palace, and saw him.

Straightaway she fell in love with him. So great, in fact, was her longing for him that she took to her bed and refused to eat. Her mother asked her, 'What does this mean, my dear daughter.'

'If I can have that young man who was caught in the act of committing robbery and who was led through the streets, life will be worth living; otherwise I shall die here and now.' 'Do not act in this manner, my dear daughter; you shall have someone else for your husband, someone who is our equal in birth and family and wealth." 'I will have no one else; if I cannot have this man, I shall die."

The mother, unable to pacify her daughter, told the father, but the father likewise was unable to pacify his daughter. 'What is to be done?', thought he. He sent a thousand pieces of money to the king's officer who had captured the robber and who was accompanying him to the place of execution, saying, 'Take the money and send the robber to me.' 'Very well' said the king's officer. He took the money and released the robber, had another man put to death, and sent word to the king, 'The robber has been executed, Your Majesty.'

The merchant gave his daughter in marriage to this robber. She resolved to win the favour of her husband; and from that time on, adorned with all her adornments, she prepared her husband's meal with her own hand. After a few days the robber thought to himself, 'When can I kill this woman, take her jewels and sell them, and so be able to take my meals in a certain tavern? This is the way.'

He took to his bed and refused to eat. She came to him and asked, 'Are you in pain?" 'Not at all, wife.' 'Then perhaps my mother and father are angry with you?' 'They are not angry with me, wife.' 'What is the matter, then?' 'Wife, that day when I was bound and led through the streets, I saved my life by vowing an offering to the deity that lives on Robber's cliff; likewise it was through his supernatural power that I gained you for my wife. I was wondering how I could fulfil my vow of an offering to the deity.' 'Husband, do not worry; I will see to the offering; tell me what is needed' 'Rich rice-porridge, flavoured with honey; and the five kinds of flowers including the Tāja flower." "Very well, husband, I will make ready the offering."

Having prepared the whole offering, she said to her husband "Come, husband, let us go." 'Very well, wife; let your kinsmen remain behind; put on your costly garments and adorn yourself with your precious jewels, and we will go gaily, laughing and disporting ourselves.' She did as she was told. When they reached the foot of the mountain, the robber said to her, "Wife, from this point on let us two go alone; we will send back the rest of the company in a conveyance; you take the vessel containing the offering and carry it yourself.' She did as she was told.

The robber took her in his arms and climbed the mountain to the top of the Robber's cliff. (One side of this mountain men can climb; but the other side is a precipitous cliff, from the top of which robbers are flung, being dashed to pieces before they reached the bottom; therefore it is called "Robber's cliff"). Standing on the top of the mountain, she said, 'Husband, present the offerings.' Her husband made no reply. Again she spoke, "Husband, why do you remain silent" Then he said to her, 'I have no use for the offering; I deceived you in bringing you here with an offering." 'Then why did you bring me here, husband.' 'To kill you, seize your jewels, and escape.' Terrified with the fear of death, she said to him, 'Husband, both my jewels and my person belong to you; why do you speak thus?'. Over and over again she pleaded with him. 'Do not do this,' but his reply only was, 'I will kill you.' 'After all, what will you gain by killing me? Take these jewels and spare my life; henceforth regard me as your mother, or else let me be your slave woman and work for you.' So saying, she recited the following stanza,

Take these golden bracelets, all sets with beryls.
Take all, and welcome; call me your slave-woman.

The robber, hearing this, said to her, 'Despite what you say, were I to spare your life, you would go and tell your mother and father all. I will kill you. That is all. Lament not with vehement lamentation.' So saying he recited the following stanza,

Lament not over much; tie up your possession quickly.
You have not long to live; I shall take all your possessions.

She thought to herself, 'Oh, what a wicked deed is this?. However, wisdom was not made to be cooked and eaten, but rather to make men look before they leap. I shall find a way of dealing with him.' And she said to him, 'Husband, when they caught you in the act of committing robbery and led you through the streets, I told my mother and father, and they spent a thousand pieces of money in ransoming you and they gave you a place in their house, and from that time on I have been your benefactress; to-day do me the favour of letting me pay obeisance to you.' 'Very well, wife,' said he, granted her the favour of paying obeisance to him, and then took his stand near the edge of the cliff.

She walked around him three times, keeping him on her right hand, and paid obeisance to him in the four places. Then she said to him, 'Husband, this is the last time I shall see you. Henceforth you will see me no more, neither shall I see you anymore.' And she embraced him both before and behind. Then, remaining behind him, as he stood off his guard near the edge of the cliff, she put one hand to his shoulder and the other to his back, and flung him over the cliff. Thus was the robber hurled into the abyss of the mountain, and dashed to pieces when he reached the bottom. The deity that dwelt on the top of the Robber's cliff observed the actions of the two, and applauding the woman, uttered the following stanza:

Wisdom is not always confined to men;
A woman, too, is wise and shows it now and then.

Having thrown the robber over the cliff, the women thought to herself, "If I go home, they will ask me, 'Where is your husband?' and if in answer to this question, I say, 'I have killed him' they will pierce me with their knives of their tongue, saying 'We ransomed the scoundrel with a thousand pieces of money and now you have killed him.' If, on the other hand. I say, 'He sought to kill me for my jewels,' they will not believe me. I am done with home." She cast off her jewels, went into the forest, and after wandering about for a time came to a certain hermitage of nuns. She reverently bowed and said, 'Sister, receive me into your order as a nun'. So they received her as a nun.

After she had become a nun, she asked 'Sister, what is the goal of your religious life.' 'Sister, the development of spiritual ecstasy through the employment of the Kasinas, or else the memorising of a thousand articles of faith, this is the highest aim of our Religious Life." "Spiritual ecstasy I shall not be able to develop, Reverend Sister; but I will master the thousand articles of faith." When she mastered the thousand articles of faith, they said to her, "You have acquired proficiency; now go through the length and breadth of the land of the Rose-Apple and look for someone able to match question and answer with you."

So placing a branch of Rose-Apple in her hands they dismissed with these words, "Go forth, Sister, if anyone who is a layman is able to match question and answer with you, become his slave; if any monk, enter his Order as a nun, adopting the name 'Nun of the Rose Apple.' She left the hermitage and went about from place to place asking questions of everyone she saw. No one was able to match question and answer with her; in fact, such a reputation did she acquire that whenever men heard the announcement, "Here comes the Nun of the Rose-Apple," they would run away.

Before entering a town or village for alms, she would scrape a pile of sand together before the village gate and there plant her rose apple branch. Then she would issue her challenge. 'Let him that is able to match question and answer with me trample this rose-apple branch under his feet.' So saying, she would enter the village. No one dared to pass beyond that spot. When one branch withered, she would procure a fresh one.

Travelling about in this way, she arrived at Sāvatthī, planted the branch before the city gate, issued her challenge in the usual way, and went in to seek alms. A number of young boys gathered about the branch and waited to see what would happen, Just then the elder Sāriputta, who had made his round and eaten his breakfast and was on his way out of the city, saw those boys standing about the branch and asked them 'What does this mean?'. The boys explained matters to the Elder. Said the 'Elder, Go ahead, boys,

trample that branch under your feet.' 'We are afraid to, Reverend Sir.' 'I will answer the question; you go ahead and trample the branch under your feet.' The Elder's words supplied the boys with the necessary courage. Forthwith they trampled the branch under their feet shouting and kicking up the dust.

When the nun returned, she rebuked them and said, 'I don't intend to bandy question and answer with you,' how did you come to trample the branch under your feet?.' 'Our noble Elder told us to.' 'Reverend Sir, did you tell them to trample my branch under their feet?.' 'Yes, Sister.' 'Well then, match question and answer with me'. 'Very well, I will do so.'

As the shades of evening drew on, she went to the Elder's residence to put her questions. The entire city was stirred up. The people said to each other, 'Let us go and hear the talk of the two learned persons.' Accompanying the nun from the city to the Elder's residence, they bowed to the Elder and seated themselves respectfully on one side.

The nun said to the Elder, 'Reverend Sir, I wish to ask you a question.' 'Ask it, Sister.' So she asked him the thousand articles of faith. Every question the nun asked, the Elder answered correctly. Then he said to her, 'You have asked only these few questions; are there any others?.' 'These are all, Reverend Sir.' 'You have asked many questions; I will ask you just one; will you answer me?.' Ask your question. 'What is one' She said to herself, 'This is the question I should be able to answer'; but not knowing the answer, she inquired of the Elder, 'What is it, Reverend Sir?.' 'That is the Buddh's question, Sister.' 'Tell me also the answer, Reverend Sir.' 'If you will enter our order, I will tell you the answer.' 'Very well, admit me to the Order.' The Elder sent word to the nuns and had her admitted. After being admitted to the Order, she made her full profession, took the name Kuṇḍalakeśi, and after a few days became an Arhat endowed with the supernatural faculties.

In the Hall of Truth the monks began a discussion of the incident. 'Kuṇḍalakeśi heard little of the Law, and yet she succeeded in being admitted to the Order; moreover, she came here after fighting a fierce battle with a robber and defeating him.' The teacher came in and asked them, 'Monks, What is it that you are sitting here discussing now?.' They told him, 'Monks, we assure not the Law. I have taught as being 'little' or 'much.' There is no Superior merit in a hundred sentences that are meaningless; but one Sentence of the Law is better. He that defeats all other robbers wins no victory at all, but he who defeats the robbers, his own Depravites, his is victory indeed.' There he joined the connection and preaching the Law, pronounced the following stanza:

Though one should recite a hundred stanzas
Composed of meaningless sentences
Yet one Sentence of the Law were better
Which if a man hear he is at peace.
Though one should conquer a thousand
times a thousand men in battle,
Yet would he be the mightiest conqueror
Who should conquer one himself.

Neelakeśī which is one of the five minor Kāvyas in Tamil is evidently an answer to Kuṇḍalakeśī, the Buddhistic work. As is suggested by the author himself the story is not taken from among the Purāṇic stories. The story is probably an imaginative creation by the author merely to serve as a frame-work for introducing philosophical discussions. The work has not seen the light of day up to the present. The present writer is trying to bring out an edition of this rare classic which is in the press. In the course of a few months it may be made available to the public[1]. The story begins with a scene laid in Pāñcāla Deśa which is otherwise known as Pārtti Nāḍu. The king of the land is referred to be Samudrasāra and his capital is Puṇḍravardhana. On the outskirts of this city there is a cremation ground which goes by the name of Palalaiyam. There is also a famous Kālī temple there. Just about the Kālī temple there is a Jaina Yogin called Municandra. One day

1. Since edited by him.

people from the town brought as their offering to the Kālī a number of beasts and birds. The Jaina Ācārya asked them the reason for this extraordinary sacrifice. In answer they gave that these animals and birds they had to offer to Kālī for the queen gave birth to a child as the result of Kālī's blessing. The Jaina Ācārya informed those persons that the Goddess would be quite satisfied if baked clay models of animals and fowls were set up as their offerings before the Kāli temple. Such a procedure would be quite enough to satisfy the Goddess and to fulfill their vows. Further it would relieve a number of animals from death and also save themselves from the sin of Himsā. This teaching evidently appealed to the people at large who drove away all their animals back to their home. This behaviour of the people very much upset the Goddess Kālī who realised that she was not capable of frightening away the Jaina ascetic because of his superior spiritual culture. But now she wanted to drive him away from the precincts of the Kāli temple so that he might not interfere with the regular sacrifice. Hence she went about in search of her chief, the great Neelakēśi, of the southern country, before whom the complaint was placed as to the Jaina ascetic's interference with the regular sacrifice and worship at the Kāli temple. The great Neelakēśi marched towards the north in order to get rid of this Jaina Yogin and to restore regular worship and sacrifice at the Kāli temple at the city of Puṇḍravardhana. Neelakēśi created there several frightening situations hoping to drive away Municandrācārya. All her attempts to frighten the Yogin proved futile. He was not the person to be easily got rid of. He was firmly rooted in his practice of Yoga and no amount of dreadful circumstances created in the environment would affect his calm and peaceful meditation. He went on as if nothing had taken place around him. Then Neelakēśi thought that the only way by which she could defeat this Yogin by some hook or crook, was to deviate him from his spiritual purpose and draw him towards sensual pleasures. She thought that this would be the surest way to spoil his penance. With this object in view, she put on the beautiful form of the princess of the land and began to play the coquette before the Yogin. She behaved even as a public courtezan trying to attract the Ācārya. Even this attempt

proved no more successful. In the meanwhile, Municandrācārya himself told her the whole truth. He made her understand that she was not really the princess from the royal household, that she was merely the chief of the Devatās attempting to frighten him away from the place in order to restore their usual animal sacrifice. This plain speaking made her realise the greatness and the wisdom of the Yogin, and she confessed before him that all he stated was true and begged him to pardon her. When she was pardoned by the Yogin, she, out of gratitude, expressed her willingness to adopt, in future, a more healthy and reasonable course of life and wanted him to help her in this by teaching her the fundamental principles of Ahiṁsā. When she heard the noble religious principles of Ahiṁsā she felt extremely grateful to the Guru and begged him to say what would be the best thanks-offering from the disciple. When he told her the best form of thanks-offering that he would have was to go about the land preaching this doctrine of Ahiṁsā, she accordingly accepted the task and thereafter taking the human form she devoted her time in propaganda work in favour of Ahiṁsā doctrine. This is the subject matter of the opening chapter Dharman-Urai-Carukkam.

The 2nd chapter Kuṇḍalakēśivādacarukkam is devoted to the discussion that Neelakēśi had with Kuṇḍalakēśi who was the representative of Buddhism. Naturally in this discussion Kuṇḍalakēśi is represented to be defeated by Neelakēśi. Kuṇḍalakēśi is made to acknowledge her defeat and to accept the doctrine of Ahiṁsā. Neelakēśi learns from Kuṇḍalakēśi that her teacher is one Arhacandra, a Buddhistic scholar.

The 3rd chapter is devoted to the discussion with Arhacandra who is also made to acknowledge his defeat in the discussion. Arhacandra after accepting Neelakēśi's religion of Ahiṁsā directed her to Mokkala, one of the chief disciples of Gautamaśākyamuni and one of the early founders of the Buddhistic Saṅgha.

The 4th chapter Mokkalavādacarukkam is devoted to Neelakēśi's challenge to this Buddhistic teacher Mokkala. Mokkala in his turn is defeated and made to acknowledge the rival faith. This is one of the biggest chapters in the book because of the important Buddhistic

doctrines which are discussed in detail in this chapter. Hence Mokkala himself sends Neelakēśi to the very founder of Buddhism. Hence the fifth chapter Buddhavādacarukkam represents the meeting of Neelakēśi and Buddha for the purpose of discussion. Buddha himself is made to realise that his doctrine of Ahiṁsā is not observed in spirit by his followers. He is made to realise that mere lip service to Ahiṁsā is not a satisfactory doctrine of religion, where finally he himself is made to acknowledge the unsatisfactory nature of his religion which must be recast to keep the spirit of Ahiṁsā. Thus, next to the introductory chapter, 4 chapters are devoted to this discussion of Buddhism. Then the other Darśanas are introduced in succession.

The 6th chapter is devoted to Ājīvaka religion. The chapter is called Ājīvakavādacarukkam. The founder of Ājīvaka religion was a contemporary of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha. In outward appearance Ājīvakas resembled Jaina Nirgranthas. But in the matter of religion they differed very much from both the Jainas and the Buddhists. Though the contemporary Buddhistic writers made no mistake about the identity of Ājīvakas, later Indian writers very often made the mistake of confounding them with the Digambara sect of Jainas. In this chapter on Ājīvakas the author of Neelakēśi distinctly warns the reader against any such confusion and emphasises the fundamental doctrinal differences between the two sects.

The 7th chapter is devoted to an examination of the Sāṅkhya schools. Hence it is called Sānkhyavādacarukkam.

The 8th chapter is devoted to the examination of Vaiśeṣika Darśana. The author carefully brings out the points of resemblance between the Jaina and non-Jaina Darśanas in philosophical matters always keeping before his mind's eye his own fundamental concept of Ahiṁsā.

The 9th chapter is devoted to the examination of Vedic ritualism, hence called Vedavādacarukkam. In this section there is not only a criticism of Vedic ritualism involving animal sacrifice but also a

critical examination of Varṇāśrama Dharma based upon Vedic ritualism The author tries to argue that the social differences based upon birth, have no significance in the spiritual field, and hence are altogether without any importance to religion. From the point of view of religion the only difference to be noted among the human beings is the difference based upon character, culture and spiritual discipline.

The last or the 10th chapter is devoted to the examination of the materialistic school usually called Bhūtavāda. Hence the chapter is called Bhūtavādacarukkam. Here the discussion is mainly devoted to the establishing the reality of a spiritual principle beyond materialistic conglomoration of the world. The author tries to emphasise that consciousness or Cetanā is an independent spiritual principle and not a mere secondary by-product of the combination of material things, an independent spiritual principle which is recognised as an entity surviving the disintegration of the material element with which it is associated in the life of the individual. Thus the main theme of this chapter is the survival of human personality after death. This Neelakēśi demonstrates to the leader of the materialism who readily accepts his mistake and acknowledges that there are more things not dreamt of in his philosophy. Thus ends the work after vindicating first the reality of the spiritual principle, the human personality, and secondly the supremacy of the religious doctrine based upon Ahiṁsā. Thus Neelakēśi completes her life-task which she is intended to be a thanks-offering to her Guru from whom she learnt the fundamental principles of religion and philosophy which she adopted as her own, though she as a Goddess had been revelling in animal sacrifice. Thus we see that Neelakēśi is mainly a controversial work intended to vindicate the reality of the soul against materialism, the nobility of Ahiṁsā against Vedic ritualism, and the dietetic purity of vegetarianism against the Buddhists who preached Ahiṁsā and practised Hiṁsā.

We know absolutely nothing about the author of the text though we know that the commentary is written by Vāmana Muni. Since there are references to Kuraḷ and Nāladiyār in this work, it must be

later than the age of Kuraḷ. Since it is intended as an answer to Kuṇḍalakēśi it must certainly be later than Kuṇḍalakēśi.

Since we know nothing about Kuṇḍalakēśi itself we cannot build much on this information. All that we can say is that it is one of the very early classics in Tamil literature. It contains 894 stanzas on the whole This text is certainly very useful to students of Tamil leterature in exhibiting several rare grammatical and idiomatic usages, and archaic terms in which the work abounds.

Two other minor Kāvyas which are still lying in obscurity in palm-leaf manuscripts are (4) Udayana Kāvya and (5) Nāgakumāra Kāvya. The former, as its name suggests, relates to the life of Udayana, the works of Vatsa prince of Kauśāmbī. Since they are not published, we cannot say much about them.

There is another Tamil classic dealing with story of Udayana. Probably this is not one of the minor Kāvyas. Judging by the volume of matter and the metre employed in this work it is probably an independent work not included in any of the traditional lists. It is made available to the Tamil reader by that indefatigable worker in the cause of Tamil, Dr. Swaminatha Ayyar, whom we have already referred to. This work Perunkathai probably was named after Bṛhat Kathā of Guṇāḍhya written in what is known as Piśāca-bhāṣā, a Prākrit dialect. The author is known as Koṅguvēḷ, a prince of Koṅgu Dēśa. He lived in Vijayamānagar, a place in Coimbatore District where there were a number of Jaṉas in former days. This work is quoted by several famous commentators in Tamil, to illustrate the grammatical and idiomatical usages in Tamil literature. The book now published unfortunately is incomplete. The editor with all his attempts was not able to obtain the missing portions in the beginning as well as at the end of the work. Instead of waiting indefinitely, it is good that the work is published though incomplete. From Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhat Kathā which contains a lot of other stories the author of Tamil Perunkathai has taken only the portions relating to the life af prince Udayana. Tne story consists of 6 main chapters. Uñjaik-Kāṇḍam, Lāvāṇak-Kāṇḍam, Maghadak-Kāṇḍam, Vattava

Kāṇḍam, Naravāṇa Kāṇḍam and Thuravu Kāṇḍam, all relating to the rich life of Udayana. Udayana was the son of Śatānika of the Kuru dynasty who ruled over Kauśāmbi. Śatānika's queen was one Mṛgāvati. When she was in an advanced state of pregnancy she with her attendants was playing in the upstairs of her palace. She had herself and her attendants and the whole background adorned with plenty of red flowers and red silk clothes. After play she fell asleep on her cot. The most powerful bird of Hindu mythology 'Śarabha' mistaking the place to be strewn with raw flesh on account of the red flowers strewn across carried away the cot with Mṛgāvati sleeping on it to Vipulācala. When Mṛgāvati woke up she was surprised to find herself in strange surroundings. The bird which carried her there realising that what she carried was not a mass of flesh but a live human being, went away leaving her there. Just at that moment she gave birth to a son, the future Udayna. To her welcome surprise there was her father Cēṭaka, who, after renouncing his kingdom, was spending his time there as a Jaina Yogin. When he heard the cries of the baby he went there and found his daughter Mṛigāvati. Since the child was born about sunrise he was named Udayāna. On the same hill Vipulācala there was living one Brāhmaṇa Ṛiṣi Brahmasundara with his wife Brahmasundarī. Ceṭaka Muni, the father of Mṛigāvati, placed his daughter and her child in the care of Brāhmaṇa Muni where they were looked after as members of his own family. This Brāhmaṇa Ṛṣi had a son by name Yūgi; and Yūgi and Udayaṇa became very intimate friends from the childhood which friendship lasted through their life. After some time Ceṭaka Muni's son who was ruling over his kingdom after his father's abdication, himself wanted to renounce it and wanted to become a Tāpasa. He went to his father to appraise of his intention, met there the beautiful youth Udayana whose identity was revealed by the grandfather. When Udayana was known to be his sister's son he was gladly taken back to the city to rule over his grandfather's kingdom. He took with him his playmate and friend Yūgi who was always of great help to him throughout his career. While he was living with his foster-father Brahmasundara Muni he was taught by that Brāhmaṇa Ṛṣi a valuable Mantra with the help of which even

the most violent mad elephant could be made as quiet and harmless as a sheep. He also had as a gift from the same Brāhmaṇa Ṛṣi a divine musical instrument whose notes would subdue and tame even the wildest of elephants. With the help of this Mantra and the musical instrument, while living in the forest Āśrama, he once subdued a famous elephant which afterwards was known to him to be a divine one and capable of immense service to him for several years. When Udayan went to Vaiśāli, his grandfather's place, he took with him not only Yūgi, his playmate and friend, but also this elephant who was willing to serve the prince Udayana. While Udayana was thus ruling at Vaiśāli his father Śatānika who was in great sorrow because of the loss of Mṛgāvatī, after searching for her in various lands went to Vipulācala where he discoverd his queen under the protection of her father. With the permission of her father she was taken back to Kauśāmbī by Śatānika. After some time Udayana inherited his father's kingdom also and thus he was the lord of both Kauśāmbī and Vaiśāli. Then begin the real adventures of Udayana. By carelessness he loses the divine elephant. He roams about in the forest with his Veeṇā in hand in search of his elephant. Just then the emperor of Ujjain, Prachchodana by name sends messengers to collect tribute from the kings of Vatsa and Kauśāmbi. His minister Śālankāyana advises him to desist from such an adventure and asks him to wait for a better opportunity When Udayana is roaming about in the forest, which is the best time to capture Udayana as a prisoner, Prachchodana sends a machine in the form of an elephant within which are hidden soldiers with weapons. This mechanical elephant, like the Trojan horse, is taken to the forest in which Udayana is searching for his lost elephant. Imagining that it is some wild elephant Udayana approaches this machine-elephant and suddenly soldiers jump out of its body and capture Udayana a prisoner. He is taken as a captive to Ujjain. While he is kept as a prisoner for some time, his friend and minister Yūgi learning that prince Udayana is kept as a prisoner by the king of Ujjain makes up his mind to somehow release him from imprisonment and to punish the king of Ujjain for his impertinence. So he goes there in disguise with other friends and lives in the outskirts of Ujjain, waiting for

his better time. While in disguise he informs Udayana secretly his presence in Ujjain and promises him that very soon he would be released. To create an opportunity, he with the help of his friends used the Mantra to make the royal elephant mad and uncontrollable. The elephant breaks loose the chains and rushes into the streets of the city causing tremendous damage on its way. No one is able to control him. Then the king Prachchodana learns from his minister Śālankāyana that the only person who is able to control such a wild elephant is Udayana who is kept in prison. The king sends for him immediately, and promises him freedom if he will only control the wild mad elephant. Udayana with his musical instrument makes the mad elephant as tame as a cow and thus pleases the king very much. Udayana obtains his freedom and is kept by the king of Ujjain as a musical instructor to his daughter Vāsavadattā. With the help of his minister Yūgi, Udayana who wins the heart of Vāsavadattā manages to run away from the capital carrying Vāsavadattā with him on the back of the elephant Nalagiri. Thus ends the first chapter called Uñjaik-Kāṇḍam narrating the adventures of Udayana in the city of Ujjain.

The next chapter is called Lāvāṇa Kāṇḍam because it pertains to the incident in Udayana's life in the city of Lāvāṇa. After his escape from Ujjain Udayana reaches Lāvāṇa, one of the cities in his own kingdom. Here he marries Vāsavadattā and makes her his queen. In his attachment to his beautiful wife, he forgets and completely neglects his duties as a king. This is not liked by his friends who realise there is much to do yet; because during the absence of Udayana as a prisoner in Ujjain, his kingdom was captured by the ruler of Pāñcāla who was not friendly disposed towards the kingdom of Kauśāmbi. Hence Yūgi arranges to separate Vāsavadattā from her husband Udayana. By a clever trick he makes Udayana believe that his whole palace is burnt to ashes and the queen Vāsavadattā is also burnt to death. Before setting fire to the palace Vāsavadattā with her attendant is taken away through an underground passage to a safe place where they are kept in concealment. These are some of the important items of Udayana's life narrated in the second chapter.

The third chapter Magadha Kāṇḍa deals with Udayana's adventures in Magadha Deśa. Udayana was very much dejected because of the loss of the queen Vāsavadattā and goes to Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, for the purpose of winning back the supposed dead wife Vāsavadattā through the help of a great Yogin who is reputed to be able to revive even dead persons with the help of Mantra. There he happens to meet the Magadha king's daughter Princess Padmāvatī. At the first sight they fall in love with each other. Udayana who is living in disguise as a Brāhmaṇa youth manages to win princess Padmāvatī completely and thus has a Gāndharva Vivāha with her without the knowledge of the king. While so living in disguise Rājagṛha was surrounded by enemies. Udayana manages to defend the city against the enemies with the help of his friends and thus manages to win the confidence and gratitude of the Magadha emperor. Finally Padmāvatī, the king's daughter, is given in marriage to Udayana; and he was living happily in Rājagṛha with this queen Padmāvatī.

Then begins the fourth chapter called Vattava Kāṇḍam. This refers to Udayana's reconquest of his own Vatsa kingdom with the help of his father-in-law, the king of Magadha. There he is welcomed by his old people who had the bitter taste of the tyranny of the Pāñcāla king. Thus securing the confidence of his subjects he settles down in his own kingdom Vatsa Dēśa, living happily with his queen Padmāvatī. One day he dreams of meeting Vāsavadattā and this dream revived his attraction to his former queen Vāsavadattā. In the meanwhile, his friend Yūgi who always comes to his rescue in difficulties appears before the gates of Rājagṛha with Udayana's former queen Vāsavadattā. Udayana was delighted to meet his wife whom he supposed to be dead and takes her to his palace with the consent of Padmāvatī and is living happily in Rājagṛha with his two wives.

While he was spending his life happily with his two queens, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, he happens to meet Mānanīkā, the beautiful young playmate of the queens. He falls in love with this

stranger and arranges with her secretly to meet at an appointed place in the night. Vāsavadattā comes to know of this, and imprisons Mānanīkā and herself dressed in disguise as Mānanīkā waits for the appearance of Udayana according to the appointment. Udayana is received coldly by Vāsavadattā in disguise when Udayana imagining her to Mānanikā, her lady-love, begs her in various ways to accept him. Then Vāsavadattā discovers herself to the chagrin of Udayana who escapes back to the palace just about the time of dawn. Early morning Vāsavadattā sends for Mānanikā in order to punish her for her impudence in aspiring for the king's hand. In this excitement a messenger from the king of Kośala brings a letter to Vāsavadattā In this letter the king of Kośala narrates the story of his sister who was carried away as a captive by the Pāñcāla king, of how she was released with a number of attendants by Udayana when he reconquered the country by defeating the king of Pāñcāla and how she was got as an attendant to Vāsavadattā herself with an assumed name Mānanīkā and finally requesting Vāsavadattā to treat this Kosala princess with kindness and consideration becoming her status. When Vāsavadattā reads this letter, she apologises to Mānanīkā for her conduct and restores her to the status and position fitting the princess. Finally Vāsavadattā herself arranges for her marriage with Udayana who is found to be in love with this Kośala princess.

The fifth chapter deals with the birth of a son and heir to Udayana. After some time the queen Vāsavadattā gives birth to a son called Naravāṇadatta. Even before his birth astrologers predicted of his greatness and that he would become an emperor of Vidyādhara kingdom though born in an ordinary Kshatriya family. In course of time this Naravāhana inherited from his father Kauśāmbi and Vatsa kingdoms and from his grandfather Vidyādhara kingdom of Ujjain. In due course his father Udayana renounces the world and becomes an ascetic devoting his time in meditation and Yoga. This Udayana's renunciation forms the subject-matter of the 6th and the last chapter of this Tamil classic Peruṅkathai.

Merumandira Purāṇam: —This Merumandira Purāṇam is an important Tamil classic though it is not included in the category of Kāvyas. It resembles in excellence of literary diction the best of Kāvya literature in Tamil It is based upon a Purāṇic story relating to Meru and Mandira. The story is narrated in Mahāpurāṇa as having taken place during the time of Vimala Tīrthaṅkara. The author of this Merumandira Purāṇam is one Vāmana Muni who is the same as the Vāmana Muni the commentator of Neelakēśi. This Vāmana Muni lived about the time of Bukkarāya about the 14th century. In this also the story is used as a frame-work for expounding important philosophical doctrines relating to Jainism.

The story is connected with the city of Vītaśoka, the capital of Gandhamālinī in Videha Kshetra. The name of the king who ruled over this country was Vaijayanta, his queen Sarvaśrī. He had by this queen two sons Sañjayanta and Jayanta. The eldest Sañjayanta, heir to the throne, was married to a princess by whom a son was born to him called Vaijayanta after the grand-father. The old king who now had his namesake grandson thought it better to abdicate the kingdom in favour of his son, himself desiring to enter Tāpasa Āśrama as a Yogin. But his two sons did not care much about the royal splendour and hence expressed their desire to renounce the kingdom and follow their father. Thus the grandson Vaijayanta was made the king and the three, father and two sons, adopted asceticism and went to spend their life in Yoga. While the three were engaged in penance the father Vaijayanta because of his success in Yoga soon managed to get rid of his Karmas and became a Sarvajña. As it is usual at such times all Devas assembled there to offer worship at the feet of this Jivan-Mukta. Among those assembled there was a beautiful Deva, Dharaṇendra by name, who appeared with all his divine paraphernalia. The younger brother Jayanta who was also engaged in penance noticed this beautiful Deva and desired to become one like him in his next birth As a result of this desire and also as the fruit of his incomplete Yoga he soon became a Dharaṇendra himself. But the elder brother Sañjayanta continued

his Tapas without any wavering even after his father's attainment of Mukti. While he was thus engaged in Tapas, a Vidyādhara who was going in his own Vimāna in the sky noticed this Yogin beneath. He also noticed that his Vimāna would not cross beyond the region where this Yogin was standing. This roused his anger. He picked up this Yogin, Sañjayanta Bhaṭṭāraka, and carried him to his own land. Dropping him in the outskirts of his country he told his people that Sañjayanta was their enemy and instigated all his countrymen, the Vidyādharas, to treat this Yogin in all possible forms of cruelty. These Vidyādharas in ignorance ill-treated this Mahāmuni as bid by the wicked Vidyādhara, Vidyuddanta. In spite of these cruelties the Yogin did not lose his meditation. Nor did he get angry at the enemies who did all this in ignorance. As a result of this supreme spiritual isolation and peace in the midst of sufferings caused by his enemies he attained Samādhi. On account of this spiritual victory he was in his turn surrounded by Devas for offering him adoration and worship. In the midst of these Devas was found his own brother the new Dharaṇendra. This young Deva Dharaṇendra noticed that his elder brother was cruelly treated by the Vidyādharas who were still there staying in dismay at the wonderful sight of the Devas gathered there to offer service and worship to their former victim Sañjayanta Bhaṭṭāraka, and he was in a rage. He wanted to bundle up all these Vidyādharas and cast them in a body into the ocean as a reward for their mischief. But all the Vidyādharas openly confessed their mistake and appealed to him for mercy, for it was all due to the mischevous instigation of their leader Vidyuddanta and not of their own free will. Hence Dharaṇendra forgave them all. He would not let go this wicked Vidyuddanta without proper punishment. Hence he went to bind this one wicked fellow at least for the purpose of ducking him to the sea. Just then one of the Devas assembled there, Ādityāpadeva, advised this young Dharaṇendra not to do any such thing. Dharaṇendra in reply said 'How could I brook the suffering inflicted on my brother by this wicked fellow, and how could I accept your advice even in the presence of inexcusable evil?" To which Ādityāpadeva replied: 'In this spiritual realm evil is not to be

requited with evil. You attach so much importance to your relationship, to your brother. But if you would only know the inter-relationship that you had in your previous births you would clearly realise the silliness in emphasising one particular relation in a long chain of multifarious relations that one has in series of births. Further hatred and love are important factors in determining the future births; the former gives a bad turn and the latter a good turn to one's future. Hence I would advise you not to worry yourself about this wicked Vidyādhara Vidyuddanta. Even the Yogin Sañjayanta who had to suffer so much pain at the hands of this wicked person had forgiven him because all this was done in ignorance. Hence why should you bind yourself with Karma created of hatred by attempting to punish this wicked Vidyādhara?" Hearing this advice from his friend Ādityāpadeva, Dharaṇendra, requested him to give more details about his previous births. Ādityāpadeva narrated the following story for the edification of Dharaṇendra. There was a king named Siṁhasena ruling over Siṁhapura. He had a queen named Rāmadattā Devī. His minister was one Śrībhūti who was also called Satyaghoṣa because of his honesty and truth-speaking. Just about that time there was a merchant, by the name Bhadramitra, belonging to another land. He went out to Ratnapura with his ship-load of goods, returned with an enormous quantity of wealth in the form of jewels and precious stones. This Bhadramitra visited Siṁhapura on his way. Seeing the prosperity and the beauty of the town, hearing the good nature of the king and his minister, he made up his mind to settle down in that city Siṁhapura. Hence he wanted to go to his native place to bring all his people to this city. In the meanwhile, he thought of leaving all his wealth obtained by the sea-borne trade in the safe custody of some one in the city. He could not think of anybody except the minister Satyaghoṣa. He went and told him of his resolution to settle down in this beautiful city of Siṁhapura and requested him to keep in his safe custody the several jewels and precious stones which he had with him. The minister Satyaghoṣa consented to this. A box containing jewels was deposited with the minister and the merchant-prince went to his native place for the

purpose of returning with his relations and friends. In the meanwhile, even the honest minister Śrībhūti, at the sight of valuable precious stones deposited with him by the merchant, became covetous. He wanted to misappropriate the whole thing for himself. Hence when the merchant returned to Simhapurī, he bought for himself a palatial building for his residence. Leaving his people there, he went to the minister to get back his jewels. But Bhadramitra found the minister Satyaghoṣa completely changed. Instead of gladly returning the casket containing the jewels, Satyaghoṣa treated the merchant as an utter stranger as if he had not heard anything of him before and denied all knowledge of the casket of the jewels. This completely upset the poor merchant, and he went about the streets crying of this injustice and begging for help. Nobody in the town would believe anything against the minister, Satyaghoṣa, because he was famous for his integrity and honesty. Naturally people thought that this foreign merchant was a mad fellow falsely accusing the minister of misappropriation. But this merchant Bhadramitra even in his ravings was quite consistent, which consistency could not be associated with any mad man. Hence the queen was attracted by this merchant's cries. She made inquiries and found to her surprise that the minister was really a culprit. But as there was no evidence for the deposit of the casket with him: nobody would come forward as a witness in favour of the merchant. But the queen Rāmadattā Devi being sure about the casket requested the king to intervene on behalf of the merchant. The king would not listen to this. As an alternative the queen wanted permission to deal with the case herself. This was readily granted. Then the queen Rāmadattā Devī invited the minister Satyaghoṣa for a game of chess. In the first game she won the minister's Yajñopavīta and the signet ring as stakes. Having won these two important things, insignia of the minister, she secretly sent these two things through her attendant to the treasurer. She instructed the attendant to show these two things to the treasurer and to get from him the casket of jewels beloning to the merchant deposited in the royal treasury in secret by the minister. When the attendant brought the casket it was an eye-opener to the king. Then he realised the crime

of the minister. The minister himself now knew that he was discovered by the queen. Still the king wanted to test the honesty of the merchant. Therefore he had this casket placed in the midst of several others belonging to the royal treasury and asked the merchant Bhadramitra to take all these He would not touch the others except his own. Even within the casket there were other precious stones put together with those belonging to the merchant. The merchant took up his own things and rejected the others as not belonging to him. This behaviour of the merchant impressed the king and others assembled there. They all praised the honesty of this merchant and condemned the minister for his avarice. The king dismissed the minister from service aud banished him from the city after disgracing him. The minister went out nourishing hatred towards the king and the queen. As a result of this hatred, he was born as a serpent in the royal treasury room ; and when the king entered the treasury, he was bitten by this snake and killed. As a result of this animosity these two were born as enemies in several successive births. This wicked Vidyādhara whom you want to punish at present was that Satyaghoṣa, the minister, who was disgraced on account of his dishonesty. The king Siṁhasena after series of births and deaths appeared as Sañjayanta who just attained Mukti. We are all assembled here to offer Pūjā to this Sañjayanta who was in his former birth the Siṁhasena Mahārāja. The queen Rāmadattā Devī is myself, I, born at present as Ādityāpadeva, and you are the younger brother of this Sañjayanta or you because of your longing for Deva-glory became Dharaṇendra. Hence it would be advisable on your part to give up this hatred and pursue the path of righteousness. The Dharaṇendra accepted this advice given by his brother Deva, got rid of this hatred, and began to medidate upon Dharma. The wicked Vidyādhara Vidyuddanta who was listening to this story was also ashamed of his past and resolved to lead a better life thereafter. Then the two Devas, Ādityāpadeva and Dharaṇendra, who were formerly the queen Rāmadattā Devī and her son respectively, after a period of Devahood, were born as sons to the kings Anantavīrya who ruled Uttara Madurā. This king had two queens Merumālinī and

Anantamati. Ādityāpa was born as a son to Merumālini and was named Meru. Dharaṇendra was born to the second queen Amṛtamati and was named Mandara Just about that time Vimala Tīrthaṅkara appeared in an Udayāna adjoining to Uttara-Madurā with the object of teaching the Dharma. These two princes, Meru and Mandara, went on their royal elephant to offer Pūjā to this Tīrthaṅkara and listen to his preachings Listening to this Dharma Upadeśa these two princes became his disciples and were accepted as Gaṇadharas, chief disciples, of the Lord They, in their turn, spent their life in propounding Dharma and finally by the performance of Yoga attained Mukti. The classic is named after these two princes Meru and Mandara, hence is called Merumandirapurāṇam. It consists of 30 chapters of 1405 stanzas on the whole. Some ten years ago the present writer published this work with introduction and notes, and it is available to the reading public.

Śrīpurāṇa :—This Śrīpurāṇa is a very popular work among the Tamil Jainas. I do not think there is anybody who has not heard the name Śrīpurāṇa. It is written in an enchanting prose style in the Maṇipravāḷa, mixed Tamil and Sanskrit. It is based on Jinasena's Mahāpurāṇa and is also further called 'Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣa-purāṇa' dealing with 63 heroes. It is by an unknown author. Most probably it is a corresponding work to the Kannaḍa Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa Purāṇam by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya : Hence it must be later than the Jinasena Mahāpurāṇa and Cāmuṇḍarāya's Kannaḍa Purāṇa. The 63 heroes whose history is narrated in this work are the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, the 12 Cakravartins, 9 Vāsudevas, 9 Baladevas and 9 Prativāsudevas. In the case of Cūlamaṇi story we already noted Tiviṭṭan the Vasudeva, Vijaya and Baladeva and Aśvagrīva the Prativāsudeva. Similarly Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa of Rāmāyaṇa fame are included in this nine groups as Keśava, Baladeva and Prativāsudeva. Similarly Śrī Kriṣṇa of Bhārata fame is one of the nine Vāsudevas, his brothers Balarāma is one of the Baladevas and Jarāsandha of Magadha one of the nine Prativāsudevas. While narrating the life of each Tīrthaṅkara, stories of the royal dynasties are also given. Thus this work Śrīpurāṇa, since it contains the stories of these 63 heroes, is considered to be the Purānic treasure-house from

which isolated stories are taken by independent authors. Unfortunately it is not yet published. It still lies buried in palmleaves manuscript, and it is hoped that some day in the near future it will be made available to the students of Tamil literature.

Next we have to notice some works on prosody and grammar contributed by Jaina authors

Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai :—This work on Tamil prosody is by one Amṛtasāgara. Though it is not definitely known at what period he lived, it may be safely asserted that the work is old by 1000 years. Since the invocatory verse is addressed to Arhatparamēṣṭhi, it is obvious that the work is by a Jaina author. The author himself suggests that the work is based on a Sanskrit work on the same topic. Probably it is a translation of that Sanskrit work. There is a commentary on this work by one Guṇasāgara who was probably a contemporary of this Amṛtasāgara. Probably they both belong to the same Jaina Saṅgha. That it is an important work on prosody, that it is considered as an authority on metres and poetic composition, and that it is used as such by later writers are evident from the references to it found in Tamil literature.

Yāpparuṅgala Virutti :—This is also a work on Tamil prosody written by the same author, Amṛtasāgara. There is an excellent edition of this Yāpparungala Virutti by late S. Bhavnandam Pillai.

Neminātham : A work on Tamil grammar by Guṇavīrapaṇḍita. It is called Neminātham because it was composed at Mylapore the seat of the Jaina temple of Neminātha The author Guṇavīrapaṇḍita was disciple of Vachchananda Muni of Kaḷandai The object of this work is to give a short and concise account of Tamil grammar, because the earlier Tamil works were huge and elaborate. From the introductory verses it is clear that this was composed before the destruction of the Jaina temple at Mylapore by a tidal wave. Hence it must be placed in the early century of the Christian era. It consists of 2 main chapters Eluttadhikāram and Śol Adhikāram. It is composed in the well-known Veṇbā metre. It is printed

together with a well-known old commentary in the Tamil journal Śentamil issued by the authorities of the Tamil Sangam at Madura.

The next work on Tamil grammar we have to notice is Nannool 'the good book.' It is the most popular grammar in Tamil language. It is held only next to Tolkāppiyam in esteem. It is by one Bavanandi Muni who wrote this grammar at the request of a chief called Śiya Gaṅga. The author was well-versed not only in Tamil grammatical works, Tolkāppiyam, Agattiyam and Avinayam, but also with the Sanskrit grammar, Jainendra, being a great scholar both in Tamil and Sanskrit. This grammar, Nannool, he wrote for the benefit of the later Tamil scholars. It is prescribed as a textbook for schools and colleges; hence, we may say without exaggeration that no Tamil student passes out of school or college without some knowledge of this Tamil grammar. There are a number of commentaries on this work. The most important of these commentaries is the one by the Jaina grammarian Mailainātha. Mailainātha is another name for Neminathan who was the God at the Mylapore Jinālaya. We have an excellent edition of this Nannool with this Mailainātha's commentary made available to the public by Dr. V. Swaminatha Ayyar. The work consists of two parts Eluttadhikāram and Śol Adhikāram which are sub-divided into five minor chapters.

In this section on grammar we may also notice the work called Agapporuḷviḷakkam, by one Nār-Kavirāja Nambi. His proper name is Nambi or Nambi Nainār; because he was expert in 4 different kinds of poetic composition he was given the title of Nār-Kavirāya. He was the native of Puḷiyanguḍi on the banks of the river Poruṇai Pāṇḍimaṇḍala. This work Agapporuḷviḷakkam is based upon the chapter on Porul Ilakkanam in Tolkāppyiam. It is an exposition of the psychological emotion of love and allied experiences.

The contribution by Jainas to the Tamil Lexicography is also worthy of note. There are three important works on Tamil

Lexicography; the three Nighaṇṭus are Divākara Nighaṇṭu, Piṅgaḷa Nighaṇṭu and Cūḍāmaṇi Nighaṇṭu. All the three are dictionaries in verse which traditional scholars got by heart in order to understand the more intimate classics in the language. The first is by Divākara Muni, the second by Piṅgaḷa Muni and the third by Maṇḍala Puruṣa. Tamil scholars are of opinion that all the three were Jainas. The first Divākara Nighaṇṭu is probably lost to the world; but the other two are available. Of these the last is the most popular. From the introductory verses written by the author of the third work Cūḍāmaṇi Nighaṇṭu it may be learnt that he was a native of the Jain village Perumandur which is a few miles distant from Tindivanam, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name, in South Arcot District. The author further refers to Guṇabhadrācārya, a disciple of Jinasenācārya. This Guṇabhadra is the author of Uttara Purāṇa which is the continuation volume to Jinasena's Mahāpurāṇa. Hence it is clear that this Maṇḍala Puruṣa must be later than Guṇabhadra. He also refers to the other two Nighaṇṭus which ought to be therefore earlier to Cūḍāmaṇi Nighaṇṭu The work is written in Viruttam metre and contains 12 chapters The first section deals with the names of Devas, the second with the names of human beings, the third with lower animals, the fourth with the names of trees and plants, the fifth with place-names, the sixth dealing with the names of several objects, the seventh deals with the several artificial objects made by man out of natural objects such as metals and timber, the eighth chapter deals with names relating to attributes of things in general, the ninth deals with names relating to sounds articulate and inarticulate, the eleventh section deals with words which are rhyming with one another; and hence relating to a certain aspect of prosody, the twelfth section is a miscellaneous section dealing with the groups of related words. We have a very useful edition of this Cūḍāmaṇi Nighaṇṭu with an old commentary by late Arumukha Nāvalar of Jaffna. Similarly there is an edition of Pingaḷa Nighaṇṭu by a Tamil pandit by name Śivan Piḷḷai.

Having disposed of grammar and Lexicography, let us turn our attention to one or two miscellaneous works: Tirunūṟṟantadi by

Avirodhi Aḷvār. The 'Antadi' is a peculiar form of composition where the last word in the previous stanza becomes the first and the leading word in the next stanza. 'Antadi' literally means the "end and beginning." This constitutes a string of verses connected with one another by a catch-word which is the last in the previous stanza and the first in succeeding stanza. Tirunūṟṟantādi is such a composition containing 100 verses. It is a devotional work addressed to God Neminātha of Mylapore. The author Avirodhi Ālvār was a convert to Jaina faith. It is said that one day while he was passing by the side of Jinālaya he heard the Jaina Ācārya within the temple expounding to his disciples the nature of Mokṣa and Mokṣa Mārga. Attracted by this exposition he entered the temple and listened to the teacher's discourse. Desiring to learn more about this he requested the Ācārya to permit him to attend the lectures, which permission was readily granted Finally he became a convert to the faith and in recognition of this change in his life, he composed this Tirunūṟṟantādi dedicated to the God Nēminātha of Mylapore. It is a very beautiful devotional work containing a few facts relating to the author himself. It is published with notes in Śen Tamil Journal conducted by the Tamil Sangam, Madura.

Tirukkalambagam is another devotional work by the Jaina author by name Udīci Deva. He belongs to the country of Thoṇḍamaṇḍalam. He was a native of Arpagai, a place near Ārni in Vellore District. The term 'Kalambagam' implies a short of poetic mixture where the verses are composed in diverse metres. This Tirukkalambagam by Udīci, besides being devotional, is also philosophical in which the author tries to discuss the doctrines of the rival faiths such as Buddhism. It probably belongs to a period later than that of Akaḷaṅka the great Jaina philosoher who was responsible for undermining the supremacy of Buddhism in the south, and who was probably a contemporary of Kumārilabhaṭṭa the Hindu reformer.

Jainas were also responsible for contributions to Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology. Probably several works relating to

these topics have been lost We have at present one representative in each, Encuvadi a popular work on Arithmetic, and Jinendramālai equally popular work on Astrology. Traders who are accustomed to keep accounts in the traditional form get their early training by studying this mathematical work called Encuvadi and the Tamil astrologers similarly get their grounding in Jinendramālai which forms their main-stay for their predictions popularly known as 'Ārūḍha'

This completes our cursory survey of Tamil literature with special references to Jaina contributions thereto. The prevalence of Jainism in ancient Tamil land and its usefulness to the Tamil people are not merely vouchsafed for by the Tamil litarature but are also evidenced by the customs and manners prevalent among the upper classes of the Tamil society. Even after the Śaivaite revival when several Jainas were made under penalty to embrace Hinduism for political reasons, these converts to Hinduism who went back to their own respective castes in the Hindu fold zealously preserved their customs and manners acquired while they were Jainas. Though they changed their religion, still they did not change their Āchāras. It is curious that the Tamil term Śaivam which primarily means the follower of Śiva faith, means in popular parlance a strict vegetarian A strict vegetarian among the Hindu Vēḷāḷas is said to observe Śaivam in the matter of food. Similarly the Brāhmaṇas in the Tamil land are 'Śaivam' strict vegetarians. In this respect the Tamil Brāhamaṇa is distinguished as the Drāviḍa Brahman from the Brahmins in other parts of India who are brought under the category of 'Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas'. The Drāviḍa Brahmins wherever they be are strict vegetarians, whereas the Gauḍa Brahmins all eat fish and some meat also. Bengal Brāhmaṇas who belong to the Pañca Gauḍa group eat fish and meat. It is normal with Bengal Brāhmaṇas to offer goat or buffalo as sacrifice to Kāli temple and carry home meat as a Kāli Prasāda. Such a thing is unthinkable in any of the Hindu temples in the south, whether dedicated to Viṣnu or Śiva. Hence it may not be altogether an exaggeration to state that in the matter of purity of food and the purity of temple worship the Jaina doctrine

of Ahiṁsā has been accepted and preserved by the Upper classes of the Hindus in the Tamil land even up to the present day. Of course there are scattered places where animal sacrifice is offered to the Village Gods. But it must be said to the credit of the upper classes among the Tamil Hindus that they have nothing to do with this grosser form of Kāli worship. With the growth of education and culture, it may be hoped that even these lower orders in Tamil society will give up this gross and ignorant form of religious worship and elevate themselves to a higher religious status actuated by purer and nobler ideals.

END.