THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

JAIN MONKS, MERCHANTS, AND KINGS IN EARLY HISTORIC SOUTH INDIA

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Dedicated to my foremost and greatest creations, L.M.W. and L.J.W.

And for my father, B.R.H.

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All figures, tables, and maps were created by the author. All photos were taken by the author.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The task of representing Tamil names and language with Roman characters is inarguably fraught with difficulty, because despite the existence of a standardized convention of transliteration, this convention is rarely followed consistently or at all, particularly in older publications. Authors have traditionally transcribed the language as they wish, either by representing the Tamil sounds with Roman characters (as in Chennai vs. Ce<u>nn</u>ai, but Sangam vs. Caṅkam), or creating an approximation of the Tamil sound into a combination of English sounds (as in Thirupparankundram vs. Tirupparaṅku<u>nr</u>am) or changing the Tamil sound to a more easy to pronounce English one (as in Cholas vs. Cō<u>l</u>ar). In some instances, authors have even transcribed Tamil names and words using non-Tamil diacritics, such as using the Sanskrit ś to represent the Tamil c (*Śilappadikaram* vs. *Cilappatikāram*). In this dissertation, I too have used a variety of forms to represent Tamil words and names with the underlying principles being clarity for the non-Tamil-speaking reader, standard conventions of Romanized spellings, and standard conventions of transliteration of the Tamil language using diacritics.

All Tamil words as well as classical Tamil authors and texts are transcribed according to the prevailing transliteration conventions for Tamil using diacritics. For example, the Jain author Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ and his classical Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram* (as opposed to Ilango Adigal and *Silappadikaram, Silappatikaram, Silappathikaram, Śilappatikaram*, or *Chilappatikaram*). However, later Tamil authors and scholars are referred to by their approximate transliterated names without diacritics, e.g. U.V. Swaminatha Iyer or K. Sivathamby (as opposed to U.Vē. Cāmināṭayyar and Ka. Civattampi). The form of the transliteration follows prevailing conventions of their names as published in English.

For kings' names mentioned in inscriptions, I have invariably chosen between representing them with Tamil diacritics or without. The choice has been made primarily based on my access to the source text. When I have access to the source text, particularly in the case of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, I have transliterated the name according to its representation in the inscription. This is particularly important for different representations of the name of the Pandiyan king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ (as opposed to Nedunchezhiyan). For the three large polities of ancient Tamil Nadu (the Pandiyas, Cheras, and Cholas), I have represented the names without diacritics for the ease of the reader (as opposed to Paṇṭiyar, Cērar, and Cōḻar). I have also chosen the approximated Pandiya over Pandya, to better represent the Tamil pronunciation. When it comes to scripts, I have followed the popular convention of representing Tamil-Brahmi without diacritics (as opposed to Tamiḻ-Brāhmī or Tamiḻ-Pirāmi) but the representing Vaṭṭeḻuttu script with diacritics.

With regard to site names, I have attempted to simplify the transliteration in most cases without diacritics to represent the best approximated Tamil pronunciation, e.g. Tirupparankundram (as opposed to Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam) and also following conventions of the representation of these site names across publications and on Google Maps. However, because of the precarity of the pronunciation and invariable representation of the Tamil 'r' (ḻ), which is transcribed l, r, or zh, I have indicated the correct pronunciation of the site name (to differentiate the dental l and retroflex ḷ from the retroflex approximate ḻ, aka Tamil 'r') by utilizing the diacritic for this letter (ḻ) as in Kaḻugumalai (whereas a complete transliteration of the Tamil name using diacritics would be Kaḻukumalai). In all instances I have aimed for the greatest clarity for the reader and insisted on the use of diacritics in cases where their absence could lead to confusion or difficulty in following up on this research by others in the future.

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Over the course of conducting research for this dissertation between 2008 and 2016, I have made eight trips to and from India. Each time I have been hosted and supported with great kindness and hospitality, for which I am incredibly humbled and thankful. To describe in detail each individual and experience from each trip would result in a separate book of its own. In brief, I would like to thank the American Institute of Indian Studies for funding my Tamil language studies and archaeological survey of Jain caves. I am very grateful for the support provided during my stays in Delhi and Madurai, particularly Dr. Vandana Sinha of the AIIS Center for Art & Archaeology and Ms. Soundrakohila of AIIS Madurai. In Madurai, Dr. V. Vedachalam graciously shared his time and extensive knowledge of Tamil epigraphy and guided me on trips to many of the important Jain sites around Madurai. I would also like to acknowledge the work of R. Suresh of Tamil University, Thanjavur who spent two weeks with me conducting archaeological survey and analyzing surface finds. I am also thankful to Mr. S. Anantaraj of the Madurai Jain Heritage Center who provided insight into these ancient Jain sites and is working hard to preserve them.

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In writing up, I have presented parts of this research project at the Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Annual Conferences on South Asia at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Annual Workshops on South Asian Archaeology in Chicago and New York. Funding for accommodation and travel to these conferences was generously provided by the University of Chicago Department of Anthropology and COSAS. I also presented parts of this research project

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ABSTRACT

Jain Monks, Merchants, and Kings in Early Historic South India

In this dissertation I examine the arrival and growth of Jainism in Tamil Nadu, South India between c. 4th century BCE and 7th century CE, and explore the interactions and relationships of Jain monastics, laity, and literati with an emerging political elite. It is both an historical as well as a methodological project, which brings together scholarship from different disciplines to develop a more integrated critical methodology for analyzing archaeological, epigraphic, and literary sources in dialogue with each other. The research builds incrementally, beginning with Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions on caves and rock-cut beds that record donations to Jain monastics, to the appearance of Jains as authors of and subjects within classical Tamil literature and their use of didactic and ethical texts to forge and strengthen relationships with a growing laity and political elite, to the contextualization of this evidence within the broader archaeological landscape of Early Historic Tamil Nadu. The focus then shifts back to the Jain caves/monasteries with an archaeological survey and in situ contextual analysis of the inscriptions and other archaeological features at these hill sites. This project contributes new statistical and geospatial analysis of published archaeological and epigraphical data and has generated new data (including the discovery of new beds and inscriptions) from archaeological survey and mapping of the Jain cave sites in Madurai District, Tamil Nadu. Overall, the dissertation interrogates Tamil literary texts and textual and material artifacts as historical archives and demonstrates the productive potential of a multi-perspectival approach to studying India's ancient past.

INTRODUCTION

The Blind Men and the Elephant

Once a royal retinue with an elephant stopped at a village to spend their afternoon. The villagers all came to see the elephant and amongst them were six blind men. As they had never seen an elephant before, the blind men asked the caretaker if they could touch the elephant so that they could sense what an elephant was like. The first blind man approached the elephant and touched its ears and stated that the elephant felt like a large fan. The second blind man approached the trunk and declared that it was thick, like the branch of a tree. The third blind man touched the elephant's tusks and said it felt like a wind pipe. The fourth blind man grabbed ahold of one of the elephant's legs and said that it was like a pillar. The fifth blind man put out his hands and felt the belly of the elephant and declared that it was broad like a wall. The sixth blind man felt only the tail and claimed that it felt like a rope. Having experienced different parts of the elephant, the six men could not agree on its nature. Each was certain of his own view and believed that the others were mistaken. The caretaker told them that all of them were partially correct, and that the reason for their disagreement was because none of the men had perceived the elephant fully; each one had only seen one part of the elephant and from that data each one had made claims about the whole elephant. After hearing all this, the blind men stopped their quarreling and departed.

Like the blind men quarreling over the nature of an elephant, archaeologists and philologists come to the study of South Indian history, of past peoples and (literary) cultures, with different perspectives. While the parable about the blind men and the elephant occurs in various forms across different religious traditions in India, it is particularly used as an example in Jainism to explain the Jain philosophies of relativity: *syātvāda*, that all statements are only relatively true, and *anekāntavāda*, that reality is multifaceted.[1] The lesson is that the same thing can be

[1] The parable appears in the *Tattvarthaslokavatika* of Vidyanandi (9th century CE) and the *Syādvādamanjari* of Mallisena (13th century CE). See also Edmund J. Farrell, "Jainism and General Semantics," *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 17, no. 1 (1959).

explained from multiple perspectives (*naya*), and that while something may be true from one standpoint (the elephant's ear really is like a fan), this does not mean that other standpoints cannot also be true; to comprehend the full aspect of any thing, it is necessary to consider multiple perspectives.[2]

Perspective(s) on India's Ancient Past

This kind of multi-perspectival approach or use of combined methodologies has long been a part of Indian historiography. Many books on Indian history and archaeology begin with an introductory chapter that outlines all the available historical sources.[3] This often includes archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics, as well as Indian literature and foreign records and accounts. Archaeologist D.D. Kosambi, writing in 1963, noted that the

> linguistic study of problems of ancient Indian culture would be more fruitful if supplemented by intelligent use of archaeology, anthropology, sociology and a suitable historical perspective… None of the various techniques can, by itself, lead to any valid conclusion about ancient India; combined operations are indispensable.[4]

Although many of the great Indian historians, like Kosambi, were polymaths, and many today are too, the increasing specialization within disciplines has had a silo-effect. Moreover, even when scholars acknowledge the variety of sources available for studying the past, it is the textual

[2] However, because the Jains also believe that each thing may be viewed from an infinite number of perspectives, only through the omniscience that comes with the liberation of the soul would one be able to know all things fully. Thus, the lesson is not that bringing multiple-perspectives together results in perception of an accurate whole, but rather the lesson is in acknowledging that each perspective is limited and at the same time equally valid.
[3] E.g. "Survey of the Sources" in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, 4th ed. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975; repr., 27th impression, 2008). "A Peep into the Sources" in A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, 2007 ed. (Kottayam: DC Books, 1967; repr., 2008). "Sources and Historiography" in Rajan Gurukkal, *Rethinking Classical Indo-Roman Trade: Political Economy of Eastern Mediterranean Exchange Relations*, Array ed. (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2016). See also D. D. Kosambi, *Combined Methods in Indology and Other Writings*, ed. Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[4] Kosambi , 4.

record that seems to take precedence, with minimal or superficial engagement with other kinds of evidence.

The predominance of literary evidence in the reconstruction of the Indian past may be traced back to the colonial period, during which a new kind of Orientalist scholarship emerged that prioritized the authority of language and literature as a means of accessing the mind and intentionality of those who lived in the ancient past.[5] As a result, the "strong focus on mastery of Sanskrit and other South Asian languages as sources for authoritative scholarly work created the conditions under which material culture could emerge only in relation to texts, and in the service of further elucidating them."[6] It is only where the written word seems to fall short, or does not exist, that scholars have focused on archaeology and material evidence as a means of reconstructing the past. As noted by H.P. Ray and Carla Sinopoli in the introduction to their edited volume *Archaeology as History in Early South Asia* (2004), "Archaeology is generally seen as an entry point into a wordless world;"[7] i.e. pre-historic and proto-historic periods. Whereas in historical periods, defined as those for which texts are available, material culture is used primarily to corroborate narratives derived from these texts, if seriously consulted at all. The result is that while some archaeologists have accepted the role of archaeology as "the hand-maiden of history," others have asserted that because textual or literary evidence may reflect the biases of its authors, archaeological analysis of the material record is the *only* truly objective view of the ancient past.[8] Exclusionary, defensive, or combative positions serve only to build up walls between the fields and create barriers for productive dialogue and collaboration.

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[5] T.R. Trautmann and Carla M. Sinopoli, "In the Beginning Was the Word: Excavating the Relations between History and Archaeology in South Asia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45, no. 4 (2002).
[6] Ibid., 495-96.
[7] Himanshu Prabha Ray and Carla M. Sinopoli, eds., *Archaeology as History in Early South Asia* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research : Aryan Books International, 2004), 1.
[8] Ibid.

On the other hand, the preference for textual evidence over archaeological or material evidence is not simply a matter of disposition. The misalignments between the textual record and the archaeological record are real. The two can tell us very different things about the past, and the two operate on very different chronological scales, what Sinopoli has called "the chronological conundrum."[9] Archaeology rarely captures a singular moment in the past, but rather attends to the material debris of habitual practices over the long durée. Even in cases where an artifact may be dated precisely, e.g. by scientific dating methods, major social or political changes recorded in historical sources may not be visible in the material record. For example, Black-and-Red ware ceramics are ubiquitous in South India from the Iron Age through the Early Historic period and even into the Medieval periods. Such consistency stands in sharp contrast to the pace of the political and social changes taking place during this time.

Nevertheless, for different types of evidence to be brought into dialogue with one another, they need not be harmonious. As Sheldon Pollock noted in his discussion of literary histories, it is not necessary that positivist histories and literary histories be in accord with one another, rather it is "precisely the tension between the two forms of knowledge that yields important new meanings."[10] Moreover, it is these tensions and differences that make the exercise of bringing them into dialogue worthwhile. If all of the blind men had touched the same part of the elephant, they would not have quarreled, but their views would be equally limited. It is only after the quarrel between the six men that they come to share their diverse perspectives and the caretaker intercedes to clarify the situation. In our examination of textual and material evidence,

[9] See Carla M. Sinopoli, "Methods, Techniques and Chronology: Introduction," in *Archaeology as History in Early South Asia*, ed. Himanshu Prabha Ray and Carla M. Sinopoli (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 2004), 155-56.

[10] Sheldon Pollock, ed. *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 20.

there is no omniscient caretaker to intercede, but it is through putting various sources in dialogue with one another that we are able to broaden our scope of knowledge and begin to make connections with the aim of creating a more holistic view of the ancient past.

This dissertation examines the productive tensions between different forms of knowledge and highlights the places where they intersect and overlap in order to develop a more integrated, critical methodology for analyzing archaeological, epigraphic, and literary sources in dialogue with each other. As a proving ground for this kind of combined methodology, I have chosen to focus my research on a subject about which there is considerable evidence in those three categories: Jainism in Early Historic Tamil Nadu. With regard to archaeological or material evidence, there is a significant amount of excavation data from Iron Age and Early Historic sites, which has been published in journal articles, site reports, and catalogues.[11] There are also Jain cave sites located in the granitic hills around Madurai and in other parts of Tamil Nadu with Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions that commemorate donations to the Jain monks who inhabited these spaces as monasteries.[12] Many of these cave sites continued to be occupied by Jains into the Early Medieval period, as evidenced by the carving of Jain images and Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions containing the names of Jain monks, nuns, and other religious persons.[13] In addition to this epigraphic evidence, there is also a large corpus of classical Tamil literature dating roughly to the Early Historic period (c. 1st century BCE to 6th century CE), some of which was written by Jains and some of which features Jains as subjects.[14]

[11] These data are discussed and analyzed in Chapter 5.
[12] The Jain cave sites and Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are explored in detail in Chapters 2, 3, and 6.
[13] For example, Sittanavasal, Arittapatti, Karungalakkudi, Kilavalavu, Kongarpuliyankulam, Perumal Malai, Tirupparankundram, Yanaimalai. These later inscriptions are analyzed in Chapter 3 and also discussed in Chapter 6.
[14] This literature is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but also addressed in Chapter 1.

Previous Research on Jainism in Tamil Nadu

Following the decipherment of the Brahmi script in the Ashokan edicts by James Prinsep in the 1830s, excavations at Mathura in the latter half of the nineteenth century revealed a trove of Brahmi inscriptions, many related to Jainism.[15] Analyses of these inscriptions in conjunction with the early canonical literature of Jainism helped to develop the field of Jain studies in North India.[16] Similarly, following the 'rediscovery' of classical Tamil literature at the end of the nineteenth century, the discovery of Brahmi inscriptions in Tamil Nadu in 1906, and the subsequent decipherment of these inscriptions as representing Tamil language in 1924, new scholarship emerged focusing on Jainism in South India. One of the first significant works was the two-part series on *Studies in South Indian Jainism* (1922) by Ramaswami Ayyangar and Seshagiri Rao.[17] In the first part, Ramaswami Ayyangar attempted to reconstruct an early history of Jainism drawing upon work done by scholars of Jainism in North India and incorporating analysis of classical Tamil literature. The second part, written by Seshagiri Rao, focused on Jainism in Andhra and Karnataka.

From the very beginning, the studies of South Indian Jainism have been predominantly textual,[18] specifically comprised of literary analysis and epigraphic analysis.[19] However, critical

[15] Vincent Arthur Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Archaeological Survey of India. New Imperial Series. (Allahabad: F. Luker, superintendent Gov't press, 1901); Heinrich Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions; Unpublished Papers*, ed. Klaus Ludwig Janert, Abhandlungen Der Akademie Der Wissenschaften in GöTtingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961). See also V. K. Sharma, *History of Jainism: With Special Reference to Mathurā*, Reconstructing Indian History & Culture; No. 23 (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2002).

[16] G. Bühler, "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā," *Epigraphia Indica* 2 (1894); Georg Buhler, "On the Indian Sect of the Jainas," ed. James Burgess (London: Luzac & co., 1903); Hermann Jacobi, *Gaina Sūtras*, Sacred Books of the East (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1884); G. Bühler, "New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," *Epigraphia Indica* 1 (1892).

[17] M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar and B. Seshagiri Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, 2 vols. (Madras: Hoe & Co., 1922).

[18] Art historical analyses of Jain sculpture and iconography have also been part of these studies, but most of the early images in Tamil Nadu are in stone and most are accompanied by inscriptions.

[19] Some notable works include: A. Chakravarti, *Jaina Literature in Tamil* (New Delhi: Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha Publication, 1974); K.V. Ramesh, "Appendix: Jaina Epigraphs in Tamil," in *Jaina Literature in Tamil*, ed. A.

analyses of the dominant historical narratives regarding Jainism in South India crafted on the basis of classical Tamil literature began to appear in the 1990s, particularly in the work of Richard Davis, Leslie Orr, and Indira Peterson in John Cort's edited volume *Open Boundaries: Jain communities and culture in Indian history* (1998).[20] Research by scholars such as R. Champakalakshmi, G. Jawaharlal, and A. Ekambaranathan in Tamil Nadu has also helped to complicate some of these earlier narratives and created space for discussion of archaeological evidence of early Jainism.[21] My project builds upon this earlier research, while also exploring new forms of analysis, such as geospatial and statistical analysis of inscriptions and archaeological sites, and contributes new archaeological and spatial data about early Jain monastic communities in Tamil Nadu, gathered through archaeological survey in Summer 2016.

Chakravarti (Mysore: Bharatiya Jnanapitha Publication, 1974); Pandurang Bhimarao Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā No. 6 (Sholapur: Gulabchand Hirachand Doshi [for] Jaina Saṁskṛti Saṁrakshaka Sangha, 1957); A. Ekambaranathan and C. K. Sivaprakasam, *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamilnadu: A Topographical List* (Madras: Research Foundation for Jainology, 1987).

[20] John Cort, ed. *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Culture in Indian History*, Suny Series in Hindu Studies (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998); Richard H. Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains: Retelling the Śaiva-Jain Encounter in Medieval South India," in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); Leslie C. Orr, "Jain and Hindu "Religious Women" in Early Medieval Tamilnadu," ibid. (Albany, NY); Indira Viswanathan Peterson, "Śramaṇas against the Tamil Way: Jains as Others in Tamil Śaiva Literature," ibid. (Albany).

[21] R. Champakalakshmi, "Kuṟaṇḍi Tirukkāṭṭāmpaḷḷi, an Ancient Jaina Monastery of Tamil Nadu," *Studies in Indian Epigraphy (Bhāratīya purābhilēkha patrikā)* 2 (1976); "Religious Conflict in the Tamil Country: A Reappraisal of Epigraphic Evidence," *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 5 (1978); "From Natural Caverns to Rock-Cut and Structural Temples: The Changing Context of Jain Religious Tradition in Tamilnadu," in *Airāvati: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Iravatham Mahadevan* (Chennai: Varalaaru, 2008); "Jainism in Tamil Nadu: A Historical Overview," in *Religion, Tradition, and Ideology: Pre-Colonial South India*, ed. R. Champakalakshmi (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011); G. Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra: As Depicted in Inscriptions* (Jaipur: Prakrita Bharati Academy, 1994); *Jaina Monuments of Andhra* (Delhi: Sharada Pub. House, 2002); *Studies in Jainism: As Gleaned from Archaeological Sources* (New Delhi: Harman Pub. House, 2006); A. Ekambaranathan, *Jainism in Tamilnadu: Art and Archaeology* (Mississauga: Jain Humanities Press, 1996); *Jaina Iconography in Tamilnadu* (Lucknow: Shri Bharatvarshiya Digamber Jain (Teerth Sanrakshini) Mahasabha, 2002); *Jaina Archaeological Heritage of Tamilnadu* (Lucknow: Shri Bharatvarshiya Digamber Jain (Teerth Sanrakshini) Mahasabha, 2005).

Organization of the Dissertation

In this dissertation, I examine the arrival and growth of Jainism in Tamil Nadu, South India between c. 4th century BCE and 7th century CE and explore the interactions and relationships of Jain monastics with the merchants whose donations funded the carving and maintenance of the early Jain cave monasteries, and the kings, chieftains, and other political elite who controlled the social and economic landscape in which these monasteries were situated. I focus particularly on the Jain communities that developed in the environs of Madurai, the ancient capital city of the Pandiya dynasty. It is here, in and around Madurai, where the earliest Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions recording donations from merchants and traders are located. Madurai was not only a mercantile hub and political capital, but also a major center of early Tamil literary production.

The research project builds incrementally, with each chapter adding a new layer of evidence and contributing a new perspective to the developing historical narrative. In contrast to earlier models that give primacy to the authority of the literary record for crafting historical frameworks, this project begins with the textual artifacts of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and the archaeological sites of the Jain caves in which they are found. After critically examining the representations and roles of Jains within classical Tamil literature, I again return to archaeological and epigraphical data from the Early Historic period to delineate the social, economic, and political contexts in which such texts were composed and circulated. While each chapter focuses on a particular body of evidence and corresponding methods of analysis, the master narrative to which each chapter contributes is shared. Throughout the dissertation, the multiple perspectives provided by the different forms of evidence often abut or overlap. The ways in which the archaeological, epigraphical, and literary data may be brought into dialogue

with one another to craft an historical narrative for the arrival and growth of Jainism in Early Historic South India is articulated directly in the final chapter.

In Chapter 1, "Classical Tamil Literature as a Source of History: A Critical Examination," I discuss the so-called 'rediscovery' of classical Tamil literature in the nineteenth century and the ways in which it established and came to dominate historical narratives about life in ancient Tamil Nadu. I provide an overview of the various approaches to South Indian historiography, particularly in reference to the Early Historic period in Tamil Nadu, and highlight both the productive and problematic ways in which scholars have analyzed textual sources to reconstruct the ancient past. The use of literary texts as an historical archive is of course not unique to South India, and I therefore engage the larger discussions amongst literary theorists concerning the potential and limitations of literature as an historical archive. I conclude by drawing on the work of intellectual historian Dominick La Capra as a way of conceptualizing the different types of 'work' that classical Tamil literature does and advocating for a critical analysis of literature that is sensitive to genre and the different phases in the life of a text.

In Chapter 2, "Epigraphical Evidence of Jain Monastic Communities in Early Historic Tamil Nadu," I examine the corpus of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions found at Early Historic Jain cave sites. Because Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are both the earliest material evidence and earliest textual evidence of Jainism in Tamil Nadu, they constitute the foundation of the larger historical narrative I develop in this dissertation. Since the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and the caves upon which they are engraved form the chronological anchor for this narrative, I spend time discussing and clarifying the connections between the early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and Jainism, and provide an overview of the content and contexts of the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. However, the Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions found at Jain cave sites are one subset of a larger corpus of

Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, which includes those engraved on pottery and coins. In order to accurately assess the date of the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, it is first necessary to closely examine the dates of Tamil-Brahmi script as a whole. While there is some consensus concerning the dates of Tamil-Brahmi, I argue that the reasoning behind this chronology is problematic, least of all because it willfully ignores archaeological evidence that demonstrates the presence of Brahmi scripts in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka two to three centuries prior to the rise of Ashoka and his edicts. Drawing upon archaeological evidence of Jainism from other parts of India, I suggest that Jain monks arrived in South India by following established trade routes on the east coast of India c. 4th century BCE. Taking into consideration the potential dates of the initial waves of Jain monastics into South India and the early dates of Brahmi inscriptions on pottery, I suggest that the chronology of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions requires revision. Finally, the chapter concludes with a revised historical narrative for the arrival and growth of Jain communities in Tamil Nadu from c. 4th century BCE to 4th century CE based on the epigraphic and archaeological evidence discussed in the chapter.

Chapter 3, "Statistical Analysis of Jain Inscriptions," builds upon the analysis of archaeological and epigraphic evidence in Chapter 2 and provides a new, robust statistical analysis of the larger corpus of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu. I begin by analyzing A. Ekambaranathan and C.K. Sivaprakasam's *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu: A topographical list* (1987), dated c. 2nd century BCE to 20th century CE, and highlight the chronological and geographical trends in the dataset, which correspond to patterns in donation practices to Jain monastic communities and temples. Following this overview, I then re-examine the corpus of Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from I. Mahadevan's *Early Tamil Epigraphy* (2003), highlighting the important roles of merchants and political elites in early Jain communities, as well as the

statistically significant relationship between the type of donor named in the inscription and the object of donation. The next section returns to Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam's list to focus on a subset of inscriptions from 5th to 9th century CE. The analysis of this subset is significant because it coincides with the composition of the Jain ethical treatises in the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku (Eighteen Minor Works)* and reveals evidence of growth in the Jain community – a view that runs counter to prevailing historical narratives that suggest that this period was a time of defeat for Jainism in Tamil Nadu. Overall, the statistical analysis of Jain inscriptions enables the identification of significant patterns and trends in the Jain epigraphic record between c. 3rd century BCE to 9th century CE and brings to light the variety of individuals, villages, and polities that contributed to the maintenance and growth of the Jain monastic communities during this time.

In Chapter 4, "Glaring Absences and Significant Contributions: Early Jain Literary Production in Tamil," I evaluate the authorial presence and agency of Jains within the history of Tamil literary production and the depictions of Jains within classical Tamil literature to construct an historical narrative for the rise of Jainism in Tamil Nadu between c. 3rd century BCE and 7th century CE. This historical narrative emerges from the analysis of three forms of literary production: (1) early classical Tamil poetry, (2) narrative poems and early epics, and (3) post-Caṅkam Jain didactic texts from the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku*. Building upon the historical narrative developed in Chapters 2 and 3, I argue that the creation and organization of a Tamil literary academy (*caṅkam*) in Madurai was influenced by Jainism and that Jain monks authored some of the earliest classical Tamil poems. Moreover, depictions of Jains within *Maturaikkāñci* and *Cilappatikāram* suggest that by the early centuries CE Jain monastics were present inside as well as outside of major cities like Madurai and that Jain lay people were a common part of Tamil

society. Lastly, I suggest that the content of the Jain didactic texts (c. 6th to 8th centuries CE) demonstrates the political role played by monks, particularly as advisors to kings, and that these didactic texts also served as a method of proselytization, contributing to the continued development and expansion of the Jain laity amongst the populace and newly emerging agricultural elites.

Chapter 5, "Situating Jain Monastic Communities within the Archaeological Landscape of Early Historic Tamil Nadu," contextualizes and situates the Jain monastic sites, and the developing historical narrative concerning the rise of the Jain community in Tamil Nadu, within the archaeological landscape of the Early Historic period. As part of this effort, I constructed a series of spatial databases containing information about archaeological sites and monuments, Early Historic coins, and Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu. I then used geospatial and statistical software (ArcGIS, SPSS, and CrimeStat) to analyze these datasets and generate new information about the spatial relationships between Jain hill sites, coin hoards, cities and settlements; least-cost paths through the landscape as representative of hypothetical routes of trade and travel; and viewsheds as indicative of the inter-visibility between sites. The analyses presented in this chapter constituted a crucial first step in a larger project of examining the early Jain monastic hill sites within their archaeological contexts and helped to inform the research questions and strategies of my archaeological fieldwork in Madurai District Tamil Nadu in 2016, which is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

In Chapter 6, "Archaeological Survey of Jain Caves in Early Historic Tamil Nadu," I present the results of my archaeological survey of Jain Caves in Madurai District Tamil Nadu, conducted during the summer of 2016 (JCMD 2016). The survey focused on a series of caves located closest to Madurai along the least-cost path connecting Madurai and Karur, and aimed to

assess the archaeological significance of the results of the ArcGIS analyses discussed in Chapter 5. Here, I provide some background information on the research questions that informed the survey design and execution, the regional geography, and previous research related to the Jain caves. I also outline my survey methodology and sampling strategies, and present the observations and analyses of the six Jain hill sites in the survey region: Tirupparankundram, Samanar Malai, Perumal Malai, Kongarpuliyankulam, Vikkiramangalam, and Mettuppatti. My discussions of the archaeological survey and its findings are accompanied by original maps, figures, and photos, which together constitute the first systematic and comprehensive documentation of the caves and their environs.

In Chapter 7, "Reconstructing Jain Occupation of Early Historic Hill Sites in Madurai District, Tamil Nadu," I present the surface finds, specifically ceramics and lithics, from the archaeological survey of Jain cave sites discussed in Chapter 6. I highlight patterns in the data across the six sites, drawing on early Jain canonical texts about monastic life to help interpret and affirm some of these data. In addition, I consider the experiential characteristics of the sites and posit the utility of drawing on phenomenological analysis of landscape as another way of thinking through the ways in which Jain monks and other individuals may have inhabited and experienced these places.

In the conclusion, Chapter 8, "Integrating the Sources: Jain Monastic Communities in Early Historic Tamil Nadu," I reflect on the historical narrative crafted from the archaeological, epigraphic, literary, statistical, and spatial data of the previous chapters and summarize some of the significant contributions of this project.

CHAPTER 1

Classical Tamil Literature as a Source of History: A Critical Assessment

In this chapter, I discuss the historical process commonly known as the 'rediscovery' of classical Tamil literature in the nineteenth century and the ways in which it has formed the foundation for historical narratives about life in ancient Tamil Nadu. I then explore more broadly the ways in which historians in general have used literary texts as an historical archive, bringing these methods in dialogue with the work that has been done on South Asia, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of these methods, and the limitations of literature as a source of history. Finally, I present my own methods for analyzing classical Tamil texts and argue for their integration with other forms of historical evidence.

1.1. The 'Rediscovery' of Classical Tamil Literature

At the end of the nineteenth century, at the same time that the earliest archaeological surveys began in Tamil Nadu, a number of scholars, including Arumuga Navalar, Damodaram Pillai, U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, and M. Raghava Iyengar, began to systematically collect and edit the classical texts of Tamil literature, a body of texts that is now believed to form the oldest extant strata of Tamil literature.[1] These texts, though preserved on palm leaf manuscripts, had ceased to be the object of study since the later medieval period.[2] The alluring and rich imagery of this literature captivated the historical imagination of the Tamil public. The reintroduction of these texts in printed editions, now accessible to a wider circle of Tamil readers, had a profound effect not only in the field of Tamil literary studies, but also in the way that people conceptualized the

[1] See K. Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 144-205.
[2] Ibid., 146.

history of the region. As noted by Kamil Zvelebil, these texts were "read and reread, reprinted, copied, a source of delight, study, inspiration and national pride."[3] In a process that cultural historians have referred to as the "Tamil Renaissance", these 'rediscovered' texts became the primary source for the reconstruction of what was perceived to have been a Golden Age in ancient Tamil civilization.

While these literary texts were interpreted by scholars as "windows on an ancient Tamil cultural past," this view was profoundly affected by contemporary cultural politics.[4] Indeed, the beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of a Dravidianist political agenda, emphasizing both the preeminence of Tamil civilization and its independence from Sanskritic culture.[5] As noted by Sumathi Ramaswamy, "within a few years of their being made public, they [the poems of classical Tamil literature] came to be valorized as the repositories of an ideal and perfect Tamil society, prior to its colonization by either the British or, more enduringly, by the Brahmanical Aryans from the North."[6] As a result of this constellation of events, from this point forward, the classical texts of Tamil literature, which extolled the heroic deeds of kings, their generosity towards talented bards, and the beauty of their lands and people, provided the dominant historical narrative for the ancient Tamil past.

The antiquity of the 'rediscovered' classical Tamil texts completely altered the frameworks for conceptualizing Tamil literature and history. Previously, Western scholars had argued that there was no Tamil literature prior to the 9th century CE.[7] Concomitant with this argument was also the colonial assumption that the Tamil South lacked civilization before this

[3] Ibid., 166-67.
[4] Norman Cutler, "Three Moments in the Geneaology of Tamil Literary Culture," in *Literary Cultures in History*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 288.
[5] Ibid.; Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture 29 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
[6] , 34.
[7] V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1904), 2-3.

time.[8] However, based on the language, grammatical structures, and content of the 'rediscovered' texts, Tamil scholars surmised that they must have originated at a very early date, c. 300 BCE – 300 CE. Therefore, the seminal works of Tamil literary history, such as P. Sundaram Pillai's *Some Mile-Stones in the History of Tamil Literature* (1895) and M.S. Purnalingam Pillai's *Primer of Tamil Literature* (1904), sought not only to re-periodize Tamil literary history to include the new-found texts, but also to create a new narrative of Tamil cultural history.[9] New research based on the ancient texts lead to the publication of histories like Kanakasabhai Pillai's *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (1904), which aimed to show that Tamils were indeed the forbearers of a great and mighty civilization and urged them to rise up and reclaim their former glory. From this point onward, the study of ancient Tamil history and the study of classical Tamil literature have been inseparably intertwined.

1.2. Caṅkam Literature

The 'rediscovered' classical texts used to reconstruct the history of the Early Historic Period are commonly referred to as "Caṅkam (Sangam) literature" (or "Caṅkam poetry") and post-Caṅkam literature. Caṅkam literature is a corpus of poetic anthologies attributed by legend to poets belonging to a series of learned assemblies, or caṅkams (*caṅkaṅkaḷ)*.[10] It is comprised of eight

[8] Ramaswamy (1997:37) quotes Gover (1871:vii-viii) as an example of the portrayal of Tamilians in colonial narratives: "They are for the most part people without a literature and without a history[,]…peoples whose tongues in some instances have twenty names for murder, but no name for love, no name for gratitude, no name for God."
[9] P. Sundaram Pillai, *Some Mile-Stones in the History of Tamil Literature* (Madras: Pioneer Book Services, 1895; repr., 1909; 1985); M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, *A Primer of Tamil Literature* (Madras: Ananda Press, 1904). It is also worth noting that these texts were writing in English, not Tamil. These authors' choice of English, which was an academic language and lingua-franca in South India during the colonial period, also indicates the wider dialogues in which these publications were set, particularly between these Tamil scholars and the the Western colonial historians.
[10] It is commonly held that the Tamil word *caṅkam* is derived from Sanskrit *saṅgha-* 'gathering.' The plural in Tamil is *caṅkaṅkaḷ.* Zvelebil has argued that the designation 'Caṅkam literature' should be abandoned and replaced by 'Classical Tamil Literature' because the adjective 'classical' more accurately reflects the character of the literature. Nevertheless, the term 'Caṅkam literature' has stuck. K. Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 49.

anthologies (*Eṭṭuttokai*), ten songs (*Pattuppāṭṭu*), a grammatical treatise (*Tolkāppiyam*), and eighteen minor works (*Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku*). The eight anthologies (*Naṟṟiṇai, Kuṟuntokai, Aiṅkurunūṟu, Patiṟṟuppattu, Paripāṭal, Kalittokai, Akanāṉūṟu*, and *Puṟanāṉūṟu*) consist of poems that are generally divided into two categories: *akam*, meaning 'interior', and *puṟam*, meaning 'exterior'. The poetics of this division are outlined in the *Akattiṇai-iyal* and *Puṟattiṇai-iyal* chapters of the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*. Poems that fall into the category or genre of *akam* are often about love and romance, the private or interior side of life. *Puṟam* poems concern public life, and describe the greatness of kings, cities, war, and the like.

Post-Caṅkam literature is comprised of long narrative poems (*kāppiyam*), commonly referred to as epics (*Aimperuṅkāppiyaṅkaḷ*),[11] and ethical works attributed to Jain and Buddhist authors (*Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku*). The corpus is defined both by its later dates of composition as well as its emphasis on moral and social order. Notably, most of these texts were written by Jains. R. Champakalakshmi has suggested that this literature, along with the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku*, represented a "new ideology [which] questioned the martial character of the earlier ideology of war and plunder of the Sangam polities."[12] The most famous post-Caṅkam works include the Jain epics *Cilappatikāram*, *Peruṅkatai*, and *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, the Buddhist epic *Maṇimēkalai*, and a collection of 1,330 couplets on ethics, politics, and love called the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*.

The chronology assigned to classical Tamil literature is a matter of continuing controversy. The dates of composition for Caṅkam literature are attributed to periods ranging

[11] These are generally classified into two categories: the five 'great' or 'major' epics (*aimperuṅkāppiyaṅkaḷ*) and five 'lesser' or 'minor' epics (*aiñciṟukkāppiyaṅkaḷ*). The *aimperuṅkāppiyaṅkaḷ* (*Cīvakacintāmaṇi, Cilappatikāram, Manimekalai, Kuṇḍalakēci*, and *Vaḷaiyāpati*) are traditionally included in the list of the canon of post-Caṅkam works, while the *aiñciṟukkāppiyaṅkaḷ* (*Yacōtara, Cūḷāmaṇi, Nīlakēci, Peruṅ-katai* (aka *Utayaṇaṉkatai*), and *Nākakumāra-kāppiyam*), all of which were written after the 7th century CE, are not.

[12] R. Champakalakshmi, *Religion, Tradition, and Ideology: Pre-Colonial South India*, Oxford Collected Essays (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 361.

from the 3rd century BCE to the 9th century CE.[13] Many authors have pondered the question of how to reconcile the chronology using both internal evidence, such as grammatical style and intertextual references and formulae, and external evidence, such as archaeological remains and inscriptions referring to persons and places mentioned in the texts.[14] What complicates these efforts is the fact that the process of anthologization probably did not take place until the 8th century CE, under the aegis of the dynasty of the imperial Pandiyas (560-920 CE). However, the oral or semi-oral composition of Caṅkam literature may have begun in the early centuries BCE and CE, and the poems may have circulated in various forms over the course of several centuries prior.[15]

Scholars are slightly more confident in the dates of composition for the post-Caṅkam literature. However, if interpreted as an historical era, its chronology is variable and depends on how one chooses to date the end of the Caṅkam Era. For example, Champakalakshmi dates the Post-Caṅkam Era to c. 300-700 CE.[16] When we consider that the *Peruṅkatai* and *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* are thought to have been composed sometime between the 7th and 10th centuries CE,[17] it might be more accurate to extend this period into the 10th century. Thus, it would overlap

[13] R. Champakalakshmi advocates for a very early date, c. 3rd century BCE, while Herman Tieken has argued (somewhat controversially) that these works represent the artful play of 9th century court poets purposefully composing in an archaic style. See R. Champakalakshmi and S. Gopal, eds., *Tradition, Dissent and Ideology: Essays in Honor of Romila Thapar* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996); Herman Tieken, *Kāvya in South India: Old Tamil Caṅkam Poetry*, Gonda Indological Studies ; V. 10 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2001). For a more detailed discussion of these chronological issues, see Chapter 4.

[14] E.g. Eva Wilden, "Towards an Internal Chronology of Old Cankam Literature or How to Trace the Laws of a Poetic Universe," *WZKS* 46 (2002). As well as Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India*, 23-44. And *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*, 97-128.

[15] Zvelebil suggests that while the earliest poetry was likely oral, the extant Caṅkam corpus was "based originally in semi-orality" with successive layers of organization and presumably text-based composition (*Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*, 128.). Kailasapathy suggested that the poems represent oral bardic compositions, while Hart asserted that they were the creation of literate court poets. K. Kailasapathy, *Tamil Heroic Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); George L. Hart, *The Poems of Ancient Tamil: Their Milieu and Their Sanskrit Counterparts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

[16] Champakalakshmi, 360.

[17] Specifically, R. Vijayalakshmy suggests a date of composition between 600 and 1000 CE for the *Peruṅkatai*, and James Ryan has suggested that the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* was composed some time during the 8th to 10th centuries CE. R. Vijayalakshmy, *A Study of Cīvakacintāmaṇi: Particularly from the Point of View of Interaction of Sanskrit*

with the Bhakti Era and the rise of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in South India (c. 600-1100 CE). It is significant that the composition of these texts falls in this period of overlap, because it was precisely during this time that Jains sought to revitalize their religion in the face of the competing Vedic traditions. In any case, the post-Caṅkam texts that are most utilized to reconstruct the history of the Early Historic Period are not these later texts, but rather the *Cilappatikāram* and the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, which both date to c. 5th century CE.[18]

1.3. A Short History of the Historiography of the Early Historic Period in South India

The various approaches to South Indian historiography that scholars have adopted thus far to reconstruct the Early Historic Period in South India may be divided into four general categories: (a) Chronologies and Culture History, (b) Political History, (c) Marxist Perspectives, and (d) Anthropological Perspectives. These categories progress chronologically, covering the development of historiography of South India from the 'rediscovery' of the ancient Caṅkam texts in the nineteenth century to the present.[19]

As noted earlier, the 'rediscovery' of classical Tamil literature necessitated a re-conceptualization of Tamil history. In their attempt to make sense of the rich contents of the new-found literature, historians focused on establishing chronologies and creating a cultural history of 'Tamil civilization'. Scholars attempted to establish the age of the Caṅkam corpus by correlating the names of people and places from the texts (including poems, colophons, and

Language and Literature with Tamil (Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1981), 6-7. James D. Ryan, "Introduction," in *Cīvakacintāmaṇi: The Hero Cīvakaṉ, the Gem That Fulfills All Wishes*, ed. James D. Ryan (Fremont, CA: Jain Publishing Company, 2005), 7.

[18] Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*, 149.

[19] This scheme is my own way of addressing the general trends in South Indian historiography. For a slightly different organization, including many authors I have not addressed, see P. Yenadi Raju, "South Indian Historiography: Recent Trends," in *Perspectives of South Indian History and Culture*, ed. D. Ananda Naidu and V. Gopalakrishna (Kuppam: Dravidian University, 2006).

commentaries) with those mentioned in Greek classical sources, inscriptions, and Indian puranic literature and chronicles.

One of the great pioneers in this arduous endeavor was V. Kanakasabhai Pillai. His seminal work *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (1904) originally appeared as a series of articles published in the *Madras Review* between 1895 and 1901. He described the "vast field of ancient Tamil literature" as "an unknown land into which no traveller hath yet set foot," [20] and narrowly defined the time period of Caṅkam literary production as 50 to 150 CE. He reconstructed this period in history based on the (mis)understanding that the *Tirukkuṟaḷ, Cilappatikāram, Maṇimēkalai*, and much of the *Eṭṭuttokai* were contemporary. Still, looking back in 1966, Subrahmanian noted that this work "is one to which most later historians of South India are indebted."[21] However, Subrahmanian also noted that despite the fact that Kanakasabhai Pillai's historical narrative had been "adversely commented upon by many," it had been "rarely improved upon by any."[22] The negative comments partly stemmed from chronological inaccuracies, but also from the patriotic temper of its prose. For instance, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who wrote *Beginnings of South Indian History* (1918), disapproved of Kanakasabhai Pillai's interpretation of the literature, noting that "The late Mr. Kanakasabhai might have let his patriotism get the better of his judgment on occasions."[23]

Krishnaswami Aiyangar was particularly concerned with chronological accuracy. He argued that "The first essential to history is chronology;" and "there can be no history without chronology, and the attempts to fix the dates of works and authors, which to many appear absurd,

[20] Kanakasabhai Pillai, 3.
[21] N. Subrahmanian, *Sangam Polity: The Administration and Social Life of the Sangam Tamils.* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1966), x.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Kanakasabhai Pillai, vii.

is of the essence to historical research."[24] However, Krishnaswami Aiyangar also attributed most of the Caṅkam works to a single period, roughly corresponding to the rule of Chera king Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ c. 2nd century CE.[25] He also relied on the Gajabāhu synchronism from the *Cilappatikāram* [26] to date the later epics to this period.

His method for reconstructing history from the poems is made clear when he describes the difference in utility between the *akam* and *puṟam* genres:

> Of these two classes the latter [*puṟam*] is the more valuable for purposes of history and chronology, as it makes direct reference to various wars, battles, sieges etc.; and one very special feature of such work is that poets composing in this strain always address their patrons directly, thereby making it unmistakable that what they have to state in respect of a particular chieftain has reference to contemporary life. The other group [*akam*], however, does not stand on an altogether similar footing. Poems in this group do make similar references though they are always of an indirect character and do not give such clear evidence of contemporaneity in respect of their various statements.[27]

However, despite Krishnaswami Aiyangar's assertion, many of the poems do not in fact address the king directly, at least not by name. For example, in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, of the 138 poems said to be praising 43 individual kings,[28] only about 32 of poems contain a name of the king.[29] The

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[24] Sakkottai Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, Madras University Special Lectures on Indian History and Archaeology. Second Series (Madras: Modern Printing Works, 1918), 44;49.
[25] Ibid., 165.
[26] A King Gajabāhu of Sri Lanka is mentioned in Canto 30 of the *Cilappatikāram* as one of the royal visitors to the Chera capital of Vañci. There is also a King Gajabāhu on a list of kings in the Buddhist chronicle, *Mahāvaṃsa*. According to this list, King Gajabāhu ruled c. 2nd century CE. Therefore, scholars reason that the Chera King Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ, who hosted Gajabāhu, must have also ruled during this time. The prologue, or *patikam*, of the *Cilappatikāram*, which most scholars now opine is a later interpolation, names the author of the epic as Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ. According to the prologue, he was the younger brother of King Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ. Therefore, scholars interpreted the third book of the *Cilappatikāram*, Book of Vañci, as narrating current events, thus fixing the date of the epics composition to c. 2nd century CE.
[27] Krishnaswami Aiyangar, 191-92.
[28] Kailasapathy, 16.
[29] Chera kings: Māntarañcēral Irumpoṟai as 'Māntarañcēral Irumpoṟai' in *Puṟ*. 22. Chola kings: Kuḷamuṟṟattut Tuñciya Kiḷḷi Vaḷavaṉ as 'Vaḷavaṉ' in *Puṟ*. 34, 35, 41, 42, 226, 227, 228, 397, and as 'Kiḷḷi Vaḷavaṉ' in *Puṟ*. 69, 70; Cōḷanāṭṭup Piṭavūrkiḻāṉ Makaṉ Peruñ Cāttaṉ as 'Cāttaṉ' in *Puṟ* 395; Cōḷaṉ Uruvappaḥrēr Iḷañcēṭceṉṉi as 'Ceṉṉi' in *Puṟ*. 266; Cōḷaṉ Karikāṟ Peruvaḷattāṉ as 'Vaḷavaṉ' in *Puṟ*. 7, and as 'Karikāl Vaḷavaṉ' in *Puṟ*. 66; Cōḷaṉ Nalaṅkiḷḷi as 'Cēṭceṉṉi Nalaṅkiḷḷi' in *Puṟ*. 27, 225, and 'Nalaṅkiḷḷi' in *Puṟ* 382; Cōḷaṉ Ilavantikaip Paḷḷit Tuñciya Nalaṅkiḷḷi Cēṭceṉṉi as 'Ceṉṉi' in *Puṟ* 61 (these last 3 kings are generally counted as the same person); Pandiya kings: Pāṇṭiyaṉ Ilavantikaippaḷḷit Tuñciya Naṉmāṟaṉ as 'Māṟaṉ' in *Puṟ*. 55, 56, 57; Pāṇṭiyaṉ Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumip Peruvaḻuti as 'Kuṭumi' in *Puṟ*. 12, 64; Pāṇṭiyaṉ Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ as 'Ceḻiyaṉ' in *Puṟ*. 18, 19; Pāṇṭiyaṉ Talaiyālaṅkāṉattuc

information regarding the name of the king, where applicable, is in most cases provided by the colophons. The poems praise the king in general terms, such as 'king', 'lord', or 'hero', or by common attributes like epithets. Where the deeds or qualities are specific, such as winning a particular battle or ruling over a particular city, it could be possible to narrow the association of the eulogy to a specific person. However, when the deeds are general, such as overcoming enemies, protecting the people, or being generous, it is questionable whether such poems are attached to the identity of one particular person. Moreover, "[t]hough divided on the probable date of these colophons, scholars are generally agreed that they are later than the poems themselves."[30] Therefore, any method that relies on the information of the colophons for historical reconstruction assumes that the authors of those colophons had direct knowledge of the original context of the poem. Considering the asynchrony of the poems and their colophons, this methodology is questionable.

Although these historians utilized epigraphic sources to correlate names and places mentioned in the poems, they were still skeptical of its independent value for the reconstruction of history. For example, Sivaraja Pillai in his *Chronology of the Early Tamils* (1932) lamented that most early inscriptions had not been "satisfactorily deciphered yet," leaving only the later inscriptions on temples dating c. 7th-8th century CE.[31] He therefore concluded: "Epigraphy thus failing us, we have next to fall back on the only available evidence within our reach – Literature."[32] Similarly, although a requisite chapter in the beginning of these histories is a 'survey of the sources,' which demonstrates that these scholars were aware of the multiple lines

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Ceruvenṟa Neṭuñceliyaṉ as 'Celiyaṉ' in *Puṟ*. 24, 25, 26, 76, 79 (these last 2 kings are generally counted as the same person).

[30] Kailasapathy, 128.

[31] K.N. Sivaraja Pillai, *The Chronology of the Early Tamils - Based on the Synchronistic Tables of Their Kings, Chieftains and Poets Appearing in the Sangam Literature* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1932), 14.

[32] Ibid., 15.

of evidence (including archaeology, numismatics, and various foreign classical accounts), in the body of the texts they relied primarily on Tamil literary sources.

The cultural historians sought to develop a complete picture of social life among the Tamils, the details of which they found in abundance in the classical Tamil literature. From the rich imagery in the literature, they constructed what they thought to be definitive historic accounts of Caṅkam polities, including their administrative government, military organization, judicial system, economic infrastructure, religion, arts and letters, and finer points of social life.

An excellent example of this extrapolation is N. Subrahmanian's *Śaṅgam Polity: The administration and social life of the Śaṅgam Tamils* (1966). In Chapter 10 on Social Life, there is a 5-page section on the "Status of Women."[33] Based on the footnotes, the information in this section was extracted from *Tolkāppiyam, Kalittokai, Kuṟuntokai, Akanāṉūṟu, Cilappatikāram*, and *Puṟanāṉūṟu*. The *Kalittokai, Kuṟuntokai*, and *Akanāṉūṟu* are all collections of *akam* poetry. The citations for *Tolkāppiyam* are from the *Kaḷavu Iyal* section of the *Poruḷatikāram*, which deals with poetics of *akam* poetry, particularly the clandestine union between lovers. The two poems from the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* describe a woman's reaction to the victory of a king and having a son out on the battlefield. The quote from the epic *Cilappatikāram*, "The wisdom of woman is only huge folly," is taken from a story told by the heroine, Kaṇṇaki, in Canto 21.[34] First, this is quite a diverse group of texts: a grammar, love poetry, eulogies, and an epic. Second, it is questionable how depictions of women in love poetry could be interpreted as contemporary reality. At best, they may be considered feminine ideals. However, to select such details without providing an analysis of their context and to present them as 'facts' regarding the status of

[33] Subrahmanian, 297-302.
[34] However, it should be noted that this quote is one overheard by the girl in the story, who concludes to pay "no attention to this remark of learned men." Translation from R. Parthasarathy, *The Cilappatikāram of Iḷaṅko Aṭikaḷ: An Epic of South India*, Translations from the Asian Classics (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 192.

women in the Early Historic Period is specious. Third, the references to *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and *Cilappatikāram* seem to have been taken out of context.[35] Overall, this example from Subrahmanian's *Śaṅgam Polity* demonstrates the problematic interpretations that resulted from the uncritical selection from across the Caṅkam corpus of literary descriptions as historic evidence.

The next approach, which emulated that of the previous group, was not only concerned with Tamil cultural history, but also aimed to situate this history within a broader chronological framework. Here, the so-called 'Sangam Era' was a Golden Age of warrior kings, interposed between the rise and fall of other great dynasties. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri is the preeminent scholar of South Indian political history. His *History of South India* (1955, 1975), attempted to cover everything from the Paleolithic Period to the Vijayanagara Empire. In his first chapter, titled "Survey of the Sources" he presented the aim of the book: "[My] endeavor will be to present as simply and clearly as possible a connected narrative of ascertained *facts* with the minimum of comment necessary to make the story intelligible. Attention will be confined to *facts*, persons and tendencies of outstanding importance..."[36]

On the question of how such 'facts' may be gleaned from literary sources, Nilakanta Sastri explained that,

> Not only do they [literary sources] enable him [the historian] to *picture* the social and religious milieu in which the characters of history lived and moved and acted, but the prologues, epilogues and colophons of different works often *embody* valuable *data* on the lineage and achievements of the authors of the works and their royal patrons, and these often *eke out the scrappy information* drawn from inscriptions… The earliest extant stratum of Tamil literature, that of the Śangam Age…*reveals to us* a fairly well-

[35] For example, one of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* poems (No. 86) is cited as evidence that it was the woman's "habit not to talk to strangers except through some medium; even an inanimate object like a pillar or a rafter was enough to serve as a medium." , 301. The poem begins, "You grasp the fine pillar that holds up my house and you ask me 'Where is your son?'." Translation by G.L. Hart and H. Heifetz, eds., *The Four Hundred Songs of War and Wisdom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 63.

[36] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, 4th ed. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975; repr., 27th impression, 2008), 10, emphasis added.

> developed civilization evolved out of the harmonious blending of much that was borrowed from the incoming northern culture with that already in existence. The details of this most interesting chapter of human history are here as *elsewhere hidden from our view*.[37] (emphasis added)

The language that Nilakanta Sastri uses to describe this endeavor, words like 'picture', 'reveal', and 'hidden', emphasizes the way in which these texts were treated as sources that were in need of no interpretation. The information was there, all one needed to do was look and the texts would reveal the past. Moreover, such details were not found elsewhere. Therefore, it was necessary to utilize the rich imagery within Caṅkam literature to help support the fragmentary evidence from other sources, such as epigraphy, and create a more detailed picture of the past.

However, Nilakanta Sastri should also be commended in his efforts to integrate multiple lines of evidence. In his discussion of the 'Age of the Sangam,' the "first well-lighted epoch in the history of the Tamil Land…reflected in the literature of Śangam,"[38] he incorporates evidence from not only literature but also archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics. He begins with a discussion of a 2nd-century BCE inscription from Orissa, the famous Hāthīgumphā inscription of king Khāravela. He then discusses the Caṅkam corpus, the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, notices of foreign writers like Pliny, and claims that "[a]rchaeology confirms the evidence of literature," by citing the discovery of Roman coins and the presence of a 'Roman factory' unearthed during archaeological excavations at Arikamedu.[39]

However, this is merely the preface to the actual historical narrative of the chapter. This is clear from his transitional statement that "[w]e may now set forth the salient facts of the politics of the period before proceeding to give an account of its social life."[40] These "salient

[37] Ibid., 19, emphasis added.
[38] Ibid., 104.
[39] Ibid., 104-07.
[40] Ibid., 107.

facts" are predominantly derived from Caṅkam literature, particularly the colophons. What is problematic about this narrative is that he seldom acknowledges the source of these 'facts'. There are no citations, only occasional references to texts such as the *Cilappatikāram, Patiṟṟuppattu, Puṟanāṉūṟu, Pattuppāṭṭu*, and *Tolkāppiyam*. It is not until he addresses the topic of trade,[41] that he makes use of a source other than Tamil literature by citing evidence from the *Periplus* and Greco-Roman coinage found in South India. Interestingly, he concludes the chapter, stating,

> A long historical night ensues after the close of the Śangam age. We know little of the period of more than three centuries that followed…This dark period marked by the ascendancy of Buddhism, and probably also of Jainism, was characterized by great literary activity in Tamil. Most of the works grouped under the head *The Eighteen Minor Works* [*Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku*] were written during this period as also the *Śilappadikāram*, *Maṇimēkalai* and other works. Many of the authors were the votaries of 'heretical' sects.[42]

This seems strange indeed. How can it be an unknown period when we have so much literature? Moreover, throughout the chapter, Nilakanta Sastri has drawn on evidence from the *Cilappatikāram*, a post-Caṅkam epic comprised of a mixture of *akam*, *puṟam*, and mythological themes, to provide details about politics and social life in the Caṅkam era. His complete renunciation of the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* as a potential source of illumination for this "dark period" reveals his bias against these ethical texts. Moreover, while it is often argued that the Caṅkam corpus is 'secular' – thus it is 'safer' to use as an historical source as it is not tainted by religious ideology – this is certainly not true of the *Cilappatikāram*, which is very much a Jain text in which Jain religious practices and doctrines significantly shape the narrative.

While the previous historians were concerned with establishing chronologies and grand narratives of culture history and political change, beginning in the 1960s and 70s historians

[41] Ibid., 125.
[42] Ibid., 130-31.

became more concerned with the importance of socio-economic processes. The scholarship of such historians focused on economic infrastructure, trade, and processes of urbanization.[43] Such scholarship shows an increasing reflexivity concerning the literary nature of the Caṅkam corpus. The shift from literal to literary interpretation now included the complex task of 'decoding' the poems to uncover their underlying historical truths.[44] One example is the interpretation of *tiṇai*, the geographic setting and situation of classical Tamil poems, as representative of distinct socio-economic eco-zones.[45] These new approaches were also characterized by a concern with political ideology.[46]

Rajan Gurukkal has applied a Marxist perspective to the reconstruction of history, integrating multiple lines of evidence from literature, archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics. What emerges from his analyses is a picture of "a social formation dependent on multiple forms of economies, kin-based relations of production, redistributive system of social appropriation, and predatory political control."[47] Keenly aware of the limitations of using literature as a 'source' of history, he also contends that despite their formulae, stock-phrases, and symbolic expressions, it seems certain that the poems' "overall institutional and ideational contexts…are not far removed from reality."[48] With this basic premise, he delimitates the ancient landscape of

[43] E.g. R. Champakalakshmi, "Urbanisation in South India: The Role of Ideology and Polity," *Social Scientist* 15, no. 8/9 (1987); M.G.S. Narayanan, "The Role of Peasants in the Early History of Tamilakam in South India," ibid.16, no. 9 (1988); Rajan Gurukkal, "Aspects of Early Iron Age Economy: Problem of Agrarian Expansion in Tamilagam," in *Essays in Ancient Indian Economic History*, ed. Brajadulal Chattopadhaya (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987).
[44] "Towards the Voice of Dissent: Trajectory of Ideological Transformation in Early South India," *Social Scientist* 21, no. 1-2 (1993): 4.
[45] E.g. R. Gurukkal, "Forms of Production and Forces of Change in Ancient Tamil Society," *Studies in History* 5, no. 2 (1989); K. Sivathamby, "Early South Indian Society and Economy: The Tinai Concept," *Social Scientist* 29 (1974).
[46] E.g. R. Champakalakshmi, "Urbanisation in South India: The Role of Ideology and Polity," ibid.15, no. 8/9 (1987); Champakalakshmi and Gopal; Gurukkal, "Towards the Voice of Dissent: Trajectory of Ideological Transformation in Early South India."
[47] "Towards the Voice of Dissent: Trajectory of Ideological Transformation in Early South India," 316.
[48] Gurukkal, 163.

South India into the five *tiṇais* of the *Poruḷatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam*, and identifies various social groups and forms of production native to each, based on the content of poems from across the Caṅkam corpus. While elements of his methodology may seem tenuous, the resulting analysis is not without merit. His interpretation of the glorification of the warrior aesthetic as "signifiers of a plunder-based redistributive social system"[49] is particularly compelling.

Gurukkal subsequently broadened his historical-materialist analysis of Caṅkam literature to include ideology and discourse.[50] Discourse for Gurukkal is equivalent to the Marxist ideological superstructure. His analysis attempts to transcend the limitations of earlier religion-based analyses of ideology and to decode "the real meaning of the texts."[51] He suggests that the "discursive constituents, as clusters of semantic signs of the heroic poems, are encapsulated in a series of poetic codes in the Tamil heroic poetry."[52] These poetic codes may be found within the dual concept of *tiṇai* and *tuṟai*: "[b]oth *tiṇai* and *tuṟai* bear within their form a series of enunciative codes that help us delve into their semantic world of signs and paradigms."[53]

Gurukkal argues that *tiṇai* and *tuṟai* as "enunciative codes" of poetics project messages of a hegemonic heroic discourse.[54] To complete the dialectic, Gurukkal then identifies a series of antagonistic *tuṟai* codes, which stress the importance of peace, asceticism, etc. and form a discourse of dissent. It is the conflict between the hegemonic discourse of cattle-raiding warriors

[49] Ibid., 174.
[50] "Towards a New Discourse: Discursive Processes in Early South India," in *Tradition, Dissent and Ideology*, ed. R. Champakalakshmi and S. Gopal (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996); Gurukkal, "Towards the Voice of Dissent: Trajectory of Ideological Transformation in Early South India."
[51] "Towards the Voice of Dissent: Trajectory of Ideological Transformation in Early South India," 313,17.
[52] Ibid., 318.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

and the dissenting discourse of peaceful agriculturalists that leads to the emergence of a new social order.[55]

However, despite their critique of the uncritical way in which previous scholars utilized these poems to reconstruct the social, religious, and political life of the Early Historic Period, and an uneasiness about the 'complex symbology' of the poems,[56] these scholars continued to pull information from poems as historical fact cited through footnotes,[57] rather than actively engaging in critical analysis and exegesis of the individual poems. For example, in her review of the Chera port of Muziris, Champakalakshmi begins "Muci̲ri, the first and the earliest major port of call, [endnote citing secondary sources on Pliny] was the famous Cēra port where the ships of the yavanas called in large numbers, and in exchange for gold took back cargoes of pepper and other products. [endnote citing *Akanaṉūṟu* 149:7-11]."[58] Thus, in the same sentence, Champakalakshmi draws from a Greek classical account of India and a love poem in the voice of the hero (*talaimakaṉ kūṟṟu*). Aside from including a quote from the poem,[59] there is no exegesis. Both texts are treated as historical sources for the mining of facts.

The study of agrarian organization, land control, and social stratification, which was the focus of much Marxist scholarship, was further developed with the introduction of sociological methods and anthropological models by historians like Burton Stein. In his innovative study *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (1980), Stein argued against Nilakanta

[55] This transition is the same one examined by A. K. Ramanujan's and Norman Cutler's essay, A. K. Ramanujan and Norman Cutler, "From Classicism to *Bhakti*," in *The Collected Essays of A.K. Ramanujan*, ed. Vinay Dharwadker (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999). However, for Gurukkal the transition has little to do with religion. Within a Marxist framework, religion is nothing more than a form of discourse within the ideological totality of an ancient social structure.
[56] Gurukkal, "Towards a New Discourse: Discursive Processes in Early South India," 317.
[57] E.g. R. Champakalakshmi, "Archaeology and Tamil Literary Tradition," *Puratattva* 8 (1975-76); "Urbanisation in South India: The Role of Ideology and Polity."; *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 Bc to Ad 1300* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996).
[58] Champakalakshmi and Gopal, 120.
[59] Ibid., 149, n 41.

Sastri's theory of a centralized Chola state and, drawing on the work of Aidan Southall on African society, suggested an alternative theory of a segmentary state.

While much of Stein's research focused on the medieval period, he also wrote briefly on the Early Historic Period. In a pun-filled essay in J.F. Richard's edited volume on *Kingship and Authority in South Asia* (1978), Burton Stein outlined three successive kingly traditions, the first based on classical Tamil poetry. Stein defines tradition as "more than a set of valued ideas transmitted from the past…Tradition deals with the circumstances in which and the means by which ideas of kingship were expressed by various persons to various receivers of these ideas."[60] Thus, for Stein, tradition is a mode of discourse, with a focus on the "process of cultural communication."[61]

Stein closely follows the work of Kailasapathy's *Tamil Heroic Poetry* (1968) to explicate the tradition of 'heroic kingship' derived from classical Tamil poetry. For Stein, the kings of the *puṟam* poems "were heroes in a war-like and violent age" and "neither ritualistic nor moralistic elements consistently distinguish the king from other warriors." [62] The idea that moral and ritual elements are minor or absent in 'heroic kingship' foregrounds the introduction of the other two traditions, 'moral kingship' and 'ritual kingship'. While the three traditions are somewhat historically consecutive, they also appear to overlap, and together represent three variants of South Indian kingship during the Medieval period.

Stein's central thesis is that each of these traditions provides a "differential basis for the incorporation of political allegiances" and that the way scholars conceptualize kingship is largely

[60] Burton Stein, "All the King's Mana: Perspectives on Kingship in Medieval South India," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed. J.F. Richards (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Department of South Asian Studies, 1978), 116.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., 117, 21.

shaped by the sources they consult.[63] Thus, heroic kingship corresponds to classical Tamil poetry, moral kingship to Jain gnomic texts and inscriptions, and ritual kingship to *śāstric*, *puranic*, inscriptional and literary sources. However, such an argument suggests that each class of sources contains a singular view of kingship, equally evident to any scholar reading these texts. While it seems logical that different texts from different time periods and religio-cultural traditions would present different views of kingship, such views are in no way singular. Moreover, it is likely that some classical Tamil poetry was contemporary with the Jain texts and inscriptions.

What I hope this brief history of historiography has demonstrated are the ways in which previous scholars have attempted to utilize the corpus of classical Tamil literature to reconstruct the history of the Early Historic Period. Over time, historians have begun to increasingly acknowledge the evidence provided by archaeology and epigraphy. However, the different sources are rarely brought into productive dialogue with one another. The dominant narrative is still formed by Tamil literature, though the perspectives and lenses through which this literature is interpreted have become increasingly analytical.

1.4. The Use of Classical Tamil Literature as a Source of History: Problems and Possibilities

Since its 'rediscovery', the works of classical Tamil have been interpreted literally as windows onto a Golden Age of Tamil culture. While we are indebted to these early scholars for their painstaking work in documenting how these various texts described the ancient world, we are also indebted in the sense of being bound, as the narratives they fashioned have come to

[63] Ibid., 146-47.

dominate our understanding of the ancient Tamil past to the exclusion or disregard of other forms of evidence. The use of classical Tamil literature as an historical archive is problematic for several reasons.

First, there is the conflation of the entire corpus of classical Tamil literature, that is, the notion that one can simply pluck 'facts' equally from across the corpus as representative of a single time period in the ancient past. While tradition associates all classical Tamil literature with the third Madurai Caṅkam, today scholars have constructed more detailed chronologies extending from c. 2nd century BCE to 6th century CE with the composition of various texts assigned to different centuries.[64] Therefore, even if the descriptions in classical Tamil literature did reflect the social reality of the time in which they were composed, such a view would not be the same across the different texts in the canon. Thus, one cannot speak of a "Caṅkam Age" because it does not exist.

Second, there is the issue of genre. As noted by Singh, "Analysing a text from the historical point of view does not mean mechanically plucking out self-evident 'facts'. The information a text provides has to be carefully understood within the framework of the particular genre or type of literature it represents."[65] While historians have noted the higher utility of *puṟam* poetry for reconstructing history, this has not prevented them from continuing to draw on other forms of poetry and grammar, including *akam* poetry. Aside from the chronological diversity of the various *akam* anthologies, *akam* poetry as a genre is somewhat ill-suited for reconstructing history. The characters, their actions, and their physical environments are

[64] Wilden; *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India*; *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*. The chronologies proposed by Zvelebil and Wilden are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

[65] Upinder Singh, *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century* (New Delhi ;Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, 2008), 15.

conventionally stylized for dramatic effect, such that it is difficult to see in them a direct reflection of a specific historical moment. The details selected for historical reconstruction often come from the rich descriptions of the drama's setting, but without any acknowledgement of their literary context. Ramanujan describes *akam* poetry as "an impersonal tradition;" the actors in these poems have no names, and even the imagery for different speakers is restricted, e.g. the heroine's images are often confined to her house and its environs.[66] In contrast, texts belonging to the *puṟam* genre often identify kings, poets, and places by name.

Within the *Eṭṭutokai*, there are only two *puṟam* anthologies: the *Patiṟṟuppattu* and the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*. Texts of this genre are preferable for historical analysis, not only due to their specificity, but due to their organization into anthologies *as* histories. The *Patiṟṟuppattu* (*Ten Decads*) consists of ten sets of ten poems (although the first and final set are no longer extant), with each set eulogizing a different Chera king. The poems range in length from 5 (*pāṭṭu* 87) to 57 lines (*pāṭṭu* 90). The decads 2-6 praise the Imayavarampaṉ line of Chera kings (c. 150-180 CE), and decads 7-9 praise kings in the line of Irumpoṟai (c. 170-200 CE).[67] Organized chronologically, with each set of poems attributed to a different author in praise of a different king, the *Patiṟṟuppattu* is essentially a political history of the Early Historic Cheras.

The *Puṟanāṉūṟu* is an exceptionally diverse collection of poems, ranging from 4 to 40 lines long[68] and addressing topics such as kings, kingship, chieftains, cattle raids, ethics, war, and death. However, the first 85 poems and the last 32 poems focus almost exclusively on kings of the Chera, Chola, and Pandiya dynasties (the *mūvēntar* or *mūvar*) of the early centuries BCE

[66] *The Interior Landscape: Classical Tamil Love Poems*, trans. A. K. Ramanujan (New York: New York Review Books, 2014), 82; 100.
[67] Kamil Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*, Handbuch Der Orientalistik. Zweite Abteilung, Indien (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994). Notably, Kuṭakkō Iḷañcēral Irumpoṟai of the tenth decad is mentioned in one of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Pugalur, an Early Historic Jain cave site near Karur. For further discussion, see Chapters 2 and 3.
[68] *Puṟ.* 17 and 395 are 40 lines long. *Puṟ.* 87, 107, 111, 131, 134, 186, 187, 193, and 219 are 4 lines long. *Puṟ.* 244 is incomplete and what remains is 3 lines long.

and CE. Poems 86-165 praise the exploits of chieftains (*vēḷir*). When Peruntēvaṉār assembled this disparate corpus c. 7th or 8th century CE, the exploits of these kings and chieftains were very much ancient history. Perhaps one reason for this organization, which uses the panegyrics of the famous ancient kings to bookend the anthology, and in placing them in sequence creates a history of sorts, may be connected to the larger political projects of the imperial Pandiyas, who were at that time, according to Eva Wilden, "seeking reconnection with past glory and cultural restitution."[69]

Moreover, the colophons, which were added perhaps around the same time as the collation and anthologization, serve not only to provide a literary classification of the poem (its *tiṇai* and *tuṟai*), but also to contextualize the content of the poem (explaining what the poem is in reference to) or to contextualize the moment of composition (often placing the poet on the scene of battle alongside the king). These colophons are frequently the parts most often mined for historical data. This is unsurprising, because it is the colophons that sought to provide a historical context for the c. 7th-century audiences who were perhaps as much as 1,000 years removed from the original composition of the poems. However, given that the colophons were written considerably later than the poems themselves, it begs the question to what degree the authors of the colophons actually knew the original context of the poems, and to what extent they attempted to reconstruct or create the context based on other legends and stories about these figures that were circulating in other media. Because of the asynchrony of the poems and their colophons, if the poems are to tell us anything about the past, the object of study must first be the content of the poem apart from and free from the interpretive frameworks of the colophons.

[69] Wilden, *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*, 12.

1.5. Moving Beyond the Literal to the Literary

The use of literary texts as an historical archive is very common. However, precisely what kind of historical information literary texts can provide and the method for their analysis is a topic of debate. What concerns this particular study is the use of classical Tamil literature as an historical archive. I argue that classical Tamil literature *can* be used to understand the ancient past. Literature is one among many forms of evidence for reconstructing the ancient past. However, like any other form of evidence, what it has to say about the ancient past is not self-evident, it requires interpretation. Moreover, like any other form of evidence, it has strengths as well as limitations, and even pitfalls one must avoid.

In her discussion of literature as historical source material, Dorothy Burton Skårdal, classifies literature as a kind of "soft" data, and argues that "*when properly tested against other available sources*, such 'soft' data have proved invaluable in establishing both objective facts and subjective attitudes of the time" (emphasis added).[70] The problem is that the historical narratives derived from classical Tamil literature, that have established the primary framework for understanding Tamil history up until at least the late medieval period (when inscriptions increase in both length and number), have not been tested against other available sources. Rather, it is often that other sources are tested against the literature. This is particularly true in the case of archaeological evidence, which has been found to be insufficient for reconstructing the ancient Tamil past and/or incommensurate with visions of the past that have already become firmly established as historical reality. For example, in her discussion of the difficulties faced in attempting to reconstruct a chronology of Caṅkam literature, Eva Wilden notes that "What is

[70] Dorothy Burton Skårdal, "'Hard' Facts and 'Soft' Sources: Literature as Historical Source Material?," *American Studies in Scandinavia* 16, no. 2 (1984): 75.

available in the archaeological field is, measured against the accounts of splendid cities to be found predominantly in the 'late' anthologies, especially the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, still meagre."[71]

In thinking critically about literature as a way of reconstructing intellectual history, literary theorists of New Historicism in the 1990s drew attention to the text-context conundrum, "the problem that the text is at once constituted by and constitutes history." [72] Specifically, in order to understand a text, we must understand the context in which it was produced. However, in order to understand the context in which it was produced, scholars often draw on aspects of the text itself – often due to what they perceive as the absence of other sources. Gabrielle Spiegel has suggested that one way around this conundrum is for the historian to focus her analysis "on the ways in which the historical world is internalized in the text and its meaning fixed."[73] Specifically, the ways in which the historical context shapes the choices of representation of the author. Referencing Macherey's *A Theory of Literary Production,*[74] she notes that "the writer does not manufacture the materials with which s/he works, but neither does s/he stumble across them haphazardly. Every work possesses certain particular conditions of possibility and is produced under determinate situations."[75] Indeed, such particular conditions of possibility include material conditions, and Wilden seems to reference such logic when she cites as an example, that "it is true that a Caṅkam poem won't describe a Roman lamp before such items had been imported."[76] Conversely, Wilden also notes that "it does not mean that people did not

[71] Wilden, "Towards an Internal Chronology of Old Cankam Literature or How to Trace the Laws of a Poetic Universe," 122.
[72] Lee Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 58. Cited in Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 65, no. 1 (1990): 70.
[73] Spiegel, 84.
[74] Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, trans. Geoffrey Wall (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), 80.
[75] Spiegel, 84.
[76] Wilden, "Towards an Internal Chronology of Old Cankam Literature or How to Trace the Laws of a Poetic Universe," 122.

know Roman lamps if they do not describe them in their poems;"[77] i.e. absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. However, the absence of references to the Pallava dynasty and the absence of references to particular anthologies has been taken as evidence that they had not yet come into being, and such information has been used to date classical Tamil texts. In fact, Wilden herself uses both lines of reasoning to craft her chronology for Caṅkam literature in her 2015 monograph.[78] While I agree that there is a sort of circular logic that must be avoided in moving between the analysis of literature and the reconstruction of history, I also think it is important to take seriously the material and social conditions in which a text was produced, and the fact that these conditions can be assessed based on the content of a text.

Similarly, Allen Pasco has argued that "when handled judiciously, and in answer to the appropriate questions, literature can provide a reliable window on the past," noting however that it is not "an exact mirror," but rather "a response to reality, whether by reflection or reaction."[79] Moreover, in regard to his own work on 18th century France, he feels that the "literature becomes an increasingly reliable archive as its public changed from a limited elite to a mass audience, for it responded to the demands of its readers."[80] However, the imagined context for the composition of the earliest poems, and in particular the panegyric *puṟam* poems, is that they were written by bards for elite consumption. [81] If this is true, then based on Pasco's argumentation, their content may be less reliable, because it represents the preferences of a limited audience. But even if some of the poems were created through patronage relationships with political elites, certainly their utility necessitated that they circulate beyond the realm of the court.

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[77] Ibid.
[78] *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*.
[79] Allan H. Pasco, "Literature as Historical Archive," *New Literary History* 35, no. 3 (2004): 374.
[80] Ibid., 379.
[81] Hart.

The poems in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* describe not only the exploits that helped solidify the authority and political power of the ancient kings, but the poems themselves may also be interpreted as a kind of symbolic capital constitutive of that authority. Sascha Ebeling has suggested that in the nineteenth century, the literary production of praise poems (*ciṟappuppāyiram*) and the work of poets (*pulavar*) more generally "was firmly embedded in [an] economy of praise which included poets, audiences, and patrons, each with their respective interests."[82] Similarly, one might envision the circulation of the panegyric poems of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* as both the end-result and impetus of patronage relationships between elites and bards; that in praising the greatness of kings these poems concomitantly brought that greatness into being through the wide distribution and consumption of these poems by urban and rural audiences.

Pasco also points to the republication and continued purchase of 18th century novels, poems, and plays, as evidence that "individual readers sensed some aspect, some sort of resonance, some application, something that attracted them."[83] Indeed the same could be said for the preservation of classical Tamil literature. That is, the aspects of reality portrayed in the poems, whether historical (e.g. *puṟam*) or social and emotional (e.g. *akam*), may have been a reason for their continued circulation and preservation over the many centuries between their composition and anthologization.

Pasco also sees meaning in the frequency of literary occurrences, arguing that "the recurrent patterns should be gathered together and considered as a constellation that will almost certainly configure either a particular social reality or a reaction to that reality."[84] Moreover,

[82] Sascha Ebeling, *Colonizing the Realm of Words: The Transformation of Tamil Literature in Nineteenth-Century South India*, Suny Series in Hindu Studies. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 73.
[83] Pasco, 380.
[84] Ibid., 385.

> The fact that important details of novels and plays form relationships that lead inevitably to a complete text opens the *possibility of testing interpretations*: if a complex or web of relationships within a literary work is a valid response to the social reality, we should be able to find similar elements, objects, attitudes, or experiences in other creations and in *other parts of the social fabric*. (emphasis added) [85]

And herein lies the problem: the burden of proof has rarely fallen upon the texts. Reconstructions of the past based on the literary record are not subject to scrutiny based on evidence derived from archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics. Rather, when these other kinds of evidence do not reproduce "similar elements, objects, attitudes, or experiences" as those found in the literature, the conclusion is either that such forms of evidence are inherently deficient in quantity or in what they can tell us about the past, and/or that what they can tell us is incommensurate with the current narratives reconstructed from the literary record.

1.6. Whither Archaeology?

I believe that the failure of philologists, literary scholars, and historians to critically engage with, i.e. take seriously, the archaeological record as a valuable line of evidence stems from a misunderstanding of the sequence of processes that create that record, and in turn, what the archaeological record represents. Why after much excavation in and around the ancient capitals and port cities of Tamil Nadu have archaeologists found "virtually no architectural remains of importance"[86]? Well, first, perhaps one's assessment of what is and is not important is subjective, since many archaeologists might argue that there have been significant discoveries of architectural and other archaeological features at Early Historic sites across Tamil Nadu.[87] But

[85] Ibid.
[86] A phrase borrowed from Wilden, "Towards an Internal Chronology of Old Cankam Literature or How to Trace the Laws of a Poetic Universe," 123.
[87] For a long list of sites and their significant archaeological remains, see K. Rajan, V.P. Yathees Kumar, and S. Selvakumar, eds., *Catalogue of Archaeological Sites in Tamil Nadu*, 2 vols. (Thanjavur: Heritage India Trust, 2009).

certainly, archaeologists have not uncovered the grand temples, multi-storied houses, tall city gates, or the merchant streets described in texts like the *Pattuppāṭṭu* or *Cilappatikāram*. The reason is two-fold.

First, archaeological sites like Pompei are a-typical, archaeological sites represent things left behind, abandoned, left to ruin, foundations whose superstructure either decayed or was hauled off to construct new structures, leaving only the heaviest stones that were too much trouble to move. Artifacts that broke and were thrown away, or precious things that were purposefully buried with intent to return that was interrupted (as in a cache of coins) or with no intent to return (as in a burial). Some things lend themselves to entering the archaeological record more frequently – things that are small (like beads, easily swept into a corner, covered in sediment and lost) and things that are delicate and not worth mending (like ceramics, which in many cases can be easily reproduced). Things that people value, they save and take with them, and these things either end up in the archaeological record many years and miles away from their original creation, or they are transformed into new things (particularly true in the case of metals). This is why we have lots of Greek and Roman coins (almost all from caches) but none of the famed golden vases of the yavanas. No doubt such vessels exchanged hands until they were melted down to become something new. Moreover, not everything survives. There are environmental (a.k.a. taphonomic) reasons why we have incredible preservation of texts and textiles from ancient Egypt, while the oldest palm leaf manuscripts in Tamil Nadu are from the 15th century and even manuscripts that were in existence in the early twentieth century have already disappeared, ravaged by mold, humidity, excess heat, and/or insects.

Second, the Early Historic period is characterized by the rise of the first cities. These cities, in both North and South India, are still there today, in most cases, in the exact same

locations. That means that ancient Madurai is located directly under modern Madurai. The new city has been built upon the old. Any epigraphist or historian who studies temples knows well the many expansions and additions made to some of the oldest temples in Tamil Nadu. It is only those which have lost their importance and are no longer in use that remain as they had been at the time of their abandonment – this kind of survival is particularly true of stone structures and rock-cut caves, whose destruction would have required considerable effort. Moreover, it should be unsurprising that we find many small ancient habitation sites in rural areas, where there are no present structures obscuring or obstructing access to the materials beneath the soil, where archaeologists are able to identify ancient settlements and to excavate those settlements. Where are the Jain temples of Madurai and the Buddhist temples of Kanchipuram? They're gone. Whether they were deliberately demolished and their pieces hauled away to construct other buildings, or they were abandoned and then their pieces were hauled away to construct other buildings, without anyone to claim these spaces, protect them, and preserve them, they disappear. Historians and epigraphists know this. They must. How else do they think that Jain inscriptions recording donations to Jain temples ended up on floor slabs in Śaivite temples or as pavement stones in local villages? Anyone who has ever visited villages in India can also attest to the strange assemblage of ancient sculptures that often find their ways into small shrines – sculptures often uncovered while plowing a field and then moved to the closest temple, or propped up against the closest tree. In some instances, like a story I was told about hundreds of urn burials discovered at the base of Vikkiramangalam hill, these artifacts are dumped in a pile at the edge

of a field and carried off piece meal by curious collectors claiming to be archaeologists. Objects fall in and out of circulation[88] and people reuse things.[89]

1.7. Problems and Prospects

In rethinking how best to integrate the extant archaeological, epigraphic, and literary sources for a more nuanced historical reconstruction, I have found the work of historian Dominick La Capra a particularly useful starting point. In his 1980 article on rethinking intellectual history, LaCapra defines what he refers to as the "documentary" and "work-like" aspects of texts as follows:

> The documentary situates the text in terms of factual or literal dimensions involving reference to empirical reality and conveying information about it. The work-like supplements empirical reality by adding to, and subtracting from, it. It thereby involves dimensions of the text not reducible to the documentary, prominently including the roles of commitment, interpretation and imagination.[90]

In the case of Early Historic South India, the documentary aspect of Caṅkam literature involves the literal interpretation of these poems as vestiges of historical reality. Read as documentary, Caṅkam literature becomes a source that can be mined for particular details about ancient Tamil culture, what LaCapra calls "a quarry for facts in the reconstruction of the past."[91] The work-like aspects relate to the question not of what these texts are 'saying' but what they are 'doing', i.e. the historicity of the text and its relations to socio-political processes.

LaCapra argues that the "documentary approach to the reading of texts has predominated in general historiography," and that within intellectual history, texts are often read in a reductive

[88] Arjun Appadurai, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[89] For an excellent collection of essays on the reuse of ideas, concepts, objects, and places, see Julia A. B. Hegewald and Subrata Kumar Mitra, eds., *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety* (New Delhi: SAGE India, 2012).
[90] Dominick LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts," *History and Theory* 19, no. 3 (1980): 250.
[91] Ibid., 251.

manner, simply identifying the various ideas or structures of consciousness. He argues that "[h]ow these structures actually function in complex texts is often not raised as an object of investigation or given only marginal attention."[92] I would argue that this is also the case with regard to the history of Early Historic South India and the study of Caṅkam literature. These texts have often been read in a simplistic way, extracting particular details and bits of evidence, but rarely interrogating their context. For example, *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 343 is cited as evidence for the booming trade in pepper at the Chera port of Muziris.[93] One's interpretation of this description changes (or should change) dramatically, when we read the poem in its entirety:

> Like Muciṟi whose drum is the roaring sea,
> Where having sold fish and having piled paddy [onto the decks]
> The houses are concealed by the lofty ships;
> Where the tumultuous roaring sea merges
> With the sacks of spices/pepper that have been heaped near the houses;
> Where golden wares brought by ships
> Are delivered to the shore on backwater boats;
> Where Kuṭṭuvaṉ of the golden chaplet and flowing toddy,
> Having collected rare things from the hills and sea,
> Gives to those who have come;
> She will not marry those who are not her equals
> Even if, having come humbly, they bring excellent things endowed with good qualities.
> Even her father will not give (her hand in marriage).
> The good tall city, which has many paths teeming with soldiers
> And a fort where on the middle wall the vulture perches and rests,
> Is it not distressed?
> As the army sets up camp in order to make a way (into the city)
> For those who came (seeking her hand).
> (*Puṟanāṉūṟu* 343, my translation)[94]

[92] Ibid., 252-53.
[93] V. Selvakumar, *Tamil Cultural Connections across the World (up to 1600 Ce): Archaeological Evidence from Outside Tamil Nadu*, 1st ed. (Thanjavur: Tamil University, 2010), 117.
[94] mīṉ noṭuttu nel kuvai-i / micai yampiyiṉ maṉaimaṟuk kuntu / maṉaik kavai iya kaṟimūṭaiyāl / kalic cummaiya karaikalak kuṟuntu / kalan tanta poṟ paricam / kaḷit toṇiyāṉ karaicērk kuntu / malait tāramum kaṭal tāramum / talaip peytu varunarkku īyum / puṉalaṅ kaḷḷiṉ polantārk kuṭṭuvaṉ / muḷaṅku kaṭal muḷaviṉ muciṟi yaṉṉa / nalañcāl viḻupporuḷ paṇintu koṭuppiṉum / puraiyar allōr varaiyalaḷ ivaḷ eṉat / tantaiyum koṭā aṉ āyiṉ vantōr / vāyppa iṟutta ēṇi āyiṭai / varuntiṉṟu kollō tāṉē paruntu uyirttu / iṭaimatil cēkkum puricaip / paṭaimayaṅku āriṭai neṭunal ūrē

The poem is composed in the *tu̲rai*, or thematic setting, of *makaṭpā̲r kañci*, a "theme describing the refusal of a person of an ancient clan to bestow his daughter on a king who asks for her hand,"[95] or more literally "wisdom concerning the viewing of a potential bride." First, the classification of this poem signals the way in which the author(s) of the colophon, and perhaps the original composer, thought about this poem – as being primarily about a young woman. Second, the grammar and content further demonstrate that the poem is not really about the city of Muziris at all; Muziris is used as a metaphor for the desirability of the young girl. Moreover, the city that suffers due to the refusal to wed is not Muziris, but some unnamed "good tall city." In the original Tamil, the name "Muci̲ri" does not appear until line 10, followed immediately by the comparative (*a̲n̲n̲a,* like). Thus, the description in the first 9 lines functions as a contrast to the distressed state of the city in the last 4 lines.

What my comments here are meant to draw out is the disjuncture between the documentary and the work-like aspects of the text. Read in the documentary perspective, the details about pepper and boats are highlighted as evidence of trade goods and means of transportation. Arguably, this poem was not written with the purpose of documenting quantities of pepper or the classification of boats. It was not written with an audience of future historians in mind. Steven Collins has cautioned how this kind of historiographical method in which data is extracted from literary texts "whose work-like aspect was very far from empirical history of the modern sort" results in reproducing the "long-discredited positivist approach to myth."[96] To engage in this kind of historical reconstruction is precarious at best, but even worse is to use the

[95] Tamil Lexicon. *Tolkāppiyam, poruḷatikaram*, 79.
[96] Steven Collins, *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities: Utopias of the Pali Imaginaire*, Cambridge Studies in Religious Traditions 12 (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1998), 57-58.

historical narrative derived from such methods as the baseline from which to interpret all other forms of evidence, i.e. archaeological and epigraphic data.

Similarly, the description of Madurai in the *Cilappatikāram* (Canto 14) follows a pattern of description seen also in the poems of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, particularly *Maturaikāñci* and *Paṭṭiṉappālai*. In each, the poet lists a series of goods brought from various places and ends the list by stating that all of these goods occur in abundance. By extracting the names of items to make lists of trade goods, one misses the fact that the purpose of these poems was to praise the city, whose wealth and splendor were in turn a reflection of the power of its ruler. That is not to say that such goods were never traded at all, but to read the poem in this way as an historically accurate description of trade goods ignores what we can learn from the text about relations of patronage, ideologies of kingship, and poetic techniques.

Sheldon Pollock urged that scholars of South Asian literature must learn "to think in a historical-anthropological spirit: trying to understand what the texts of South Asian literature meant to the people who wrote, heard, saw, or read them, and how these meanings may have changed over time. We cannot orient ourselves to a text without first grasping how its readers oriented themselves…"[97] Indeed, many of the problems with the current documentary aspect of historical analysis of Caṅkam literature stem from this failure to acknowledge the position of the text's ancient audience.

In order to read the texts more critically, we also need to keep in mind that a text has many different audiences over the course of its life history. Thus, the work-like aspects of these

[97] Sheldon Pollock, "Introduction," in *Literary Cultures in History*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 14.

texts needs to be considered as a series of stages in the life of a text as outlined by Kamil Zvelebil:[98]

1. The creative act, i.e. the process of the actual composition of a text
2. The period of oral transmission
3. The selection/canonization process and compilation of anthologies
    a. The circulation of these anthologies and the new meaning attached to the poems through their association with a larger group
4. The redaction, i.e. the editing and codification of the anthologies
5. The stage of the commentaries, the composition of commentaries and meta-commentaries

To these phases we need to add: [99]

6. The circulation of these anthologies in the years before their 'rediscovery'
7. Their role in the Tamil Renaissance
8. The work these texts do today as part of school curricula, popular culture, and critical editions utilized by scholars to reconstruct the past.

The above enumeration is by no means comprehensive, but serves simply as a starting point for thinking about the ways in which texts circulate and how, as scholars, we need to be aware of the work-like aspects of texts across multiple audiences and time periods. Such stages follow the aims outlined by Pollock, such as "to understand how South Asians themselves conceived of the pasts of their literatures, according to modes of temporality that may have been peculiar to them; how they established their canons, and what norms, aesthetics, and readerly expectations these embody."[100]

I argue that focusing primarily on the documentary perspective in the analysis of literary texts leads to a skewed and oversimplified view of the ancient past, which in turn impinges upon the ability of archaeologists to independently interpret the material evidence. At the same time, it prevents scholars from appreciating some of the very interesting kinds of work that these texts

[98] Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India*, 24.
[99] Zvelebil's 6th stage is the creation of critical or modern editions. Here, I have added 2 more stages and expanded his 6th stage.
[100] Pollock, 15.

were doing in the past. The answer to this dilemma is not to swing the pendulum in the opposite direction and to focus entirely on the work-like aspects of texts. Indeed, LaCapra warned that privileging the work-like aspects of a text in an attempt to recover "past meaning", is equally problematic.[101] Instead, in what follows, my analysis will attempt to acknowledge the interrelations between both documentary and work-like aspects of texts and the different perspectives associated with reading a text in these different ways. I do believe that descriptions in classical Tamil literature have some relation to a past social reality. However, this relation is something that needs to be interpreted on the basis of the context of the description and the nature of the text in which it is found. Moreover, this interpretation needs to be made explicit in the analysis. It is not enough to provide a footnote to a line of poetry, as though the connection between literature and reality is self-evident.

[101] LaCapra, 251.

CHAPTER 2

Epigraphic Evidence of Jain Monastic Communities in Early Historic Tamil Nadu

Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions represent not only the earliest evidence of Jainism in Tamil Nadu, but they also represent the *only* definitive material evidence of Jainism in Tamil Nadu prior to the 5th century CE, aside from the rock-cut caves in and on which they are found. Although some historians have estimated that Jains arrived in Tamil Nadu c. 4th to 3rd century BCE,[1] epigraphists have traditionally dated the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions recording donations to Jain monastic communities to c. 2nd century BCE on the basis of literary and paleographic evidence. However, recent archaeological excavations have provided new insights into the early use of Brahmi scripts in South India and Sri Lanka. Radiocarbon dates from archaeological contexts containing Tamil-Brahmi and Brahmi inscriptions on pottery have demonstrated that these scripts existed in South India and Sri Lanka as early as 5th century BCE.[2] This archaeological evidence complicates the current chronology of Tamil-Brahmi script in South India, particularly what is currently considered to be the authoritative chronology established by epigraphist I. Mahadevan,[3] and suggests an earlier date for the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

The fixed nature of these inscriptions, both in terms of their physical locations as well as their textual content, make them an ideal form of evidence to use as a foundation for the historical narrative of Jainism in Early Historic Tamil Nadu. This chapter begins by establishing

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[1] R. Champakalakshmi, "Jainism in Tamil Nadu: A Historical Overview," in *Religion, Tradition, and Ideology: Pre-Colonial South India*, ed. R. Champakalakshmi (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 357.
[2] K. Rajan and V.P. Yathees Kumar, "New Evidences on Scientific Dates for Brāhmī Script as Revealed from Porunthal and Kodumanal Excavations," *Prāgdhārā* 21-22 (2013); K. Rajan, *Early Writing System: A Journey from Graffiti to Brāhmī* (Madurai: Pandya Nadu Centre for Historical Research, 2015); R.A.E. Coningham et al., "Passage to India? Anuradhapura and the Early Use of the Brahmi Script," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6, no. 01 (1996).
[3] I. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

the classification of early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions as Jain, and then explores the context and content of these inscriptions in an effort to elucidate information regarding the earliest Jain monastic communities in Tamil Nadu and their patrons.

In order to place this information within a robust temporal framework, it is necessary to explore in some detail the chronology of the Tamil-Brahmi script as a whole. This includes a brief discussion of the initial discovery and decipherment of the Tamil-Brahmi script as well as the chronology developed by epigraphist I. Mahadevan. As noted above, recent archaeological excavations in South India and Sri Lanka have provided radiocarbon dates from contexts containing Tamil-Brahmi and Brahmi inscriptions on pottery. Not only do these radiocarbon dates push back the chronology of Tamil-Brahmi by several centuries, from c. 2nd century BCE to c. 5th century BCE, but the content of these inscriptions also provides useful information about the communities and contexts in which the script was used. This in turn, as I will demonstrate below, has significant implications for understanding the Jain Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions.

Taking into account the dates of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery, the next section attempts to date the arrival of Jains in Tamil Nadu as well as the Tamil-Brahmi donative inscriptions at Jain monastic sites by examining other literary, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence of early Jainism. Based on this evidence, I argue that Jains began traveling to Tamil Nadu from North India utilizing trade routes along the eastern coast of India c. 4th century BCE – approximately one to two centuries after the rise of Jainism in North India. This argument differs from the generally held belief that Jains entered Tamil Nadu via Karnataka in the early centuries BCE.[4] It is therefore possible that the earliest Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions found at Jain monastic

[4] This belief is based on medieval texts that chronicle a large historic migration of Jains from North to South India. These texts, and the inscriptions that have been interpreted as supporting them, are discussed in section 2.4.1. For a detailed critique see Julie A Hanlon, "Early History of Jainism and Migrations to South India," *Śramaṇa* 64, no. 3 (2013). While Champakalakshmi has also favored an early date for the arrival of Jainism into Tamil Nadu, she has

sites should be pushed back at least one century, to c. 3rd century BCE. In order to further support this revised chronology and argue for a more thorough revision of the chronology of Tamil-Brahmi script, I discuss critiques of Mahadevan's chronology by fellow epigraphist Y. Subbarayalu as well as anachronistic inconsistencies in the orthography and craftsmanship of the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

Finally, the chapter concludes with a revised historical narrative for the arrival and growth of Jain communities in Tamil Nadu from 4th century BCE to 4th century CE based on the epigraphic and archaeological evidence discussed here.

2.1. Inscriptions as the earliest material evidence of Jainism in Tamil Nadu

The earliest material evidence of Jainism in Tamil Nadu comprises a series of inscriptions, written in a script that has come to be known as Tamil-Brahmi, engraved in stone on and inside of caves located atop hills near the outskirts of Madurai. These inscriptions are dated roughly between 2nd century BCE to 4th century CE and are between 66 and 89 in number.[5] Until the advent of image worship amongst Jains in Tamil Nadu, perhaps c. 6th to 8th centuries CE, inscriptions constitute the only material evidence of Jainism in South India.[6] This is not

not questioned the traditional migration narratives, and in contrast to my argument regarding the spread of Jainism along east coast trade routes, has interpreted the geospatial pattern of early Jain sites as indicating "that Jainism moved along the central inland routes or the trade routes." Champakalakshmi, 357.

[5] The number of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions in Tamil Nadu and classified as "Jain" in A. Ekambaranathan and C. K. Sivaprakasam, *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamilnadu: A Topographical List* (Madras: Research Foundation for Jainology, 1987). is about 66. I. Mahadevan examines 89 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (4 of which are from Kerala) in Mahadevan. Most of these are associated with Jainism, either due to their location or their content. Mahadevan argues for a beginning date of 2nd century BCE for these inscriptions.

[6] The earliest artifacts of "Jain" material culture are images of tīrthaṅkaras and Jain teachers carved into the rock faces of Jain caves/monasteries. Such images, dated on the basis of the paleographic features of the inscriptions that accompany them, begin c. 6th century CE (See Champakalakshmi, Appendix 10.1 p. 403-10.) Free-standing images in stone and bronze, now part of museum collections across Tamil Nadu, date between 8th to 16th centuries CE, with the majority from the 13th century CE (See R. Kannan and K. Lakshminarayanan, *Iconography of the Jain Images in the Districts of Tamilnadu : Covering the Museums of the Departments of Archaeology and Museums*, Bulletin of the Chennai (Madras) Government Museum. New Series, General Section (Chennai: Commissioner of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. Museum, 2002); *Iconography of the Jain Images in the Government Museum, Chennai,*

surprising, since the earliest communities of Jains are described as itinerant monks who had taken up vows of non-possession. Image production and worship did not become popular amongst Jains in Tamil Nadu until c. 8th century CE, when images of tīrthaṅkara carved in stone and accompanied by donative inscriptions appear at Jain centers like Kilavalavu, Tirupparankunram, Anaimalai (all in Madurai district and dated to c. 9th century CE), Tirumalai (Tiruvannamalai district, c. 9th century CE), and Kalugumalai (Thoothukudi district, c. 8th-13th centuries CE).[7]

The material culture of a Jain monk in the early centuries BCE would have been limited to the clothes on his back, perhaps a whisk for sweeping away small insects, and a small begging bowl. The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra,* one of the earliest Jain texts dating to c. 4th century BCE, discusses appropriate conduct for monks and states "Clothes, alms-bowls, blankets, brooms, property [e.g. the ground or space which the householder allows the mendicant who stays in his house], straw mats, with regard to these things he [a monk] should know."[8] With regard to South India, in the *Cilappatikāram*, a classical Tamil epic dated to the early centuries CE and attributed to a Jain monk named Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, one of the main characters, a Jain nun named Kavunti, is described as possessing a "holy begging bowl" (*kaṭiñai*), a "sling to be thrown over her shoulder" (*aṟuvai*),

Madras, General Section, New Series (Chennai: Commissioner of Museums, Govt. Museum, on behalf of the Museum Publication Fund, 2001).

[7] Champakalakshmi, Appendix 10.1. There appears to be a different pattern in North India, with the earliest images of jinas appearing c. 2nd-1st century BCE (John Cort, "The Archaeology of Jina Images," in *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 32. Production and worship of Jina images appears to have been more widespread in North India by 2nd century CE, and references to Jina temples and images appear in Jain texts by the end of the 3rd century CE (ibid., 52-53.) There is also evidence of a growing Yakshi cult at Badami in Karnataka c. 6th century CE (Kannan and Lakshminarayanan, *Iconography of the Jain Images in the Government Museum, Chennai, Madras*, 25.)

[8] *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra* 1.2.5.3 in "Jaina Sutras Part I: The Akaranga Sutra, the Kalpa Sutra," in *Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. Max Muller (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968; reprint, 2nd). The earliest depictions of Jains, found on relief sculptures at Mathura in North India, show Jain ascetics wearing no cloths and holding a small cloth in front of their privates. See Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Jaina Monks from Mathura: Literary Evidence for Their Identification on Kuṣāṇa Sculptures," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 58, no. 3 (1995).

and "[a whisk of] peacock's feathers" (*pīli*).[9] Such items are predominantly organic and would not survive for posterity, while small begging bowls would be difficult to discern amongst the debris of quotidian ceramics.

Moreover, it is not clear to what extent the material culture of Jain laymen and laywomen would have differed from their non-Jain neighbors. To further complicate the matter, it is not clear to what degree laypeople adhered to various religions or incorporated religion as part of their social identity. The Ashokan edicts (3rd century BCE) and travelogues of foreign visitors to India in the early centuries CE (e.g. Megasthenes and Fa Hsien, c. 3rd century BCE-4th century CE) allude only to a clear division between the Brāhmaṇas (i.e. Vedic or Hindu ascetics) and the Śramaṇas (i.e. Jains, Buddhists, and Ajivikas), though this division is primarily in reference to religious elites rather than laypeople.[10] Based on Tamil literary sources, within the laity the religious identity amongst the Śramaṇic traditions was quite fluid, with families having members belonging to multiple religious groups and conversions from one faith to another within a span of a single generation.[11] Therefore, in order to understand the arrival and development of Jain

[9] R. Parthasarathy, *The Cilappatikāram: The Tale of an Anklet* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004), Canto 10, Lines 131-4, p. 97. tōm aṟu kaṭiñayum cuvalmēl aṟuvaiyum / kāvunti aiyaikaip pīliyum koṇṭu / moḻipporuḷ teyvam vaḻittuṇai āke (*Cilappatikāram*, Pukār Kāṇṭam, Canto 10, Lines 98-100 – Project Madurai Edition). In his overview of the differences between the Svetambara and Digambara sects of Jains, Paul Dundas notes that Svetambara monks use an alms bowl, while Digambara monks do not (*The Jains*, 2nd ed., Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices. (London: Routledge, 2002), 45-46.). The above lines from *Cilappatikāram* suggest that in South India in the early centuries CE the distinctions between the sects had not yet appeared, or the Digambara monks had not yet stopped using begging bowls.

[10] For a discussion of these sources in regard to the division of Brahmanism and Sramanism, see Romila Thapar, "Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity," *Modern Asian Studies* 23, no. 2 (1989): 211.

[11] For example, in *Cilappatikāram* the heroine Kaṇṇaki and her husband Kōvalaṉ are depicted as Jains. However, after the death of Kōvalaṉ and the apotheosis of Kaṇṇaki, Kōvalaṉ's father gives away his wealth and enters a Buddhist monastery, and Kaṇṇaki's father similarly gives away his wealth and becomes an Ajivika monk (Parthasarathy, Canto 27, lines 103-14, p. 241-2.). maintaṟ kuṟṟatum maṭantaik kuṟṟatum / ceṅkōl vēntaṟ kuṟṟatuṅ kēṭṭuk / kōvalaṉ tātai koṭuntuyar eyti / māperun tāṉamā vāṉporuḷ īttāṅku intira vikāram ēḻuṭaṉ (Vanci Kantam, Canto 27, lines 88-92, Project Madurai). kaṇṇaki tātai kaṭavuḷar kōlattu / aṇṇalam peruntavat tāsī vakarmuṇ/ puṇṇiya tānam purintaṟaṅ koḷḷavum / tāṇam purintōṉ ṟaṉmaṇaik kiḻatti (Vanci Kantam, Canto 27, lines 98-101, Project Madurai).

monastic communities in Tamil Nadu, we must rely primarily on the epigraphic record, specifically the content and context of Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

2.1.1. Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and their affiliation with Jainism

There are approximately 100 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on stone in Tamil Nadu.[12] The number of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery is far more, approximately 469, excluding those found in Sri Lanka.[13] Epigraphist Iravatham Mahadevan's 2003 *Early Tamil Epigraphy*, which includes copies of 121 early Tamil inscriptions on stone along with a discussion of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery and other objects, includes 89 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on stone. [14] In 2007, three more Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions were discovered on hero-stones near Madurai (at Pulimankombai and Tatappatti),[15] in 2012 a new Tamil-Brahmi inscription was discovered at Edakal cave in Kerala,[16] and in 2013 a new Tamil-Brahmi inscription was discovered at Tirupparankunram.[17] To date, there is no complete or definitive list of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on stone or pottery, although Mahadevan's (2003) corpus of Early Tamil inscriptions and Subbarayalu's (2008) catalogue of pottery inscriptions are the most recent and closest

[12] Y. Subbarayalu, "Tamil Epigraphy: Past and Present," in *Negotiations with the Past: Classical Tamil in Contemporary Tamil*, ed. M. Kannan and Carlos Mena (Pondichéry: Institut Français de Pondichéry, 2006), 46.
[13] Y. Subbarayalu, "Archeology and the Cankam Literature with Special Reference to Inscribed Pots and Herostones," in *Uyirukku Nēr: Ulakat Tamiḻc Cemmoḻi Mānāṭu*, ed. Nakkīrankōpāl (Cennai: Nakkīran Papḷikēṣans, 2010), 146, n1. There is much debate among epigraphists and archaeologists concerning the type of Brahmi script found on pottery inscriptions and in lithic inscriptions in Sri Lanka. I. Mahadevan has suggested that some Brahmi inscriptions from the Jaffna area of Sri Lanka represent Tamil language and are therefore Tamil-Brahmi. However, for the majority of Brahmi inscriptions in Sri Lanka, Mahadevan uses the term "Sinhala Brahmi" on the basis that the language represented by the script is Sinhala-Prakrit. Robin Coningham has argued that Brahmi inscriptions on pottery from the Sri Lankan site of Anuradhapura are exclusively Prakrit. See I. Mahadevan, "Ancient Tamil Contacts Abroad: Recent Epigraphical Evidence," *Journal of the Institute for Asian Studies* 12, no. 1 (1994); *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 49; Coningham et al., 92.
[14] Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*
[15] K. Rajan and V.P. Yathees Kumar, "Cultural Transformation from Iron Age to Early Historic Times: A Case Study of the Vaigai River Valley, Tamil Nadu," in *New Dimensions in Tamil Epigraphy*, ed. Appasamy Murugaiyan (Chennai: Cre-A, 2012), 194-8. K Rajan and V.P. Yatheeskumar, "Thathappatti: Tamil-Brahmi Inscribed Hero Stone," *Man and Environment* 33, no. 1 (2007).
[16] T.S. Subramanian, "Edakal Cave Yields One More Tamil-Brahmi Inscription," *The Hindu*, February 9 2012.
[17] T.S. Subramanian"Tamil-Brahmi Script Discovered on Tirupparankundram Hill," *The Hindu*, February 14 2013.

equivalents for this on stone and pottery, respectively.[18] Generally, new inscriptions are published individually in Tamil publications such as *Kalveṭṭu* and *Āvaṇam*, and made public in local newspapers like *Dinamaṇi*, *The New Indian Express*, and *The Hindu.*[19] What is desperately needed is some kind of authoritative list of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, ideally one that could be made public for all to access.

Most of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on stone have been classified as "Jain". This classification is based on both the location of the inscriptions as well as their content. Initially, the rock-cut caves and beds in Tamil Nadu bearing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions were interpreted as the monastic retreats of Buddhist monks due to their stylistic similarity to Buddhist caves found in Sri Lanka. By the nineteenth century, when these caves were first encountered by British and Indian epigraphists, memory of their original inhabitants had long been forgotten, and locals referred to the hills where the caves were located as *pañcapāṇṭava malai* ('hill of the Five Pandavas', a reference to the Pandavas of the *Mahābhārata* epic) and the beds within them as *pañcapāṇṭava paṭukkai* ('beds of the five Pandavas'), regardless of the actual number of beds in the caves.[20] The primary clue to the caves' original inhabitants were the carvings of Jain tīrthaṅkaras found in close association, and sometimes upon the caves themselves, at sites like Tirupparankundram, Alagarmalai, Muttuppatti, Kilavalavu, Kaḷugumalai, Sittannavasal, and a

[18] As noted above, Mahadevan's *Early Tamil Epigraphy* (2000) contains only 89 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. And while Subbarayalu notes that there are approximately 469 inscriptions on pottery from Tamil Nadu, his catalogue contains only 270, which comprise those that he was able to analyze personally or that had good published illustrations. Y. Subbarayalu, "Maṇkala Tamiḻpirāmi Eḻuttup Poṟippukaḷ," *Āvaṇam* 19 (2008); "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," in *Airāvati: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Iravatham Mahadevan* (Chennai: Varalaaru.com, 2008).

[19] For example, the citations for four of the eleven Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions discovered between 1981 and 2000. See Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 21, n.6. Mahadevan also notes that of this group, only ONE had been illustrated with estampage in ARE, ibid., 21.

[20] Even the rock-cut Hindu temples at Mahabalipuram were locally called "pañcapāṇṭava rata," chariots of the five Pāṇṭavas – a name that has remained with these temples today (though they bear no iconography associated with the Mahabharata epic whatsoever).

few others.[21] Although these sculptures may date from significantly later (c. 6th-9th centuries CE) than the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, scholars have interpreted them as "indicative of the Jaina association of these monuments."[22]

Additional evidence confirming the association of the Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions with Jain monastic communities is found in the content of the inscriptions.[23] The names of the recipients include titles like *kaṇi*, which is a Tamilized form of the Prakrit word *gaṇi*, meaning an individual from or leader of a *gaṇa* (a community of monks). Other terms include *amaṇan* and *camaṇan*, which are Tamilized forms of *śramaṇa*.[24] There are also personal names like Nanti, and its variant forms of Natti, and Nantu, which are titles associated with Jains.[25] The term *paḷi* (written as *pāḷi*) is frequently used in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions to refer to the caves.[26] This term is interpreted as the antecedent of the modern Tamil word *paḷḷi*, which was used to denote hermitages as well as Jain temples, and appears in inscriptions regarding endowments to Jaina temples and monasteries (*paḷḷiccantam*) beginning in the 6th century CE.[27]

With regard to the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions clustered around the city of Madurai, the Jain designation is even stronger given the long history of Jain literary production associated

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[21] T. V. Mahalingam, *Early South Indian Paleography*, Madras University Archaeological Series (Madras: University of Madras, 1967), 175-6.
[22] Ibid., 176.
[23] The interpretation of the content of the inscriptions as Jain was first established by R. Nagaswamy in 1972 (in Alvappillai Veluppillai, "Jainism in Tamil Inscriptions and Literature," in *Buddhism among Tamils in Pre-Colonial Tamilakam and Ilam. Part 1*, ed. Peter Schalk and A. Veluppillai, Historia Religionum (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2002), 168, n 270.)
[24] Although Buddhists and Ajivikas are also śramaṇic traditions, in Tamil Nadu *camaṇaṉ* has been used to exclusively refer to Jains since the 7th century. Ibid., 168.
[25] Ibid. A well-known example of this is Pavaṇanti, author of the *Naṉṉūl*, c. 13th century CE. In the Tamil Lexicon, one of the definitions of *nanti* is a "A Jaina title," and they cite *Tēvaram* 859, 6.
[26] At Karungalakkudi, Kongarpuliyankulam, Jambai, Mangulam, Pugalur, Tirumalai, and Varichiyur, the Tamil-Brahmi character *pa-* is in all cases accompanied by the horizontal line indicating an elongated vowel *ā* (*pāḷi*). This horizontal stroke is omitted in later inscriptions, such as those at Kudumiyamalai (paḷi), Mannarkoil (*paḷi* and *paḷḷi*) and Nekanurpatti (*paḷḷi*) (dated c. 2nd to 4th centuries CE by Mahadevan). Of the two inscriptions that double the ḷ, only the one at Nekanurpatti uses the *puḷḷi* or dot to indicate omission of the inherent *-a*.
[27] K.G. Krishnan, "Jaina Monuments of Tamil Nadu," in *Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy* (Madras: New Era Publications, 1981), 109-10. Krishnan cites the copper-plate grant of Pallava Simhavarman (c. 6th century CE) as the earliest use of this term.

with the city and the mention of Jains as living within the city and in the surrounding hills in classical Tamil epics and later Śaiva and Vaiṣṇavite hymns and hagiographical literature.[28]

2.2. Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu: Context and Content

2.2.1. Inscriptions as Textual Artifacts

In building a foundation for an historical narrative about Jains in Tamil Nadu, lithic inscriptions seem an ideal place to start. They are textual artifacts;[29] not only are they the earliest material evidence of Jains in Tamil Nadu, but also potentially the earliest textual evidence as well. This is due to their durability (e.g. they are carved into granite rock) and their fixed locations on the immobile surfaces of caves and large boulders. This fixity is less assured in later periods, where one finds inscriptions that were carved on stones used in the construction of Jain temples and other architecture removed from their original contexts and repurposed for the building of Hindu temples[30] and village roads.

While the material and locational contexts of lithic inscriptions are more durable than other types of inscriptions (such as those inscribed on pottery, copper plates, coins, and other portable surfaces), like other kinds of texts and material artifacts their formal qualities (context, content, chronology, purpose, etc.) may be divided into different units of analysis, making them particularly amenable to quantitative as well as qualitative analysis.[31] However, such analysis is by no means straightforward. While epigraphists and historians often approach the content of inscriptions as self-evident, providing direct historical evidence of religion, economy, and

[28] A more thorough discussion of these texts and the role of Jains within them appears in Chapter 4.
[29] See also Kathleen D. Morrison and Mark T. Lycett, "Inscriptions as Artifacts: Precolonial South India and the Analysis of Texts," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4, no. 3/4 (1997).
[30] For example, several Jain inscriptions in Tamil have been found in Śiva temples in Thanjavur district. See Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam. Inscriptions No. 499-501, 505, 506.
[31] A quantitative, statistical, and geo-spatial analysis of Jain inscriptions appears in Chapter 4.

politics,[32] in fact, inscriptions – just like other kinds of texts and material artifacts – are the purposeful constructions of past peoples and as such must be "evaluated, both in terms of internal criteria such as coherence, credibility, authenticity, and perspective, and as bodies of observations that are differentially preserved, collected, and analyzed."[33] Even in the case of Jain donative inscriptions, where the content primarily consists of a name or a declarative statement regarding the creation of the cave or rock-cut bed, it is important to critically consider the intention of the donor, the presumed audience, and the implications of such a gift and the carving of the inscription itself.

2.2.2. Early Historic Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

Within Mahadevan's corpus of 89 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, 59 are classified as Early Tamil-Brahmi (c. 2nd century BCE to 1st century CE) and 30 are classified as Late Tamil-Brahmi (c. 2nd to 4th centuries CE). I consider all of the Early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions in Mahadevan's corpus as Jain inscriptions, because they are located at early Jain monastic sites and record the names of donors who helped finance the cutting of the caves and the beds within them. Of the Late Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, 24 are associated with Jain sites.

Complete Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions classified by Mahadevan as "Early" (n=56) range in length from 4 to 56 characters, with an average of 15 characters (median=13, mode=11)

[32] For example, epigraphist Leslie Orr has argued that while normative religious texts may be "misleading", inscriptions provide "historical evidence that reveals something of the actuality of women's religious activities and roles" Leslie Orr, "Women's Wealth and Worship: Female Patronage of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism in Medieval Tamilnadu," in *Faces of the Feminine in Ancient, Medieval and Modern India*, ed. Mandakranta Bose (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 124.

[33] Morrison and Lycett, 217. This point is also elaborated in regard to inscriptions at Angkor, Cambodia as religious sources in Sascha Ebeling, "Siva, Visnu, Buddha: Religion Und Staat Im Kambodscha Der Angkor-Periode (9.–14. Jh.)," in *Im Dickicht Der Gebote: Studien Zur Dialektik Von Norm Und Praxis in Der Buddhismusgeschichte Asiens*, ed. Peter Schalk, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Historia Religionum (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2005). [Siva, Visnu, Buddha: Some Observations on Religion and State in Cambodia during the Angkor Period (9th – 14th c.), in German]

(See Table 2.1). Complete Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions classified as "Late" (n=18) are generally longer, with a range in length of 11 to 62 characters, and an average of 26 characters. However, while the average number of characters is higher, the mode (most common number of characters) is the same as that for Early inscriptions, 11 characters. Notably, the inscriptions that are the longest in length are those associated with royal patrons: Pandiyan king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ (Nos. 1-2 at Mangulam with 56 and 49 characters), and Chera prince Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkōṉ (Nos. 61-62 at Pugalur with 62 characters each).[34] What these simple statistics show is a general increase in the complexity of inscriptions over time. They also highlight the unique nature of the inscriptions associated with royal patrons. When royal inscriptions are removed, the average length of Early Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions drops to 14 characters, and to 22 characters for Late Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

Table 2.1 Number and Length of Complete Jain Inscriptions

Period	N	Range	Average	Mode
Early Tamil-Brahmi	56	4-56 characters	15	11
Late Tamil-Brahmi	18	11-62 characters	26	11
Early (without Mangulam Nos. 1-2)	54	4-43 characters	14	11
Late (without Pugalur Nos. 61-62)	16	11-36 characters	22	11

The context of all Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions is monastic. They are located at Jain hill sites (predominantly in Madurai district, n=42), which consist of caves that have been modified with drip ledges on the exterior and rock-cut beds on the interior. While some of the inscriptions refer to the caves in terms meaning simply "cave or cavern" (*karaṇṭai*, *muḻākai*)[35] others use terms indicating that these were abodes or monasteries (*uṟai*, *paḷḷi*).[36] The Jains who

[34] In this discussion of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, all numbers (e.g. Nos. 61-62) refer to their number designation within Mahadevan's (2003) *Early Tamil Epigraphy*.
[35] *karaṇṭai* at Tirumalai No. 51, c. 1st century CE, *muḻākai* at Arittapatti No. 7, c. 2nd century BCE.
[36] *uṟai* (abode): Tiruvadavur, Mettuppatti. *paḷḷi* (hermitage/monastery): Mangulam, Kilavalavu, Varichiyur, Karungalakkudi, Alagarmalai, Tirumalai, Jambai. *paḷḷi* originally designated a sleeping place (*Puṟanāṉūṟu*,

first occupied these caves were likely wandering ascetics, following prescriptions similar to those found in the *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*, c. 4th century BCE.[37] *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra* II.3.1-2 stresses that a monk should engage in a life of constant wandering for eight months of the year, and remain stationary for four months during the rainy season. While such caves may have initially served as seasonal retreats, the carving of drip ledges and rock-cut beds, as well as the creation of post-holes, rock-cut stairs, and rock-cut water tanks and pools, suggest that they were soon transformed into more permanent, year-round living spaces.[38]

Many (n=40) of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are carved onto the brows of these caves. The object of donation in these inscriptions varies. In some instances, the inscription records that the monastery (*paḷḷi*) was given by the donor. In other cases (based on location or content), the donor funded the carving of the drip ledge. In some cases (n=7) the inscription refers to the cave as the abode of a particular monk. For example, at Mettuppatti an inscription on the brow of the cave identifies it as the abode (*uṟai*) of Attiraṉ, a Jain monk (*amaṇan*) from Madurai.[39] Such inscriptions suggest a more enduring connection between particular monks and these spaces.

Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are also carved on the rock-cut beds within the caves (n=36). Most of these inscriptions indicate the name of the donor who funded the cutting of these beds. This is indicated explicitly, for example in Nos. 69 and 70 at Pugalur (c. 2nd-3rd century CE), where the term *atiṭṭānam* (and close variants meaning 'place' or 'abode' or in this case 'seat'), is

Akanaṉūṟu), but later became associated with Jain hermitages (*Maṇimēkalai*) and temples (*Nālāyira Tiviyapirapantam*). "Tamil Lexicon," (Madras: University of Madras, 1924).

[37] The *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*, which discusses the proper monastic conduct, is estimated to be one of the earliest Jain scriptures, perhaps as early as 4th century BCE ("Jaina Sutras Part I: The Akaranga Sutra, the Kalpa Sutra," xli-xlii. It consists of two books, the first of which is considered to be earlier. According to Joharimal Parikh (174) the extant edition dates from c. 503/516 CE, and while it "very possibly does not represent the full text of the original … [it] is a faithful edition of the fragmentary remains of the original."

[38] See Chapter 5 for a more thorough discussion of these modifications with regard to the archaeological survey of Early Historic Jain sites in Madurai District I conducted in 2016.

[39] No. 24 amaṇaṉ atirai attiraṉ uṟai ūtāyāṉasa.

used to describe the object of donation. In most cases, particularly in earlier inscriptions, the object of donation is not included in the inscription and is instead implied based on the location. Only in three cases (No. 48 at Alagarmalai and No. 49 at Sittanavasal, c. 1st century BCE; No. 63 at Pugalur, c. 2nd century CE) do the names inscribed on the beds indicate that a specific monk or nun who resided there. As will be shown in greater detail in Chapter 6, the beds within the early Jain caves are often carved in rows and are generally identical in form. Given that non-possession (*aparigraha*) is one of the five great vows (*mahāvratas*) of Jainism, it is possible that rather than being owned or associated with a single monk, most of the rock-cut beds were shared in common by all of the monks residing at the respective location.

In almost all cases where the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are complete, the name of the donor is included. Thus, these inscriptions, carved indelibly into rock, not only commemorated the gifts of donors to the monasteries, but also ensured that the donor's name would remain in perpetuity to be read by the monks residing at these sites. In this way, the merit of the donor's gift would continue long after their death. The donors named in inscriptions engraved on, above, and around the rock-cut beds would have accrued significant merit as their names would have been seen by the monks daily, as they prayed, meditated, studied, and slept upon and in close proximity to these beds. Located in the intimate living spaces within the caves, the intended audience for inscriptions on rock-cut beds was no doubt the monks themselves.

The inscriptions carved on the brows of the caves, by location, were more public in nature. Moreover, it is these inscriptions in particular where political elites and prosperous merchants are named, which suggests that such inscriptions represent more significant donations, either in form (e.g. more money) and/or the status of their patron. For example, of the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, those that mention political elites are exclusively located on the

brows of caves (Pandiyan king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ at Mangulam, Nos. 1-2, and Chera prince Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkōṉ and his father king Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṉ at Pugalur, Nos. 61-2). Moreover, in both cases, the same inscription is engraved multiple times. At Mangulam, Nos. 1 and 2 are located in two separate caves, but in close proximity. At Pugalur, Nos. 61 and 62 are located on the same cave brow.[40]

In addition, inscriptions bearing symbols that may be indicative of trade or merchant guilds are found exclusively on the brows of caves (No. 19 Vikkiramangalam; Nos. 36, 40-43, 46-7 at Alagarmalai; Nos. 12-13 at Kongarpuliyankulam, all c. 2nd-1st centuries BCE).[41] Such symbols occur at the beginning or end of an inscription, often immediately next to the name of the donor (e.g. No. 43 at Alagarmalai: *koḻu-vaṇikaṉ eḷacantaṉ [symbol]*). Similarly, donations by villages, merchant guilds, or given jointly by multiple people are predominantly (n=4/5) found on the brows of caves. Of particular interest is a group of inscriptions on the drip ledge of the cave at Alagarmalai,[42] which records the names of a variety of donors, predominantly merchants (*vāṇikaṉ*): a goldsmith from Madurai (*mātiray poṉkolvaṉ*), a salt merchant from Madurai (*māttiraike ūpuvāṇikaṉ*), a scribe-accountant (*kaṇatikaṉ kāṇaka*), a sugar cane juice merchant (*pāṇita vāṇikaṉ*), a *koḻu* merchant (*koḻu vaṇikaṉ*),[43] and a cloth merchant from Veṇpaḷḷi (*veṇpaḷī aṟuvai vaṇikaṉ*). Such inscriptions attest to the support of the early Jain monastic communities by a diverse group of local merchants.

[40] Strangely, although Mahadevan acknowledges that No. 62 was engraved after No. 61, perhaps "when the height of the drip ledge was increased," he assigns both inscriptions to the same century: c. 2nd century CE. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 407.
[41] Maloney initially suggested that these symbols may be related to merchant classes. Clarence Thomas Maloney, "The Effect of Early Coastal Sea Traffic on the Development of Civilization in South India" (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1969), 89-94. One possible exception to this is an inscription at Mettuppatti which appears to have a trade guild symbol at the front. See Chapter 6.
[42] Nos. 36-47, c. 1st century BCE. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 368-82.
[43] The meaning of *koḻu* is not clear. According to the Tamil Lexicon it could mean fat, bullion, awl, or ploughshare.

Because the exteriors of these caves were augmented with wooden canopies (as indicated by post-holes),[44] and because most of the caves are located high up on hills, close to cliff faces, it is unlikely that they were read with the same frequency or intensity by the monks as the inscriptions located within the living quarters. Instead, the primary audience for the large exterior inscriptions may have been the devotees and other individuals who visited the Jain monks in these rocky retreats. It is they who would have been able to view these inscriptions best as they approached the monasteries. Therefore, such inscriptions not only recorded donative acts that would have accrued those named great merit, but also served to communicate these deeds to large audiences of visitors, thereby accruing additional renown.

The contexts and contents of Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions provide information about the earliest Jain communities in Tamil Nadu. As noted above, most of the inscriptions are located at Jain sites in Madurai District,[45] particularly around the city of Madurai. In the Early Historic period, Madurai was the capital city of the Pandiyas. The district with the next highest number of Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions is Karur with 13 inscriptions from two different sites located close to the ancient Chera capital of Karur/Vanji. The concentration of these early inscriptions suggests that Jain monks strategically settled in the hills close to major cities, particularly market cities and capitals where there would be a large body of wealthy patrons to help sustain their monastic communities.

The terms used in inscriptions to describe the Jain monks provide an interesting picture of the composition of these monastic communities. Jain monks are referred to as *kaṇi* (the leader of

[44] This point will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.
[45] Madurai: 42, Karur: 13, Dindigul: 10, Sivaganga: 4, Erode: 3, Tirunelveli: 3, Viluppuram: 3, Melur: 2, Pudukkottai: 2, Tiruchirapalli: 1.

a *gaṇa* or community of monks),[46] *amaṇaṉ* (*śramana*),[47] *patantaṉ* (venerable),[48] and *attavāyi* (one who expounds the meaning of the scriptures).[49] The term *upācaṉ* also appears in a total of three inscriptions from Tiruvadavur (No. 9), Kilavalavu (No. 10), and Kongarpuliyankulam (No. 11), all c. 2nd century BCE. Mahadevan interprets *upācaṉ* as a Tamilized form of the Sanskrit *upādhyāya* (lay teacher or preceptor).[50] However, it could also mean devotee or disciple from the Tamil *upācaṉai* (worship, Skt. *upāsanā*) and *upācakaṉ* (worshipper, devotee *upāsaka*). This latter translation would perhaps make more sense, as in all three inscriptions the *upācaṉ* is the donor.[51]

The contents of the inscriptions also shed light on the individuals who supported the early Jain monastic communities. Firstly, those named are predominantly men. Within the 89 Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, women appear as donors only four times (No. 41 at Alagarmalai c. 1st century BCE; Nos. 65 and 66 at Pugalur c. 2nd century CE; No. 83 at Nekanurpatti c. 4th century CE). At Alagarmalai, the donor is a Jain nun (*pamitti*) named Sappamittā. Her name appears in a list of donors engraved across the brow of the cave, indicating either that she contributed to the creation of the monastery or perhaps the drip ledge. At Pugalur, the donor in both inscriptions is Kīraṉ Koṟṟi, identified as the daughter of Piṭṭaṉ/Piṭṭantai of Nalliyūr. Her name appears next to the entrance of one of the caves on the hill in an inscription stating that she contributed to the creation of the monastery (*paḷḷi*), and also appears in another inscription located above a rock-cut bed within the cave that records her donation of the bed (*atiṭaṉam*). At

[46] Nos. 1-4 at Mangulam c. 2nd century BCE and No. 48 at Alagarmalai, c. 1st century BCE
[47] No. 24 at Mettuppatti, c. 2nd century BCE and Nos. 61-61 at Pugalur, c. 2nd century CE.
[48] No. 60 at Anaimalai, c. 2nd century CE
[49] No. 60 at Anaimalai, c. 2nd century CE.
[50] Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 130.
[51] Moreover, the term *upāsaka* is commonly used to describe Buddhist devotees. King Aśoka in Minor Rock Edict I refers to himself as an *upāsaka*, a lay-disciple. For the ways in which some of my translations of the early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions differ from those of I. Mahadevan, see Appendix A.

Nekanurpatti, Cēkkanti-aṇṇi, identified as the mother of Cēkkanti of Perumpokaḷ, provided a donation for the creation of the monastery (*paḷḷi*).[52] The inscription is Late Tamil-Brahmi and appears inscribed in a rectangle and carved onto a rock outside the Jain cave.

Within the group of Early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions containing the proper names of donors (n=50), about half (n=23) contain names that Subbarayalu has identified as "Prakrit" (or Sanskritic) names in his analyses of inscriptions on pottery.[53] Within the group of Late Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions containing proper names (n=19), there are only 4 or 5 such names. Moreover, many of the names are given honorific suffixes and titles (e.g. Antai) and/or accompanied by the person's profession. In the latter case, most are merchants of various kinds. This indicates that the patrons of these early Jain monastic communities were coming from the mercantile and elite classes. This evidence is in accord with c. 2nd century BCE-2nd century CE donative inscriptions from Mathura in Uttar Pradesh, where many of the donors are from the trading classes, which included professions such as an ironmonger, banker, perfumer, metal worker, goldsmith, and cotton dealer.[54]

It is also important to consider what kinds of transactions and relationships these donative inscriptions record. The most straightforward case is perhaps that of the donative inscriptions located on rock-cut beds, which name the bed (*atiṭṭānam*)[55] as the object given. Here, the

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[52] Both she and her daughter may have been Jain nuns, as indicated by the suffix *-kanti* in their names. Tamil Lexicon indicates such a meaning in the 10th century Jain epic *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 437, n. 7.

[53] See Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View." And my discussion of this study in this chapter, 2.3.2. Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions on Pottery.

[54] Heinrich Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions: From the Earliest Times to About A.D. 400 with the Exception of Those of Asoka," *Epigraphia Indica* 10, no. Appendix (1912). Ironmonger No. 29; banker No. 41; perfumers, Nos. 37, 39, 68, 76; metalworker No. 53; goldsmith No. 95. See also V. K. Sharma, *History of Jainism: With Special Reference to Mathurā*, Reconstructing Indian History & Culture; No. 23 (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2002), 146-53; G. Bühler, "New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," *Epigraphia Indica* 1 (1892); "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," *Epigraphia Indica* 1 (1892); G. Bühler, "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā," ibid.2 (1894).

[55] *atiṭṭānam* ~ *atiṣṭāṉam* (Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*), meaning "place, abode" or "seat." Tamil Lexicon, (Madras: University of Madras, 1936), http://www.purl.oclc.org/dsal/dictionaries/PL4756.M2.

donation is presumably a monetary one involving the funding of the cutting of the bed by a local stonemason.[56] In other cases, where the bed bears an inscription with only the name of a donor, the exact object of donation may be open to wider interpretation. It is possible that the donor funded the carving of that particular bed. However, within these caves most of the beds do not bear any inscriptions. So, who then funded the carving of those other beds? If it is presumed that the monks carved them themselves, then why would they require donations for stonemasons to carve other beds? As noted above, one of the benefits of having one's name carved upon a bed within the Jain monastery was that it would be seen and read by the monks daily, and this holy contemplation would continuously bring merit upon the donor. Therefore, it is possible that such inscriptions may not be linked exclusively to the funding of a particular bed, but may be indicative of other donations and services. Moreover, in numerous instances such inscriptions are carved across the heads of multiple beds, which also suggests that the inscription records the carving of multiple beds.

Similarly, with regard to inscriptions on the brows of caves, the object donated may be explicit[57] or left open to interpretation based on the location. In cases where the object of donation is the cave itself (*paḷḷi*), what might that mean? The caves are predominantly of two kinds: protected spaces under large boulders, or more enclosed spaces shaped by erosional processes brought on by rain and water. In essence, these are "natural" spaces. So what might it mean to gift such a space? These inscriptions may suggest that the donor provided funds for the rock-cut modifications to these spaces, e.g. drip ledges, beds, rain channels, receptacles for water

[56] With regard to No. 76 at Tondur, c. 3rd century CE, Mahadevan's translation suggests that the funding of the beds (*atiṭāṉam*) was provided by the village of Akaḷur, but they were carved by a stonemason named Mōci. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 427, 606-08.

[57] For example, at Kongarpuliyankulam No. 11 states that the donor, Upacaṉ Upaṟuva[ṉ] caused to be given (koṭupitavaṉ) the cutting or section (*kuṟa ~ kuṟai*), i.e. the drip ledge.

catchment, post-holes, stairs. It might also imply that the donor granted the monks permission to occupy these spaces. However, given that there are only two instances of royal donors, it is unlikely that those named in the inscriptions had any particular claim over the hills.[58] The gifting of a *paḷḷi* might also imply the provision of foodstuffs and other kinds of support for the creation and maintenance of the monastery. It should be noted that for Jain monks, cooking is prohibited due to the violence entailed in lighting a fire. Moreover, agriculture is also prohibited due to the violence entailed in tilling the soil. Therefore, monks primarily forage for fruits and produce already dropped from the vine or rely on laity to provide food.

2.3. The chronology of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions: Origins and evolution

While the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on stone are closely associated with Jain monastic communities, the association between Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery and Jains is not as clear. Nevertheless, in order to understand the chronology of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on stone and therefore the chronology of the arrival and development of the Jain communities who inhabited the caves upon which they are carved, it is necessary to closely examine the dates of Tamil-Brahmi script as a whole.

The dating of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions has been highly problematic. From the very beginning, scholarship on Tamil-Brahmi has always had as its touchstone the Brahmi inscriptions of the Ashokan edicts. The Ashokan edicts were deciphered by James Prinsep in the 1830s, opening up a world of new scholarship on the Mauryan Empire and ancient Buddhism. The first Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions were discovered roughly 50 years later, in 1882, by Robert Sewell, a civil servant working for the British government during the Madras Presidency.

[58] Indeed, these probably would have been considered waste land (roughly, Ta. *kāṭu*) over which the king had no proprietary claim. Whitney Cox, personal communication.

Another 20 years passed before scholars returned to these inscriptions in an effort to decipher them.

The Tamil-Brahmi script was first identified as "Brahmi" by epigraphist V. Venkayya in 1906.[59] He suggested that because the inscriptions resembled those of the Ashokan edicts, they must date to the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd century BCE. Moreover, based on their resemblance to the Ashokan edicts, Venkayya incorrectly surmised that the language represented in the inscriptions was Pāli. The next attempt at deciphering the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions was made by H. Krishna Sastri, who presented his analysis of the inscriptions in a paper at the First All-India Oriental Conference in Pune, Maharashtra in 1919.[60] He too was influenced by the scholarship on the Ashokan edicts and the notion of a North Indian origin for Brahmi script. He noted a number of Prakrit words along with some Dravidian elements in the inscriptions and suggested that the content of the inscriptions related to Buddhism.

It was not until 1924, through the work of K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, that scholars realized that the language represented in the inscriptions was not of North Indian origin, but was the local language of Tamil.[61] In his groundbreaking paper on the Brahmi inscriptions in Tamil Nadu, presented at the Third Oriental Conference in Madras, Subrahmanya Ayyar noted that, "The very script in which these are found incised may be said to be a powerful misguiding factor suggesting strongly, as they do, that the language employed must be Pāli or Sanskrit with which it is inseparably associated in our minds."[62] Subrahmanya Ayyar was the first scholar to

[59] ARE 1906-07: paragraphs 1-5; 1907-08: paragraphs 1-7, cited in Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 69, n 5.
[60] H. Krishna Sastri, "The Caverns and Brāhmī Inscriptions of Southern India," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the First All-India Oriental Conference, Poona* (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1920).
[61] For a detailed overview of the discovery and early attempts at decipherment of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, see Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 3-37; 69-79.
[62] K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, "The Earliest Monuments of the Pāṇḍya Country and Their Inscriptions," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, December 22nd to 24th, 1924* (Madras: Law Printing House, 1925), 282.

problematize the association of the Brahmi inscriptions of Tamil Nadu with the Brahmi inscriptions of the Ashokan edicts. Both Venkayya and Krishna Sastri were of South Indian origin and fluent in Tamil, yet failed to recognize the language in the inscriptions. Subrahmanya Ayyar was the first scholar to correctly identify the language represented by the script as Tamil, and to identify the orthographical features of the script that correspond closely to letters in modern Tamil.

Tamil-Brahmi script consists of 26 letters: 18 consonants and 8 vowels. Of these, 14 consonants and 7 vowels are nearly identical to those of Ashokan-Brahmi. According to the theory that places Ashokan-Brahmi as Tamil-Brahmi's parent script, Ashokan-Brahmi (consisting of 33 consonants and 9 vowels) was paired down in order to represent the sounds of the Tamil language, which does not contain aspirated consonants (accounting for 10 consonants in Ashokan-Brahmi) or differentiate between the sounds associated with t and d, p and b, or ṭ and ḍ (3 additional consonants in Ashokan-Brahmi). The medial vowel signs are identical between the two scripts and have the same phonetic values.

The chronology of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions has rested on the assumption that Tamil-Brahmi was derived from Ashokan-Brahmi. Because the Ashokan edicts were installed in locations across the Indian subcontinent c. 3rd century BCE, scholars reasoned that Tamil-Brahmi must have developed some time after this, and so Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions were initially assigned a date of 3rd to 2nd century BCE.

Not only did the close association in the minds of scholars between Ashokan-Brahmi and Tamil-Brahmi impede a more critical analysis of the chronology, but there was also an inherent bias against South India as the location or source of any significant cultural development. Prior to the re-discovery of the Caṅkam corpus of classical Tamil literature and the decipherment of

the Tamil-Brahmi script in the 1920s, the general consensus amongst Orientalists and Indian historians was that Tamil Nadu had no civilization prior to the 7th century CE.[63] The idea that this script originated in South India was inconceivable, for how could an area with no civilization have produced a system of writing? Since then, there has been considerable archaeological research in South India demonstrating the existence of cities, large-scale craft production, local and interregional trade networks, and maritime trade with the Persian Gulf and Mediterranean, coupled with many new discoveries of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery and stone. However, despite all of this new information, the chronology of Tamil-Brahmi has not changed.

2.3.1. Mahadevan's chronology of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions

In 2003, renowned Tamil epigraphist Iravatham Mahadevan presented an authoritative revised chronology for Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, dividing them into Early (c. 2nd century BCE to 1st century CE) and Late (c. 2nd to 4th centuries CE). While the analysis of the scripts is more nuanced, paying close attention to grammar and orthography, ultimately Mahadevan's chronology does not differ significantly from that of previous scholars. Moreover, his assessment of the evidence upon which his chronology is based is problematic due to his confusion regarding what constitutes absolute vs. relative dating methods. In his reappraisal of the chronological evidence, Mahadevan states:

> As part of the present comprehensive study, it was decided to take a fresh look into the relative and absolute chronology of the Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions

[63] Indeed, Krishna Sastri begins his paper on the Brahmi inscriptions of Southern India by acknowledging the lack of information on any pre-Aryan civilization in South India prior to 7th century CE, and timidly suggesting that there could have been an earlier civilization: "Our present knowledge of the history of the Southernmost part of the Indian Peninsula... does not extend farther back than the 7th century A.D. The *possibility*, however, of the existence of a long-standing earlier civilization and dominions is suggested by references in Asoka's Edicts... and to the mutual commercial relations said to have existed between the countries of [South India] and Rome, as gathered from the statements of early foreign travellers. ...Still the data for the existence of a Dravidian civilisation distinct from that of the now-existing super-imposed Aryan element of literary, political, religious and scientific thought, is but *indefinitely postulated* and *the evidence in proof thereof scantily put forth*." In Krishna Sastri, 327, emphasis added.

> included in the Corpus. **Relative chronology** is based on palaeographic evolution (recorded in the Palaeographic Charts included in Chapter 5) and developments in the orthographic and linguistic features of the inscriptions. **Absolute chronology** is based on datable external contacts as in the case of the presence of Tamil-Brāhmī characters in Early Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions in Sri Lanka and in Southern Brāhmī inscriptions in the Deccan. **Conversely**, the discovery of Brāhmī and Early Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions on pottery found in datable contexts in Tamil sites and the presence of datable Southern Brāhmī features in Late Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions in the border regions also **help to determine absolute dates** for Tamil-Brāhmī.[64] (emphasis added)

While paleographic, orthographic, and linguistic features organized into a linear chronological sequence do constitute relative dating, Mahadevan's use of the term "absolute chronology" is misapplied to the other evidence he cites. For example, the presence of Tamil-Brahmi characters in lithic inscriptions in Sri Lanka and the Deccan, where the dating of those inscriptions has been based on relative dating methods, does not constitute "absolute chronology." It is an inference based upon other inferences.[65]

Furthermore, Mahadevan's use of the word "conversely" before the discovery of Brahmi scripts on pottery from dateable archaeological contexts reveals his apprehension regarding the archaeological research that has demonstrated earlier dates for Tamil-Brahmi based on radiocarbon dating. Notably, he uses the phrase "*help to determine* absolute dates," (emphasis added), suggesting that this evidence does not itself constitute absolute dating methods. However, the *only* absolute dates for the Tamil-Brahmi script *are* the radiocarbon dates derived from organic materials found in association with Brahmi and Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions in

[64] Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 93.
[65] Absolute dating is the "determination of age with reference to a specific time scale, such as a fixed calendrical system" or a fixed rate of decay, such as in radioactive dating (e.g. radiocarbon, potassium-argon, argon-argon, uranium) or fixed rate of growth of hydration layers on obsidian (obsidian hydration), or fixed rate of annual radiation in a particular soil environment (used in thermoluminescence dating) C. Renfrew and P. Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*, 4th Edition ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004), 579. However, all of these absolute dating methods have varying levels of precision. They do not provide absolute, in the sense of definitive, dates. What makes them absolute is the specific nature of the time scale used to measure the levels of x material in an object, deposit, or material. The precision of these methods increases significantly when combined with other absolute dating methods and relative dating methods.

archaeological contexts. Mahadevan, as well as Y. Subbarayalu, have questioned the validity of these dates and the analysis of their excavators. Indeed, in a footnote at the beginning of Mahadevan's discussion of paleography, he notes that his dates for what he calls "Sinhala-Brāhmi" are based on S. Karunaratne's 1984 publication and "The recent claims for a much earlier date for other inscriptions in Brāhmī found at Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, are not considered in the present study."[66] Arguably, they are not considered because they contradict Mahadevan's chronology. Archaeologist Robin Coningham and his team classified 102 sherds from the Anuradhapura excavations as bearing Brahmi inscriptions. These sherds were excavated from stratigraphic levels radiocarbon-dated between c. 510 BCE and 130 CE,[67] and demonstrate the use of Brahmi script in Sri Lanka centuries before its appearance in the Ashokan edicts.

Essentially, Mahadevan elevates relative dating methods by suggesting that they can provide an "absolute chronology", while he eschews dates acquired through actual absolute dating methods. Nevertheless, in his own words, the "fundamental basis" of Mahadevan's chronology for Early Tamil-Brahmi "is its obviously close resemblance to Mauryan Brahmi. The near-identity in the shapes of the common letters and medial vowel signs between the two leaves no reasonable doubt that Tamil-Brahmi was formed from Brahmi before the end of the Mauryan Age."[68] Therefore, Mahadevan classifies as "Early" the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions that contain letters representing "non-Tamil" sounds, such as the aspirate *dh* (2 occurrences) and the sibilant *s* (12 occurrences), and assigns them a date no earlier than 2nd century BCE.

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[66] Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 167, n. 2. See also Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," 247, n. 7.

[67] Coningham et al. The early dates of the Brahmi inscribed sherds at Anuradhapura are well-established by the association of sherds with radiocarbon samples taken from meticulously recorded excavation contexts. The earliest inscription (1.1.15, SF 17.322) was excavated from a habitation floor which also contained a charcoal sample dated to 2380 ±70 BP (c. 430 BCE).

[68] Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 93.

However, the discovery of Tamil-Brahmi and Brahmi inscriptions on pottery in radiocarbon-dated archaeological contexts in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka suggests that Mahadevan's chronology for Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions requires revision. Not only do such discoveries provide evidence to support the argument that Tamil-Brahmi and use of Brahmi script pre-dates the Ashokan edicts, but consequently it suggests that the dates of the Jain lithic inscriptions in Tamil-Brahmi may be considerably earlier than 2nd century BCE.

2.3.2. Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions on Pottery

As noted above, there are approximately 469 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery, which have been excavated from Early Historic archaeological sites in Tamil Nadu, such as Kodumanal, Alagankulam, Arikamedu, Uraiyur, and Karur.[69] Until recently, the dates of these inscriptions on pottery was based on the presumption that Tamil-Brahmi post-dates Ashokan-Brahmi, and therefore the inscriptions and the contexts in which they were found were relatively dated to c. 2nd century BCE. However, radiocarbon dates obtained by archaeologist K. Rajan from the sites of Porunthal and Kodumanal have pushed the earliest date of Tamil-Brahmi back to the 5th century BCE.[70] Moreover, the form and content of these inscriptions suggests strong connections to Prakrit-speaking merchants, merchants who may have traveled from North India accompanied by Jain monks.

At Porunthal excavators discovered a Tamil-Brahmi inscription engraved on a ring-stand of red polished ware inside a megalithic burial. The inscription read "va-ya-ra" and was

[69] According to Y. Subbarayalu, these are the sites with the most inscribed sherds. Kodumanal has 250, Alagankulam 73, Arikamedu 66, Uraiyur 20, and Karur 15, "Archeology and the Cankam Literature with Special Reference to Inscribed Pots and Herostones," 146, n1. Rajan and Yathees Kumar have claimed that Kodumanal has over 300 inscribed sherds, "New Evidences on Scientific Dates for Brāhmī Script as Revealed from Porunthal and Kodumanal Excavations," 293.

[70] Rajan and Yathees Kumar, "New Evidences on Scientific Dates for Brāhmī Script as Revealed from Porunthal and Kodumanal Excavations."

accompanied by a graffito mark. This burial also yielded 2 kilograms of burnt paddy, which was radiocarbon-dated to 2430±30 BP (approx. 480 BCE).[71] Presuming that the grave goods and the paddy were deposited in the megalithic grave simultaneously, the Tamil-Brahmi inscription may be dated to 5th century BCE. However, the meaning of the inscription is unclear and whether or not the markings actually represent Tamil-Brahmi characters is also unclear. [72] Therefore, this evidence alone is merely suggestive rather than definitive.

A pre-Mauryan date for Tamil-Brahmi script is more strongly supported by evidence from excavations at the site of Kodumanal in the Coimbatore region of Tamil Nadu. Kodumanal was excavated over five seasons between 1985-1990, again in 1997 and 1998, and lastly in 2012 by K. Rajan and Y. Subbarayalu. Overall, 52 trenches were opened in the habitation area and 16 megalithic burials were excavated in the cemetery area, making it one of the most extensively excavated sites in Tamil Nadu.[73] Over the course of these excavations, Kodumanal has yielded approximately 250 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery – the largest amount found at any site in Tamil Nadu.[74] Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery, as well as graffiti on pottery, were found throughout all levels of the site.[75] Three charcoal samples were excavated from the habitation

[71] Ibid., 291.
[72] First, the sequence va-ya-ra has no meaning in Tamil, as a word or a name, nor does it (to my knowledge) have any meaning in Prakrit. It is possible that it represents va-yi-ra (as in Ta. *vayiram*, Skt. *vajra*) meaning "thunderbolt", the weapon of the pan-Indian god Indra – but that seems like quite a stretch. Second, based on the published pictures of the inscriptions, some of the letters resemble graffiti. The character identified as va appears to be a diamond. The small stem at the top, which would suggest that it is a va, is not visible. The letters for ya and ra appear clearly. However, the symbol for ra is a straight line, so this too could be a stray marking. To the right of the inscription are some large scratch marks which seem to form an oval shape. Because the ring-stand is complete, there can be no argument made that the inability to translate the inscription is due to missing parts of the inscription. Therefore, while the radiocarbon dates suggest a 5th century BCE date for the megaliths near Porunthal, it is unclear to what extent these radiocarbon dates can be used to defend a 5th century BCE date for Tamil-Brahmi.
[73] Rajan and Yathees Kumar, "New Evidences on Scientific Dates for Brāhmī Script as Revealed from Porunthal and Kodumanal Excavations." See also K. Rajan, "Iron and Gemstone Industries as Revealed from Kodumanal Excavations," *Puratattva* 20 (1991); "Further Excavations at Kodumanal, Tamil Nadu," *Man and Environment* 23, no. 2 (1998).
[74] The next sites with the most Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery are Alagankulam (73), Arikamedu (66), Uraiyur (20), and Karur (15). See Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View."
[75] Ibid., 216. These inscriptions have been carefully analyzed by Y. Subbarayalu, and unlike the inscription from Porunthal, are definitively Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

mound and yielded dates of 408 BCE, 320 BCE, and 275 BCE.[76] Because the Tamil-Brahmi inscribed sherds were also excavated from this mound, it is suggested that they too may be dated between the 5th and 3rd century BCE.[77] Finer grained analysis of the specific contexts of the inscriptions with relation to the charcoal samples would clarify the strength of the association of the radiocarbon-dated samples with the Tamil-Brahmi inscribed sherds. In any case, the radiocarbon dates from the archaeological excavations at Porunthal and Kodumanal in Tamil Nadu cast serious doubt on a 2nd century BCE date for the beginning of Tamil-Brahmi.

The content of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery also provides insight into the nature of the people who used Tamil-Brahmi script, which in turn has significant implications for understanding the donors named in the Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions at Jain sites. Of the 469 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery reported from archaeological excavations across Tamil Nadu, epigraphist Y. Subbarayalu has created a detailed catalogue of 270, comprised of sherds that he was able to analyze in person or for which there were adequate illustrations published.

Most of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions analyzed are inscribed on black-and-red ware and red polished ware.[78] Most of the vessels are tableware, with a few medium-sized vessels like storage pots. The inscriptions were all engraved post-firing, and generally appear on the neck portion of the vessels on the outer surface, although there are a few instances where they have been found on the interior surface and rarely on the topside (e.g. on lids). They are generally

[76] Rajan and Yathees Kumar, "New Evidences on Scientific Dates for Brāhmī Script as Revealed from Porunthal and Kodumanal Excavations," 294.
[77] It should be noted that Y. Subbarayalu, who excavated at Kodumanal alongside Rajan, does not put much stock in the radiocarbon dates obtained from the site, noting in 2008 that "The few radiocarbon dates available both for the habitation and the burials are not so useful for absolute dating as they are not consistent with each other." Instead, he advocates a periodization ranging from 200 BCE to 150 CE based on stratigraphy. Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," 216.
[78] At coastal sites like Alagankulam and Arikamedu, Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions were also found on rouletted ware, a locally crafted fine-ware thought to be inspired by Greco-Roman ceramic styles.

small, approximately 5 mm wide by 15-20 mm high, and display "no uniformity in the making of the individual letters."[79]

Most of the inscriptions (192) consist of a single word, generally a name. Sixty-four of the inscriptions consist of two words, either a two-part name (e.g. No. 113 Kaṇṇaṉ Ataṉ)[80] or a name with an explicit or implied genitive and the name of the object (e.g. No. 114 Vāruṇi-*iy akal*, Varuni's pot). Notably, nearly 20% of the sherds examined by Subbarayalu had Prakrit names, either in the original Prakrit form (i.e. utilizing Prakrit/Ashokan-Brahmi letters) or in the Tamilized form, often accompanied by the Prakrit genitive suffixes like *śa, sa, ha,* and *ya*. Moreover, unlike the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on stone, which only include two non-Tamil letters (*s, dh*), the pottery inscriptions examined by Subbarayalu have examples of 11 such letters (*kh, g, jh, ḍ, d, dh, b bh, ś, s, h*). However, Subbarayalu notes that "those letters, excepting the dental sibilant *s*, are only sparingly used and that too in Prakrit-related names."[81] Therefore, despite the presence of Prakrit names and genitive suffixes, Subbarayalu classifies all of the inscriptions as Tamil-Brahmi rather than Brahmi.

Overall, almost all of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery consist of names engraved on the exterior of bowls. The addition of genitive suffixes and the longer inscriptions that identify the object of ownership as the vessel (e.g. No. 222 *muti kuyira-aṉ akal,* Muti Kuyiran's pot, and No. 227 Yaṟavalabhuta-*ya pati*, Yaṟavalabhuta's pot), suggest that the inscribed names refer to the owners of the vessels. Moreover, the fact that these names were

[79] Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," 210.
[80] No. 113 represents the number assigned to that inscription in Subbarayalu's 2008 Catalogue.
[81] Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," 210. This is also true of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on stone in Mahadevan's corpus. The Brahmi '*s*' only appears in Prakrit names. '*Dh'* only appears in two inscriptions, both at Mangulam (Nos. 1 and 2) and both variants of the same inscription. It occurs once in each inscription in the word *dhamma*.

carved post-firing and there appears to be no uniformity in their execution, suggests that these inscriptions may have been engraved by the owners themselves.

Subbarayalu suggests that the inscriptions indicate that "the eating vessel, bowl or plate, was considered as an important possession throughout India" during the Early Historic period.[82] He also suggests that the names on the vessels belong to merchants; for example names like Kuviraṉ (Kubera, the god of wealth) and the term *antai* (which may have been a term of honor used for merchants) affixed to some of the names.[83] Like Mahadevan, Subbarayalu also advocates for a date of 2nd century BCE for these inscriptions. Moreover, he suggests that the content of the pottery inscriptions indicate that the Brahmi script was introduced into Tamil Nadu by merchants from North India following the rise of the Mauryan Empire, when contacts between North and South India intensified.

Given the ubiquity of the wares (Black-and-Red ware and Red Polished ware) upon which the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are found, and the fact that in most cases such vessels do not bear inscriptions with the names of their owner, it is necessary to consider why someone might inscribe their name upon a common eating vessel. One obvious reason would be to distinguish it from that of others. One generally does not mark their name upon personal possessions that do not circulate beyond one's private living quarters. More likely, if such names are those of non-local or North Indian merchants, as Subbarayalu suggests, it is possible that such merchants, during their time at the various market centers across Early Historic Tamil Nadu, may have stayed in communal living spaces, such as caravanserai or hostels. In such settings, occupied by numerous people at any one time, it would have been necessary to mark one's personal belongings so that they did not get mixed up with those of others. This would

[82] Ibid., 220.
[83] Ibid., 223. The Tamil Lexicon defines *antai* as "An ancient standard weight."

have been of particular importance for vessels used for eating, where one's religious or social status and food choices were thought to be imbued with purity or pollution that could be transmitted in commensal settings.[84] Moreover, it should be noted that the locations where the most Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery have been discovered are all market centers: Kodumanal (250 inscribed sherds) was a major bead manufacturing center and located close to mountains bearing semi-precious stones; Alagankulam (73) and Arikamedu (66) were both major port sites connected to long-distance maritime trade networks with the Mediterranean; and Uraiyur (20) and Karur (15) were both market centers as well as capital cities of the Chola and Chera polities, respectively.

With regard to the importance of these inscriptions vis-à-vis Jainism, Subbarayalu suggests that because of the Jain affiliation of the Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions, Jain monks must have accompanied these North Indian merchants, thus arriving in Tamil Nadu during the same time period. For Subbarayalu, these inscriptions and the arrival of North Indian merchants took place c. 2nd century BCE. However, given the evidence presented above regarding the radiocarbon dates of contexts in which Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions have been found, the simultaneous arrival of North Indian merchants and Jain monks may have occurred significantly earlier. Moreover, while Subbarayalu attributes the introduction and spread of Brahmi script in Tamil-Nadu to the North Indian Prakrit-speaking merchants, he suggests that beyond this, "the spread of formal literacy should be attributed to the Jain monks rather than to the merchants."[85]

Interestingly, while Subbarayalu acknowledges "the difference between the Tamil language of the pottery inscriptions and that of the rock inscriptions" he does not suggest that

[84] See C. J. Fuller, "Gods, Priests and Purity: On the Relation between Hinduism and the Caste System," *Man* 14, no. 3 (1979); Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications* (University of Chicago Press, 1980).
[85] Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," 225.

this is due to any chronological difference, but rather that "they are contemporary" and the differences are "due to the involvement of literate Jain monks in the latter, while in the former it is the merchants' lingua franca."[86] However, as discussed above, many of the donors whose gifts are recorded in the Jain lithic inscriptions were also merchants, and based on their names some were indeed of North Indian origin.

Subbarayalu's suggested chronology for the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery and the arrival of Prakrit-speaking merchants from North India is further contested by Brahmi inscriptions on pottery excavated from the site of Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka. As noted above, a Sri Lankan-British team of archaeologists working at the site between 1989 and 1993 uncovered a total of 482 sherds from a series of well-documented, radiocarbon-dated contexts. Of these, 28 were classified as Brahmi inscriptions, 77 as letter-like signs, and 377 as other symbols or graffiti.[87] Both the non-scriptural graffiti and Brahmi inscriptions first appear in structural period J (c. 510-340 BCE) from layers radiocarbon-dated to the beginning of the 5th century BCE. [88] Although many of the inscriptions are fragmentary, Coningham et al. reason that "they appear to have been short originally" and "consisted of a single name or clause in the genitive and dative case."[89]

Similar to Subbarayalu's conclusions regarding the function of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery, Coningham et al. suggested that the Brahmi inscriptions on pottery at

[86] Ibid. Moreover, Subbarayalu seems to suggest that these merchant donors were not responsible for the way in which the inscriptions were written, but rather that the monks themselves independently crafted or composed the inscriptions. This scenario is supported by Mahadevan's reading of inscription No. 4 at Mangulam (*kāṇi-ya nātti-ya koṭi-ya-avaṉ*) as "Natti, the kaṇi, engraved." He suggests that this inscription refers to the other inscription on the same cave (No. 1). Thus, it is possible that the Jain monks may have carved some of the inscriptions.
[87] F.R. Allchin, "Inscriptions and Graffiti," in *Anuradhapura: The British - Sri Lankan Excavations at Anuradhapura Salgaha Watta: Volume 2 the Artefacts*, ed. R.A.E. Coningham (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), 431.
[88] Graffiti first appear in J1 while Brahmi inscriptions on pottery first appear in J4 (sherds thought to bear single Brahmi letters first occur in J3). Ibid. The earliest inscribed sherds at Anuradhapura are from contexts in J4 radiocarbon-dated to c. 430 BCE and c. 350-210 BCE, and J5 radiocarbon-dated to c. 360-200 BCE.
[89] Coningham et al., 83.

Anuradhapura functioned as a way to indicate ownership, whether of a personal or more corporate nature. However, unlike the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, which are located on the exterior of the tableware vessels, "it appears that a number of the inscriptions from Anuradhapura were written on lids rather than on vessels."[90] Therefore, rather than indicating the owner of the vessel itself, Coningham et al. suggest that they functioned to identify the owners of the *contents* of the vessels. They reason that such identification of ownership would have been necessary during a time when trade was expanding beyond one's immediate social group, and cargo from multiple merchants may have been carried together for safety and convenience. In any case, the radiocarbon dates for the contexts in which these inscriptions were discovered indicates that Prakrit-speaking merchants had arrived in Sri Lanka by at least the 4th century BCE – two centuries earlier than Subbarayalu's proposed dates for similar inscriptions on pottery in Tamil Nadu.

2.4. Establishing a date for the earliest Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions

Returning to the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, given the early dates of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery, and the fact that Tamil-Brahmi does *not* post-date Ashokan-Brahmi, as was previously presumed, it now becomes clear that the Jain lithic inscriptions are potentially older than 2nd century BCE. But how much older? The archaeological evidence of Tamil-Brahmi and Brahmi inscriptions on pottery in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka suggests that the earliest uses of these scripts were in economic contexts, specifically to indicate ownership of serving vessels and the contents of vessels exchanged through trade, around the 5th to 3rd centuries BCE. The names inscribed in these contexts are predominantly of Prakrit origin and suggest a connection between

[90] Ibid., 89.

the use of these scripts and North Indian merchants. However, what began as short inscriptions on pottery later expanded into other media, such as the lithic inscriptions at cave sites recording donations to Jain monastic communities in Tamil Nadu and Buddhist monastic communities in Sri Lanka. These lithic inscriptions show increasing grammatical complexity in comparison to the inscriptions on pottery as well as increasing standardization. Moreover, the languages represented can be more clearly identified as Tamil and Proto-Sinhala. These differences could be due to the different purposes or authors (as suggested by Subbarayalu), or due to the evolution of the scripts over time, or some combination of these.

What the inscriptions on pottery demonstrate is the early arrival of Prakrit-speaking merchants from North India into South India and Sri Lanka as early as c. 5th century BCE, but they do not necessarily demonstrate the contemporary presence of Jains in the region. Unfortunately, the religious affiliation of the merchants cannot be reliably deduced from their names alone. The earliest definitive evidence of Jainism in Tamil Nadu remains the lithic inscriptions at Jain cave sites. To date these inscriptions, and consequently the earliest arrival of Jain monks into Tamil Nadu, it is necessary to put the epigraphical evidence in dialogue with other archaeological and epigraphical evidence concerning Jainism.

2.4.1. The spread of Jainism from North to South India

According to the standard historical accounts of Jainism, around 6th to 5th century BCE a sage named Mahāvīra began spreading the religious doctrine of Jainism in the Ganga Valley in North India.[91] While the emergence of Jainism in North India is relatively well-dated, how the Jain

[91] While there is some scholarly debate regarding the historicity of the series of 24 tīrthaṅkaras, considerable evidence exists to support the notion that the 23rd tīrthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, and the 24th Tīrthaṅkara, Mahāvīra, were both historic personages. Pārśvanātha is believed to have been born in Varanasi in 877 BCE and died at the age of 100 (777 BCE). Natubhai Shah, *Jainism: The World of Conquerors*, vol. 1 (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press,

religion spread from North to South India is not entirely clear. Generally, historians have suggested, based primarily on literary evidence dated to the 10th-17th centuries CE, that a great migration from North to South India took place c. 3rd or 4th century BCE under the direction of a Jain Acharya named Bhadrabāhu.

Bhadrabāhu is an historic and important figure in Jain history, as he is said to have been the last *śrutakevalī*, i.e. the last person to have obtained omniscience and had complete knowledge of the Jain scriptural canon.[92] However, the migration stories that link the figure of Bhadrabāhu to a man named Chandragupta may not reflect an historic reality.[93] The shared underlying narrative of these stories is that Bhadrabāhu, due to a twelve-year famine, sent or led a group of Jains to South India. Chandragupta, often identified as King Chandragupta Maurya (c. 321-297 BCE), became a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, abdicated his throne, and accompanied the group on their journey south. The destination of the group is regularly identified as the Mysore district of Karnataka, or specifically the site of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. From there, Jainism is said to have spread to the rest of South India, i.e. Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala.

The problem with these narratives is, first, that they appear significantly later than the proposed migration, and second, that they are not supported by archaeological or epigraphic evidence. The earliest inscription referencing Bhadrabāhu and the migration to South India is found at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and dated to the 7th century CE.[94] The first inscription containing the

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1998), 26. There is some debate about the dates of Mahāvīra's life. According to the Śvetāmbaras, Mahāvīra lived 599-527 BCE. According to the Digambaras, he died in 510 BCE. However, recent Indological scholarship on Buddhism, suggests that the date of Mahāvīra's death should be shifted to as late as 425 BCE (see Dundas, *The Jains*, 24).

[92] The term '*śrutakevalī*' means 'omniscient (*kevalī)* by virtue of complete knowledge of the sacred scriptures (*śruta*)'. M.A. Dhaky, "Ārya Bhadrabāhu," in *Jambū-Jyoti: Munivara Jambūvijaya Festschrift*, ed. M.A. Dhaky and J.B. Shah (Ahmedabad: Shresthi Kasturbhai Lalbhai Smarak Nidhi, Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, 2004), n2.

[93] These stories include: *Bṛihatkathākōśa* by Harishena (c. 931), *Bhadrabāhucharita* by Ratnanandi (c. 15th century), *Munivamśābhyudaya* by Chidanandakavi (c. 1680), and *Rājāvalī-kathe* by Devachandra (1838).

[94] Champakalakshmi. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. 2, No. 1.

names of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta together dates to c. 650 CE.[95] However, there is no indication in the inscription that this Chandragupta was a Mauryan king.[96] Thus, epigraphic evidence suggests that Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa did not become associated with the figure of Bhadrabāhu until 7th century CE. Moreover, these inscriptions and the stories recording the legendary migration notably coincide with the rise of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa as a major center of Jainism for all of South India. Aside from this, the earliest material evidence for the presence of Jainism in Karnataka are 5th century CE Kadamba inscriptions written in early Kannada.[97]

Although Karnataka emerged as an important bastion of Jainism in the Early Medieval period, outside of Mathura in Uttar Pradesh, which contains perhaps the oldest archaeological and epigraphic evidence for Jainism, c. 2nd to 3rd century BCE,[98] the earliest evidence of Jainism comes from Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. The famous inscription of Mahāmeghavāhana Khāravela at the Baḍā Hāthīgumphā ('Big Elephant Cave') in Udaigiri, dated c. 172 BCE, contains numerous references to Jainism.[99] There are also a number of other Jain inscriptions at Udaigiri hill dated between the 2nd century BCE and 10th century CE.[100] In addition, archaeologist G. Jawaharlal has postulated that rock shelters and caves located along the Eastern Ghats of Andhra Pradesh were inhabited by Jain monks as early as 4th century BCE.[101] A 3rd

[95] *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. 2, No. 34 (31), p. 369.
[96] In fact, "there would have been only very limited and spotty historical memory of the Mauryas in this period: the Cāṇakya myths, the (mostly lost) play *Devīcandragupta*, the rare references in the [Caṅkam] anthologies to the Mōriyar [*Akanāṉūṟu* 69-10; 251-12; 281-8; *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 175-6], Kalidasa's play *Mālavikāgnimitra* (actually about the Śuṅgas)…" Whitney Cox, personal communication.
[97] A.K. Chatterjee, "Historical Significance of Early Jaina Kadamba Inscriptions," in *Parshvanath Vidyapith Swarna Jayanti Granth*, ed. Sagarmal Jain and Ashok Kumar Sinh (Varanasi: Parshwanath Shodhpith, 1994).
[98] Sharma. See also *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 10, Vincent Arthur Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Archaeological Survey of India. New Imperial Series. (Allahabad: F. Luker, superintendent Gov't press, 1901).
[99] Shashi Kant, *The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela and the Bhabru Edict of Asoka: A Critical Study*, 2nd revised ed. (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2000), 65-72.
[100] Pandurang Bhimarao Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā No. 6 (Sholapur: Gulabchand Hirachand Doshi [for] Jaina Saṁskṛti Saṁrakshaka Sangha, 1957), 18.
[101] G. Jawaharlal, "Jain Caves of Andhra," in *Jainism: Art, Architecture, Literature & Philosophy*, ed. Haripriya Rangarajan, G. Kamalakar, and A.K.V.S. Reddy (Delhi: Sharada Publishing House, 2001), 133. See also *Studies in*

century BCE Brahmi inscription on the drip ledge of a cave at Malkonda in Prakasam district, Andhra Pradesh seems to support this early date.[102] According to Jawaharlal, the record is a donation by Siri Vīri-Sēthi, son of Nanda Sēthi of the Aruvāhila-kula. Jawaharlal associates the Aruvāhila-kula with the Aruva caste, and from this to the Aravās, a Telugu name for Tamils.[103] Extending this reasoning further, this inscription attests to the support of a Jain monastic community in central Andhra Pradesh, perhaps by a patron of Tamil origin. However, aside from this, the majority of archaeological and epigraphic evidence[104] from Andhra Pradesh related to Jainism seems to date from the 9th to 12th centuries CE.[105]

Overall, the epigraphic evidence from Orissa and Andhra Pradesh indicates that Jainism was spreading east and south along India's eastern coast between the 4th and 2nd centuries BCE, and that this movement predates the spread of Jainism to Karnataka, which more likely occurred c. 4th or 5th century CE. Renowned scholar of Jainism, Paul Dundas has also suggested that one of the primary migration routes of early Jainism was "down the eastern littoral to the Dravidian south" and that "this process involved both ascetics and lay supporters, the former following the logic of the ideal of wandering mendicancy and the latter in search of greater mercantile opportunity."[106]

What is particularly significant about these dates is that they coincide roughly with the development and expansion of the Mauryan Empire. That Jains arrived in Tamil Nadu during the

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Jainism: As Gleaned from Archaeological Sources (New Delhi: Harman Pub. House, 2006); *Jaina Monuments of Andhra* (Delhi: Sharada Pub. House, 2002); *Jainism in Andhra: As Depicted in Inscriptions* (Jaipur: Prakrita Bharati Academy, 1994).

[102] *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy* 1937-38, No. 531; *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. IV

[103] Jawaharlal, "Jain Caves of Andhra," 134.

[104] For discussion of archaeological finds see Desai, *Jainism in South India*, 15-17. For discussion of the epigraphic evidence see Desai, *Jainism in South India*, 17-24 and *Jainism in Andhra: As Depicted in Inscriptions*.

[105] H. Sarkar extends the high period of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh from the 7th to 14th centuries CE (H. Sarkar, "Glimpses of Jaina Vestiges in Andhradesa," *Nirgrantha* 2 (1996): 70.).

[106] Paul Dundas, *The Jains* (London: Routledge, 1992), 113.

height of the Mauryan Empire under Ashoka (c. 262-238 BCE) rather than in the centuries after (i.e. 2nd century BCE+ as suggested by Mahadevan and Subbarayalu) seems much more plausible. It is well-attested that part of Ashoka's political project involved the spread of *dhamma*, righteous conduct, conceptually linked to its iteration within Buddhism.[107] In spreading this dhamma, Ashoka's administration erected pillars and carved edicts on rocks located across southern India.[108] Although the southern polities of the Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas were beyond the borders his domain, part of Ashoka's imperial project also involved sending *dūtas* or royal envoys to Tāmraparṇi (Sri Lanka) and having trees planted and wells dug along roadways.[109] Such developments served to strengthen mercantile routes connecting North and South India, which in turn would have also facilitated the migration of other peoples, including Jain monks, along these same routes. Jains are also mentioned in Ashoka's 7th pillar edicts as one of the communities attended to by the Dhamma Mahamatras (officers).

Ashoka's grandson, Samprati, who reigned between 224 and 215 BCE, is known from Jain commentaries as having converted to Jainism and "did everything in his power to popularize this religion in various parts of India."[110] In the *Nandisutra-curni* (7th century CE) the Jain commentator Jinadāsagaṇi describes Samprati as having constructed Jain shrines in Andhra, Tamil Nadu, and Maharashtra.[111] Therefore, I propose a revised date of c. 3rd century BCE for the earliest Jain lithic inscriptions in Tamil Nadu, and a date of c. 4th century BCE for the arrival

[107] Richard Gombrich, "Aśoka: The Great Upāsaka," in *King Aśoka and Buddhism: Historical and Literary Studies*, ed. Anuradha Seneviratna (Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1994); ibid.
[108] Amulyachandra Sen, *Asoka's Edicts*, Institute of Indology (Calcutta: Indian Publicity Society, 1956), Aśoka, King of Magadha, active 259 B.C.
[109] See Rock Edicts II and XIII. Anuradha Seneviratna, "Aśoka and the Emergence of a Sinhala Buddhist State in Sri Lanka," in *King Aśoka and Buddhism: Historical and Literary Studies*, ed. Anuradha Seneviratna (Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1994).
[110] Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism, up to 1000 A.D*, Array ed. (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1978), 37.
[111] "Andhra, Damiḷa, Marahaṭṭa…" cited in ibid., 38.

of Jain monks into Tamil Nadu. Like the North Indian merchants whose names appear in inscriptions on pottery in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka as early as 5th century BCE, the Jain monks too likely migrated out of North India not only with the purpose of spreading Jain dharma, but also in search of expanding economic opportunities and communities where they could establish profitable networks of patronage.

2.4.2. Towards a revised chronology of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions

As noted above, the chronology formulated by Mahadevan divides the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions into two groups, Early and Late, based on the theory that Tamil-Brahmi is derived from Ashokan-Brahmi. Therefore, Mahadevan has classified the inscriptions that contain Ashokan-Brahmi characters as the earliest, c. 2nd century BCE. Within Mahadevan's corpus of Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions, the aspirate *dh* occurs 2 times and the sibilant *s* occurs 12 times. Of these 14 occurrences, 7 occur in the inscriptions at Mangulam. Therefore, Mahadevan considers the inscriptions at Mangulam to be the earliest set of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions in the corpus.[112] However, it is important to note that these characters are not used to represent Tamil words, as would perhaps be the case if Tamil speaking people were grappling with how to convert the more complex Brahmi script to represent Tamil sounds. Instead, they occur exclusively in Prakrit names and religious terms (specifically, the word *dhamma*). Brahmi script continued to be used well after Mahadevan's proposed date for the advent of Tamil-Brahmi, and did not begin to undergo significant modifications in North India until c. 1st to 3rd centuries

[112] Based on Mahadevan's chronology, this also made them the earliest Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions in Tamil Nadu. However, in 2007 K. Rajan discovered 3 hero stones with Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, which based on their palaeography and content, appear to be older than the Mangulam inscriptions. See Rajan and Yathees Kumar, "Cultural Transformation from Iron Age to Early Historic Times: A Case Study of the Vaigai River Valley, Tamil Nadu."

CE.[113] Therefore, whether or not a merchant's name is represented using the Brahmi *s* or the Tamil-Brahmi *c* seems like a strange feature to select as a chronological marker. It might say more about the identity of the merchant than about the time period in which their name was engraved. Moreover, because the Ashokan-Brahmi of the edicts is later than Tamil-Brahmi and Brahmi inscriptions on pottery from South India and Sri Lanka, not only do the dates of the chronology for Tamil-Brahmi have to shift several centuries earlier, but the sequence of inscriptions within the chronology proposed by Mahadevan must also be reorganized.

I am not the first scholar to suggest that the dates and sequence of Mahadevan's chronology might require some revisions. Archaeologist K. Rajan has been a strong proponent in arguing for earlier dates for Tamil-Brahmi, as well as the indigenous development of the Tamil-Brahmi script. Other scholars, including K.V. Krishnan, K.V. Raman, S. Deraniyagala, and R. Coningham, have also argued that Brahmi script was developed in South India or Sri Lanka prior to the Ashokan edicts.[114]

Even epigraphist Y. Subbarayalu, who firmly believes that Tamil-Brahmi is derived from Ashokan-Brahmi, has pointed out the problems and inconsistencies in Mahadevan's definitions and classifications of Tamil-Brahmi script.[115] Drawing upon the work of epigraphist T.N. Subramaniam, Mahadevan proposed a sequence of three Tamil-Brahmi orthographical systems in the development and evolution of the script.[116] In Tamil-Brahmi I (TB-I), exemplified by the

[113] Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 37.
[114] K.G. Krishnan, "Origin of Tamil Script," in *Origin, Evolution and Reform of the Tamil Script (Seminar Papers)* (1982); "Origin and Development of Tamil Script."; K.V. Raman, "Brahmi Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu: An Historical Assessment," *The Sri Lanka Journal of South Asian Studies* 1, no. 1 (1976); S. U. Deraniyagala, "Radiocarbon Dating of Early Brahmi Script in Sri Lanka: 600-500 Bc," *Ancient Ceylon* 11 (1990); *The Prehistory of Sri Lanka: An Ecological Perspective* (Colombo: Dept. of Archaeological Survey, Govt. of Sri Lanka, 1992); Coningham et al.
[115] Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," 212-14.
[116] Thambiayah N. Subramaniam, "The Tamil Palaeography," in *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, ed. Thambiayah N. Subramaniam (Chennai: Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, 1957); I. Mahadevan, "Tamil-Brahmi

inscriptions at Mangulam, both long *ā* and short *a* are represented using the top stroke indicative of long *ā*, while the consonant by itself is treated as a pure consonant without an inherent *a*. In TB-II the top stroke stands for the long medial vowel *ā* only, while the basic form could stand for a pure consonant or one with an inherent *a*. Finally, in TB-III pure consonants were indicated by the *puḷḷi* or dot above or beside the basic form. However, the spelling in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions is very inconsistent and one finds the parallel occurrence of the TB-I and TB-II forms in contemporary inscriptions. In his 2003 corpus, Mahadevan addressed this by treating TB-I and TB-II as two parallel systems rather than a sequential development.[117] This new group, then became the Early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

However, while the use of the *puḷḷi*, which is characteristic of TB-III, emerges c. 1st century CE according to Mahadevan, it is not consistently applied in inscriptions across contemporary sites, within sites, or even within individual inscriptions. Moreover, words derived from Sanskrit and Prakrit still occur in the Late Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, though not using Ashokan-Brahmi letters. Thus, many of the Late Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions have characteristics of TB-II. Given this overlap of what were initially envisioned as a chronological sequence of stages of development in the orthography of Tamil-Brahmi script, Subbarayalu suggests that the framework has "lost its scientific basis" and should be abandoned.[118] Moreover, due to chronological issues in the use of the *puḷḷi*, "The inevitable conclusion would be to treat both TB-II and TB-III systems as of one and the same stage."[119] So if TB-I is equal to TB-II, and TB-II is equal to TB-III, then TB-I is also equal to TB-III, and the whole system crumbles.

Inscriptions of the Sangam Age," in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies*, ed. R.E. Asher (Madras: International Association of Tamil Research, 1971).

[117] See *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 225-36.

[118] Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," 213.

[119] Ibid., 214.

In an endnote, Subbarayalu more strongly suggests that "if the TB-I/TB-II classification loses its chronological basis, then Mahadevan's dates given to the rock inscriptions, at least to some, on the basis of this classification would need some revision."[120] One example is the inscription at Jambai, No. 59 in Mahadevan's corpus, dated to c. 1st century CE, which Subbarayalu suggests should "be more appropriately put in about 200 BCE or even earlier." However, he softens this critique by concluding that "[Mahadevan's] overall dating does not suffer as it is supported by other pieces of evidence."[121] Subbarayalu attributes these inconsistencies, particularly those found in the earliest inscriptions, "to the initial difficulties encountered while adapting the Ashokan Brahmi, originally devised for writing Prakrit language, to write Tamil, a non-Prakrit language."[122]

Another telling sign that Mahadevan's chronological sequence of inscriptions may need serious revision is the highly variable quality, both in complexity and craftsmanship, of the various inscriptions. For example, the Mangulam inscriptions, supposedly the first Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions, are very well-preserved and show evidence of expert craftsmanship, a fact even Mahadevan highlights in his description of them. Mahadevan notes how "[t]he bold and legible letters" of inscription No. 1 at Mangulam "were clearly visible to the naked eye."[123] Not only were they easily visible to Mahadevan on his first visit to the site in November 1965, but also the letters of both Nos. 1 and 2 were "clearly visible and could be read without difficulty" by a group of scholars who followed Mahadevan to the site 5 years later in 1970.[124] The Mangulam inscriptions (Nos. 1-6, but most especially Nos. 1-2, which contain the name of the

[120] Ibid., 247, n. 6.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid., 214.
[123] Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 7.
[124] Ibid., 7, n. 8.

Pandiyan king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ) are deep, the letters are clear, well-spaced, and run perfectly across the drip ledge. They are also some of the longest inscriptions in the corpus. Such expertise suggests that this collection of inscriptions is later than others in the corpus. Even within the framework that the Tamil-Brahmi script was derived from Ashokan-Brahmi, such inscriptions certainly don't suggest that the scribes or stonemasons were struggling to write in an unfamiliar foreign script designed for non-Tamil languages.

By comparison, No. 74 in Mahadevan's corpus from Kunnakudi dated c. 3rd century CE is engraved upside down and the letters decrease in size at the end of the line. At Kilavlavu (No. 10) the inscription is dated c. 2nd century BCE and is engraved upside down (except for four letters, which are engraved right side up) and runs from right to left. At Tirupparankunram, c. 1st century BCE, one of the inscriptions (No. 54) has half of the letters written upside down, and the second half right-side up. Mahadevan claims that the scribe intended to carve these inscriptions upside down so that a monk lying within the cave and looking up could be able to read it.[125] This argument seems reasonable for inscriptions No. 53 at Tirupparankunram and No. 56 at Muttuppatti (aka Perumal Malai) c. 1st century BCE, which are inscribed along the sides of raised rock cut beds. Indeed, a monk reclining on these raised beds might be better able to read the name of the donor from this orientation. However, the idea that the brow of the cave was a surface meant to be read by the monks living within the cave (e.g. No. 74 at Kunnakudi and No. 10 at Kilavalavu) seems less plausible, particularly because it is unclear to what extent monks would have been able to see these inscriptions if there were organic superstructure in front of the mouth of the cave. While Mahadevan acknowledges that the scribes may have been "careless" and "not remembered" to engrave the second portion of No. 54 at Tirupparankunram upside

[125] Ibid., 179.

down,[126] the large space in between the two portions of the inscription also suggest that they may perhaps not even be part of the same inscription. Overall, it is more likely that such mistakes are indicative of craftsmen who were not literate and were unfamiliar with the correct orientation of the script.

Other signs that the Mangulam inscriptions are considerably later than other inscriptions in Mahadevan's corpus include their length, grammar, and content. Mangulam 1-3 are relatively long, containing multiple adverbial participles and lengthy adjectival strings. In addition, the inscriptions exhibit regularized suffixes for Prakrit forms as well as the Tamil dative case (-ku), which does not occur in the earliest strata of classical Tamil poetry.[127] Lastly, the name Neṭuñceliyaṉ, which is a popular title for Pandiyan kings found in the Caṅkam literature, suggests a date sometime in the early centuries CE rather than 2nd century BCE.[128]

Any revision of Mahadevan's chronology needs to take into account not only the new dates of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery, but also the formal qualities of the inscription, its content, and grammar.[129] Moreover, because many of the inscriptions are partially damaged, it is necessary to consider their specific location at the site (e.g. on the brow of the cave, above a drip ledge, on the wall of a cave, on a bed, next to a water tank, etc.), as well as the organization of the cave site (e.g. number of caves, number of beds, evidence of additional structures). The location of the site itself may also provide information on the date of the inscriptions, as it

[126] Ibid.
[127] E. Annamalai, personal communication.
[128] Nēṭuñceliyaṉ is mentioned in 16 poems of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu (*18-19, 23-26, 55-57, 72, 76-79, 371-2) and is also a pivotal character in the Jain epic *Cilappatikāram*. Zvelebil dates the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* to c. 1st century BCE to 5th century CE. K. Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 42-43. *Cilappatikāram* is a post-Caṅkam (post 300 CE) epic, dated c. 450 CE, see Kamil Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature*, A History of Indian Literature ; V. 10 : Dravidian Literatures ; Fasc. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974), 131-35. These references may be to the same or two different Pandiyan kings named Nēṭuñceliyaṉ. Regardless, its presence in the inscriptions at Mangulam suggests a date of c. 1st to 2nd century CE.
[129] While Mahadevan's analysis does take into account these elements, the dominant criteria in organizing the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions into a sequential chronology seems to be orthography.

appears that the earliest communities of Jains were located close to the Pandiyan capital of Madurai, and later spread to other parts of Tamil Nadu.

In sum, any serious attempt to date the Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions must adopt a holistic approach. While it is beyond the scope of this project to craft an entirely new chronology for Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, a modest attempt is made here to historically contextualize a small selection of these inscriptions, in order to better understand the Jain monastic communities who resided in the caves upon which these inscriptions were engraved and were the recipients of the donations the inscriptions record.

2.5. Examining the epigraphic evidence for early Jain monastic communities in Tamil Nadu

2.5.1. Arrival of Jain monastics in Tamil Nadu, c. 4th century-2nd century BCE

By c. 5th century BCE, trade networks between North India and South India and Sri Lanka had been established, facilitating movements of peoples and goods across the subcontinent. Based on archaeological and epigraphical evidence from Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka, North Indian merchants traveling along these routes were utilizing Tamil-Brahmi and Brahmi scripts to mark their names on eating vessels as well as the lids of storage jars containing their trade goods. It was also around this time that śramaṇic religions like Jainism and Buddhism began to spread across North India. Such religions drew a large number of adherents from the upper classes.[130] Because of its emphasis on the principle of non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), Jainism advocated that lay members follow non-injurious professions, such as trade, and attracted many followers from the merchant classes. Whether many of the North Indian merchants travelling to South India and Sri Lanka were Jain or Buddhist is unclear. However, based on archaeological and epigraphic

[130] Uma Chakravarti, *The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 124-31.

evidence of Jainism along the east coast of India (Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu) from c. 4th to 2nd century CE, it seems very likely that both Jain monks and lay supporters utilized the same trade routes in their travels south. The use of an eastern route, and the notion of Jain monks traveling in the company of merchants along such trade routes has also been suggested by other scholars.[131] The period between 4th to 2nd centuries BCE also coincides with the rise of the Mauryan Empire in North India, under whose governance roads were provided with amenities to support trade and travel, such as trees for shade and wells for water, and emissaries sent across the Indian subcontinent.

The first Jain monks to arrive in Tamil Nadu followed the trade routes across the region and spread the Jain dharma in market cities. Following monastic tenets, they were primarily itinerant, staying in one place only during the four months of the monsoon season. These Jain monks chose monsoon retreats comprised of erosional caves and rock shelters located high atop hills on the outskirts of major cities, such as Madurai. Some examples of these early sites include Alagarmalai and Tiruvadavur to the east of Madurai, Kongarpuliyankulam and Vikkiramangalam to the west, and Mettuppatti to the north. All of these sites are located in close proximity to ancient trade routes.[132]

The early monsoon retreats were soon modified with drip ledges and rain channels to direct the monsoon rains away from the interiors of the caves. Over time, additional modifications were made, including rock-cut beds for meditation and study, post-holes for organic superstructure to extend the sheltered living spaces beyond the caves, and pools for water catchment. Gradually, the monsoon retreats transformed into year-round monastic

[131] Dundas, *The Jains*, 113; Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," 225.
[132] This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

residences. The permanent nature of these spaces is indicated not only in the modifications made, but also in the inscriptions they bear.

The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on the brows of the caves identify them as abodes (*uṟai*) and monasteries (*paḷḷi*) and record donations from various patrons. The names indicate that many of these patrons were merchants. For example, at Alagarmalai Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions carved onto the brow of the cave directly identify 3 of the donors as merchants (*vaṇikaṉ*). Similarly, at Vikkiramangalam 3 of the 6 inscriptions include some cognate of the name Kubera (Skt. Kubēra/ Kuvēra; Pkt. Kupira; Ta. Kupēraṉ), the god of wealth, which suggests that these men may have been merchants.[133] At Mettuppatti, 8 of the 10 inscriptions include the title *antai* in the name of the donor: Antai Ariyti, Antai Īrāvātāṉ, Antai Visuvāṉ, Antai Centā(ṉ), Cāntāntai Cāntāṉ, Pātiṉūr A(n)tai, Kuvirā-antai, and Kuvirā-antai Veḷ.[134] Based on patterns of use in Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on stone and pottery, the term *antai* may be an honorific associated particularly with merchants.[135] Lastly, at Alagarmalai, Vikkiramangalam, and Kongarpuliyankulam, several of the names of donors are also accompanied by symbols, which may be indicative of merchant guilds.[136]

[133] Nos. 21-23, Kuvirāṉ, Ceṅkuvirāṉ, and Kuvirā(ṉ). It is worth noting that although Kubera may have originated as a Hindu god, he was soon incorporated into Jain worship as the attendant deity (*yaksha*) of the nineteenth Jina/Tīrthaṅkara Malli.
[134] Nos. 25-32.
[135] Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 106, 599-600; Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," 223.
[136] No. 19 at Vikkiramangalam; Nos. 36, 40-43, 46-7 at Alagarmalai; Nos. 12-13 at Kongarpuliyankulam. For a discussion of the symbols at Kongarpuliyankulam, see Chapter 6.

2.5.2. Expansion of Jain communities and patronage networks, c. 2nd century BCE to 4th century CE

Beginning around the 2nd century BCE, the early Jain monastic sites established near the Pandiyan capital of Madurai expanded, and new centers of Jainism were created near the Chera capital of Karur.[137] At Mangulam, near Madurai, two Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions record donations from individuals affiliated with a Neṭucaḻiyaṉ/Neṭiñcaḻiyaṉ (Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ), a Pandiyan king. At Pugalur, near Karur, two inscriptions associate the establishment of the monastery with prince [I]laṅkaṭuṅko (Ilaṅkaṭuṅkō), son of King Ātaṉ Cel Irumporai, a Chera king featured in the ninth decad of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*.

Both sets of inscriptions at Mangulam and Pugalur share similar features. At Mangulam, the two inscriptions featuring Pandiya king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ are 56 and 49 characters long. At Pugalur, the inscriptions featuring the Chera king and prince are each 62 characters long. Of the entire corpus of Mahadevan's 89 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, these four inscriptions are the longest. Both sets of inscriptions also identify the senior Jain monk who resided at these monasteries: Kāṇi Nanta Asiriya Kuvaṉ (Mangulam) and Mutā Amaṇṇaṉ Yāṟṟūr Ceṅkāyapaṉ (Pugalur). These monks are both featured in the first line of the inscriptions featuring the royal patrons. The monks are also featured in one other inscription at each site. At Mangulam, Kaṇi Nanta is mentioned on the brow of another cave, and at Pugalur Yāṟṟūr Ceṅkāyapaṉ is mentioned on a stone bed inside the cave bearing the Chera inscription.

Both sets of inscriptions highlight the role of a senior monk at these sites and also suggest strong connections between the royal elites of the Pandiya and Chera polities and the Jain monks. That the inscription at Pugalur was carved twice (No. 62 and 63 are nearly identical) indicates

[137] This contradicts Mahadevan, who suggests that the center of Jainism appears to shift from the Pandiyan to the Chera region. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 135.

the importance of this inscription and the importance of the connection between the Chera kings and this site. Similarly, the multiple inscriptions at Mangulam that reference the Pandiya king Neṭuñceliyaṉ (No. 1 records a donation by his *pāṇāṉ*[138] and No. 2 records a donation by his *sālākāṉ*, sister in law's husband), emphasize the association of this space with the Pandiyan polity.

In addition to growing ties between Jain monastic communities and the Tamil polities, between 2nd century CE and 4th century CE Jain sites featuring longer and more complex donative inscriptions were established across the region at places like Mannarkoil in Tirunelveli district (southern Tamil Nadu), Arachalur in Erode district (northwest Tamil Nadu), and Tondur and Nekanurpatti in Viluppruam district (northeast Tamil Nadu). All of these inscriptions are significantly longer than those of the previous period, ranging in length from 14 to 24 characters. Inscription No. 83 from Nekanurpatti and No. 89 from Mannarkoil also feature carved rectangular borders. Of particular note is the set of inscriptions from Arachalur,[139] which includes two songs or musical notations. These songs are each arranged into five lines of five syllables each. The inscription above indicates that they were composed by Tevaṉ Cāttaṉ. These inscriptions have interesting implications for Jain devotional practices at this time, which may have incorporated music.

This period was also marked by a great influx of wealth into Tamil Nadu and Kerala from long-distance maritime trade. Sections of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a Greek mariner's guide to Indian Ocean trade composed in c. 50 CE describes in detail the various ports of trade along

[138] Mahadevan translates *pāṇāṉ* as *paṇavan*, meaning servant. However, the Tamil Lexicon defines *pāṇāṉ* as tailor. In addition, *pāṇaṉ* and *pāṇar* both appear frequently in Classical Tamil literature in reference to bards. The Tamil Lexicon defines *pāṇaṉ* as an ancient class of Tamil bards and minstrels.
[139] Nos. 85-87.

the southwest coast of India and the specific imports and exports associated with each.[140] It even mentions the kingdom of the Pandiyas specifically.[141] Elites from the major polities (*mū vēntar*) also began issuing punch-marked coins in copper and silver.[142]

The great wealth and prosperity of the Tamil region during this time is also supported by archaeological evidence. Archaeological excavations at sites along the coast of Tamil Nadu and Kerala have unearthed thousands of sherds from Roman ceramic types, such as amphorae and terra sigillata, and a number of small objects such as intaglios and gold jewelry believed to be of Mediterranean origin.[143] Excavations at Karur, the ancient Chera capital, located in the middle of the peninsula also yielded Roman amphorae and several hundred Roman coins.[144] Caches of gold and silver Roman coins dated c. 1st to 2nd century CE[145] have been discovered throughout the peninsula, particularly in the Coimbatore region of Tamil Nadu. This concentration was likely due to the rich mineral resources there. For example, excavations at the Early Historic site of Kodumanal revealed evidence of mass production of semi-precious stone beads.[146] Moreover,

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[140] The Western imports specific to South India include: coins, topaz, antimony, bronzes, metals (copper, tin, lead), linens, coral, crude glass (raw material), wheat, wine (in amphorae), terra sigillata, and various other ceramics. The list of South Indian exports, specifically from the Tamil region, includes: spices (pepper, ginger, cardamom, cloves), aromatics, wild woods like teak and sandal wood, textiles, silk (imported from China), gems (diamonds, sapphires), semi-precious stones, pearls, ivory, tortoise shell, conch shells, and skins of wild fauna. It is interesting to note that most of the Western imports are processed goods, while many of the South Indian exports were relatively unprocessed and obtained from nature. *Periplus* 56:18.22-28; 59:20.2-3.

[141] "Nelkynda is just about 500 stades from Muziris, likewise by river and sea, but it is in another kingdom, Pandiôn's. It too lies on a river, about 120 stades from the sea." L. Casson, "Periplus Maris Erythraei," (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 85.

[142] R. Krishnamurthy, *Sangam Age Tamil Coins* (Madras: Garnet Publications, 1997).

[143] S. Suresh, *Symbols of Trade: Roman and Pseudo-Roman Objects Found in India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004); R. Nagaswamy, *Roman Karur: A Peep into Tamil's Past* (Madras: Brahad Prakashan, 1995); Roberta Tomber, "Rome and Mesopotamia -- Importers into India in the First Millennium Ad," *Antiquity* 81, no. 314 (2007).

[144] Nagaswamy; "Roman Sites in Tamil Nad: Recent Discoveries," in *Madhu: Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History*, ed. M.S. Nagaraja Rao (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1981).

[145] D.W. MacDowall, "Indian Imports of Roman Silver Coins," in *Coinage, Trade, and Economy*, ed. A.K. Jha (Nashik: Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, 1991).

[146] K. Rajan, "Iron and Gemstone Industries as Revealed from Kodumanal Excavations," *Puratattva* 20 (1991). Kodumanal was a major center of bead manufacture. Two verses in *Patiṟṟuppattu* (67 and 74) of Caṅkam literature vividly describe bead making activities at the site, called Koṭumaṇam. These descriptions are supported by the excavation of several hundred beads of sapphire, beryl, agate, carnelian, amethyst, lapis lazuli, jasper, garnet, soap stone, quartz, onyx, cat eye, etc. of various sizes and found in different stages of manufacture. See also: K. Rajan,

the concentration of hoards of coins in the interior testifies to the interregional trade networks that connected coastal ports to the hinterlands.

It is during this time of great economic growth and prosperity that the Jain community expanded and benefited through increased patronage by merchants, chieftains, and political elites. At Mangulam, inscriptions Nos. 3 and 6 both mention the merchant guild (*nikāmā* ~ *nikama*) of Veḷḷaṟai. This term does not appear in any other inscription in the corpus, but is indicative to the increasing complexity in the organization of the merchant communities at this time. At Pugalur, inscriptions Nos. 65 and 66 mention Piṭan/Piṭantai, whose name is identical to that of a chieftain noted for serving as a Chera army commander in several classical Tamil poems.[147] The term *kō/kōṉ* translated as 'chieftain' also appears in inscriptions at Mamandur (No. 73) and Mannarkoil (No. 88). And, as noted earlier, the inscriptions at Mangulam and Pugalur containing references to Pandiya and Chera kings indicate important connections between these polities and the growing Jain monastic communities.

2.5.3. Beyond 4th century CE

The latest date assigned to any Tamil-Brahmi inscription is 4th century CE. This is because the period between 300 and 600 CE is perceived by historians to be a "Dark Age" in Tamil history, when foreign invaders called Kalabhras ruled the land. However, there is very little evidence epigraphically or archaeologically to support this.[148] Rather than an actual dearth of inscriptions,

"Maritime Trade in Early Historic Tamil Nadu," *Man and Environment* 27, no. 1 (2002).; "Early Maritime Activities of the Tamils," in *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, ed. H.P. Ray and J-F. Salles (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996). And Nagaswamy, "Roman Sites in Tamil Nad: Recent Discoveries."

[147] *Akanāṉūṟu* 77 and 143; *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 170 and 172. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 599.

[148] As noted by R. Champakalakshmi, "The patronage of the Kalabhras to the Buddhist and the Jain religions is an aspect on which no epigraphic or literary evidence is available from the period of transition." Champakalakshmi, 344. See also Valérie Gillet, "The Dark Period: Myth or Reality?," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 51, no. 3 (2014).

this gap in the epigraphic record is more likely a result of scholars who, relying upon relative dating methods, have assigned all Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions to a period before the "interregnum", and all Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions mentioning the Pandiyas and other kings and chieftains to the period after the so-called "interregnum". Other evidence to suggest that life in and around the city of Madurai continued to flourish and that Jain monastic communities continued to grow, is the large corpus of didactic literature attributed to this time period, much of which was composed by Jain authors and contains advice not only for laymen, but also for kings and other political elites. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, this literature indicates an expansion of Jain influence beyond the merchant communities and into the royal courts.

CHAPTER 3

Statistical Analyses of Jain Inscriptions

This chapter builds upon the previous analysis of archaeological and epigraphic evidence in Chapter 2 and provides new robust statistical analysis of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu. While Chapter 2 focused primarily on Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, in this chapter I analyze a larger body of Jain inscriptions, particularly drawing upon the list of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu compiled by A. Ekambaranathan and C.K. Sivaprakasam.[1] The chapter begins an overview of Jain inscriptions from c. 2nd century BCE to 20th century CE, highlighting the chronological and geographical trends in the dataset. For example, the extant body of Jain inscriptions appears concentrated in the 8th to 9th centuries, with additional peaks in the early centuries BCE and the 10th to 13th centuries.

Following this overview, I then re-examine the corpus of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from I. Mahadevan's *Early Tamil Epigraphy*,[2] explore the content and contexts of these inscriptions. The statistical analysis of Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions supports the developing historical narrative from Chapter 2 regarding the important role of monks and merchants in early Jain communities in Tamil Nadu, c. 3rd century BCE to 4th century CE. I also highlight the content of some of these inscriptions as well as the statistically significant relationship between donor type and object of donation.

The next section returns to the dataset from Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam, focusing on the period from 5th to 9th century CE. The inscriptions from this period are predominantly

[1] A. Ekambaranathan and C. K. Sivaprakasam, *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamilnadu: A Topographical List* (Madras: Research Foundation for Jainology, 1987).
[2] I. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

from Pandiya-nadu and written in Vaṭṭeḻuttu script. The content of these inscriptions suggest that this was a time of time of great transition. There are significant shifts in donation practices, from merchants donating to monastic cave sites in the Early Historic period to elites and Jain religious persons, particularly students and disciples of monks and nuns, donating images and funding for religious services to temples in the Early Medieval period. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the 5th to 9th centuries were also a period of cultural and political change, which coincided with the composition of the Jain ethical treatises in the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku*.

Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the patterns identified in the corpus of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu, highlighting key features of and comparisons between the Early Historic Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and the Early Medieval (c. 5th to 9th century) inscriptions. Overall, the statistical analysis of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu enables the identification of important patterns and trends in the Jain epigraphic record between c. 3rd century BCE to 9th century CE, and brings to light the variety of individuals, villages, and polities that contributed to the maintenance and growth of Jain monastic communities and, consequently, the growth and propagation of Jainism in Tamil Nadu.

3.1. Statistical Analysis of Inscriptions

While statistical analysis of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu can provide important information about the composition of the Jain community as well as donation and worship practices, it is also important to keep in mind the limitations of inscriptions as historical records. As noted by Kathleen Morrison and Mark Lycett, documentary records such as inscriptions "neither encode self-evident meaning about the past nor, individually, wholly encompass that past… [they are]

bodies of observations that are differentially preserved, collected, and analyzed."[3] With regard to the Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu, the fact that medieval period inscriptions have been found on slabs inside Śaivite temples and on streets and random places around rural villages attests to their removal from their original proveniences.[4] Other inscriptions that may have accompanied these in their original locations are no longer extant. Copper plate inscriptions are highly portable, making them particularly susceptible to differential preservation and collection. Thus, the collection of known Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu is by no means complete, and it is not possible to know whether the collection available today represents the diversity of contexts and content of the original corpus. I highlight these limitations not to undercut the analysis in this chapter, but in order to make clear that no line of evidence presents a "real" or "complete" view of the past. Acknowledging the weaknesses of inscriptions as a source of history allows us to ask appropriate questions that draw on their strengths.

Aside from factors affecting the number of extant records, it is also important to keep in mind what kinds of information are recorded in inscriptions. The majority of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu record donations to monasteries and temples. Sometimes the gift is specified, other times it may be inferred by the content and location of the inscription. For example, many of the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions consist of simply a name carved upon a rock-cut bed. From this content and location, we may infer that the name is that of the donor who financed the carving of rock-cut beds or the carving of the monastery itself. Certainly not all donations were recorded on stone. The amount, kind, purpose, and timing of the gift as well as the status of the donor may have affected whether or not the event was recorded in stone. Many of the Jain lithic inscriptions

[3] Kathleen D. Morrison and Mark T. Lycett, "Inscriptions as Artifacts: Precolonial South India and the Analysis of Texts," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4, no. 3/4 (1997): 217.
[4] Examples of such inscriptions include Nos. 499, 501, 505, 506, and 508 in Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam.

at cave sites and temples record donations associated with the excavation or construction of these spaces. Thus, the tempo of inscription-carving seems to wane in the centuries between the creation of new caves, temples, and images. For example, sites like Perumal Malai and Samanar Malai bear Early Historic Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, associated with the carving of the cave sites and beds, as well as Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions, associated with temples and images, carved centuries later. Were these sites abandoned and later re-occupied? Or is the chronological gap between these sets of inscriptions due to the chronological gap between building activities? Lastly, unlike lithic inscriptions, Jain inscriptions on copper plates are more closely akin to legal documents, recording land grants from local rulers to Jains as *paḷḷiccantam* (a gift of a tract of land or village to a Jain temple, akin to the Hindu *brahmadeya*).[5] Thus, copper plate inscriptions provide information about different donation practices and different patronage relationships than those recorded in the lithic inscriptions at Jain monasteries and temples.

3.2. Composition and organization of the database

In order to statistically analyze Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu, I created a database in Excel utilizing the list of Jain inscriptions published by A. Ekambaranathan and C.K. Sivaprakasam in *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamilnadu (A Topographical List).*[6] This is the most comprehensive list of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu to date, and has been frequently used by Leslie Orr in her analyses of Jain worship practices, particularly the role of women in these practices, in medieval Tamil Nadu.[7] To construct their list, Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam consulted published

[5] See ibid., Nos. 502-03.
[6] Ibid.
[7] See Leslie Orr, "Women's Wealth and Worship: Female Patronage of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism in Medieval Tamilnadu," in *Faces of the Feminine in Ancient, Medieval and Modern India*, ed. Mandakranta Bose (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Leslie C. Orr, "Jain Worship in Medieval Tamilnadu," in *Approaches to Jaina Studies: Philosophy, Logic, Rituals and Symbols*, ed. N.K. Wagle and Olle Qvarnström (Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for South Asian Studies, 1999); "Jain and Hindu "Religious Women" in Early

reports on south Indian inscriptions,[8] other topographical lists,[9] and various journals reporting the discovery of Jain inscriptions.[10] Their list consists of 530 inscriptions ranging chronologically from 2nd century BCE to 20th century CE. Based on the content of the inscriptions, it seems that an inscription was classified as "Jain" if it was located in a Jain temple or cave site, or if the inscription mentioned Jain people or places (e.g. referred to a monk or a Jain temple complex).

The authors organized the inscriptions alphabetically by district and then by village. Each entry contains the following fields: number (1-530), village, taluk, district, findspot, dynasty, king, date, language and script, contents, reference, and remarks. The strength of this list is that there are few biases, aside from the initial selection of inscriptions based on their identity as "Jain". The topographical information is straightforward and unfiltered. However, the content of the inscription is a descriptive summary, rather than a direct translation of the inscription. Thus, the contents field is an interpretation of data contained elsewhere. Fortunately, the reference field supplies the necessary citations for where the inscription has been published. Therefore, if one doubts the authors' interpretation of the contents, they can consult the original source.

One weakness of this list is its age. It was published in 1987. Therefore, any analysis based on this data will not accurately reflect the current number of known Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu. For example, Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam were only able to consult the first volume of T.V. Mahalingam's *A Topographical list of Inscriptions in Tamilnadu and Kerala*

Medieval Tamilnadu," in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998).

[8] *Annual Reports on Epigraphy*, *South Indian Inscriptions*, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, *Epigraphia Indica*, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, *Corpus of the Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions*, I*nscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, and the Kanyakumari, Madras, Dharmapuri Districts' Inscriptions published by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu.

[9] *A Topographical list of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidenc*y (1919) by V. Rangacharya, *List of Inscriptions in Southern India* (1932) by R. Sewell, and *A Topographical list of Inscriptions in Tamilnadu and Kerala* (Vol. I, North Arcot, 1985) by T.V. Mahalingam.

[10] Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam, x.

(1985), which only covered inscriptions in North Arcot district. Since that time, there have been an additional 8 volumes published, covering the rest of the districts in Tamil Nadu. However, because this list has been used in numerous publications discussing Jainism in Tamil Nadu and constitutes a closed set of data that is accessible in print, any analysis of this data can be reproduced and checked. Therefore, I have chosen to exclusively rely on this list, without incorporating any of the more recent data.

A larger database incorporating additional inscriptions published in Mahalingam's series of gazettes, as well as in various journals of Indian epigraphy like *Āvaṇam* and in newspapers like *Dinamaṇi* and *The Hindu*, is planned for future research. For a more fine-tuned analysis, it may also be useful to return to each of the publications referenced in Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam to confirm the contents and period of each inscription. Regarding the latter, the recent reappraisal of the dates of Tamil-Brahmi script by K. Rajan[11] may necessitate a reevaluation of the dates of some of the earliest inscriptions, which are dated on the basis of linguistic and paleographic features (unlike later medieval inscriptions, which are dated on the basis of regnal years).

In creating my own database, I began with the categories used by Ekambaranathan and Sivarakasam regarding the location, date, contents, and script. Because most of the categories were not standardized, I had to interpret the data and create my own standardized descriptive categories and meta-categories.[12] The full list of categories with descriptions of the classification schemes are listed in the table below (Table 3.1). The original categories from Ekambaranathan

[11] K. Rajan and V.P. Yathees Kumar, "New Evidences on Scientific Dates for Brāhmī Script as Revealed from Porunthal and Kodumanal Excavations," *Prāgdhārā* 21-22 (2013); K. Rajan, *Early Writing System: A Journey from Graffìti to Brāhmī* (Madurai: Pandya Nadu Centre for Historical Research, 2015).
[12] For example, ES No. 46 the findspot was "on a broken slab paved into the floor behind the Vardhamāna shrine." This was categorized as "slab" for Context, and "temple" for ContextType (the context meta-category).

and Sivaprakasam are marked with asterisks. To analyze this database, I used IBM's SPSS Statistics software.[13]

Table 3.1 Jain Inscriptions Database Categories

ESNo*	Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam Number, the number given to the inscription in their publication.
Village*[14]	Village where the inscription was found.
Taluk*	Taluk where the inscription was found.
District*	District where the inscription was found.
Context	Interpretation of the description in the 'Findspot' category: bed, bronze image, cave, cave-natural, cave-painted, copper plate, image-below, image-beside, image-pedestal, mandapa, metal image, rock, rock-tank, Siva temple, slab, slab-tank, slab-well, stone, stone-tank, temple, temple-altar, temple-pillar, temple-wall.
ContextType	A super-category to standardize the contexts. - Monastic: cave-natural, bed, caves, rock has inscription about monk fasting to death - Image: inscription associated with an image, or on a rock near a group of images - Temple: located in association with a temple, e.g. pillar, wall, altar, shrine, or rocks located near temples, or mandapas - Village: located on rocks near a village, on stones in the street of a village - Tank: written on slabs associated with tanks - River: stone on banks of river - Rock: on a rock but not in association with a temple or an image or a village, etc.
Dynasty*	Dynasty explicitly mentioned in the inscription or inferred from the king's name.
King*	King's name in the inscription.
SourceDate*	Date assigned to the inscription, likely in the source publication, reproduced exactly from E&S. These dates are either inferred from paleographic features (in the case of Early Historic inscriptions), or from the name of the king, or from the regnal year given in the inscription (common in the Medieval Period).
IndefDate	Translation of the numerical dates into an integer representing the century, which allowed the dates to be organized sequentially. So, 100 BC became 2 (for 2nd century BCE) and 896 AD became 9 (for 9th century CE).
Language*	The language represented in the inscription: Kanarese (aka Kannada), Sanskrit, Sanskrit-Tamil (for inscriptions with a *prashasti* in Sanskrit and rest in Tamil), Tamil.
Script*	Brahmi (for Tamil-Brahmi), Grantha, Kanarese, Kannada, Nagari, Tamil, Tamil-Grantha, Vaṭṭeluttu.

[13] https://www.ibm.com/products/spss-statistics

[14] The inscriptions in Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam's (ES) list are geographically limited to the state of Tamil Nadu in India. The next subdivision within the state is the district level, followed by taluk, and lastly by village.

Table 3.1 Jain Inscriptions Database Categories (Continued)

Donation	Interpreted from the 'Contents' category in E&S: "?" (if not clear), "N" (no), "Y" (yes). I defined donation as something freely given. This includes individual items given (e.g. gold, paddy, oil for worship), or something built (e.g. an image or parts of a temple). Inscriptions that record the construction of a well or a tank by a person were also classified as donations. Inscriptions not classified as donations were those specified as sales (something given in return for something else) or labels (identification of the deity or person portrayed in the statue).
Dobject	For inscriptions that described donations, the object that was donated: altar, arrangements, bed, canal, canopy, cave, cloth, copper images, cows, dancing girls, door-post, drip ledge, endowment, flowers, footprints, garden, ghee, gift, gold, gong, gopura, image, lamp, land, lattice, manasthamba, mandapa, monastery, money, paddy, pavillion, pillar, prakaram, provisions, renovation, restoration, rice, service, sheep, shrine, sluice, steps, stone pillar, tank, taxes, temple, town, vessels and ornaments, village, wall, well. In the case where multiple items were donated, I divided the inscription (e.g. 359, 359b).
Dpurpose	A super-category inferred from the inscription or the nature of the donated object. - communal: for use by group of people, e.g. the construction of a canal - monastic: for use at a monastery, e.g. carving a bed or a cave - temple: the donation of a temple, an architectural feature of a temple, or money given to a temple with no purpose specified - unclear: only in 2 cases, where paddy and a village were donated, but it was not clear to whom - worship: items donated for the purpose of worship, e.g. gold for the performance of particular rituals at a temple, or the donation of an image - worship-monastic: only 2 cases, where money was given for offerings to images and for the feeding of an ascetic
Donor	Name of the donor (if given).
DType	How the donor is described in the inscription (e.g. ascetic, gold merchant, disciple, royal officer, wife), or inferred from their name (e.g. nun from names like 'kuratti' or 'kurattigal').
DTypeCategory	A super-category used to organize the previous donor types into standardized categories. - Religious: monks, nuns, disciples, priests, pupil, names beginning with Sri - Elite: kings, queens, chieftains, and people associated with the court such as minister or official. Also included were village headmen, vels, velalas, and other elites such as udiayar, vassal, and people associated with the elite, such as a maidservant of the queen (#330), a vassal (#310), or the wives of men with elite positions (#425). - Family: son, father, brother, mother, daughter – people identified exclusively by kin relations - Merchant: sugar merchant, merchant guild, mercantile group - Craftsman: ore-monger, stone mason - Corporate: gift donated by multiple people or particular group, e.g. a village assembly - Other: generic terms like "the Jain", villager, servant, householder - Unknown: when a name is given and the gender can be established, but it is not clear what their status is, it's simply a male or female personal name

Table 3.1 Jain Inscriptions Database Categories (Continued)

DSex	Sex/gender of the donor inferred from their name or title. - M: masculine - F: feminine - U: unknown, when the name is there but is unclear what the gender of the person is, or when the donor is a group that could have contained both men and women - 0: no value, when there is no donor mentioned or the inscription is too fragmentary and is missing any name or in the case where the inscription is not a donation (N) or it is unclear whether or not it is a donation (?)
Recipient	The person or temple to whom the donation is addressed.
Rtype	A super-category to organize the different types of recipients. - God: items donated for worship of a god or yaksha, no temple mentioned - Temple: items donated for worship of a god at a particular temple, or lands donated for a particular temple, or money donated for services at a particular temple. - Ascetic: ascetic, which may not necessarily be a monk - Monastic: donation to a monk or a rock-cut bed or a donation of an image located in a monastery - Devotee: for a devotee - Person: status unknown - Cbd: could not be determined - Villagers: for villagers
Merit	A small number of the inscriptions mentioned the transfer of merit. I noted "Y" for yes when an inscription mentioned the transfer of merit.
Comments	Additional notes about the inscription, generally details regarding the content of the inscription which could not fit into the column categories.

3.3. Descriptive Statistics of Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu c. 2nd century BCE to 20th century CE

Descriptive statistics calculate and summarize traits of different samples from a dataset, and include simple calculations such as frequencies, averages, etc. Their associated visualizations, such as tables, histograms, and boxplots, are all excellent means of identifying basic patterns and trends in a dataset. Frequency tables and bar charts representing data from the nominal categories of Village, Taluk, District, Context, Context Type, Dynasty, Language, Script, Donation, Donation purpose, Donor type, Donor gender, Recipient type, and Merit may be found in Appendix B. From these statistics it becomes clear that most inscriptions in the list compiled by

Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam record donations (77%, n=407). Of the remaining 33%, 65 inscriptions are sales transactions or labels for images and 59 are indeterminate, often because the inscription was fragmentary.

With regard to location, both the frequency tables and the bar charts demonstrate that Jain inscriptions are not evenly distributed across the landscape of Tamil Nadu. At the village level, the sites with the most inscriptions are Kaḷugumalai in Thoothukkudi district (n=101, 8th-9th centuries); Tirunarungondai (Tirunarankonri)[15] in Viluppuram district (n=39, 9th to 17th centuries); and Tirumalai (n=23, 9th-15th centuries) in Tiruvannamalai district.[16] The taluks with the most inscriptions are Kovilpatti taluk in Thoothukkudi district (n=101, all from the site of Kaḷugumalai); Madurai taluk in Madurai district (n=40, 8 sites); and Ulundurpettai taluk in Viluppuram district (n=39, all from the site of Tirunarankonri). The districts with the most inscriptions are Thoothukkudi district (n=102), Viluppuram district (n=91), Madurai district (n=78), and Tiruvannamalai district (n=74).[17] It is not surprising that these districts contain the most inscriptions. Madurai was a center of Jainism in the Early Historic and Early Medieval periods. Thoothukkudi's prominence is due almost entirely to the pilgrimage site of Kaḷugumalai – an outlier that skews any statistics run, particularly those that focus on the pre-modern periods. Tirunarankonri is located in Viluppuram district, accounting for about 43% of the inscriptions

[15] Since the publication of ES's list of Jain inscriptions, the borders of some of the taluks and districts have changed or been given new names. In some instances, the English phonetic translation used by Google Earth differs from that given by ES. In such cases, I have provided the modern names in parentheses.

[16] These numbers differ slightly from those in the frequency table because in the instances where there were multiple named donors or multiple donations, an additional entry was made. So that these extra entries would not increase the numbers of donors (who might be repeated in entries where they made multiple donations) or donations (which might be repeated in entries where multiple donors gifted a single item) these categories were left blank. However, the ES number suffixed with a letter and the site location name was retained. In this way, the numbers are only inflated the frequency for sites, and no other variables. So the number of total entries is 565 when the total number of inscriptions in ES's list is 530.

[17] North Arcot district contains 84 Jain inscriptions. Today, North Arcot is divided into Tiruvannamalai and Vellore districts, which have 74 and 10 inscriptions, respectively.

there. Viluppuram (formerly part of South Arcot district) and Tiruvannamalai (formerly part of North Arcot district) are today home to the majority of Tamil Nadu's Jain population. These districts contain temples that emerged in the late medieval and modern periods, some of which are still active today. Thus, more Jain temples have been preserved in northeastern Tamil Nadu, resulting in a higher number of extant inscriptions.

With regard to context (Fig. 3.1), the most common place for an inscription is below an image (most often of a jina or tīrthaṅkara) (n=146, 26%). Surprisingly, the next most common location is on rocks (n=101, 18%). However, at the meta-category of Context Type (Fig. 3.2), the most common locations are temples (n=239, 42%), images (n=177, 31%), and monastic spaces (n=106, 19%). Going back into the database, it becomes clear that the rocks bearing inscriptions are often beside temples, on hills containing Jain monastic caves, or in rural villages (presumably in areas that used to contain other Jain monuments).

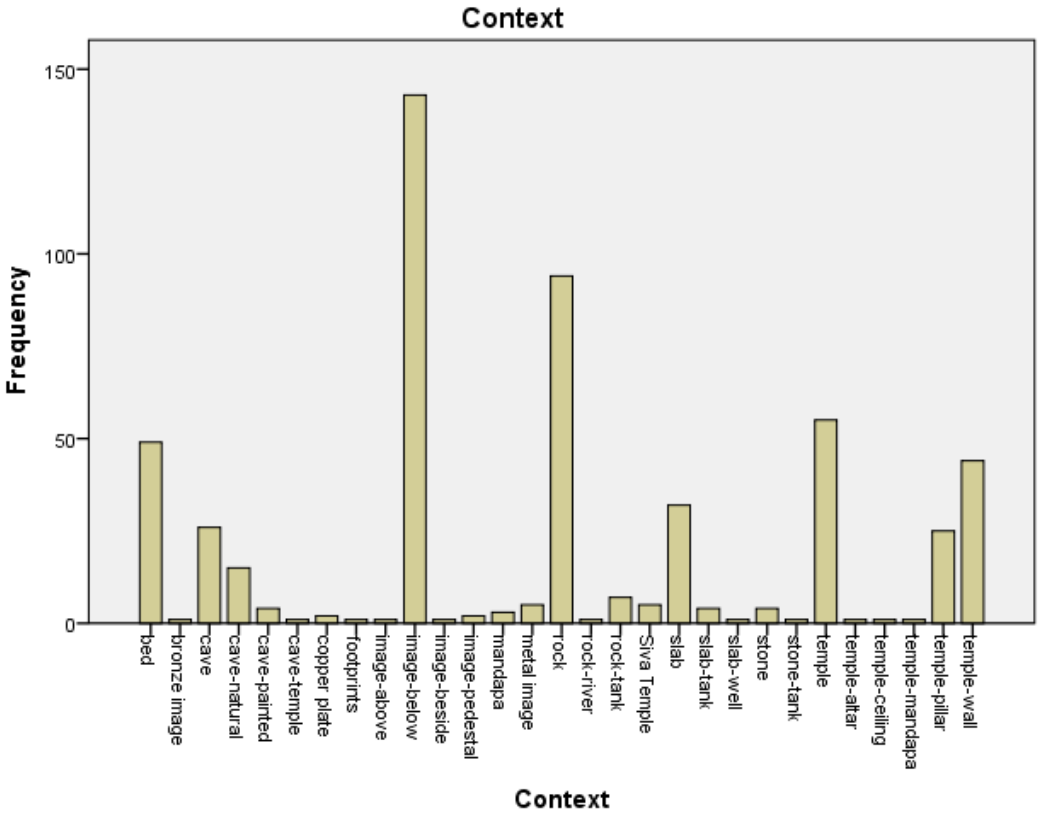


Figure 3.1 Contexts of Jain Inscriptions c. 2nd century BCE to 20th century CE

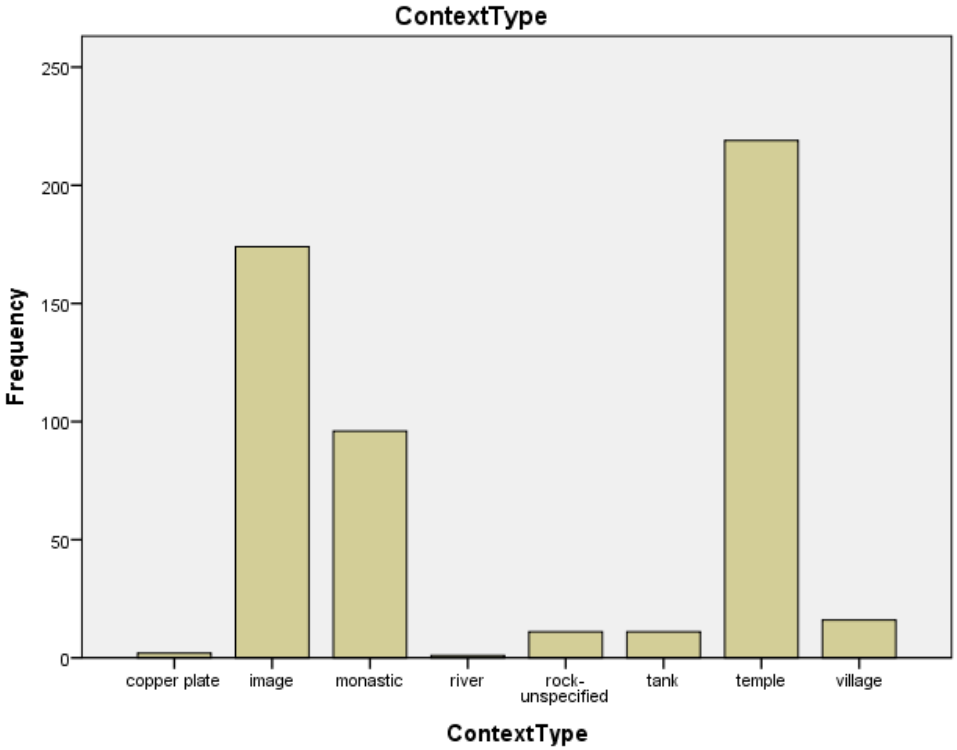


Figure 3.2 General Contexts (Context Type) of Jain Inscriptions c. 2nd century BCE to 20th century CE

The content and context of the inscription was used to classify the purpose of the inscriptions (DPurpose). Thus, given the predominance of inscriptions associated with images, temples, and monastic spaces, it is unsurprising that most of the donations had a purpose associated with worship (44%, n=252), temples (16%, n=92), or monasticism (14%, n=79). The types of recipients (RType) are also linked to context type. In some cases, the recipient is named, such as a head monk, a temple deity, or a group of temple priests. Donative inscriptions with identifiable recipients are predominantly temples, followed by monasteries.

The dynasties most frequently named or associated with Jain inscriptions are the Cholas, Pandiyas, Pallavas, and rulers of Vijayanagara. The Pandiyas and kings of Vijayanagara are well-known for having been patrons of Jainism. However, the Chola and Pallava dynasties have historically been identified as Hindu. While patronage of a particular religious group is not an indication of adherence to that religion, the large number of Chola and Pallava inscriptions attests to the continued importance and patronage of Jainism in the medieval period. While traditional narratives suggest that by the medieval period Hinduism had already vanquished the rival "heterodox" religions of Jainism and Buddhism, these inscriptions suggest that Jain temples and monastics continued to vie with Hindu temples and sages for religious patronage. The significance of Jainism in the later medieval periods is also suggested by the surge in Jain literary production during this time (e.g. major epics like *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, as well as minor epics (*aincirukappiyaṅkaḷ*), commentaries, grammars, and dictionaries). However, relatively, the numbers of extant Jain inscriptions associated with the Cholas and Pallavas are significantly less in number than Hindu inscriptions.[18]

[18] Subbaryalu estimates that the total number or extant inscriptions between 6th and 10th centuries is 900, while Orr estimates that between the 8th to 13th centuries, there are over 10,000 Hindu temple inscriptions. Y. Subbarayalu, "Tamil Epigraphy: Past and Present," in *Negotiations with the Past: Classical Tamil in Contemporary Tamil*, ed. M.

The language and script of most Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu is Tamil. 94% of the inscriptions are in Tamil language. Only 4% (n=21) are in Sanskrit. Most of the scripts (99.6%) are of South Indian origin, with late/modern Tamil scripts used in 48% of the inscriptions (Tamil 44%, Tamil-Grantha 4%) and early Tamil scripts used in 45% of the inscriptions (Tamil-Brahmi 13%, Vaṭṭeḻuttu 32%). These choices in language and script for donations to Jain monasteries and temples attests to the Tamil-ness of the Jains.[19] Notably, none of the inscriptions are in Prakrit language and only 2 are in Devanagari script.

The descriptive statistics also provide information about the different types of people who donated to Jain institutions. Within the subset of 383 named individuals, the total number of donors identifiably female names is 56, roughly 15%. Donors with male names or designations constitute 81% (n=312), and the remaining 4% of individuals' genders are unclear. Considering that women constitute roughly 50% of any given population, and that the Jain saṅgha consisted of both male and female monastics and laity,[20] women seem significantly under-represented.[21] This suggests that only a small portion of Jain women participated in the kinds of donation activities that were recorded in lithic inscriptions.[22] However, there are many kinds of charitable activities that could have occurred on a daily basis, such as the feeding and clothing of monks, which may not have been recorded in stone. Moreover, certainly not every individual who

Kannan and Carlos Mena (Pondichéry: Institut Français de Pondichéry, 2006), 47; Orr, "Jain and Hindu "Religious Women" in Early Medieval Tamilnadu," 191.

[19] For a more in-depth discussion (and critique) of Jains as perceived outsiders and non-Tamils, see Chapter 4. See also Christoph Emmrich, "The Ins and Outs of the Jains in Tamil Literary Histories," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 39, no. 6 (2011).

[20] The Jain congregation is conceptualized as being made up of four tīrthas: monks and nuns (*sadhu* and *sadhvi*) and laymen and laywomen (*śravaka* and *śravika*).

[21] Although this fact is very clearly evident from the basic tabulations, further analysis using Chi-Square yields residuals of -110 for women and +100 for men in inscriptions where the gender is identified (26 females, 246 males). In a population where men and women are equally represented, these numbers should be 136 each. The statistical significance of this difference is $p < 0.001$ or 99.9% confidence.

[22] This contradicts earlier analyses by epigraphist Leslie Orr in Orr, "Jain and Hindu "Religious Women" in Early Medieval Tamilnadu."; "Jain Worship in Medieval Tamilnadu."; Orr.

contributed financially or otherwise to Jain monastic residences and temple complexes had their names preserved in stone. Thus, the lack of women in Jain inscriptions could also be an issue of representation rather than lack of participation.

The meta-category DTypeCategory classified named donors as Corporate (more than one donor together, e.g. donation by an entire village), Craftsman, Elite (political positions such as kings, chieftains, local rulers), Family (someone identified purely on the basis of their familial relation, e.g. an individual identified as a father but with no other information about his profession or background), Merchant, Religious (monks, nuns, and their students and disciples), Other (a catch-all category for various other identifiers), or Unknown (a donor is named, but there is no other information about them). After Unknown, the largest categories for donors are Religious (n=89, 23% of 383 named donors) and Elite (22%, n=84). While the prominence of religious individuals in Jain donative inscriptions might seem strange, when one looks at the data, it corresponds well with previous findings regarding the contexts and items donated. Religious individuals are often the ones who sponsored the carving of images of the jinas at monasteries and temples.[23] The next largest category is Elite. This again, is perhaps unsurprising as donations carved in stone may commemorate significant financial support for the creation and construction of Jain monasteries and temples. The access to such funds, and the need to both commemorate and publicize such patronage, would no doubt favor elites above other classes of individuals.

[23] This is similar to the patterns seen in North India, where some of the earliest images were donations of devotees and lay followers of Jain monks. See John Cort, "The Archaeology of Jina Images," in *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). In slight contrast, at the Buddhist site of Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh, it is the monks and nuns, rather than lay people, who appear in the majority of donative inscriptions and financed the construction and decoration of stupas. See Gregory Schopen, "What's in a Name: The Religious Function of the Early Donative Inscriptions," in *Unseen Presence: The Buddha at Sanchi*, ed. Vidhya Dehejia (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 1996).

The descriptive statistics for the date (a scale variable) are also included in Appendix B. The histogram below shows that Jain inscriptions are not evenly distributed across time (Fig. 3.3). There are two peak periods in the creation of Jain inscriptions: one around the 2nd century BCE and another between the 8th and 9th centuries CE. Historically, the first peak is associated with the establishment of the earliest Jain caves in Tamil Nadu, and the second peak roughly corresponds to the height of the Pallavas and imperial Pandiyas, right before the rise of the imperial Cholas. It was at this time that many of the hill centers were revitalized with the construction of new temples and monastic centers.[24] One of the leaders responsible for some of these changes, particularly the carving of images of jinas, was Ajja Nandi, whose name appears in inscriptions at Alagarmalai (ES No. 208), Anaimalai (ES No. 211), Arittapatti (ES No. 217), Karungalakkudi (ES No. 219), Kongarpuliyankulam (ES No. 236) and Samanar Malai (ES No 254) in Madurai district, Uttamapalayam (ES No. 268) in Theni district, Aiyampalayam (aka Aivarmalai) (ES No 7) in Dindugul district, Eruvadi (ES No 526) in Tirunelveli district, and Chitaral (ES No 174) in Kanyakumari district. His name also appears as Āryanandin (a Sanskrit hypernym) at Vallimalai (ES No 353) in North Arcot district.[25]

[24] R. Champakalakshmi, "Jainism in Tamil Nadu: A Historical Overview," in *Religion, Tradition, and Ideology: Pre-Colonial South India*, ed. R. Champakalakshmi (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 374.
[25] This inscription is noted by Champakalakshmi in ibid., 408. Sincere thanks to Whitney Cox for explaining the linguistic connection between the two forms of the name.

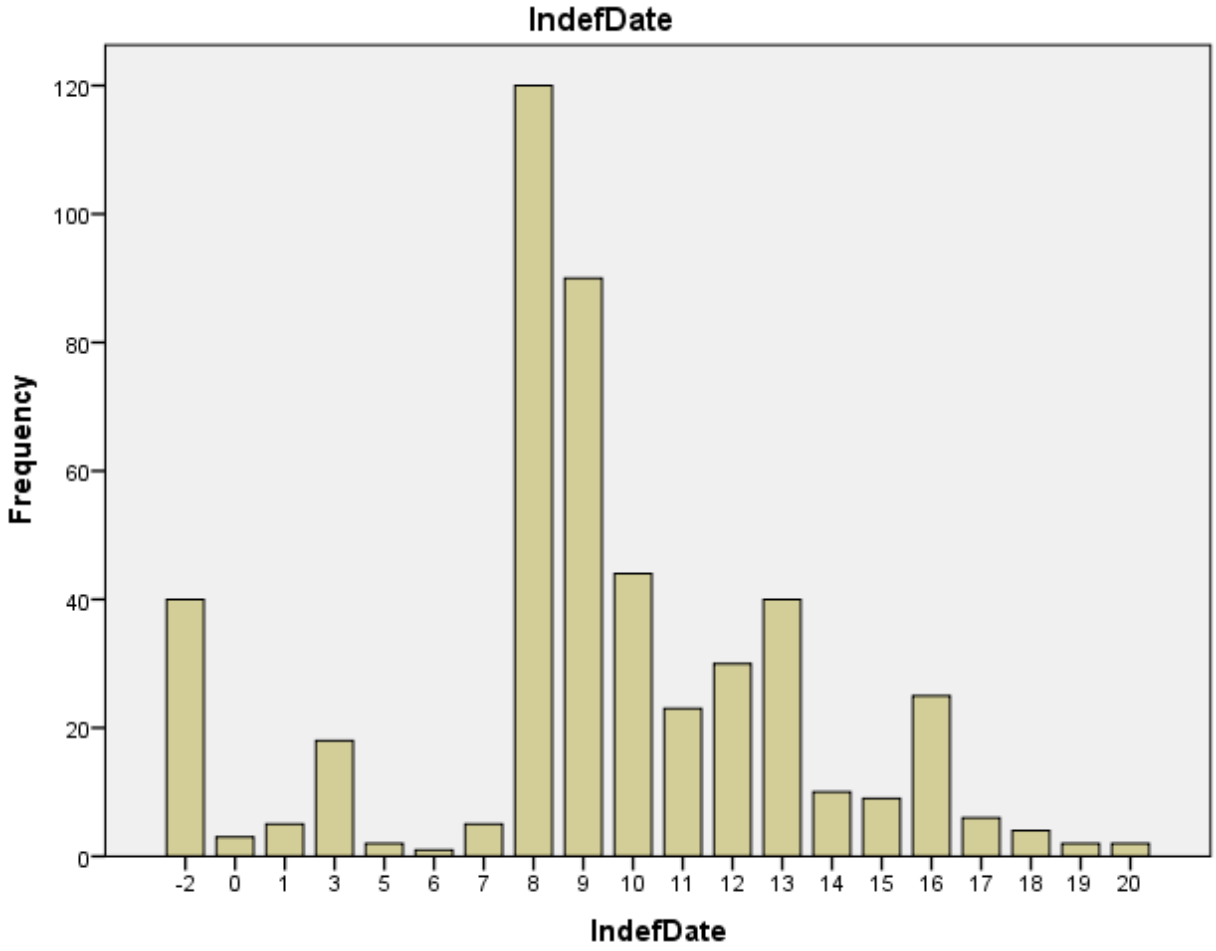


Figure 3.3 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions Over Time
(IndefDate = Century, with -2 = 2nd century BCE, 1 = 1st century CE)

While the statistics discussed above examine single variables (univariate analysis), it is also useful to see how multiple categories or variables relate to one another (multivariate analysis). Descriptive statistics showing how different traits of inscriptions (nominal variables) are distributed across time (scalar variable as the dependent variable) are also included in Appendix B. Select boxplots from this analysis are shown below. In boxplots, or box-and-whiskers plots, the length of the box represents the interquartile range (25-75), the line inside represents the median, and the lines or whiskers extend to the largest and smallest values within

1.5 box lengths. Cases with values between 1.5 to 3 box lengths are outliers and marked by an O. Cases with values of more than 3 box lengths are extreme outliers and are marked by an asterisk.

While it is not possible to discuss all the boxplots in detail here, it is worth noting some general patterns and significant features. In the District boxplot many of the means are not located in the center of the boxes (Fig. 3.4). This indicates that the distribution of values is skewed, i.e. the carving of inscriptions in those districts is concentrated during particular time periods. For example, Madurai is negatively skewed, indicating that a larger percentage of inscriptions are from earlier periods. In addition, the ContextType boxplot shows that inscriptions classified as monastic have the largest spread and interquartile range, but are skewed negatively, with a majority of inscriptions dating to the earlier centuries (Fig. 3.5). The other context types have a median time period between 7th and 12th centuries, suggesting that the medieval period was a time when there was the most diversity in the contexts of inscriptions.

With regard to the purpose of donations (DPurpose), inscriptions recording monastic donations occur primarily in the early centuries BCE, while those associated with worship don't begin until the 8th century (Fig. 3.6). This indicates a shift in donation practices, from donations related to the care of monastics in the early centuries BCE and CE to donations for the creation and worship of images and temples in the later centuries CE. This shift, which occurs c. 8th century, coincides with the beginning of inscriptions recording donations associated with images and temples, as displayed in the ContextType boxplots (Fig. 3.5).

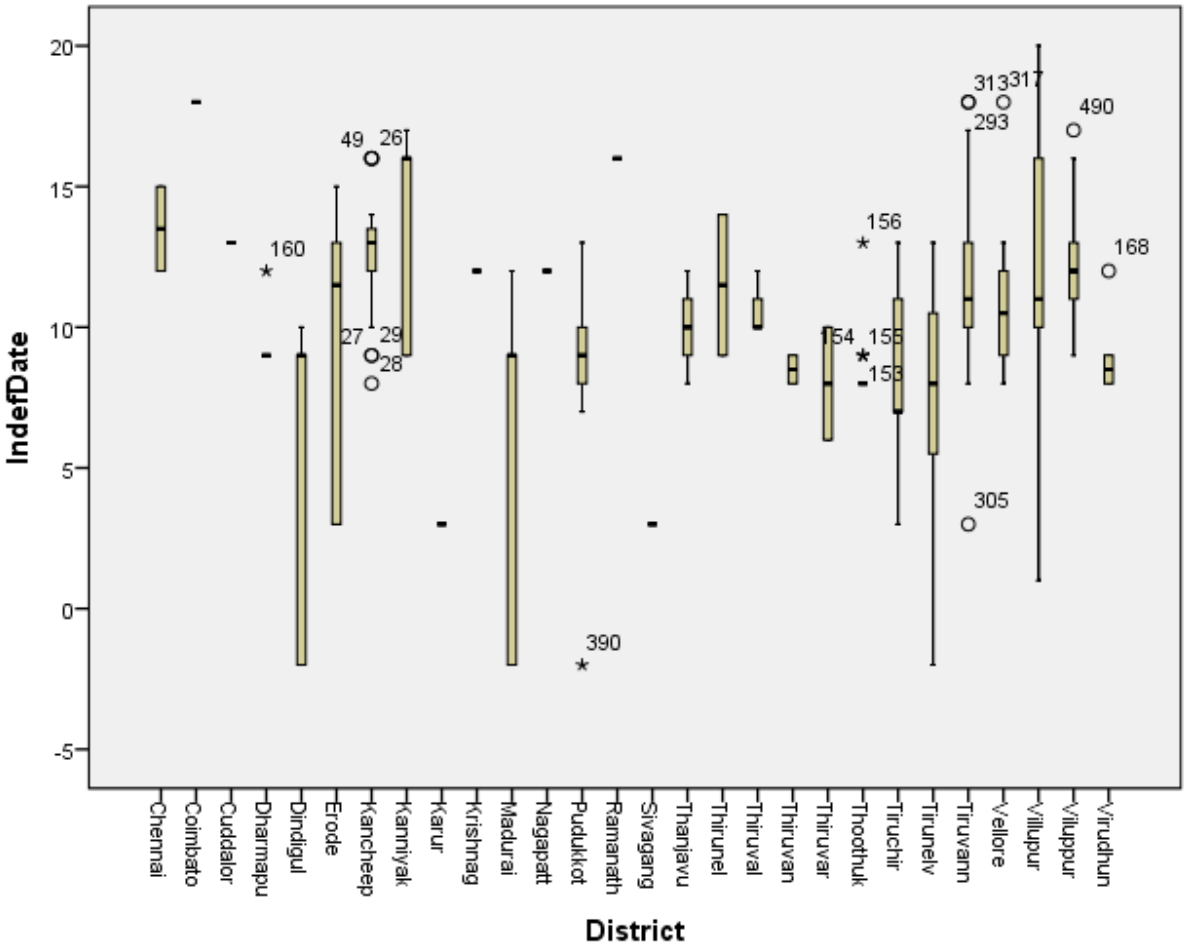


Figure 3.4 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions Over Time by District

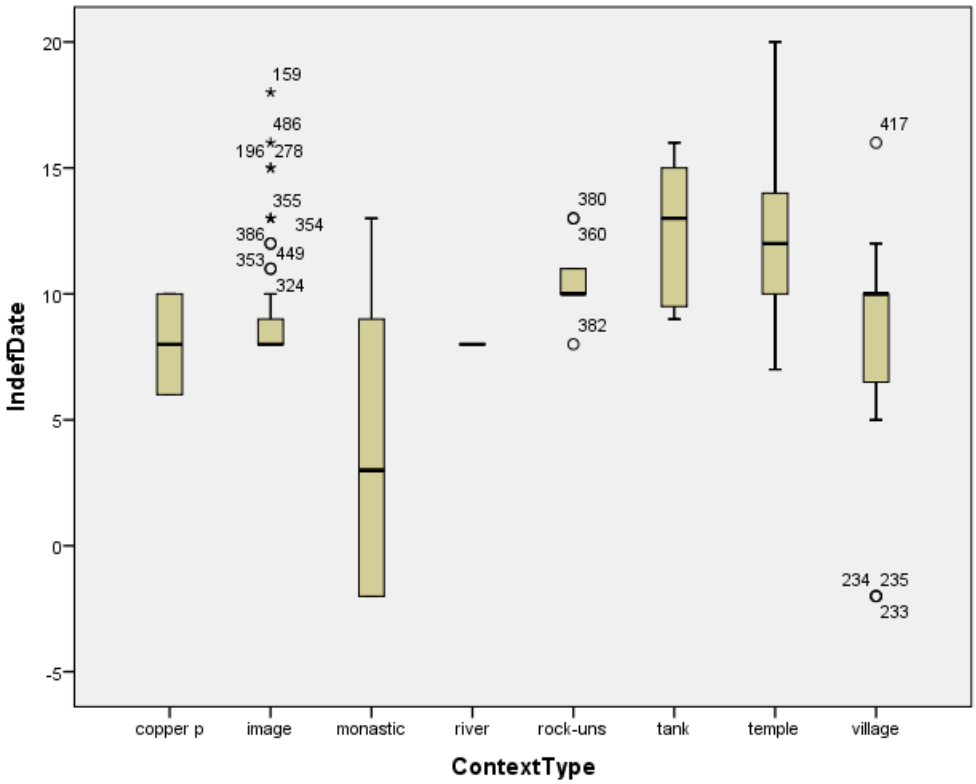


Figure 3.5 Distribution of Contexts of Inscriptions Over Time

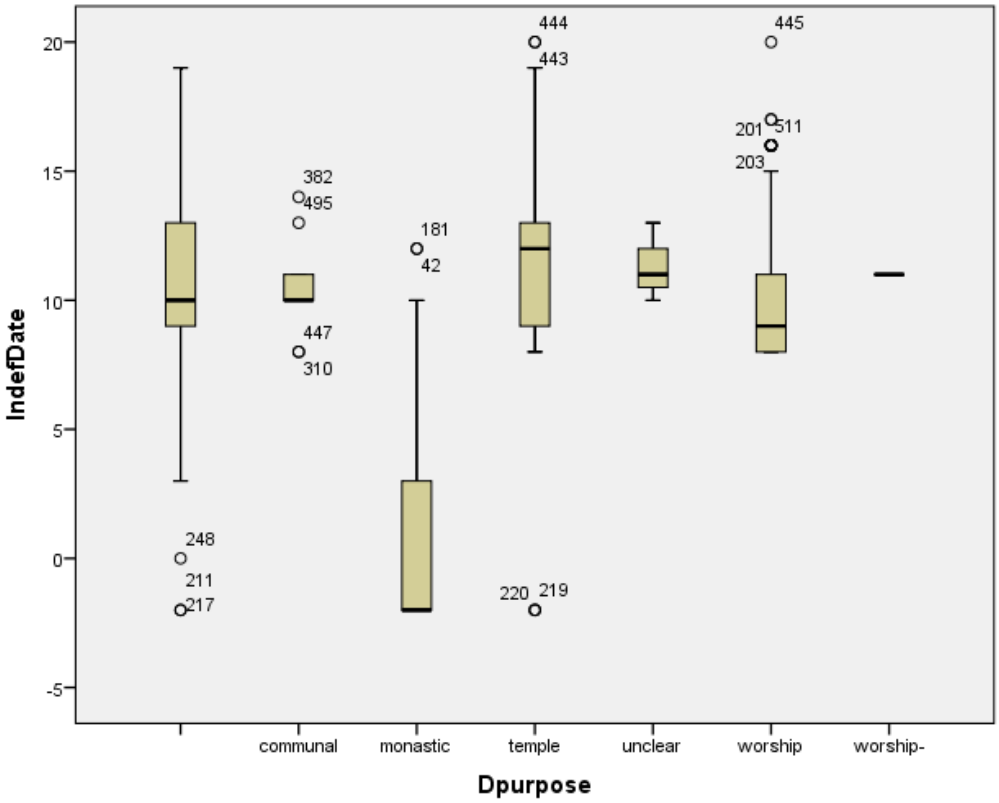


Figure 3.6 Purpose of Jain Inscription Over Time

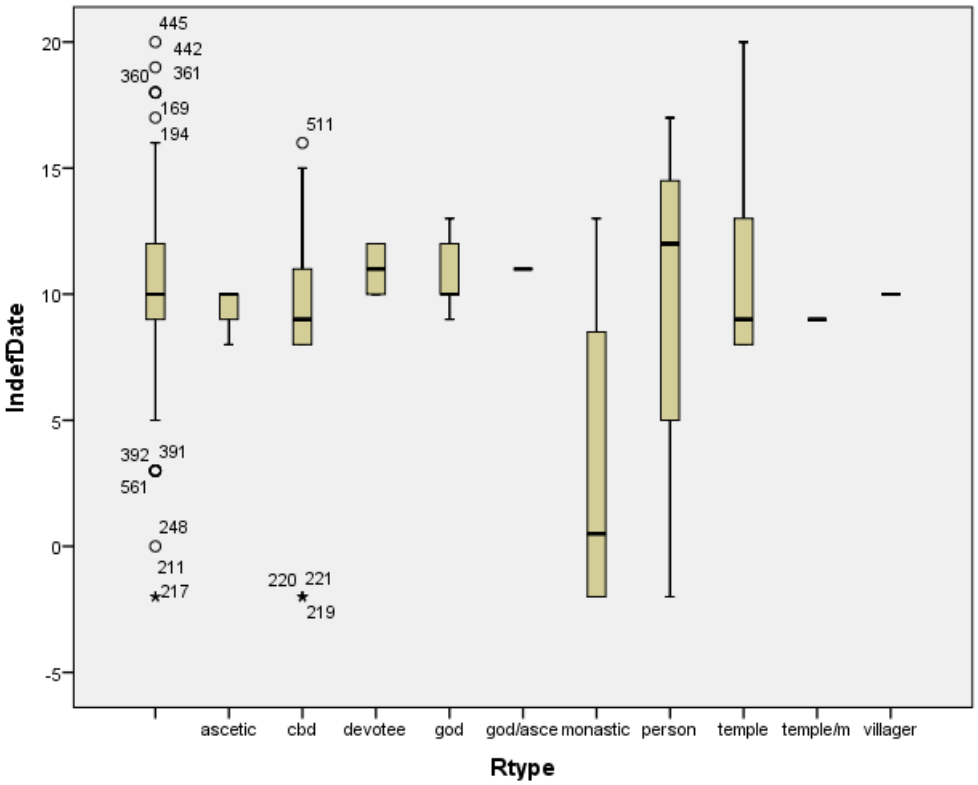


Figure 3.7 Recipients of Donations from Jain Inscriptions Over Time

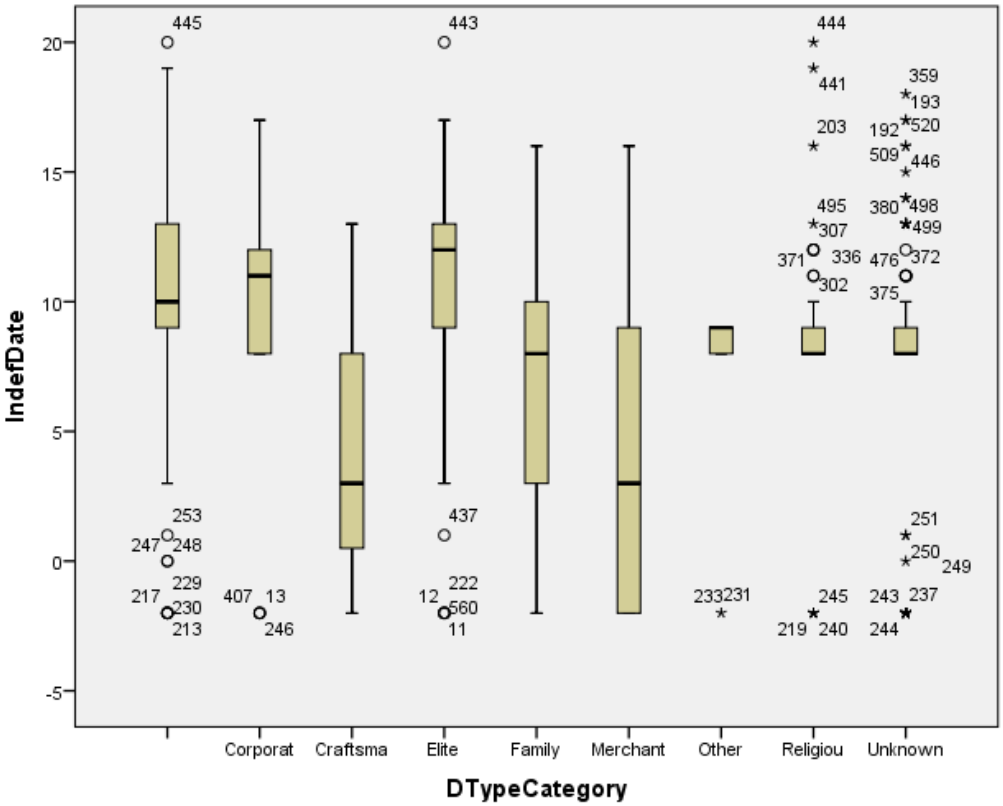


Figure 3.8 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions by Type of Donation Over Time

All of these trends are interrelated, as the creation of new temples necessitated donations for the financing of worship services, including funds for priests and presiding deities, as well as the construction of temple architecture and the carving of images. This also fits with data in the RType (type of recipient) boxplot (Fig. 3.7).

With regard to DTypeCategory (meta-category for type of donor), the group with the largest interquartile spread is merchants, with a skew towards the earlier centuries (Fig. 3.8). It is interesting to note that religious donors (e.g. monks, nuns, disciples, and priests) occur primarily in inscriptions from the 8th and 9th centuries CE. This corresponds to the revitalization of hill centers and construction of new monasteries and temples which began c. 8th century CE, and is associated with inscriptions containing references to the Jain monk Ajja Nandi.[26] Also, elite patronage is documented primarily in inscriptions from the 11th century. This pattern seems to contradict traditional historical narratives that suggest political elites associated with the major dynasties ceased to patronize Jainism following their (re)conversion to Hinduism in the 6th to 8th centuries CE.

With regard to the gender of the donor, the boxplot shows that female donors are concentrated in the 8th and 9th centuries (Fig. 3.9). This coincides with inscriptions from Kaḷugumalai, mentioned earlier. There are approximately 116 Jain inscriptions dating to the 8th century, 86% of which are from Kaḷugumalai. When Kaḷugumalai is included in the calculations, 28% (n=32) of donors from the 8th century are female and 63% (n=73) are male. There are a total of 105 donative inscriptions at Kaḷugumalai: 101 from the 8th century and 4 from the 9th century. Of these 105 inscriptions, 29% (n=30) are donations from women and 63% (n=66) are donations from men, and 9% (n=9) lack information regarding the donor's gender. If Kaḷugumalai is

[26] Ibid. See also discussion of Ajja Nandi above.

removed from the dataset, the number of female donors from 2nd century BCE to 20th century is *cut in half*, falling from 56 to 26 inscriptions. Therefore, in any analysis concerning gender, Kaḷugumalai will skew the data. Moreover, because the site of Kaḷugumalai accounts for 48% (n=105) of the 218 inscriptions from the 8th and 9th centuries and 82% (n=101) of the 124 inscriptions from the 8th century, it will skew the data in *any* analysis related to the 8th or 9th centuries. Some of the issues associated with including Kaḷugumalai in a statistical analysis of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu stem from the number of inscriptions at the site. This would be less of an issue if the patterns seen in the inscriptions from Kaḷugumalai roughly corresponded to patterns seen elsewhere. However, as shown above with relation to gender, statistics for Kaḷugumalai can differ significantly from the larger corpus of Jain inscriptions. Clearly, Kaḷugumalai is a unique and interesting site that requires greater attention and research.

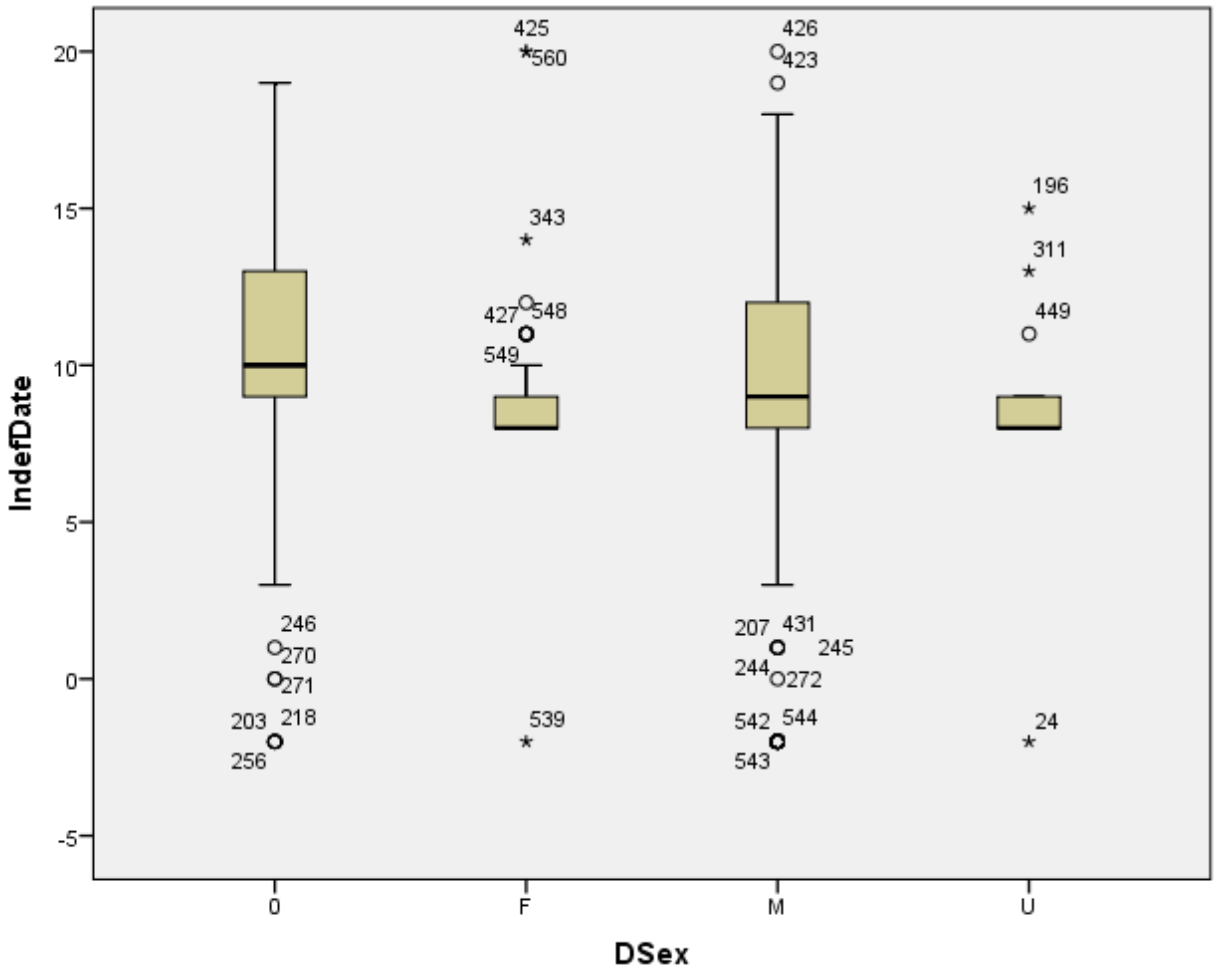


Figure 3.9 Chronological distribution of Jain inscriptions by gender

3.4. Donation Practices in Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions c. 3rd century BCE to 4th century CE

As discussed in Chapter 2, the majority of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions in Tamil Nadu are associated with Jain hill sites, particularly those located close to Madurai, which was a bustling market center and the capital city of the Pandiyas during the Early Historic period. A close examination of these inscriptions may provide information about the earliest communities of Jains in Tamil Nadu. For these analyses, I chose a different dataset, the corpus of Early and Late Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from Iravatham Mahadevan's *Early Tamil Epigraphy*.[27] This list is

[27] Mahadevan.

preferable to that of Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam because it is organized into a single chronology (rather than estimated dates from different scholars and journals) and contains detailed information about the content and contexts of the inscriptions. Some limitations of this list arise from the chronological organization, which, as noted in Chapter 2, may require revision if we are to take seriously the early radiocarbon dates associated with Tamil-Brahmi and Brahmi inscriptions on pottery.

Although Mahadevan's corpus is organized differently than the topographical list of Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam, my database for these inscriptions contains the same categories. In addition to these, the database also contains information about the number of letters in the inscription as an indicator of length (Letters), how many of these letters are Ashokan-Brahmi (ABLetters), the specific context of those letters (ABContext), whether the inscription contains any symbols (Symbols), and Mahadevan's classification of the script as Early or Late Tamil-Brahmi (MScript).

It is also important to keep in mind that my analysis concerns a specific sub-set of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, those which are located at Jain sites and/or record donations to Jain monasteries. Just as these donations were being carved in Tamil-Brahmi on drip ledges and rock-cut beds of Jain monasteries, this script was also being used to etch names on pottery and commemorate the deaths of men slain in cattle raids on hero stones. As discussed in Chapter 2, Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions have also been found on pottery, coins, intaglios, and hero stones.

3.4.1. Content and Contexts of Jain Inscriptions in Tamil-Brahmi

Of Mahadevan's corpus of 89 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, 84 may be classified as "Jain" due to content and/or context,[28] and, of these, 70 are complete. The majority (91%, n=76) of Jain inscriptions in Tamil-Brahmi are donations. Four inscriptions are indeterminate due to their fragmentary nature.[29] Two inscriptions at Arachalur (Nos. 86 and 87) record musical notations, and two inscriptions associate the bed or cave with specific monks: No. 48 at Alagarmalai identifies a rock-cut bed as the stone where Kaṇi Nākaṉ and Kaṇi Nātaṉ reside,[30] and No. 60 at Anaimalai indicates that this hill is the abode in which Eri Āritaṉ the *patantaṉ* (venerable monk) and Araṭṭa Kāyipaṉ the *attuvāyi* (expounder of meaning) reside.[31]

As highlighted earlier, the majority (51%, n=43) of Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are located in Madurai district, and the sites with the most inscriptions are Alagarmalai in Madurai district (n=13), Pugalur in Karur district (n=12), and Mettuppatti in Dindigul district (n=10). At the site level, the context of all the inscriptions is monastic, in that they occur at Jain monastic sites, predominantly cave sites located atop granitic hills. The highest number of such inscriptions are located on the brows of caves (rock face directly above the opening of the cave) (n=40), followed by beds (n=36), other parts of the cave (n=7), and adjacent to the cave (n=1, rock). Of the inscriptions in which the object donated could be identified or inferred (n=60), the donations primarily funded the carving of beds (n=28) or the cave itself (n=23). These were

[28] The number of Mahadevan's inscriptions is 89, but inscription number 55 from Tirupparankunram is actually two inscriptions, which brings the number of Jain inscriptions to 84 rather than 83. That the inscriptions are separate is very clear from both the orthography as well as the placement. The first part of the inscription is engraved over a series of beds and is separated from the second part of the inscription with a line. The second half is written over a bench/bed that lies perpendicular to the other beds. The depth of the letters above the beds is greater, and the letters of the two inscriptions are distinct enough to suggest two different engravers.

[29] Mahadevan No. 51 at Tirumalai, and Nos. 64, 68, 71 at Pugalur.

[30] kāṇi nākāṉa kāṇi nātāṉa īruvāra ama kala = kaṇi nākaṉ kaṇi nataṉ iruvar ama kal See Mahadevan, 383, 576-77.

[31] iva kuṉaṟatū uṟaiyuḷa pātanatāṉa eri āritaṉa / atatuvāyi araṭṭa kāyipaṉa = iva kuṉṟatu uṟaiyuḷ patantaṉ Eri Āritaṉ / attuvāyi Araṭṭa Kāyipaṉ Cf. Ibid., 403, 591-92.

followed by donations for the carving of drip ledges[32] (n=3) on the brows of the caves to prevent water from flooding the interiors, or other features associated with the caves such as the forecourt (n=1) or water sources (pool, spring, tank n=3). Thus, the purpose of all of these donations, where identifiable, was monastic, as they funded the creation of monastic spaces and water sources for the monks.

The format of the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions is often very short; in some cases consisting of only the name of the donor. For example, many of the inscriptions carved on the "pillows" of rock-cut beds at sites like Vikkiramangalam and Mettuppatti consist of only a name or a name followed by a noun identifying the inscription as a gift.[33] Complete Jain inscriptions in Tamil-Brahmi range in length from 4 to 62 characters, with an average of 19 characters, although most have 11 characters (mode=11). Using Mahadevan's classification scheme of Early and Late Tamil-Brahmi, there are an average of 16 characters per complete Early Tamil-Brahmi inscription (n=56, ranging from 4 to 56 characters, mode=11, median=13) and an average of 27 characters per Late Tamil-Brahmi inscription (n=17, ranging from 11 to 62 characters, mode=11, median=25).

As discussed in Chapter 2, Mahadevan's chronology of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions is partly based on the hypothesis that Tamil-Brahmi developed out of Ashokan-Brahmi, and thus the earliest inscriptions in his corpus are those containing the most Ashokan-Brahmi letters. For example, the site with the most Ashokan-Brahmi letters (n=7), Mangulam, is considered the oldest. In 9 out of the 11 instances within the corpus, Ashokan-Brahmi letters are used in the

[32] These inscriptions were coded using Mahadevan's translations. In these three inscriptions from Kongarpuliyankulam, Mahadevan has suggested that the object of donation is the cutting of the drip ledge. However, in my own translation, I propose that the object of donation is a canopy or organic superstructure. For a detailed discussion of the inscriptions at Kongarpuliyankulam, see Chapter 6 and Appendix A.

[33] Name only (Vikkiramangalam Nos. 21, 22; Mettuppatti Nos. 25, 26, 27, 29, 30), name followed by a noun (Vikkiramangalam Nos. 20, 23; Mettuppatti Nos. 28, 31, 32, 33).

spelling of names. The two exceptions are the use of the Ashokan-Brahmi character for '*dh'* in the word *dhamma* in Nos. 1 and 2 at Mangulam. Mahadevan has classified all the inscriptions with Ashokan-Brahmi characters as Early. However, Ashokan-Brahmi characters appear on and off throughout his sequential list of Early Tamil-Brahmi sites, with the 's' in the name Vessan at Aiyarmalai (No. 50 of 59 Early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions), c. 1st century BCE, as the latest. Notably, none of the terms for Jain religious persons contain Ashokan-Brahmi letters.[34] Symbols, perhaps indicative of different merchant guilds, are also a feature of the Early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, and appear at the sites of Kongarpuliyankulam, Alagarmalai, and Vikkiramangalam. An additional symbol was discovered at Kongarpuliyankulam during archaeological survey in 2016. These symbols are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

3.4.2. Composition of Jain Community in Donative Inscriptions

There are roughly 83 different named donors in the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. Looking closely at the list of names, 22 are merchants or merchant guilds. In some cases, such as the inscriptions from Alagarmalai, the profession of the individual is clearly expressed (e.g. goldsmith or cloth merchant). In other cases, it is a title, like *antai* or *kaviti,* that suggests a merchant affiliation.[35] There are also five men with names that reference the god of wealth, Kubera,[36] which may or may not indicate that they were merchants. Because in this case the identification is unclear, within the database these individuals were classified as Unknown with regard to their donor type (DType).

[34] This is only true if the translation for Nos. 1 and 2 at Mangulam follows Mahadevan. He interprets the title of the head monk *kāṇiya nānatā asiriya ī kuvaaṉa* as Kaṇi Nanta Śri Kuvan, while I interpret it as Kaṇi Nanta Āsiriyaī Kuvaṉ, *asiriya* meaning 'teacher', from the Prakrit *ācārya*. Mahadevan ignores the '*y*' making it part of Śri. See Mahadevan, 543-50.

[35] Antai Ariyti, Antai Assutan, Antai Centan, Antai Iravatan, Antai of Nakaperur, Antai of Patinur, Antai Vissuvan of Matirai, Cantantai Cantan, Korrantai Ilavan, Korrantai of Nalal, Kuvira-antai, Kuvira-antai Vel.

[36] Cenkuviran, Kuvira-antai, Kuvira-antai Vel, Kurivan, Kurivan of Pettalai.

The next most popular class of donor is Elite (n=11), which includes individuals associated with the Pandiyan king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ, the Chera prince Ilaṅkatunkō, chieftains (*vēḷ, kōṉ, ilayar*), and a Satiyaputto (one of the four polities mentioned in Ashoka's second rock edict). About six of the names indicate a religious affiliation. For example, three donors have names that begin with the title *upacan*, meaning either "arhat" or "devotee".[37] Other religious persons include a nun (*pamitti*), a monk (*kaṇi*), and a minor arhat (*ilanatan*). There are also donations from entire villages (Akalur, Titti-il, and Vempirrur).

In the cases where gender could be determined, the donors are predominantly men (94%, n=62). All of the named recipients of donations are male monks (n=9). Of the four inscriptions with named female donors, there are three distinct donors: Kīraṉ Koṟṟi (Nos. 65 and 66), Sappamittā (No. 41), and Cēkkanti-aṇṇi (No. 83). Kīraṉ Koṟṟi is identified as the daughter of Piṭṭaṉ/Piṭṭantai of Nalliyūr. Her name appears next to the entrance of one of the caves on the hill at Pugalur. The inscription states that she contributed to the creation of the monastery (*paḷḷi*). Her name also appears in an inscription above a rock-cut bed within the cave that records her donation of the bed (*atiṭaṉam*). Sappamittā is described as a Jain nun (*pamitti*).[38] Her name appears in a list of donors engraved across the brow of the cave at Alagarmalai, indicating that she contributed to either the creation of the monastery or perhaps the drip ledge. The beginning of this list of donors is modified by *mattiraikē* (of Madurai), which suggests that Sappamittā, along with the rest of the donors in the list, may have been from Madurai. Cēkkanti-aṇṇi is

[37] Mahadevan correlates *upacan* with *upadhyaya*, one of the 5 holy personages of Jainism. However, the words for *upadhyaya* in Tamil are *upatti, upattini, uvatti* (used in *Maṇimēkalai*), *uvattini*, and *uvattu*. Instead, *upacana* may be related to *upacanai* (worship) and mean "worshiper" or "devotee".

[38] This is Mahadevan's translation, as the term is similar to *paimmai* and *pammai*, both meaning a Jaina nun or female ascetic. The former term appears in the *Piṅkala nikaṇṭu* (*Piṅkalantai*) c. 850-900, while the latter term appears in the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* c. 12th century, both of which were authored by Jain monks. Mahadevan, 572-73; Tamil Lexicon, (Madras: University of Madras, 1936), http://www.purl.oclc.org/dsal/dictionaries/PL4756.M2.

identified as the mother of Cēkkanti of Perumpokaḷ. She provided a donation for the creation of the monastery (*paḷḷi*) at Nekanurpatti.[39]

It is unwise to speculate about the constitution of the entire Jain religious community in Tamil Nadu during the Early Historic period from a group of 84 extant inscriptions. However, the dataset does suggest that women were rarely represented in lithic inscriptions associated with early Jain monastic sites. It is possible that the early Jain communities in Tamil Nadu did not have many women, or that the medium of lithic inscriptions excluded or failed to capture the activities of Jain nuns and female laity.

In order to explore whether there was any relationship between the type of donor and the object donated, I ran two sets of statistics, first including slash categories (e.g. corporate/craftsman, merchant/elite) where there were multiple categories of donor, and a second time reducing those categories to the highest social value (e.g. merchant/elite became elite). In both cases, there was a significant ($p < 0.001$, 99.9% confidence) relationship between the type of donor and the object donated. The places where this is particularly true can be seen in the crosstabulation as well as in the bar chart (Table 3.2, Fig. 3.10). Merchants predominantly fund the carving of beds, while elites predominantly fund the carving of the entire cave or monastery (*paḷḷi*).

[39] Both she and her daughter may have been Jain nuns, as indicated by the suffix *-kanti* in their names. Tamil Lexicon indicates such a meaning in the 10th century Jain epic *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*. See also , 437, n. 7.

Table 3.2 Crosstabulation of Donated Object by Donor Type

			Donor Type							
				corporate	elite	family	merchant	religious	unknown	Total
Donated Object	(not Identifiable)	Count	8_{a}	$0_{a, b, c}$	0_{c}	$0_{b, c}$	$7_{a, b}$	$2_{a, b}$	$7_{b, c}$	24
		Expected Count	3.7	.9	3.1	1.7	5.7	1.7	7.1	24.0
		Residual	4.3	-.9	-3.1	-1.7	1.3	.3	-.1	
	bed	Count	2_{a}	$1_{a, b}$	$2_{a, b}$	$2_{a, b}$	10_{b}	0_{a}	$8_{a, b}$	25
		Expected Count	3.9	.9	3.3	1.8	6.0	1.8	7.4	25.0
		Residual	-1.9	.1	-1.3	.2	4.0	-1.8	.6	
	beds	Count	0_{a}	1_{b}	0_{a}	$1_{a, b}$	0_{a}	$0_{a, b}$	$1_{a, b}$	3
		Expected Count	.5	.1	.4	.2	.7	.2	.9	3.0
		Residual	-.5	.9	-.4	.8	-.7	-.2	.1	
	cave	Count	1_{a}	$0_{a, b, c}$	9_{d}	$3_{c, d}$	2_{a}	$3_{b, c, d}$	$5_{a, b, c}$	23
		Expected Count	3.6	.8	3.0	1.6	5.5	1.6	6.8	23.0
		Residual	-2.6	-.8	6.0	1.4	-3.5	1.4	-1.8	
	drip ledge	Count	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	1_{a}	2_{a}	3
		Expected Count	.5	.1	.4	.2	.7	.2	.9	3.0
		Residual	-.5	-.1	-.4	-.2	-.7	.8	1.1	
	Fore-court	Count	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	1_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		Residual	-.2	.0	-.1	-.1	.8	-.1	-.3	
	music	Count	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	1_{a}	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		Residual	-.2	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	-.1	.7	

Table 3.2 Continued

Donated Object			Donor Type							Total
			N/A	corporate	elite	family	merchant	religious	unknown	Total
	paddy	Count	1_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		Residual	.8	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	-.1	-.3	
	pool	Count	0_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	1_a	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		Residual	-.2	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	-.1	.7	
	spring	Count	1_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		Residual	.8	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	-.1	-.3	
	tank	Count	0_a	1_b	0_a	$0_{a, b}$	0_a	$0_{a, b}$	0_a	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		Residual	-.2	1.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	-.1	-.3	

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of DTypeCategory2 categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

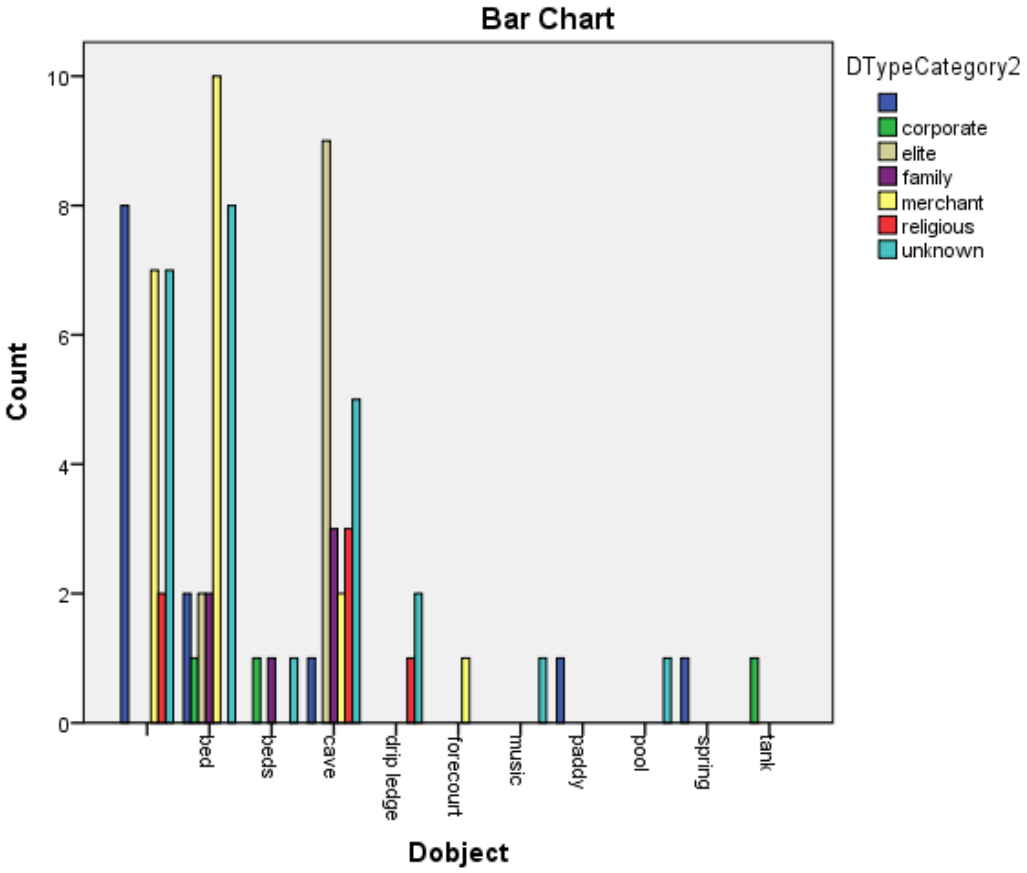


Figure 3.10 Frequency of donated objects by type of donor

As noted in Chapter 2, the Tamil-Brahmi lithic inscriptions at Jain monastic sites not only commemorated the gifts of donors to the monasteries, but also ensured that the donor's name would remain in perpetuity to be read by the monks residing at these sites. In this way, the merit of the donor's gift would continue to accrue long after the donation event. Names carved upon rock-cut beds would have been seen by the monks daily, as they prayed, meditated, studied, and slept upon and in close proximity to these beds, resulting in the continuous accumulation of merit for the donor. In contrast, the inscriptions carved on the brows of the caves, by location, were more public in nature. It is these inscriptions where political elites and prosperous merchants are named, which suggests that such inscriptions represent more significant donations, either in form

(e.g. more money) and/or the status of their patron. Because the exteriors of these caves were augmented with wooden canopies (as indicated by post holes), and because most of the caves are located high up on hills, close to cliff faces, it is unlikely that they were read with the same frequency or intensity by the monks as the inscriptions located within the living quarters. Instead, the primary audience for the large exterior inscriptions may have been the devotees and other individuals who visited the Jain monks in these rocky retreats. It is they who would have been able to view these inscriptions best as they approached the monasteries. Therefore, such inscriptions not only recorded donative acts that would have accrued those named great merit, but also served to communicate these deeds to large audiences of visitors, thereby accruing additional renown.

3.5. Donation Practices in Tamil Nadu c. 5th to 9th century CE

A significant cultural shift occurs around the end of the Early Historic period. The political landscape, which was formerly comprised of chiefly polities, transitioned to a more formal monarchical rule and courtly culture. The 5th to 9th centuries CE were also marked by the rise in image worship and the proliferation of stone temples across South India. The period between the 4th and 7th centuries has traditionally been considered a "Dark Age" in Tamil history, both due to the dearth of historical records (i.e. inscriptions) as well as tales of oppressive foreign rulers, the so-called Kallabras.[40] The association of these rulers with the dominance of ascetic or "heterodox" religions of Jainism and Buddhism has been suggested on the basis of a collection of didactic literature, the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku*, written by predominantly Jain and Buddhist

[40] See K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, 4th ed. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975; repr., 27th impression, 2008), 144-45. Cf. Valérie Gillet, "The Dark Period: Myth or Reality?," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 51, no. 3 (2014).

authors c. 6th to 8th centuries CE. However, as will be demonstrated below and in Chapter 4, there is no "interregnum" in Tamil culture or textual production during this period and no evidence to support its characterization as a "Dark Age".

The period between 5th to 9th centuries CE was chosen for analysis because it roughly corresponds to the use of Vaṭṭeḻuttu script in the Pandiya region of Tamil Nadu. Up until the discovery of the Pulankurichi inscriptions in 1979, there appeared to be a large chronological gap in the inscriptional record between roughly 300 and 600 CE.[41] The three inscriptions engraved on a rock next to an irrigation tank in Pulankurichi village are assigned to c. 5th century based on paleographic evidence, and represent a transitional stage between Tamil-Brahmi and Vaṭṭeḻuttu scripts.[42] The majority of Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions in Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam's list are dated between the 8th and 9th centuries based on dates in the source journals for these inscriptions – estimates that were made prior to the discovery of the Pulankurici inscriptions. Mahadevan dates the use of Vaṭṭṭeḻuttu script from 5th to 11th century CE, with the majority of inscriptions falling between the 7th and 9th centuries.[43] To address these issues in chronology, I have included all of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions from Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam. This accommodation adds four more Vaṭṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions dated to the 10th century CE (ES Nos. 14, 16, 225, 226), bringing the total number of Vaṭṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions in the dataset to 177.

Tamil script also emerged during this time, and was contemporary with the use of Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, but was employed primarily in the eastern parts of Tamil Nadu. The use of Tamil script may be traced to c. 6th century CE, and first appears in the Paḷḷaṉkōvil copper plates

[41] Curiously, the epigraphic record is the only line of evidence during which this gap existed. Tamil literary production continued unabated during this time, and there are no noticeable breaks or significant changes in the material culture at archaeological sites to support an "interregnum".
[42] Y. Subbarayalu, "The Pulangurichi Inscriptions," in *Kaveri: Studies in Epigraphy, Archaeology and History (Professor Y. Subbarayalu Felicitation Volume)*, ed. S. Rajagopal (Chennai: Panpattu Veliyiitakam, 2001); Mahadevan, 210-12.
[43] Ibid.

of Pallava king Simhavarman III (c. 540-500 CE).[44] It is perhaps significant that these plates record a grant of land to Vajranandi, a senior Jain monk at Paruttikkuṉṟu near Kanchipuram. Notably, Vajranandi is also the name of the Jain monk who was said to have established the Drāvida Saṅgha in Madurai c. 470 CE. Thus, the selection of Jain inscriptions between 5th to 9th centuries CE includes 41 Jain inscriptions in Tamil script.[45]

Examining the period between 5th and 9th centuries necessitates the inclusion of the 101 inscriptions at Kaḷugumalai (105 when inscriptions with multiple donations or donors are distinguished), which complicates the statistical analysis due to the unique nature of this site. There are 218 inscriptions in Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam's list dating between c. 5th and 9th centuries CE, 222 when the four inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḻuttu dated to the 10th century are added, and 233 when inscriptions with multiple donations or donors are distinguished. The Kaḷugumalai inscriptions therefore account for nearly half of the dataset of 5th to 9th century Jain inscriptions. Thus, any statistical analysis will be skewed. To see the effect that Kaḷugumalai has on the data, please see the descriptive statistics for the site in Appendix B.

It is significant that inscriptions from Kaḷugumalai show a different distribution of traits in comparison to the rest of the dataset from this period. Most of the inscriptions at Kaḷugumalai are from the 8th century. Thus, when combined with the rest of the dataset, the distribution of inscriptions is skewed toward the 8th century, with 53% of inscriptions from the 8th century (n=124) and 41% (n=95) from the 9th century. When Kaḷugumalai is removed, the difference in the distribution of inscriptions between the 5th and 9th centuries changes dramatically, with only

[44] T.N. Subramanian, "Paḷḷaṉkōvil Jaina Copper-Plate Grant of Early Pallava Period," *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India* (1959).

[45] In addition to Tamil and Vaṭṭeḻuttu scripts, other scripts used in Jain inscriptions between 5th and 9th century CE include Tamil-Brahmi (1 late inscription dated to 5th century CE), Grantha (7 inscriptions), Grantha-Vaṭṭeḻuttu (1 inscription), and Kanarese (5 inscriptions). This information along with the descriptive statistics for 5th-9th century dataset are available in Appendix B.

18% of inscriptions from the 8th century (n=23) and 71% of inscriptions from the 9th century (n=91). Thus, while it might at first appear that the intensity of construction of new Jain temples and images was roughly equivalent between the 8th and 9th centuries, this is incorrect. Rather, when Kaḷugumalai is removed, we can see that there was a significant increase in such activities during the 9th century.

Moreover, at Kaḷugumalai, 94.3% of the inscriptions are associated with images, while for the rest of the dataset, only 43.8% are associated with images. Thus, one might incorrectly infer from the data at Kaḷugumalai that image worship was the dominant form of Jain religious practice during this time, when in fact, Jain religious practices recorded in inscriptions between the 5th and 9th centuries are more diverse. Within the subset of Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions (when Kaḷugumalai is removed), 72.2% are associated with images. What this statistic suggests is either a) that the donation of Jain images was concentrated in the Pandiya region (the prime location of Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions), and/or b) that the choice of script (Vaṭṭeḷuttu, Tamil, Grantha, or Kanarese) may have been influenced by the content and context of the inscription (e.g. Vaṭṭeḷuttu script may have been preferred when recording donations of images while Tamil script was more often used to record donations of lands or funds to Jain temples).

All of Kaḷugumalai's inscriptions are in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and all represent Tamil language. However, there is a greater diversity of scripts and languages represented in the larger dataset. Notably, at Kaḷugumalai, there is a higher percentage of religious donors (41%, n=43) and a higher percentage of female donors (28.6%, n=30) than found in the larger dataset (19.5% religious, 9.4% female donors) or in Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions alone (29.2% religious donors, 8.3% female donors). Therefore, in the analyses that follow, I provide two sets of data. The first

includes Kaḷugumalai along with all other Jain inscriptions from c. 5th to 9th centuries CE, and the second excludes Kaḷugumalai.

3.5.1. Content and Contexts of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th to 9th century CE

As in the Early Historic period, between c. 5th and 9th centuries CE Madurai remained an important center of Jainism. However, 45% of the inscriptions from this period come from Kaḷugumalai in Thoothukkudi district, 120 km southwest of Madurai city. Clearly, Kaḷugumalai was a significant pilgrimage center and its relationship with other centers of Jainism requires further research. When removed, Madurai district contains the largest number of inscriptions (31%, n=40), followed by Dindugul district to the north (13%, n=17), Pudukkottai to the east (11%, n=14), and Tiruvannamalai in the northeast part of the state (9%, n=12). This distribution also reflects the location of the sites with the highest numbers of inscriptions. Kaḷugumalai in Thoothukkudi district contains the most inscriptions by far (n=101), followed by Aiyyampalayam in Dindigul district (n=14), Sittannavasal in Pudukkottai district (n=10) and Uttamapalayam in Madurai district (n=9). Thus, some of the most active sites, in terms of donations and inscriptional activity, are within Pandiya-nadu.

Donations are still the primary form of inscription, accounting for 84% (n=195) of the dataset (but 71%, n=91 without Kaḷugumalai), followed by inscriptions that are fragmentary or unclear (10%, n=24), and sales or other non-gift transactions (6%, n=14). Images are the primary object of donation (59%, n=138), followed by gold (9%, n=12), land (6%, n=9), the temple itself (5%, n=6) or a shrine (3%, n=4), and sheep to provide ghee for temple lamps[46] (n=6). While the

[46] Four of the six inscriptions recording donations of sheep come from the site of Paḷḷimaṭam in Virudhunagar district (ES Nos. 170-173). These inscriptions are also noteworthy as they all reference a temple called Tirukkāṭṭāmpaḷḷi at Kuṟaṇṭi, which is no longer extant. The inscriptions are found out of situ, on stones built into the Śiva temple at Paḷḷimaṭam. Other donations of sheep occur at Kaḷugumalai in Thoothukudi district (ES No 155), and Kilavalavu in Madurai district (ES No 229). Sheep are donated in large herds in multiples of 5, ranging from 25

number of donated images is significantly reduced (34%, n=43) with the removal of Kaḷugumalai, the proportion and hierarchy of other donations remains essentially the same.

While in the Early Historic period, all the inscriptions were associated with the creation of Jain rock-cut monastic retreats, in the Early Medieval period this number is significantly reduced. Inscriptions from monastic contexts account for only 9% of the dataset. Instead, the majority (66.5%) of inscriptions are associated with images and 20% are associated with temples. This signals a significant shift in worship practices, with the emergence of veneration of rock-cut relief images and the construction of temples with relief images and three-dimensional idols. Indeed, most (80%) of donative inscriptions were located in or around temples. However, monastic institutions continued to receive new patronage, as demonstrated by the 21 donative inscriptions with monastic recipients (12%, n=21).

At the site level, the majority of inscriptions (61%, n=141) are associated with images. However, when Kaḷugumalai is removed this number is significantly reduced (33%, n=42). Outside of Kaḷugumalai, the other popular locations for inscriptions are rocks (30%, n=38), usually associated with temples (n=19), lone images (n=13), and natural caves (11%, n=14), i.e. unmodified natural caves. However, these inscriptions at natural caves are located at only three sites: Aiyyampalayam in Dindigul district (c. 7th to 10th century), Vedal in Tiruvannamalai district (c. 8th-9th century), and Tirunarungondai in Viluppuram district (c. 9th century). Over the course of nearly five centuries, there are only four inscriptions associated with rock-cut beds: Tiruchirappalli in Tiruchirappalli district, c. 7th century; Sittannavasal in Pudukkottai district, c. 8th century; Virasikhamani in Sankarankoil district, c. 9th century; and Karungalakkudi in Madurai district, c. 9th century.

sheep at Kaḷugumalai to 100 at Paḷḷimaṭam (Kaḷ 25, Kil 30, Pall 50, 50, 75, 100). Ghee also appears as an object of donation without reference to sheep in 1 inscription at Kaḷugumalai (ES No 74).

The recipients of the donations recorded in inscriptions from the 5th to 9th century CE are predominantly temples (n=135 80% of donative inscriptions, 58% of all inscriptions), followed by monastics (n=21).[47] These patterns in the epigraphic record suggest a change in the organization of the Jain religious community as well as religious spaces and architecture. Overall, they suggest a move away from the construction of new monastic cave sites, with patronage instead focused on the restoration and elaboration of old sites with new images and the creation of temples.

The distributions of contexts and donated objects do not show any significant patterns between the 5th and 9th centuries CE. Examining box-plots with the date of the inscription as the dependent variable and the nominal categories like context, context type, donated object, and donation type as the independent variables shows concentrations in the 8th and 9th centuries. However, this corresponds to the fact that the majority of inscriptions between 5th and 9th centuries CE are concentrated in the 8th and 9th centuries (95% of the dataset containing Kaḷugumalai, 89% of the dataset without). Notably, Jain inscriptions found in various places around villages have the widest spread, from 5th to 10th centuries (Fig. 3.11). This is indicative of the deterioration and destruction of Jain sites in later periods, which resulted in the reuse of the materials bearing inscriptions in new contexts.

[47] Other recipient categories include: temple/monastic (n=3), specific deity (n=3), ascetics (n=2), and could not be determined (n=5).

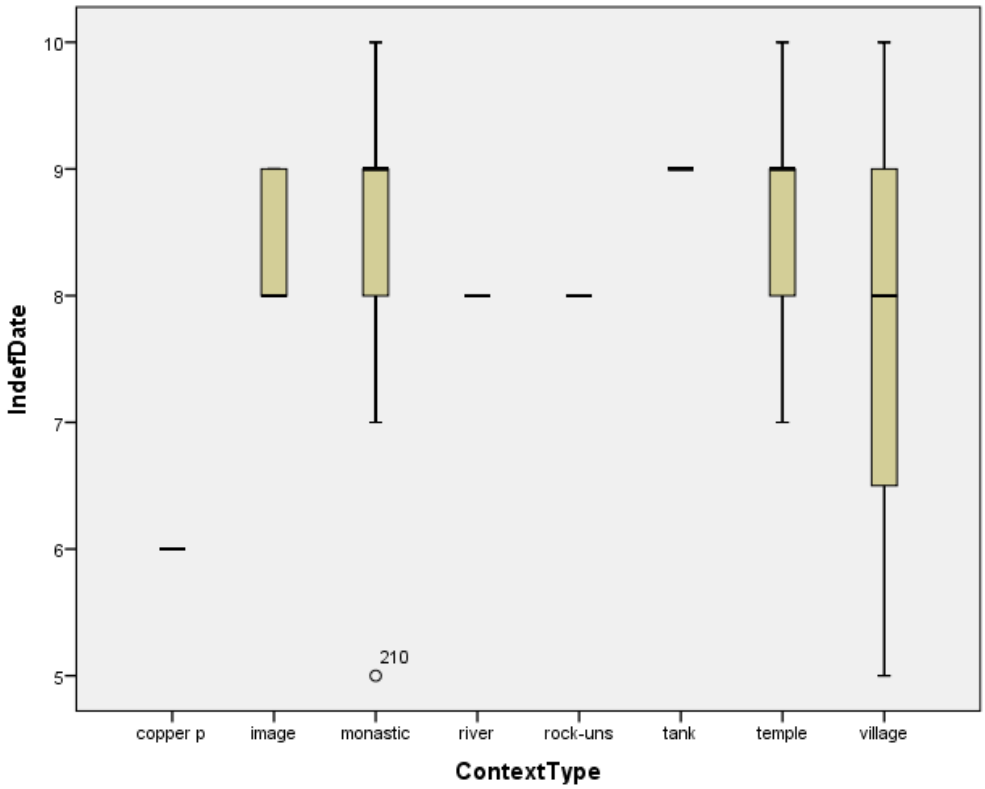


Figure 3.11 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions from 5th to 10th century CE by Context Type

While Tamil-Brahmi is the signature script of the Early Historic period, between 5th and 9th centuries a number of new scripts developed. The dominant script used in Jain inscriptions is Vaṭṭeḻuttu (76%, n=177). However, this bias is primarily due to the concentration of Jain sites in the Pandiya region, as well as the high number of inscriptions at Kaḻugumalai. When Kaḻugumalai is removed from the dataset, Vaṭṭeḻuttu only accounts for 56% of the inscriptions (n=72), with Tamil emerging as second major script (32%, n=41). Other scripts used include Brahmi (a single late Tamil-Brahmi inscription, perhaps inaccurately dated to 5th century), Grantha (n=7) and a combination of Grantha and Vaṭṭeḻuttu (n=1), Kannada (aka Kanarese) (n=5), and combination of Telugu and Kannada scripts (n=1). Despite hypotheses concerning the arrival of Jainism to Tamil Nadu via Karnataka, it worth noting that the first inscriptions in

Kannada do not occur in Tamil Nadu until 8th (n=1) or 9th century (n=5). This roughly coincides with the emergence of Śravaṇa Belgola as a major center of Jainism in South India.

3.5.2. Composition of Community in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th to 9th century CE

There are roughly 150 named donors in the Jain inscriptions dated between the 5th and 9th centuries CE. A more careful analysis might be able to combine some of these individual names into variants of the same name, and perhaps reduce the number of individuals to between 100 and 125. The majority of named donors are men (71%, n=129), followed by women (23%, n=42), and unknown or indeterminate (6%, n=10). As noted earlier, these statistics change slightly when Kaḷugumalai is removed, with men accounting for 80% (n=63), women 15% (n=12) and 5% unknown (n=4). Essentially, the ratio of men to women drops from 3:1 with Kaḷugumalai to 5:1 without. Such changes in the ratio of males:females is even more apparent in the 8th-9th centuries.[48]

Geographically, female and male donors are most prominently represented in Thoothukkudi district (30 female donors, 66 male donors). However, when Kaḷugumalai is removed, the number of donations in Thoothukkudi district drops to zero. The next highest concentration of female and male donors is in Madurai district (3 female donors, 24 male donors), followed by Dindigul (2 f, 8 m), Kanniyakumari (2 f, 4 m), Tiruvannamalai (2 f, 4 m), and Virudhunagar district (0 f, 4 m). While there are some districts where there are no donors with discernable gender (Sankarankoil, Tiruchirappalli), and districts with only male donors

[48] In the 8th century, the ratio of males:females without Kaḷugumalai is about 6:1 (11 males and 2 females), and 5:1 (50 males and 10 females) in the 9th century. If Kaḷugumalai is included, women appear much more prominently in the 8th century, at a ratio of roughly 2:1 (73 males and 32 females).

(Dharmapuri, Pudukkottai, Tirunelveli, and Vellore), there are no districts with only female donors.

Where their status may be determined, the majority of identifiable donors may be classified as religious persons (64%, n=68), followed by elites (15%, n=16), those identified by their relationship to kin (n=12), and lastly merchants (n=2), craftsmen (n=2), corporate (n=2), and others (n=4).[49] This distribution of donors is notably different than the previous period, when merchants were the most prominent donors (n=22) in Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, followed by elite (n=11) and religious (n=6). The number of donations from religious persons from 5th to 9th century Jain inscriptions is reduced by 43 (a 37% reduction) when Kaḷugumalai is removed, falling to 25 total inscriptions from 10 of the remaining 47 sites in the dataset.[50] The number of donations from elites remains the same (n=11), but now makes up 22% of identifiable donors, while the other categories and proportions remain roughly the same.[51] Unsurprisingly, donations by religious persons are concentrated in Thoothukkudi district (n=43) (where Kaḷugumalai is located), followed by Madurai (n=10), Dindigul (n=6) and Kanniyakumari (n=6), and Kancheepuram (n=2). The significant concentration in Thoothukkudi comes entirely from Kaḷugumalai and highlights the significant and unique nature of this site. In addition, at least 9 of the inscriptions from Madurai and Dindigul are those which mention the Jain monk Ajja Nandi, who was responsible with revitalizing Jainism in Tamil Nadu c. 8th century CE.

[49] Corporate donors include the villagers (*ūrār*) of Sāttamaṅkalam and Iḷamakkaḷ (ES No 298), and the villagers (*ūrār*) of Agalūr (ES No 407b). Others include residents of local villages (ES No 153, 154, 170), and a servant (ES No 250).
[50] Inscriptions recording donations from religious persons are present at Aiyampalayam, Alagarmalai, Chitaral, Karuppankunru, Kilakkudi, Kirappakkam, Muttuppatti, Pechchipallam, Sittanavasal, and Uttamapalayam.
[51] When Kaḷugumalai is removed from the dataset: family (n=8), merchants (n=2), corporate (n=2), and other (n=2)

While epigraphist Leslie Orr has noted that the practice of Jain religious persons donating to Jain institutions is rare outside of Tamil Nadu,[52] it was a common practice amongst Buddhists. Research by Gregory Schopen has highlighted the significant roles played by Buddhist monks and nuns in financing the creation of stupas as well as the images and other illustrations upon them, as documented in early Buddhist donative inscriptions and texts.[53] Across the different context types, 58 of the 68 donations by Jain religious persons are associated with images.[54] When the specific object of donation is indicated, 59 of the 68 donations by religious persons are images for veneration. While it could be speculated that these images were carved by the religious persons themselves, this is debatable. Particularly, if one looks at the images at Kaḷugumalai, one finds that many are identical and in fact there are a number of images that match these but lack inscriptions. Since carving, especially in stone, is a learned skill that requires a special set of tools, techniques, and experience, it seems more likely that these images were the work of artists and stonemasons rather than monks. In the case of Kaḷugumalai, the similarity of the images suggests that each one was not handcrafted by the individual whose name appears below it. Moreover, the large groups of identical images, some with and some without inscriptions, suggests that in some cases the images were carved by a single craftsman or cohesive group of craftsmen independently and prior to the carving of inscriptions beneath them,

[52] "[D]onative activity on the part of Jain religious men and women is rarely met with outside of Tamilnadu." Orr, "Jain and Hindu "Religious Women" in Early Medieval Tamilnadu," 201, n. 17.

[53] In his analysis of the earliest Buddhist donative inscriptions from Bhārhut and Sāñcī, Schopen notes how "those donors actively involved with establishing and embellishing sacred objects and sacred sites, those donors actively involved with the stūpa cult and donative, merit-making activity -- were monks or nuns." See Gregory Schopen, "Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Layman/Monk Distinction and the Doctrines of the Transference of Merit," in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 31. For discussion of the role of Buddhist monks and nuns as the donors of the very earliest images at Sārnāth and Sāñcī, see "On Monks, Nuns, and "Vulgar" Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism," *Artibus Asiae* 49, no. 1-2 (1988-89); "What's in a Name: The Religious Function of the Early Donative Inscriptions." And for a discussion of Buddhist monks as active donors to their own monastic communities in the Pāli *Vinaya* texts, see "The Ritual Obligations and Donor Roles of Monks in the Pāli *Vinaya*," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 16 (1992).

[54] Other contexts include temples (n=5), monastic locations (n=3), and a tank (n=1)

and perhaps prior to the donations that merited the creation of those inscriptions. The veneration of these images by other religious persons, as well as Jain laity and pilgrims, would have accrued great merit for the person who enabled their creation and merit upon the person whose name was engraved under the image. [55] For Jain monastics whose concern with religious merit and adherence to the mahavratas was most intense, it follows that one would find their names associated with these images. Moreover, the creation of images is one way to help guide religious devotion and practice amongst the laity, which fits with Jain monastics' role in providing spiritual instruction and guidance for the Jain laity.

It is also worth noting that Jain religious persons are associated with donations of gold in 3 inscriptions from the 9th century. At Aiyyampāḷayam (Aivarmalai) Śāntivīrakuravar of Kāḻam, a Jain monk, donated 505 *kāṇam* of gold for offerings to images of Parshvanath and *yakshis* at Tiruvayirai as well as the feeding of one ascetic.[56] At Chitarāl, Guṇatāṅki Kurattikaḷ, a Jain nun, gave some gold ornaments to a deity at Tiruccāraṇattumalai.[57] At Uttamapāḷayam, Anantavīra-aṭikaḷ, a Jain monk, gave 11 *kāśu* for a lamp for Tiruguṇagiridēva.[58] Among these, the donation of 505 gold coins is perhaps the most notable given its size. How a senior monk came to have such funds at his disposal may perhaps be due to external patronage at the monastery where he was residing.

There are six dynasties or political groups mentioned in the Jain inscriptions between 5th and 9th centuries CE: Āy, Chola, Irunkō, Nolamba, Pallava, Pandiya, and Western Gangas. Some

[55] For an analysis of the potential ritual significance of carving one's name at sacred sites, see Schopen, "What's in a Name: The Religious Function of the Early Donative Inscriptions."
[56] ES No. 2, *kuravaṉ* is a term for a religious elder, likely an elder Jain monk. *Kāṇam* is an ancient gold coin. See also *Annual Report on Epigraphy* 1905 No. 705; *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. 14, No. 22; and *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. 32, pp. 335-338.
[57] ES No. 179. See also *Travancore Archaeological Series* Vol. 1, p. 194-195.
[58] ES No. 261. *Kācu* can mean gold, but a more accurate gloss may be "coin", as this term is often used to denote base metal coins. See Also *ARE* 1905, No. 732, *SII* Vol. 14, No. 128.

inscriptions reference these dynasties in their dates (e.g. indicating the regnal year) and others have royal or elite donors associated with these dynasties. The Āy and Iruṅkō were both Tamil *vēlir* dynasties or chiefdoms. They appear in the Caṅkam *puṟam* anthologies (*Puṟanāṉūṟu* and *Patiṟṟuppattu*) and the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. There are two inscriptions from Chitarāl in Kanniyakumari district dated with the regnal year of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, an Āy chieftain who ruled in the later part of the 9th century.[59] There is one inscription at Tēnimalai in Pudukkottai district, dated to the 8th century, that records a gift of land as *paḷḷiccantam* from an unnamed Iruṅkōvēḷ to a Jain ascetic named Malayadhvaja.[60]

The Chola and Pandiya dynasties were large polities, encompassing much of eastern and southern Tamil Nadu, respectively, and are believed to be later imperial iterations of the Cholas and Pandiyas of the *mūvēntar* of the Early Historic period. There are five inscriptions associated with the Chola dynasty, which come from the sites of Tirunagesvaram in Thanjavur district, Chittāmūr in Villupuram district, and Tirumalai and Vedal in Tiruvannamalai district, all dated to the 9th century. Of the two inscriptions from Chittāmūr, only one features a Chola monarch as a donor. An inscription carved inside the Malainātha temple at Chittāmūr, on a boulder bearing Jain images, records that Queen Kāṭavarkōnpāvai revived some endowments made to the temple.[61] The second inscription at Chittāmūr is dated as the 17th regnal year of Rājakēśarivarman (Āditya I) c. 888 CE.[62] At Tirumalai, a 9th-century inscription on a rock next

[59] ES No. 178 and 179.
[60] ES No. 403.
[61] ES No. 412.
[62] ES No. 411. The title Rājakēśari and Parakēśari were alternated in use and applied to numerous Chola kings. The identification of this Rājakēśari with Aditya I, is based on the analysis of A. Ekambaranathan. See Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam, 341. Chittamur has other inscriptions associated with Chola monarchs (Nos. 413-415, c. 12th century), Vijayanagara kings (No. 416, 420-22 13th – 17th centuries), and Nayaks (No. 417, 16th century), demonstrating the changing political landscape of the region and the importance of this site as a location of royal patronage.

to the painted Jain cave indicates that the donor was the father-in-law of King Mummuṭichōla.[63] An inscription at Vēṭal in Villuppuram district is dated to the 14th regnal year of Rājakēśarivarman (Āditya I), c. 885 CE.[64] Lastly, a 9th-century inscription from Tirunāgēśvaram is loosely associated with the king Āditya I Chōḻa.[65]

There are 37 individual inscriptions associated with the Pandiya dynasty. This group accounts for 55% of the inscriptions associated with various dynasties (n=67). Of these, only two inscriptions have elite donors: one at Erukkaṅkuṭi and one at Anaimalai. The rest are marked as associated with the Pandiya dynasty on the basis of location, script, and occasionally regnal year (n=9). Jain inscriptions associated with the Pandiya dynasty come from nine sites in districts that were then part of Pandiyanadu (See Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Jain Inscriptions associated with the Pandiya dynasty

Site	District	No. Pandya Inscriptions	Inscriptions with regnal year	ES Nos.
Anaimalai	Madurai	8	0	208-215
Karuṅkālakkuṭi	Madurai	1	0	220
Uttamapāḷayam	Madurai	9	1	261-269
Aiyyampāḷayam	Dindigul	12	1	2-13
Sittannavasal	Pudukkottai	1	1	396
Kaḻugumalai	Thoothukkudi	2	2	153-154
Eruvati	Tirunelveli	1	1	524
Erukkaṅkuṭi	Virudhunagar	1	1	167
Paḷḷimaṭam	Virudhunagar	2	2	170-171
Total		**37**	**9**	

[63] ES No. 328.
[64] ES No. 357. This inscription is particularly interesting as it testifies to the existence of large numbers of female monastics: a group of 500 female disciples of Kanakavirakurattiyar, a Jain nun, and a group of 400 nuns from Vēṭal.
[65] ES No. 506. This is based "on paleographical grounds," and the mention of the city Kumaramāttāṇṭapuram, named after the Pallava king Nandivarman III, whose daughter was the wife of the Chōḻa king Āditya I.

Of particular note are the inscriptions from Erukkaṅkuṭi, Anaimalai, and Karuṅkālakkuṭi. At Erukkaṇkuṭi, an inscription dated to the 18th regnal year of Pandiya king Caṭaiyamāṟaṉ Śrivallabha (c. 833 CE), states that Eṭṭicāttan, aka Iruppaikkuṭi Kiḻavan, an official of the Pandiya king, constructed a *perumpaḷḷi* (Jain temple) and a *maṇṭapa* (temple pavilion) at Iruppaikkuṭi.[66] At Anaimalai, a fragmentary inscription from the 9th century, carved below a Jain image above one of the caves, records that the image was caused to be made by Ēnāti Nāṭi for the merit of another person, whose name is illegible. The term *nāṭi* may designate a queen and is used in this way in the Jain epic *Cilappatikāram* (Canto 11, line 215).[67] Indeed, because of the date and location, this woman may have been a Pandiyan queen. At Karuṅkālakkuṭi, a 9th century inscription on one of the rock-cut beds inside a cave on the hill (called Pañcapāṇṭavarkuṭṭu) records meritorious actions performed by a man named Paḷḷitaraiyan, who was in the service of a Pandiyan king (*vaḻuti*).[68]

The Pallavas are considered a "post-Caṅkam" dynasty, although there are twelve sets of copper plates that provide a chronology of Pallava kings from c. 350 to 550 CE.[69] They seem to have emerged and gained power initially in the Guntur and Nellore districts of Andhra Pradesh, and by the 5th century had expanded their territory into northern Tamil Nadu. It is from c. 550 onwards that Pallava copper-plate grants in Tamil language appear, the earliest of which is the Paḷḷankōil grant of Simhavarman, mentioned earlier. There are 15 inscriptions associated with the Pallava dynasty, 11 of which are associated on the basis of their regnal year. From the group of 15, three are associated with elite donors, four are identified by kinship relations, two are

[66] ES No. 167.
[67] ES No. 209. See also definition of *nāṭi* in *Tamil Lexicon*.
[68] ES No. 220.
[69] Y. Subbarayalu "Post-Satavahana and Post-Caṅkam Polities" in Noboru Karashima, ed. *A Concise History of South India: Issues and Interpretations* (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2014), 58.

corporate donations from villagers, and two are from donors of unknown social status. The 15 inscriptions are distributed across ten sites. Most of the inscriptions are located at sites in northeastern districts of Tamil Nadu, an area that would have corresponded to Pallava-nadu: Kanchipuram (the capital of the Pallavas) in Kancheepuram district (n=1); Karantai (n=2), Kilsattamangalam (n=4), Panchapandavamalai (n=1), and Vedal (n=1) in Tiruvannamalai district; and Agalur (n=2), Olakkur (n=1), and Perumandur (n=1) in Villupuram district. However, 2 inscriptions are from sites in eastern Tamil Nadu more often associated with the Cholas: Pallankoil in Thiruvarur district and Ponvilaintanpatti in Thanjavur district.

Inscriptions with elite donors occur at Paḷḷankōil, Kanchipuram, and Olakkur. The Paḷḷankōil copper plates are dated to the 6th regnal year of Pallava king Simhavarman and are written in a combination of Sanskrit language using Grantha script and Tamil language using Tamil script.[70] The Sanskrit portion of the charter records that the Pallava king granted a village (*śramaṇāśrama*) to Vajranandi of the Nandi Caṅkam at Vardhamānēśvaratīrtha. The Tamil portion records that a village (*amaṇaśērkkai*) in Perunagarnāṭu and another portion of land at Tāmar (both located in Kanchipuram district) were granted as *paḷḷiccantam* to Vajranandi-kuravar. While the plates were discovered in Paḷḷankōil, they "belonged to the Jaina temple at Tirupparuttikkuṉṟu in Kanchipuram."[71] Notably, the inscription from the Pallava capital of Kanchipuram, is located in a secondary context, on the floor of the lumber room in the Kāmākshi Amman temple (a Śaivite temple).[72] It is damaged, but the remains show that it is dated to the 18th regnal year of Pallava king Narasiṅkapōttaraiyar (Narasimha II) c. 709 CE, and suggest that a Jain acharya of Mahiḻampaḷḷi helped relieve an affliction of Queen Lōkamahādēvi and in return

[70] ES No. 502. See also Subramanian.
[71] Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam, 427.
[72] ES No. 27.

she donated land to the Arhat Mahiḻampaḷḷi temple. Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam note that the inscription is in 9th-century Tamil characters, and therefore appears to be a copy of an earlier record.[73] The inscription at Olakkūr is also in a secondary context, found on a solitary slab in the Brāhmin street of the village. It states that the image of Pritivi Viṭaṅka-kuratti, a Jain nun, was caused to be carved by the king, who is assumed to be a Pallava king based on the location and other palaeographic evidence.[74]

Unlike the previously mentioned dynasties, the territories of the Nolambas and Western Gangas were located primarily in Karnataka rather than Tamil Nadu. The Nolambas were a minor dynasty that ruled over the Nolambavadi area of Karnataka (today comprising the districts of Bellary, Chitradurg, Tumkur, Bangalore, and Kolar) c. 9th to 10th centuries CE, and extended their kingdom into the Salem and Villupuram districts of Tamil Nadu in the 10th century.[75] The Western Gangas ruled in the southern Mysore region of Karnataka, from their capital at Talakadu on the banks of the Kaveri river, between the 4th and 11th centuries.[76]

The Nolamba dynasty inscriptions (n=4) are all from secondary contexts in the Māriyamman temple and Mallikārjuneswarar temple at Dharmapuri in Dharmapuri district, which shares a border with Kolar and Bangalore districts of Karnataka.[77] One inscription, in Kannada language and script, is located on a broken pillar in the Māriyamman temple in Dharmapuri fort. It records a grant to a Jain temple, possibly by the Nōḷamba king

[73] Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam, 28.
[74] Ibid., 370. See also *Annual Report on Epigraphy* 1909, No. 356, p. 11.
[75] P.N. Chopra, T.K. Ravindran, and N. Subrahmanian, *History of South India: Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd., 2003), 163.
[76] Ibid., 159-61. See also B. Sheikh Ali, *History of the Western Gangas*, Array ed., Comprehensive History of Karnataka; (Mysore: Prasaranga, University of Mysore, 1976); Hampa Nāgrājayya, *A History of the Early Ganga Monarchy and Jainism* (Bangalore: Ankita Pustaka, 1999); K. V. Ramesh, ed. *Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas* (New Delhi: Agam Prakashan, 1984).
[77] ES Nos. 161-164.

Mahēndrarāja.[78] Two other inscriptions, in Sanskrit language and Kannada script, were located on pillars repurposed as a floor of a mandapa in front of the Mallikārjuneswarar temple (they are now in the Madras Museum). ES No. 162 begins with an invocation to the jinas and a genealogy of Nōḷamba rulers, and records that two sons of a merchant built a Jain temple. One of the sons, Nidhiyaṇṇa, received a village from King Mahēndrarāja, which he then gifted to Kanakaśena-Śiddhānta-Bhaṭāra (a Jain religious elite) of the Pogariya-gaṇa for temple lands. ES No. 163 records that the son of King Mahēndrarāja gifted a man named Lōkayya a village, which he then gifted to the Jain temple built by Nidhiyaṇṇa (of ES No. 162). The fourth inscription from Dharmapuri is fragmentary and located on a broken piece of a pillar, now in the Mallikārjuneswarar temple. It has no date, but what remains repeats some of the invocation from the beginning of ES No. 162.

There are three inscriptions associated with the Western Gangas from the sites of Siyamangalam in Tiruvannamalai district and Vallimalai in Vellore district in northern Tamil Nadu. At Siyamangalam a 9th-century inscription in Sanskrit and Grantha script, located in a cave at the top of the hill, records that the Western Gaṅga king Rājamalla II founded two temples for Jinarāja at Vidyādri.[79] The two inscriptions from Vallimalai also mention King Rājamalla II. The first, located on a rock containing Jain images records that the shrine (the rock with images) was founded by King Rājamalla. The second, located on the same rock, is a copy of the first inscription.

[78] ES No. 161.
[79] ES No. 319. It also mentions that a school of monks (*aruṅkaḷ-ānvaya*) belonging to the Nandiśaṇgha of Jinēndraśaṇgha.

3.6. Discussion and Conclusion

Important patterns and trends emerge from the statistical analysis of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu. With regard to the dataset from Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam's *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu*, which includes inscriptions from c. 2nd century BCE through the 20th century CE, some important trends stand out. The first important pattern is the chronological distribution of Jain inscriptions (Fig. 3.3), because it contradicts the dominant narratives concerning the growth and disappearance of Jainism in Tamil Nadu. The number of Jain inscriptions peaks in the 8th and 9th centuries, a strange phenomenon if we are to believe that the Jain religion was largely vanquished by the rise of Brahmanical Hinduism at the end of the so-called Kalabhra interregnum c. 7th century CE.[80] Moreover, the period in which Jainism (along with Buddhism) is said to have dominated Tamil culture, c. 4th to 7th centuries CE, there are few inscriptions. This paucity of inscriptions dating to this time is not unique to Jainism, but rather reflects chronological issues within Tamil epigraphy in general. The other periods of inscriptional activity are the Early Historic period (i.e. the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions) and the Medieval period (c. 10th-13th centuries CE). As we will see in the next chapter, each of these periods have approximate literary correlates, with the Jain contributions to Caṅkam literature and epic *Cilappatikāram* associated with the Early Historic period, the didactic literature of the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* associated with the Early Medieval period, c. 6th-9th century, and many Jain epics (e.g. *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* and all five of the *Aiñciṟukkāppiyam*) composed between the 10th and 13th centuries.

[80] For a discussion of the "standard narrative" regarding the rivalry between Jainism and Śaivism in Tamil Nadu, see Richard H. Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains: Retelling the Śaiva-Jain Encounter in Medieval South India," in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

In addition, the geographical distribution of inscriptions over time (Fig. 3.4), which will also be examined in Chapter 5, shows that the center of Jainism in Tamil Nadu was Madurai and its environs (Dindugul, Erode, Karur) during the Early Historic Period up to perhaps 10th century CE. At this point, there is greater diversity in the geographic distribution of inscriptions, trending toward northeast Tamil Nadu with clusters in Pudukkottai, Kancheepuram, Tiruvannamalai, and Villupuram.

The second important pattern in this dataset is the shift in donations practices, which roughly corresponds to the shift in the epigraphic record from Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions to Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions. This shift is most clear in Figure 3.6, where donations for the purpose of supporting monastic institutions are heavily weighted toward the early centuries BCE and CE. Around the 8th century, two new categories come to dominate the epigraphic record: donations for the construction and maintenance of temples and donations associated with worship services, either through the creation of images or funds/supplies for worship services at a temple. These trends become clearer when examining the dataset of Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and the dataset of Jain inscriptions from c. 5th to 9th century CE.

Within Mahadevan's corpus of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (c. 2nd century BCE to 4th century CE), all of the Jain inscriptions are from monastic contexts. Specifically, they are found at Jain cave sites, many located on hills. Within these sites, they are predominantly found at the mouth of the cave, usually carved above or below a drip ledge (a sharp edge carved to direct rain water downward and prevent it from flowing inside the cave), or in association with rock-cut beds inside the cave. Of the 60 inscriptions where the donated object could be identified or inferred, 28 were related to the carving of beds, 23 to the cutting of the cave itself. In contrast, between the 5th and 9th centuries CE only 21 of the 222 inscriptions (9%, or 12% of the 195

donative inscriptions) recorded donations to monks or monasteries. Instead, the majority of inscriptions record the donation of carved images (66.5%). Donative inscriptions recording gifts of temples, or the construction of temple architecture (e.g. mandapa) account for 20% of the dataset. This signals a significant shift in worship practices, with the emergence of veneration of rock-cut relief images and funds directed to support new temple complexes, which housed relief images and three-dimensional idols of the jinas. Indeed, most (80%) of donative inscriptions were located in or around temples.

Lastly, the analysis of Jain inscriptions also throws light on the patrons or donors to Jain religious sites and institutions. Within the dataset of Jain inscriptions from c. 2nd century BCE to 20th century CE, different donor types are not equally distributed chronologically. Like the shift from monasteries to temples between the Early Historic and Early Medieval periods, there is also a shift in the composition of donors, with the majority of donations from merchants and craftsmen occurring in the early centuries BCE and CE, the majority of donations from elites occurring between the 9th and 13th centuries CE, and donations by Jain religious persons (monks, nuns, disciples, priests, and pupils) concentrated in the 8th and 9th centuries. These trends become clearer when examining the dataset of Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and the dataset of Jain inscriptions from c. 5th to 9th century CE.

As shown in Table 3.4, merchants are the largest category of donor in Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from the Early Historic period. This is followed by elites, which included kings, queens, chieftains, and people associated with the court (e.g. minister or official), as well as village headmen, veḷs, and people associated with the elite (e.g. a relative or servant of a king or queen). Religious individuals are few, and predominantly pupils or disciples (e.g. *upacan*). This distribution gets turned on its head in Jain inscriptions from c. 5th to 9th century CE, with the

largest number of donors classified as Jain religious persons, followed by elite, and only a few donations from merchants. Many of these religious donors are students or disciples of monks (and nuns). This shift away from donations from merchants, particularly along major trade routes, to localized patronage of Jain followers shows the ways in which the Jain monastic community was able to support itself through the preaching of Jain dharma and expansion of the Jain laity.

Table 3.4 Composition of donor types in Jain inscriptions

Donor Type	**Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions (n=84)**	**5th-9th century Jain Inscriptions (n=222)**	**5th-9th century Kaḻugumalai removed (n=117)**
Merchant/craftsmen	22	4	2
Elite	11	16	11
Religious	6	68	25
Male	62	129	63
Female	4	42	12

Women also become increasingly visible in the epigraphic record, though still significantly underrepresented. In Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, the ratio of male:female donors is over 15:1, while in later inscriptions c. 5th to 9th centuries CE the ratio is over 5:1 (3:1 when Kaḻugumalai is included). The 9th century inscription from Vēṭal (Vedal) in Villuppuram district testifies to the existence of large numbers of female monastics: a group of 500 female disciples of Kanakavirakurattiyar, a Jain nun, and a group of 400 nuns from Vēṭal.[81] As noted earlier, the lack of women in Jain inscriptions may not correlate to a lack of women in the Jain community, but rather signal differences in donations practices and/or issues of representation (i.e. who is able or permitted to be represented in lithic inscriptions). Moreover, the site of Kaḻugumalai is

[81] ES No. 357.

anomalous when it comes to both the representation female donors, particularly female religious donors.

As we will see in the following chapters, this shift in the locus of donations (monasteries vs. temples) and the types of patrons or donors (merchants vs. disciples and elites), is also visible in literary and archaeological evidence. While in the early centuries BCE and CE, the monks resided in hilly retreats on the outskirts of small cities, by c. 2nd to 5th centuries CE, when the poem *Maturaikkāñci* and the Jain epic *Cilappatikāram* were composed, Jains monks and other religious people were residing in monasteries and worshipping at temples located within cities, such as Madurai.[82] While the elaboration of Jain cave sites and the creation of new temples and images (and associated inscriptions) on the hills dated to c. 8th to 9th century attest to the continued occupation and reoccupation of the monasteries outside of cities, the depiction of monks and other Jain religious persons such as nuns, priests, and arhats within cities suggests growth and diversification of the Jain monastic and lay communities.

[82] For an analysis of the locations of Jain hill sites relative to Early Historic cities, see Chapters 5 and 6. For an analysis of the depiction of Jain religious persons (e.g. monks, nuns, and arhats) and Jain religious architecture (e.g. temples and monasteries) within classical Tamil literature, see Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

Glaring Absences and Significant Contributions: Early Jain Literary Production in Tamil

Jains and Jain texts have played a significant role in the history of Tamil literature. In fact, it is possible to argue that Tamil literary history as a modern subject of study began in the 1880s with the so-called 'rediscovery' of a Jain text, the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, by the scholar U. V. Swaminatha Iyer.[1] The term 'rediscovery' implies that this text had been lost, but in fact, it "was revered and actively studied"[2] within the Tamil Jain community. It was only amongst Hindu scholars such as Swaminatha Iyer and his contemporaries, whose literary education had been predominantly shaped by late-medieval Hindu culture, that such texts were no longer read.[3] Manuscripts of texts like the Jain epic *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*[4] survived through Jain *bhandars* (libraries attached to Jain temples) and due to ritual practices such as *śāstradānam* ('giving of knowledge'), whereby new copies of old religious manuscripts were given to scholars on special occasions like weddings.[5]

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[1] Christoph Emmrich, "The Ins and Outs of the Jains in Tamil Literary Histories," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 39, no. 6 (2011): 599-600.

[2] Norman Cutler, "Three Moments in the Geneaology of Tamil Literary Culture," in *Literary Cultures in History*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 274.

[3] Kamil Zvelebil in *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 147. suggests that non-Hindu texts had been explicitly prohibited by Hindu scholars, citing the example of the Śaiva scholar Cāmināta Tēcikar who "condemns" many of the famous classical works of Tamil literatures, such as the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, *Cilappatikāram, Ettuttokai, Pattuppāṭṭu,* and *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* in his commentary on the *Ilakkaṇakkottu* (c. 17th-18th centuries CE). Eva Wilden has corrected Zvelebil's statement by putting Tēcikar's words into their proper context, which suggests not that he was condemning such works, but rather that he was trying to draw the readers' attention away from such texts, in favor of Śaiva works. It was a digression "into a discussion of the relative spiritual merit to be attained from various types of literature" and therefore it should not be surprising that the Śaivite commentator favored the *Tirukkōvaiyār* and other texts sacred to the Śaivites. See Eva Wilden, *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 348-51.

[4] Composed by the Jain poet Tiruttakkatēvar c. 8th to 10th centuries CE. See James D. Ryan and G. Vijayavenugopal, *Civakacintamani: The Hero Civakan, the Gem That Fulfills All Wishes by Tiruttakkatēvar*, 2 vols. (Fremont, CA: Jain Publishing Company, 2005).

[5] A.K. Ramanujan, *Poems of Love and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), Translator's Note, xvii. Ramanujan attributes the complete absence of Buddhist manuscripts in Tamil Nadu (with the exception of the *Maṇimēkalai*) to the disappearance of a Buddhist community "after the Hindu Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites triumphed over Buddhism" in the medieval period.

Thus, while Jain Tamil texts and other classical Tamil texts continued to circulate within some scholarly communities, by the 19th century most of these texts had been forgotten by the majority of scholars and the wider reading public.

Swaminatha Iyer was just one of a number of scholars who had begun to systematically collect and edit the classical texts of Tamil literature. Other pioneers included Arumuga Navalar, C.V. Damodaram Pillai, and M. Raghava Iyengar.[6] However, it is Swaminatha Iyer 's publication of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* in 1887 that is often seen as a watershed moment in Tamil literary history. Following its publication, many other classical Tamil texts were rediscovered and reintroduced to the general Tamil public through printed editions, ushering in a period of "Tamil Renaissance."

The antiquity of these classical Tamil texts completely altered the frameworks for conceptualizing Tamil literature and history. The seminal works of Tamil literary history, such as P. Sundaram Pillai's *Some Mile-Stones in the History of Tamil Literature* (1895) and M.S. Purnalingam Pillai's *Primer of Tamil Literature* (1904), sought not only to re-periodize Tamil literary history to include the new-found (or rather, newly-remembered) texts, but also to create a new narrative of Tamil cultural history. And although Tamil Jain communities played an integral role in the preservation of the manuscripts that spurred this flood of literary and historical scholarship, the new vision of Tamil history was predominantly written from a Śaivaite perspective and failed to accord Jains any significant agentive role.

When Jain authors of Tamil literature are discussed, they are not treated as Tamils, but as outsiders, who have "contributed" to Tamil literature. However, the texts authored by Jains are

[6] See Zvelebil, 144-205. Eva Wilden has commented that of all the scholars associated with the collection and publication of classical Tamil texts, Cāmināṭaiyar has (perhaps unfairly) "received almost all the praise and all the fame," primarily because he prepared the greatest number of first editions (6), and also "grew to be very old and left behind a voluminous autobiography." Wilden, 33.

certainly more than contributions to Tamil literature. The literary record testifies to the prolific textual production of Jains as authors of epics, *purāṇas*, devotional texts, dictionaries and works on prosody and grammar, as well as treatises on mathematics, astronomy, and astrology.[7]

This chapter will evaluate the authorial presence and agency of Jains within the history of Tamil literary production and the depictions of Jains within classical Tamil literature to construct an historical narrative for the rise of Jainism in Tamil Nadu, South India between c. 3rd century BCE and 7th century CE. This historical narrative will emerge from the analysis of three forms of literary production: early classical Tamil poetry (the *Eṭṭutokai* of the Caṅkam corpus), narrative poems and early epics (exemplified by the *Maturaikkāñci* of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Cilappatikāram*), and post-Caṅkam Jain didactic texts (*Patinkeṇkīḻkkaṇakku*). These forms essentially emerged in chronological sequence, although the estimated dates of composition of individual texts within these genres may overlap (i.e. some of the later poems of the *Eṭṭutokai* may be contemporary with or post-date the composition of the *Maturaikkāñci* and the *Cilappatikāram*) (See Table 4.2). In my analysis of each of these literary genres, I will highlight the texts that I believe to be of Jain authorship and examine the content of these and other texts to draw inferences regarding the state and development of early Jain communities in Tamil Nadu. Building upon the historical narrative constructed on the basis of epigraphic evidence in Chapters 2 and 3, I will argue that the creation and organization of a Tamil literary academy (*caṅkam*) in Madurai was influenced by Jainism; that Jain monks authored some of the earliest classical Tamil poems; that by the early centuries CE Jain monastics were present inside as well as outside of major cities like Madurai and Jain lay people were a common part of Tamil society;

[7] A. Chakravarti, *Jaina Literature in Tamil* (New Delhi: Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha Publication, 1974). See also "Jain Literature (Tamil)" in Amaresh Datta, ed. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1988). "Jain Literature" in G. John Samuel et al., eds., *Encyclopaedia of Tamil Literature*, Array ed. (Madras, India: Institute of Asian Studies, 1990).

that the content of the Jain didactic texts demonstrate the political role played by Jain monks; and that these didactic texts served as a method of proselytization, contributing to the continued development and expansion of the Jain laity in Tamil Nadu.

4.1. The Problematic Periodization and Place of Jains in Tamil Literary History

Since the 19th century, the study of classical Tamil literature and the study of Tamil history have been inseparably intertwined. Despite the availability of archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence, scholars of Tamil history rely heavily on the literary record as an historical source. On the other hand, scholars of classical Tamil literature draw on the narratives generated by historians to contextualize their own narratives regarding Tamil literary production. In some ways, such research is dialogical, and in others, it is circular.

The role of Jains within Tamil historical narratives has been particularly problematic.[8] Jains are continuously referred to as outsiders and non-Tamil. Even in studies that purport to focus on Jains, the fruits of their actions are not perceived as part of Tamil culture, but rather, "contributions to" Tamil culture. For example, in K.S. Nagarajan's *Jain Contribution to Tamil Culture* (1977), after attempting to define Tamil as a "synthesis of some ancient cultures and mixed in character," he then goes on to write: "It is in this context that we shall now examine what the contribution of non-Tamils is to the Tamil language, literature and culture – particularly that of the Jains who had been living among the Tamil people from the earliest times as gleaned from the most ancient Tamil works."[9] Here, Nagarajan makes explicitly clear that the Jains are non-Tamil, and that even though Tamil culture is syncretic, Jainism stands as something apart.

[8] The role of Jains in Tamil literary history has been carefully examined by Christoph Emmrich. ibid.
[9] K. S. Nagarajan, *Jain Contribution to Tamil Culture* (Madras: Dhanraj Baid Jain College, 1977), 2-3.

As will be demonstrated in the following pages, this compartmentalized view of culture is highly problematic.

Here, I will first summarize these narratives, combining historical and literary perspectives and drawing upon a shared periodization used by historians and Tamil literary scholars to organize the ancient Tamil past.[10] I will then provide my critique and articulate some of the key issues with these views of Tamil literary history.

4.1.1 The Caṅkam Period c. 300 BCE – 300 CE

Tamil history and Tamil literary history emerge simultaneously with the advent of Tamil-Brahmi script, the production of bardic poetry, and the subsequent recording of this poetry in palm leaf manuscripts. Although Tamil-Brahmi appears as early as 5th century BCE,[11] the first period of Tamil literary production is often dated between 300 BCE and 300 CE.

What is today considered to be the oldest extant Tamil literature are anthologies comprised of short lyric poems and longer narrative poems, often referred to collectively as "Caṅkam literature". The name "Caṅkam literature" comes from a tradition that ascribes the literary production of this period to an academic or literary council (*caṅkam*) in Madurai. These early poems were later anthologized and became the *Eṭṭutokai* (The Eight Anthologies)[12] and the

[10] Examples of the historical and literary historical publications consulted when constructing this syncretic narrative include: R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 Bc to Ad 1300* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996); P.N. Chopra, T.K. Ravindran, and N. Subrahmanian, *History of South India: Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd., 2003); K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, 4th ed. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975; repr., 27th impression, 2008); Samuel et al; Karthigesu Sivathamby, *Literary History in Tamil: A Historiographical Analysis*, Tamiḻp Palkalaik Kaḻaka Veḷiyīṭu (Thanjavur, India: Tamil University, 1986); N. Subrahmanian, *An Introduction to Tamil Literature* (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1981); S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature (Beginning to 1000 A.D.)* (Madras: New Century Book House, 1956); Zvelebil.

[11] See discussion in Chapter 2 and K. Rajan and V.P. Yathees Kumar, "New Evidences on Scientific Dates for Brāhmī Script as Revealed from Porunthal and Kodumanal Excavations," *Prāgdhārā* 21-22 (2013); K. Rajan, *Early Writing System: A Journey from Graffìti to Brāhmī* (Madurai: Pandya Nadu Centre for Historical Research, 2015).

[12] The eight anthologies are: *Naṟṟiṇai, Kuṟuntokai, Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, Patiṟṟuppattu, Paripāṭal, Kalittokai, Akanāṉūṟu*, and *Puṟanāṉūṟu.*

Pattupāṭṭu (The Ten Songs).[13] Also assigned to this period is a grammar called the *Tolkāppiyam*, which outlines the morphology, syntax, and poetic conventions of Caṅkam literature. The *Tolkāppiyam* classifies Caṅkam literature into two main genres: *akam* and *puṟam*. Poems of the *akam* (meaning 'interior') genre are often about love and romance, the private or interior side of life. *Puṟam* ('exterior') poems concern public life and describe the greatness of kings, cities, war, etc.

Caṅkam poems of the *puṟam* genre portray a political landscape divided among three powerful dynasties called the *mūvēntar* (Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas), interspersed with small subsidiary polities ruled by chieftains (*vēḷ*).[14] This period is envisioned by some historians as a Golden Age in Tamil History,[15] a secular time, when different religions (Vedic and Śramaṇic) coexisted peacefully. If mentioned at all, Jains are exclusively envisioned as monks and Jain laity are conspicuously absent. This is somewhat counterintuitive as the strict vows adopted by Jain monastics necessitate lay support for sustenance, and the teaching and propagation of Jain dharma to laypeople is an essential component of Jain monasticism.

4.1.1.1. The Caṅkam Legend of Nakkīraṉār

The attribution of the early classical Tamil poems to a series of caṅkams or literary academies was first outlined by the 8th-century poet Nakkīraṉār in the preamble to his commentary on the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*, then known as the *Kaḷaviyal*.[16] According to Nakkīraṉār, the Pandiyas

[13] The ten songs are: *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu, Malaipaṭukaṭām, Maturaikkāñci, Mullaippāṭṭu, Neṭunalvāṭai, Paṭṭiṉappālai, Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai, Poruṇarāṟṟuppaṭai,* and *Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai.*
[14] For a political history of this "period" constructed almost entirely from classical Tamil literature, see N. Subrahmanian, *Sangam Polity: The Administration and Social Life of the Sangam Tamils.* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1966).
[15] See N. Subrahmanian, *An Introduction to Tamil Literature*, Ch. 2 "The Golden Age," 4-29.
[16] There is no agreed-upon date for the commentary. Estimates range from7th to 11th centuries CE. Because Nakkīraṉārār frequently references the Pandiyan king Neṭumāṟan, David S. Buck and K Paramasivam opt for a date of c. 7th or 8th century, David Shulman has suggested a date of 8th or 9th century, and Eva Wilden has suggested

established a series of three caṅkams. The preamble outlines in great detail the location of each caṅkam, its duration, total number of Pandiyan kings who ruled during this time, and total number of poets. It also highlights each caṅkam's most famous poets (some of whom were deities and mythological figures) and the number of Pandiyan kings who presented poems at the caṅkam, along with famous works and the grammars the poets referenced to compose these poems. Much of this information is summarized below in Table 4.1. Notably, the first and final caṅkams were located in cities called Madurai. The first Madurai appears to have been a coastal city, as it was "claimed by the sea" (*kaṭal koḷḷappaṭṭu*). The final caṅkam was located in Upper Madurai, which is identified with the modern city of Madurai, then the capital city of the ancient Pandiyas.

In total, the three caṅkams are said to have endured over the course 9,950 years and to have included 8,598 poets who produced great works of poetry under the aegis of 197 different Pandiyan kings. While most historians and literary scholars treat this legendary chronology as fictitious, some scholars, such as Kamil Zvelebil, believe that the story may hold some kernels of truth.[17]

perhaps as late as 10th or 11th century. See David C. Buck and K. Paramasivam, *The Study of Stolen Love: A Translation of Kaḷaviyal Eṉṟa Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ with Commentary*, Texts and Translations Series (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), xi; David Dean Shulman, *Tamil: A Biography* (Cambridge, Massachusetts The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 63-64; Wilden, 23. For English translations of Nakkīraṉār's preamble, see Buck and Paramasivam. Kamil Zvelebil, "The Earliest Account of the Tamil Academies," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 2, no. 2 (1973). Wilden, 218-19.

[17] Zvelebil, 132.

Table 4.1. Legend of the Three Caṅkams as told in Nakkīraṇār's commentary to the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*

	Location	Presiding Poets	Total Poets	Duration in Years	Kings	Duration in Kings	Poet Kings	Grammars Consulted	Reason for End
Premier Caṅkam	Madurai	549	4,449	4,440	89	Kāyciṉavaḻuti to Kaṭuṅkōn	7	*Akattiyam*	Taken by the sea
Middle Caṅkam	Kapāṭapuṟam	59	3,700	3,700	59	Ceḻiyaṉ to Tirumāṟaṉ	5	*Akattiyam* *Tolkāppiyam* *Māpurāṇam* *Icainuṇukkam* *Pūta Purāṇam*	Taken by the sea
Final Caṅkam	Upper Madurai	49	449	1,850	49	Tirumāṟaṉ to Ukkirapperuvaḻuti	3	*Akattiyam* *Tolkāppiyam*	None given (Drought?)
Totals:		**657**	**8,598**	**9,950**	**197**		**15**	**5**	

The texts listed in Nakkīraṉār's commentary as composed during the third caṅkam helped to codify the caṅkam corpus. Nakkīraṉār claimed that the poets of the final caṅkam used the grammatical treatises of the *Akattiyam* and the *Tolkāppiyam* to compose the *Neṭuntokai, Kuṟuntokai, Naṟṟiṇai, Puṟanāṉūṟu, Aiṅkuṟuṉūṟu, Patiṟṟuppattu, Nūṟṟaimpatukkali, Eḻupatu Paripāṭal, kūttu* (dance drama), *vari* (melody), *ciṟṟicai* (small harmony), *pērici* (large harmony) and others.[18] This list differs from the present canon of Caṅkam literature, which also includes the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, and the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku*.[19] The last items in Nakkīraṉār's list, which relate to dance and music, could be interpreted as particular works on those subjects (i.e. texts named *Kūttu*, *Vari*, etc.), or a generalized reference to many other unnamed works that fall under those categories (i.e. that various dances dramas and musical compositions were created in addition to the poetry).[20]

The details of the Caṅkam legend, and particularly its form in Nakkīraṉār's commentary, help to contextualize early classical Tamil poetry within a particular historical time and social milieu of literary production. In doing so, the legend interprets the anthologies as the collaborative creation of poets of the third caṅkam. The significance of this historicization of the earliest works of classical Tamil will be discussed in more detail in the sections that follow in regard to how this relates to Jain literary production.

[18] *Neṭuntokai*: Collection of Long Poems, aka *Akanāṉūṟu*. *Nūṟṟaimpatukkali*: One Hundred and Fifty Kali Poems, aka *Kalitokai*. *Eḻupatu Paripāṭal:* Seventy Devotional Hymns, aka *Paripāṭal*

[19] As noted earlier, the canon of Caṅkam literature includes the *Eṭṭuttokai* (Eight Anthologies), *Pattuppāṭṭu* (Ten Songs), *Tolkāppiyam* (a Tamil grammar), and *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* (Eighteen Minor Works).

[20] The English translations/equivalents of these titles are my own and differ somewhat from those by Buck and Paramasivam. In particular, they translate the titles of the last five works as though they were individual poems or specific treatises. Zvelebil only translates the numerical portions of the titles. C.f. Buck and Paramasivam, 4-6. Zvelebil, 124-26.

4.1.1.2. Chronology of the Caṅkam Corpus

Because of the importance of Caṅkam literature as an historical source, the age and dates of composition of these texts have been the subject of intensive study as well as debate.[21] Of the various chronologies proposed, the two most systematic are those by Kamil Zvelebil in 1973 and Eva Wilden in 2015. Their different chronologies are represented in the table below (Table 4.2). Although they differ slightly, both generally place the composition of the Caṅkam texts between the 1st century BCE or 1st century CE and the 6th century CE. Zvelebil's chronology starts earlier because he views the *Tolkāppiyam* grammar as coming out of the earliest writings and being a prescriptive text, whereas Wilden views the *Tolkāppiyam* as an expanding text that developed over time in response to literary practice, containing both prescriptive and descriptive aspects. In addition, Wilden's chronology, which is based upon her extensive research of classical Tamil manuscripts and manuscript tradition, is more sensitive to the various stages in the transmission of a text. It is also more precise, in the sense that Wilden's chronology assigns texts to a single century, whereas Zvelebil's chronology incorporates more flexibility, with texts assigned to ranges of two to three centuries.

To summarize the creation of the Caṅkam corpus portrayed in both chronologies: the corpus of classical Tamil texts as they exist today began, perhaps in the early centuries BCE, as oral and semi-oral compositions. At some point they were written down and transmitted as palm

[21] For example, in the early 2000s, Sanskritist Herman Tieken proposed that the genre of classical Tamil poetry was borrowed from Sanskrit and the poems of the Caṅkam anthologies were composed many centuries after the events they purport to describe. He argued for a date of composition of 8th to 9th century CE. Given the important place of this literature within larger debates about Tamil civilization and history, and the fact that his arguments contradicted all scholarship up until that point, this research was not well-received. Because I take issue with both his argument as well as the analysis upon which it is based, I have not addressed his research or proposed dates in my analysis of classical Tamil literature. Herman Tieken, *Kāvya in South India: Old Tamil Caṅkam Poetry*, Gonda Indological Studies ; V. 10 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2001); "Old Tamil Caṅkam Literature and the So-Called Caṅkam Period," *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 40, no. 3 (2003). For a well-reasoned critique of Tieken's arguments, see George Hart, "Book Review: *Kāvya in South India: Old Tamil Caṅkam Poetry*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124, no. 1 (2004).

leaf manuscripts. These poems were then selectively collected in the 7th century under the aegis of the Pandiyas[22] and organized into anthologies, each with a new invocation stanza (*kaṭavuḷvāḻttu*, "praise of the god"). Finally, these anthologies were compiled into larger hyper-anthologies in the 11th to 14th centuries.

[22] Wilden, 9.

Table 4.2. Chronologies of Classical Tamil Literary Production

Zvelebil (1973)		Wilden (2015)	
2nd-1st century BCE	*Ur-Tolkāppiyam*: the *Eḻuttatikāram* (chapter on letters), *Collatikāram* (chapter on etymology and syntax), minus later interpolations		
1st century BCE - 2nd century CE	Earliest strata of the *Aiṅkuṟunūru, Kuṟuntokai*, and *Naṟṟiṇai*, and probably also of *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and *Akanāṉūṟu*	1st-3rd century CE	*Kuṟuntokai*, *Naṟṟiṇai*, *Akanāṉṉūṟu* and *Puṟanānūṟu*
2nd-3rd century CE	Earliest strata in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* anthology: *Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai*, *Perumpāṇūṟṟuppaṭai*, *Paṭṭiṉappālai, Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*		
2nd-4th century CE	Middle strata of the anthologies: *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*, *Kuṟuntokai*, *Naṟṟiṇai*, *Patiṟṟuppattu, Akanānūṟu*, *Malaipaṭukaṭām, Maturaikkāñci, Netunalvatai*	4th century CE	*Aiṅkuṟuṉūṟū, Patiṟṟuppattu*, *Neṭunalvāṭai*, *Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai*, *Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai*, *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai*
3rd-5th century CE	Later strata of the Anthologies: *Patiṟṟuppattu*, *Akanāṉūṟu*, *Puṟanānūṟu*, *Mullaippāṭṭu*, *Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai*	5th century CE	*Malaipaṭukaṭām, Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, *Paṭṭiṉappālai, Mullaippāṭṭu, Maturaikkāñci*
4th-6th century CE	Latest strata of the Anthologies: *Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai*, *Iṟaiyaṉār's Akapporuḷ*	6th century CE	*Kalittokai, Paripāṭal*, *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*
		7th century CE	*kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* added
		11th-14th century CE	Hyper-anthologization of the poetic anthologies into the *Eṭṭutokai* and the *Pattuppāṭṭu*

4.1.2. The "Dark Age" or the Rise of the "Heterodox Sects" c. 300-600 CE

The so-called Golden Age of the Caṅkam Era ends abruptly in 300 CE. Based on a number of copper plate inscriptions from the 8th to 10th centuries CE that describe a group called the Kalabhras or Kaḷappāḷars invading the Pandiya countryside,[23] Tamil historians have called this period the "Kalabhra interregnum." It is envisioned as a Dark Age, when foreign invaders from outside Tamil Nadu ruled the land. Some scholars believe that the Kalabhras came from the north, perhaps Karnataka, and were either Jain or patrons of Jains (to the exclusion of other religions).[24] It is worth quoting at some length Nilakanta Sastri's dramatic narrative from *A History of South India* (1955/1975), which is still considered one of the most authoritative histories of Tamil Nadu:

> A long historical night ensues after the close of the Śangam age. We know little of the period of more than three centuries that followed. When the curtain rises again towards the close of the sixth century A.D., we find that a mysterious and ubiquitous enemy of civilization, the evil rulers called Kalabhras (Kaḷappāḷar), have come and upset the established political order… This dark period marked by the ascendancy of Buddhism, and probably also of Jainism, was characterized also by great literary activity in Tamil. Most of the works grouped under the head *The Eighteen Minor Works* were written during this period as also the *Śilappadikāram, Maṇimēkalai* and other works. Many of the authors were the votaries of the 'heretical' sects.[25]

Such narratives closely associate the rise of the so-called 'heterodox' sects (Jainism and Buddhism in contrast with the 'orthodox' sects of the Vedic religions like Hinduism) with an interruption (i.e. interregnum) in the history of Tamil culture, implying that Jainism and Buddhism are *not* part of Tamil culture. Moreover, the coupling of the rule of evil foreign

[23] In particular, the Vēḷvikkuṭi copper plates (c. 770 CE) and the Daḷavāypuram copper plates (910 CE). A transcription and translation of these plates may be found in K. G. Krishnan, *Inscriptions of the Early Pāṇḍyas (from C. 300 B.C. To 984 A.D)* (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre in association with Indian Council of Historical Research, 2002), 4-15; 72-83.
[24] E.g. M. Arunachalam, *The Kalabhras in the Pandiya Country and Their Impact on the Life and Letters There*, Sankara-Parvati Endowment Lectures (Madras: University of Madras, 1979).
[25] Nilakanta Sastri, 144-45.

enemies with the predominance of Jainism and Buddhism also implies that, like the evil Kalabhras, their effects on Tamil culture were equally pernicious.

While there is no epigraphic evidence to indicate that the Kalabhras were Jain or that they patronized the heterodox sects,[26] the connection between these foreign invaders and the Jains continues to persist on the basis of the literary record. Specifically, many didactic works ascribed to this period are believed to have been authored by Jains and Buddhists. Moreover, numerous stories in the *Periyapurāṇam* (a 12th-century hagiography of Śaiva saints, the 63 Nāyaṉmār) depict Jains, particularly the Jains of Madurai, as evil and oppressive. In particular, the *Mūrtti Nāyaṉār Purāṇam* (Story of the Śaiva saint Mūrtti), describes the persecution of Śaivites in Madurai by Jains and a Jain king of the Vaṭuka Karunāṭars (meaning "people from Karnataka to the north"). [27]

Literary historians have also suggested that this period represented a change in world view, a shift from the life-affirming heroic age depicted in the poetic anthologies of the Caṅkam era to a life-negating ascetic age.[28] As a result, not only are Jains associated with evil, non-Tamil invaders, but their literary works and the religious values contained within them are portrayed as oppressing the Golden Age Tamil culture.

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[26] As noted by R. Champakalakshmi, "The patronage of the Kalabhras to the Buddhist and the Jain religions is an aspect on which no epigraphic or literary evidence is available from the period of transition." R. Champakalakshmi, "Jainism in Tamil Nadu: A Historical Overview," in *Religion, Tradition, and Ideology: Pre-Colonial South India*, ed. R. Champakalakshmi (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 344. See also Valérie Gillet, "The Dark Period: Myth or Reality?," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 51, no. 3 (2014).

[27] See Alastair McGlashan, *The History of the Holy Servants of the Lord Siva: A Translation of the Periya Purāṇam of Cēkkiḻār* (Victoria, BC: Trafford Publishing, 2006), 100-03. A version of this story also appears in the *Kallāṭam* (c. 14th century). For a discussion of the clashes between Śaivas and Jains in ancient Tamil Nadu, see also A. Veluppillai, "The Hindu Confrontation with the Jaina and the Buddhist - Saint Tiruñāṉcampantar's Polemical Writings," in *The Problem of Ritual*, ed. Tore Ahlbäck (Åbo, Finland: The Donner Institute for Research in Religions and Cultural History, 1993); Indira Viswanathan Peterson, "Śramaṇas against the Tamil Way: Jains as Others in Tamil Śaiva Literature," in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

[28] See A.A. Manavalan, "Didactic Literature in Tamil," in *Encyclopaedia of Tamil Literature*, ed. G. John Samuel, et al. (Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 1990).

The main body of literature ascribed to this period is a corpus called the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* (The 18 Minor Works). These stand in contradistinction to the *Patiṉeṇmēṟkkaṇakku* (The 18 Major Works), which comprise the literature of the previous period: the *Eṭṭutokai* (Eight Anthologies) and *Pattuppāṭṭu* (Ten Songs). Unlike Caṅkam poetry, the texts of the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* contain no mention of the Cheras, Cholas, or Pandiyas. Therefore, scholars have postulated that they must have been composed after the 3rd century CE. The *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* also do not mention the Pallavas, a dynasty that ruled much of Tamil Nadu between the 6th and 9th centuries CE. Therefore, scholars suggest that the texts were composed prior to 6th century CE. This places the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* squarely within the so-called "Dark Age" of the "Kalabhra Interregnum," c. 300-600 CE.

The *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* are primarily didactic in character; eleven address ethics and proper conduct *(aṟam),*[29] and the remaining seven address literary conventions of the *akam* and *puṟam* genres. Of the eleven ethical treatises, approximately half have been attributed to Jain authors.[30] This attribution to Jain authors is based on the content of these texts, including prologues and invocatory stanzas, as well as the names of the authors. We will examine the Jain authorship of these texts later in this chapter.

Also included within this middle period in ancient Tamil literary history are the first long narrative poems or *kāppiyam* of Tamil literature: the *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*. Initially, scholarship on these texts placed them in the early centuries CE. *Cilappatikāram* is traditionally ascribed to a Jain author, Ilaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, and *Maṇimēkalai* is ascribed to a Buddhist author,

[29] 11 on *aṟam* (*Nālaṭiyār, Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu, Tirukkuṟaḷ, Acharakkovai, Ciṟupañcamūlam, Elāti, Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai, Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu, Tirikaṭukam, Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu, Mutumoḻikkānci, [Innilai]*), 6 on *akam* (*Kār Nāṟpatu, Aintiṇai Aimpatu, Aintiṇai Eḻupatu, Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu, Tiṇaimalai Nūṟṟu Aimpatu, Kainnilai*), and 1 on *puṟam* (*Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu*)

[30] *Tirukkuṟaḷ, Nālaṭiyār, Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu, Ciṟupañcamūlam, Elāti,* and *Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai.* Authorship of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* has long been a subject of debate.

Cīttalai Cāttaṉār.[31] However, more recent scholarship has assigned a date of c. 5th century CE for the *Cilappatikāram*,[32] and c. 6th-8th century for the *Maṇimēkalai*.[33] The rest of the known *kāppiyam* are written almost exclusively by Jains (with the exception of *Kuṇṭalakēci*), and fall into the period of c. 900-1200 CE, often referred to as "The Epic Age," discussed below.

4.1.3. The Bhakti Period c. 600-900 CE

The next period is characterized by the spread of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava devotionalism (*bhakti*) and what is often referred to as the Hindu triumph over the heterodox sects of Jainism and Buddhism.[34] The tensions between the Brahmanas and Jains in Tamil Nadu are most palpable in the hot-tongued, vitriolic poems of the *Tēvāram*, a collection of Śaiva devotional hymns, and the depictions of the ruthless massacre of Jains in the *Periyapurāṇam*,[35] although Vaiṣṇava devotional literature also contains critiques of Jainism.[36]

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[31] Despite the differing religious views of their ascribed authors, *Cilappatikāram* (Jain) and *Maṇimēkalai* (Buddhist) are often called the "twin epics" because of their interconnected narratives. The titular character of *Maṇimēkalai* is the love-child of Kōvalaṉ, one of the main characters in *Cilappatikāram*. In addition, the author of *Maṇimēkalai*, Cāttaṉār (referred to as Kūlavāṇikaṉ Cāttaṉār), appears in the Prologue and Canto 25 of *Cilappatikāram* as a poet in the Cēra king's court (the Cēra king who is also figured as the younger brother of the author of the *Cilappatikāram*, Ilanko Atikal). The Epilogue of *Cilappatikāram* (a late addition to the text) also suggests a connection between the two epics.

32 The early dates for Cilappatikāram were based on the "Gajabahu synchronism", the correlation of a king Kayavāku mentioned in the epic with a historical King Gajabāhu of Sri Lanka, c. 170-225 CE. (See Vaiyapuri Pillai, 22.). More recent scholarship has noted problems with this correlation as well as linguistic features of the text that point to a later date of perhaps c. 450 CE. For a discussion of the dating of Cilappatikāram see Sally Ann Noble, "The Tamil Story of the Anklet: Classical and Contemporary Tellings of *Cilappatikāram*" (Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1990), 4-13; K. Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 172-77; Kamil Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*, Handbuch Der Orientalistik. Zweite Abteilung, Indien (Leiden [Netherlands] ;New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 144-48.

[33] Paula Richman, *Women, Branch Stories, and Religious Rhetoric in a Tamil Buddhist Text*, Foreign and Comparative Studies. South Asian Series (Syracuse, NY: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1988); Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*, 408-13.

[34] This characterization of the period is what Richard Davis has referred to as the "standard narrative" concerning South Indian Jainism and Śaivism, "which tells a story of heterodox challenge and Hindu revival and triumph" Richard H. Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains: Retelling the Śaiva-Jain Encounter in Medieval South India," in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 214.

[35] Veluppillai; Peterson.

[36] Among the Vaiṣṇava āḻvārs, Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār was the most ardent propagandist; see Hardy 1983.

Not only was there a shift in religious ideology, indicated by the conversion of kings and the increasing dominance of Vedic religions as portrayed in the *Periyapurāṇam,* but most significantly, a complete overhaul of the economic and political system, with the Hindu temple at the center.[37] This new royal temple cult began during the rule of Mahendravarman of the Pallava dynasty in 600 CE and continued throughout other contemporary and succeeding dynasties, most notably the imperial Cholas of 9th-13th centuries CE. In this period, which celebrates the meteoric rise of Hinduism alongside some of the most powerful dynasties in Tamil history, there is simply no room for Jains.

4.1.4. The Epic Age c. 900-1300 CE

The next period in Tamil literary history is often referred to as the "Epic Age." It is roughly congruent with the Chola dynasty and is characterized by the composition of epics. Strangely, even though it follows the so-called "triumph" of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, the main group of extant epics were composed by Jains and Buddhists. Moreover, around the 13th century, these literary works were given the title "The Five Great Epics" (*aimperuṅkāppiyam*), signifying their preeminence within Tamil literature.[38] This title appears to have been created as a correlate to the Sanskrit Five Epics (*pañca kāvya*) or Great Epics (*mahākāvya*).[39] The *Aimperuṅkāppiyam* are *Cīvakacintāmaṇi, Cilappatikāram, Maṇimēkalai, Vaḷaiyāpati,* and *Kuṇṭalakēci*.

This collection is also lovingly referred to as the "Five Great Jewels of Tamil Literature," playing on words hidden within the titles. These five pieces of jewelry adorn *Tamiḻttāy* (Mother

[37] See Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, Cambridge South Asian Studies. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
[38] Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*, 4.
[39] The Raghuvaṃśa and Kumārasambhava by Kālidāsa, the Kirātārjunīya by Bharavi, the Śiśupāla-vadha by Māgha, and the Naiśadha-carita by Sri-Harṣa.

Tamil), the female goddess who is the personification of Tamil language. *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* is her jeweled (*maṇi*) diadem. *Kuṇṭalakēci* are her earrings (*kuṇṭalam*). *Maṇimēkalai* is her jeweled (*maṇi*) waist chain (*mēkalai*). *Vaḷaiyāpati* are her bracelets (*vaḷaiyam*). *Cilappatikāram* are her anklets (*cilampu*). The image of the *Tamiḻttāy* adorned by works of classical Tamil literature emerged during the Dravidian Movement and Tamil Renaissance in Tamil Nadu in the late 19th and early 20th century.[40] These works, particularly *Cilappatikāram*, were revered as a testament to the great literary prowess of the ancient Tamils and proof (through their descriptions of Tamil society) of the greatness of ancient Tamil civilization. The religious affiliations of their authors were rarely, if ever, discussed by the Tamil nationalists.

Of the *Aimperuṅkāppiyam*, three are attributed to Jain authors (*Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, *Cilappatikāram,* and *Vaḷaiyāpati*) and two are attributed to Buddhist authors (*Maṇimēkalai* and *Kuṇṭalakēci*). *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* was written by Tiruttakkatēvar c. 8th to 10th century CE.[41] *Cilappatikāram* falls within the so-called "Dark Age" and has a date of c. 5th century CE. *Maṇimēkalai* was composed c. 6th century. *Vaḷaiyāpati* and *Kuṇṭalakēci* are both fragmentary texts, reconstructed from intertextual references and commentaries. *Kuṇṭalakēci*, which contains a Buddhist critique of Jainism, has been reconstructed almost entirely from commentary on the *Nīlakēci*, the Jain rejoinder composed c. 10th century. While the dates of both *Vaḷaiyāpati*, and *Kuṇṭalakēci* are uncertain, the latter was likely composed c. late 9th or early 10th century.[42]

Another group of extant *kāppiyam* were grouped together and given the title "The Five Minor Epics" (*aiñciṟukkāppiyam*) by Damodaram Pillai in 1889, in his printed edition of the

[40] As recounted by Sumathi Ramaswamy, the Tamil scholar T.K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar recalled hearing about the 5 jewels in a lecture by Swaminatha Aiyar as a young boy. Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture 29 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 116.
[41] Ryan and Vijayavenugopal.
[42] Most of the dates for the texts mentioned in this paragraph are those of Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*.

Cūḷāmaṇi. The *Aiñciṟukkāppiyam* are *Yacōtarakāviyam, Cūḷāmaṇi*, *Utayaṇaṉkatai*, *Nākakumārakāviyam*, and *Nīlakēci*.[43] All of the *aiñciṟukkāppiyam* were written by Jains, and most are Tamil Jain adaptations of Sanskrit texts. *Yacōtarakāviyam* is a Jain version of a Sanskrit poem of the same name and was composed c. late 10th to 13th century CE. *Cūḷāmaṇi* is based on the Sanskrit *Mahāpurāṇa*, a Jain text composed in late 9th century. *Utayaṇaṉkatai* (aka *Peruṅkatai*) is a Jain version of the Sanskrit *Bṛhatkathā* c. 7th-10th century. However, the *Peruṅkatai* contains many features characteristic of the early Caṅkam texts, so there has been some debate concerning its date of composition.[44] There is not much information about the *Nākakumārakāviyam*. However, based on the title, it was clearly an adaptation of a Sanskrit text. Finally, *Nīlakēci* is a Jain epic from c. late 10th century, composed in response to the Buddhist *Kuṇṭalakēci*, and unlike the other minor epics, was based on the narrative of a Tamil folk ballad. Notably, none of these epics dates before the 7th century CE; most are dated c. 10th-11th century CE.[45]

From this brief overview of Tamil *kāppiyam*, it becomes clear that there are some serious chronological and conceptual issues with narratives of Tamil history that circumscribe the height of Jain (and Buddhist) religious influence to the "Dark Age" of foreign rulers, c. 300-600 CE. The predominance of Jains as authors of *kāppiyam* between the 9th and 12th centuries suggests that Jains were *not* marginalized following the bhakti period – at least not within literary circles. While the title "Epic Age" is somewhat appropriate, given the large number of epics composed during this period, it highlights the genre at the expense of the identity of the authors. The Jain

[43] However, Zvelebil also comments that of the *aiñciṟukkāppiyam*, "Hardly any of these poems can be designated as 'epic' in the accepted designation." Ibid., 4.
[44] For a discussion of these debates, see R. Vijayalakshmy, *A Study of the Peruṅkatai: An Authentic Version of the Story of Udayana* (Madras: International Institute of Tamil Studies, 1981), 4-8.
[45] Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*.

identity of the authors and the religious content of their creations is completely erased in Vaiyapuri Pillai's *History of Tamil Language and Literature* (1956), where the chapter that discusses these texts is titled simply "Secular Literature."[46]

4.1.5. Problems of Periodization

One of the main issues with this generalized history of early Tamil literary production is the division of works into distinct periods of approximately 300 to 600 years. Despite the work of scholars like Kamil Zvelebil and Eva Wilden, historians continue to refer to the period of 300 BCE to 300 CE as the "Caṅkam Era".[47] Clearly, this is a misnomer on numerous accounts. First, many of the texts classified as Caṅkam literature were produced well after 300 CE. Second, if the dates are meant to refer exclusively to the literary academy of the Madurai caṅkam, then this chronological range is also inaccurate, as the legendary history places the origins of these academies thousands of years in the past, and the earliest reference to an actual caṅkam in Madurai (the Jain Drāviḍa saṅgha) comes from the 5th century CE. Closer examination of the texts in the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* suggests that they were composed between 6th and 8th centuries, and therefore cannot be circumscribed to the 300-year period between 4th and 7th centuries CE. Similarly, the composition of epics as well as Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava devotional texts was not confined to the periods described above.

Instead, what emerges is a picture of continuous literary production dating back to the early centuries BCE and oral composition dating back centuries before that. Given that Tamil-Brahmi and Brahmi scripts were being used in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka as early as the 5th

[46] Vaiyapuri Pillai.
[47] For example, even in Noboru Karashima's 2014 updated history of South India, the dates for Caṅkam literature provided by Y. Subbarayalu are c. 100 BCE to 300 CE. Noboru Karashima, ed. *A Concise History of South India: Issues and Interpretations* (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2014), 43.

century BCE, it is possible that the first transcription of poetry and other kinds of texts in writing could have begun at any point in the 5th to 3rd centuries BCE.[48] Moreover – as I will argue in more detail below – Jain authors continuously played a significant role in classical Tamil literary production from the earliest strata through at least the 16th century CE[49] (although the present chapter will conclude its analysis in the 7th century). Lastly, Jains living in Tamil Nadu are and have always been Tamil, and their compositions are not "contributions to" Tamil literature, but are in fact constitutive of a large portion of canonical Tamil literature itself.

4.2. The Elusive Jain Authors of the Caṅkam Era

As I will argue here, Jains played a significant role in the composition of early classical Tamil literature (aka Caṅkam literature), c. 1st century BCE and 6th century CE. This argument is based upon three lines of evidence: 1) the interrelationships between the Tamil Caṅkam, Madurai, and Jainism; 2) Jains as authors of poems within the *Eṭṭutokai* and parts of the *Tolkāppiyam*; and 3) an analysis of the poet Nakkīraṉār's preamble to his commentary on the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*, c. 8th century CE, which first outlined the legend of the three caṅkams and codified the main texts of the Caṅkam corpus. I will also argue that this preamble was part of a deliberate project to reframe the history of Tamil literary production as a Śaivite narrative, essentially erasing or subverting the roles of Jains and Jainism within this literary history.

[48] While some continue to balk at propositions of early dates in relation to Tamil history, as a point of comparison, the famous epic of Gilgamesh is preserved on cuneiform tablets from c. 18th century BCE in Mesopotamia, contemporary with other forms of written records. Similarly, the Homeric epics are dated to c. 12th to 8th centuries BCE, while the earliest Greek inscriptions date to c. 8th century BCE.

[49] Vellupillai states that "The Jains were active, making worthy contributions to the Tamil language and literature until about the sixteenth century AD" ("Jainism in Tamil Inscriptions and Literature," in *Buddhism among Tamils in Pre-Colonial Tamilakam and Ilam. Part 1*, ed. Peter Schalk and A. Veluppillai, Historia Religionum (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2002), 167.) Emmrich has noted that after the 17th century Jains fall out of the literary historical narratives, and indeed the historical narratives in general, "they have no presence in the twentieth and twentyfirst centuries as a community of living persons and authors." (Emmrich, 622.)

4.2.1. The Tamil Caṅkam, Madurai, and Jainism

4.2.1.1. Connections between the Tamil Caṅkam and Madurai

While the legend of the three caṅkams contains an improbable chronology,[50] there is evidence to suggest that Madurai could have been the historical location of an actual academy for Tamil literary production. First, Madurai is geographically situated at the center of what was called *Centamiḻnilam,* "the land of pure Tamil."[51] The term *centamiḻ* is defined in the ancient grammars like *Tolkāppiyam* (c. 2nd century BCE – 4th century CE)[52] as the most suitable form of Tamil for the composition of poetry (*ceyyuḷ*).[53] Zvelebil has suggested that Madurai and its immediate environs may have been the "territorial base" of *centamiḻ*, where literary Tamil (*iyaltamiḻ*) was "developed, and possibly 'controlled' by a *caṅkam* of scholars and learned poets."[54]

Second, the city of Madurai appears prominently throughout the Caṅkam corpus within poems and in the names of authors.[55] There are also poems devoted exclusively to the praise of Madurai, for example the *Maturaikkāñci* from the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, which contains detailed

[50] See discussion above and Table 4.1.
[51] *Centamiḻ* was the polished form of Tamil language (*cem-tamiḻ,* "straight" or "correct" Tamil), in contrast to *koṭuntamiḻ* (*koṭu-tamiḻ*, "crooked" or "rough" Tamil), "the un-polished, non-standard, non-literary language obviously exhibiting features of regional/local (horizontal) and social (vertical) dialects." (Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*, 135.) See also ibid., 134-38; Eva Wilden, "Depictions of Language and Languages in Early Tamil Literature – How Tamil Became Cool and Straight," *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 31, no. 2 (2009).
[52] *Tolkāppiyam, collatikāram* 398.3 and 400.1. Its counterpart, *koṭuntamiḻ*, doesn't appear until the epic *Cilappatikāram* (*Nūṟkaṭṭurai* 3) c. 5th century CE.
[53] Zvelebil is quick to emphasize that this form of Tamil should not be considered synonymous with written Tamil (Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*, 135;36.). This fits well with his argument that the earliest literary compositions in Tamil were "based originally in semi-orality" with successive layers of organization and presumably text-based composition (ibid., 128.). C.f. the Caṅkam poems as oral bardic compositions or as the creation of literate court poets. K. Kailasapathy, *Tamil Heroic Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); George L. Hart, *The Poems of Ancient Tamil: Their Milieu and Their Sanskrit Counterparts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).
[54] Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*, 136.
[55] Madurai appears in 37 poems of the *Patiṉeṇmēṟkkaṇakku*: 8 times as "Maturai," and 38 times across 29 poems as "Kūṭal." It appears in the colophons 3 times as "Maturai." "Maturai" also forms the prefix of the names of 38 authors in the *Patiṉeṇmēṟkkaṇakku*. Es. Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai, *Caṅka Ilakkiyam: Pāṭṭum Tokaiyum*, 2 vols. (Cennai: Pāri Nilaiyam, 1967).

descriptions of the city and its people over the course of a day, and hymns in praise of Madurai's Vaikai River in the *Paripāṭal*.[56]

Third, the collation and anthologization of parts of the Caṅkam corpus occurred under the aegis of the Pandiyas of Madurai in 7th century CE; a fact that further reinforces the connection between these poems and the city. In additional, Pandiyan copper-plate inscriptions from c. 10th century also claim that their ancestors established a literary caṅkam in Madurai.[57] Although such claims post-date Nakkīraṉār's preamble, a verse from the *Tēvāram* corroborates the collation of anthologies in Madurai, though attributing their creation to Śiva.[58]

In sum, Madurai's close association with classical Tamil literary production from the earliest times through c. 7th century CE makes it a likely location of a historical Tamil literary academy, if indeed such an academy existed.

4.2.1.2. Connections between Madurai and Jainism

There are also significant connections between Madurai and Jainism. Pandiyanadu ("Land of the Pandiyas"), specifically the area around Madurai, was an early center of Jainism in Tamil Nadu. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the Jain caves containing the earliest Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (c. 4th-1st century BCE) are located in the hills on the immediate outskirts of the city. Of the 18 sites classified as having Early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions,[59] eleven are located in Madurai district and six are located within 25 miles of the city itself.

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[56] *Maturaikkāñci*, *Paripāṭal* 11-12, *Paripāṭal Tirattu* 6-10.
[57] First noted by Eva Wilden, *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*, 10, n. 21. Taḷavāypuram (910 C. E.) and Ciṉṉamaṉūr II (926–27 C. E.) Krishnan.
[58] *Tēvāram* 3.54.11, line 1: aṟṟu aṉṟi am taṇ maturait tokai ākkiṉāṉum. Wilden, *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*, 12; T.G. Aravamuthan, "The Maturai Chronicles and the Tamil Academies," *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras* 6 (1932).
[59] I. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

The Jains' connection to Madurai is further suggested by the name "Madurai", which is not Tamil, but comes from the Prakrit *Madhurā*.[60] In fact, Madurai is frequently referred to in ancient texts and inscriptions as *Teṉ Maturai*, or South Madurai, positioning it as the southern equivalent of the north Indian city of Mathura in Uttar Pradesh, a prominent center of Jainism. This name stands in contrast to the Tamil name for the city, Kūṭal. Kūṭal, which may refer to the mouth or confluence of rivers or a thick grove of palm trees,[61] draws inspiration from the surrounding landscape to name the city. In the *Eṭṭutokai*, Kūṭal is used 38 times (plus eight times in variant forms), while Maturai is used 9 times, and its variant, Māttirai, 6 times.[62] It is also worth noting that the name Madurai is used rarely by the Śaiva poets of the *Tēvāram*. Campantar uses it three times, and Appar only uses it once. Instead, they use the terms Ālavāy, Tiruvālavāy, and Kūṭal. The fact that the Śaiva poets, who were explicit in their disdain for the Jains, avoided using the name Madurai for the city, may also indicate a connection to Jainism.

4.2.1.3. Connections between Jainism and the Caṅkam

Just as there are links between the Tamil caṅkams and Madurai, and between Madurai and Jainism, there are also links between Jainism and the early Tamil caṅkams. First, the notion of a literary academy as a caṅkam may have been borrowed from Jainism or had something to do with the participation of Jains as poets within the academy. The word *caṅkam* comes from the Prakrit word *saṅgha* meaning "gathering". In Jainism this term is used to refer to the entire

[60] Veluppillai, 169-70. According to Veluppillai, the North Indian origin of the name has caused considerable anxiety amongst some purist Tamil scholars. So much so, that they have attempted to come up with various creative explanations in order to demonstrate that the name has a Tamil origin. For example, one suggestion is that Maturai is a shortened form of Marutanturai, meaning "the roadstead (*turai*) by the tree (*marutu/marutam*)."
[61] See "kūṭal" in Tamil Lexicon.
[62] Thomas Lehmann and Thomas Malten, *A Word Index for Caṅkam Literature*, Publication (Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1993).

community of Jains (monastics and laity) as well as individual lineages or communities. Numerous scholars have suggested that the Madurai Caṅkam was modeled on this concept of community, or that the concept itself came from Jainism.[63] While the term *saṅgha* is not unique to Jainism, its particular affiliation with Jainism in this context is strengthened by the fact that Madurai was a center of Jainism in the early centuries BCE.

Moreover, the historical lineage of the Digambara community (today the most popular sect of Jainism in South India), begins with the Mūla saṅgha of Kunda-kundācārya, a Tamil Jain, c. 2nd-3rd century CE. This main lineage is said to have split into four groups: Nandi-saṅgha, Deva-saṅgha, Sena-saṅgha, and Siṃha-saṅgha.[64] There is also a reference in a 10th-century work, the *Darśanasāra* of Devasena, to a Jain saṅgha in Madurai called the Drāviḍa saṅgha. According to the *Darśanasāra,* the Drāviḍa saṅgha was founded in 470 CE in Madurai for the propagation of Jainism by Vajranandi, a Jain grammarian and disciple of the ācārya Pūjyapāda.[65] The Drāviḍa saṅgha is said to have been part of the Nandi-gaṇa.[66]

That parts of the Caṅkam corpus were composed by Jains is also suggested by the names of several of the poets, as well as the contents of some of the poems and the grammar *Tolkāppiyam*.

[63] For example, Chakravarti, 14-19; Hart, 10-11; Peterson, 167; Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India*, 45-49.
[64] Epigraphia Carnatica 1973, No. 360. M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar and B. Seshagiri Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, 2 vols. (Madras: Hoe & Co., 1922), 28; Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, 2nd ed., Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices. (London: Routledge, 2002), 121.
[65] Chakravarti, 14-17; Dundas, 122.
[66] S.K. Ramachandra Rao, *Jainism in South India*, Complete Works (Bangalore: Suramā Prakāshana, 2009), 23.

4.2.2. Jains as Authors of Classical Tamil Poetry and Grammar

4.2.2.1. Jain Poets and Poems of the Eṭṭutokai

Several of the Caṅkam poets have been identified as "Jain" on the basis of their names or titles. These include Ulōccaṉār, Kaṇiyaṉ Pūṅkuṉṟaṉār, Nikaṇṭaṉ Kalaikkōṭṭuttaṇṭaṉār, and Mātīrttaṉ.[67] Notably, all of their poems are located in the oldest parts of the Caṅkam corpus, namely the *Naṟṟiṇai*, *Akanāṉūṟu*, *Kuṟuntokai*, and *Puṟanāṉūṟu* anthologies,[68] dated between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE.[69]

Of these poets, Ulōccaṉār was the most prolific, composing 35 poems across four anthologies: *Naṟṟiṇai* (20 poems), *Akanāṉūṟu* (8 poems), *Kuṟuntokai* (4 poems), and *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (3 poems).[70] The name Ulōccaṉār means "he who has pulled out his hair", a reference to the Jain monastic ritual of plucking hair from the head. Specifically, the Tamil verb *ulōccu* comes from the Prakrit *luṃcana* or *loya* meaning "pulling out." *Loya*, also referred to as *muṇḍe bhavittā* and *luttasiraē*, was and is a regular practice of Jain monastics. It is highlighted in Jain scriptures including the *Āvaśyakasūtra*, which deals with obligatory ritual actions, and the *Daśāsuyakkhandha*.[71] The practice is also one of the 28 principle virtues (*mūlaguṇas*) and six essential duties (*āvassaya*) outlined in the *Mūlasutras*. That Tamil Jains habitually practiced the plucking of hair from the head in the early centuries CE is evinced by the hymns of the Śaiva

[67] Cattiyamūrtti, Ci. "ulōccaṉār paṟṟiya cintaṉaikaḷ" in *Āyvukkōvvai* 1975 cited in Veluppillai, 174, n 295. Ulōccaṉār, Nikaṇṭaṉ Kalaikkōṭṭuttaṇṭār, and Mātīrttaṉ are included on the list by Cattiyamūrtti cited in ibid.170. Vaiyapuripillai has classified Ulōccaṉār and Nikaṇṭaṉ Kalaikkōṭṭuttaṇṭār along with a Buddhist author named Iḷam Pōtiyār ("Sri Lanka Buddhist") as "poets known by their religion" (camayattār peyar peṟṟavar). Kaṇiyaṉ Pūṅkuṉṟaṉār is listed under "poets known on the basis of their profession" (toḻil mutaliyavaṟṟum peyar peṟṟavar). I could not locate Mātīrttaṉ in Vaiyapuripillai's classification list, even though he is the 406th poet in the book.
[68] *Naṟṟiṇai* (22 poems), *Akanāṉūṟu* (8 poems), *Kuṟuntokai* (5 poems), and *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (4 poems)
[69] These dates are from Wilden, *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*.
[70] Narrinai 11, 38, 63, 64, 74, 131, 149, 191, 203, 223, 249, 254, 278, 287, 311, 331, 354, 363, 372, 398. Akananuru 20, 100, 190, 200, 210, 300, 330, 400. Kuruntokai 175, 177, 205, 248. *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 258, 274, 377.
[71] *Āvaśyaka-N.* 337; 6th and 10th *Daśāsuyakkhandha*. Cited in Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and Literature*, Deccan College Dissertation Series (Poona: Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, 1956), 325.

saint Campantar (c. 570-670 CE), who criticizes this practice, invariably referred to in Tamil as *talai paṟi* (lit. "to pluck the head"), amongst Tamil Jains.[72]

Only four other poems may be attributed to poets with Jain names. Of these, Kaṇiyaṉ Pūnkuṉṟaṉar wrote two (*Naṟṟiṇai* 226 and *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 192). A *kaṇi* is a leader of a Jain mendicant group or monastic lineage (Skt. *gaṇa*) and *kuṉṟu* means "hill". As the earliest Jain monastic communities were located in rock-cut caves in the hills around Madurai (e.g. Tirupparankunram),[73] Pūṅkuṉṟu may have been the name of a particular Jain hill or monastery. Thus, Kaṇiyaṉ Pūnkuṉṟaṉar may have been the head monk of a Jain monastery located at Pūṅkuṉṟu.

Nikaṇṭaṉ Kalaikkōṭṭuttaṇṭaṉār wrote one poem, *Naṟṟiṇai* 382. *Nikaṇṭaṉ* is a Tamilised version of the Prakrit *nigaṇṭha* or Sanskrit *nigrantha*, meaning "without ties", a term used for Jains.[74] Roughly translated, Nikaṇṭaṉ Kalaikkōṭṭuttaṇṭaṇār means "the nirgrantha who begs in the morning".[75] Jain monks do not beg per se, but rather in accordance with the vow of *aparigraha* (non-possession) must only accept food that is freely offered. In any case, the prescribed time for taking food falls within a period after sunrise and before sunset.[76] Again, this

[72] For example, 3-39:9, line 2 cam avattaiyiṉārkaḷ pōl talaiyaip paṟittu oru poyttavam vēm avattai celutti, "creating a state by causing suffering to other and performing a false penance plucking the hairs on the head as if they are in a dying state." Translation: V.M. Subramanya Aiyar via IFP Digital *Tēvāram*. Other references to Jains plucking their hair by saint Campantar occur in TCT 55, 82, 107, 145, 158, 360, 371, 376, 509, 620, 676, as noted in Veluppillai, 346, n. 58, 59.

[73] Other Jain sites that include the word *kuṉṟu* in their name include Tirunatarkuṉṟu, and Tirupparuttikuṉṟu (aka Jina Kanci) at Kanchipuram.

[74] Tamil Lexicon, (Madras: University of Madras, 1936), http://www.purl.oclc.org/dsal/dictionaries/PL4756.M2. The advocate of Jainism in the Buddhist epic *Maṇimēkalai*, c. 8th century CE, is called a nikaṇṭa-vāti (*Maṇi*. 27, 167). *-vati* from the Sanskrit *-vadin*, meaning one who advocates or supports, is often used as a suffix to denote adherents or scholars of various religious. The Tamil Lexicon exclusively glosses this term in reference to Jains (i.e. not Buddhists or other śramaṇic religions).

[75] Lit. the *nirgrantha* (*nikaṇṭa*) who bends (*kōṭṭu*) and collects (*taṇṭu*) in the morning (*kalai*).

[76] *Mūlasutras* 6, 73. Cited in Deo, 343, n. 684.

is a practice specifically designated for monastics rather than laity, suggesting that like the previous two poets, Nikaṇṭaṉ Kalaikkōṭṭuttaṇṭaṉār was also a Jain monk.

Mātīrttaṉ also wrote one poem, *Kuṟuntokai* 113. His name roughly translates to "the man from/of the great tīrtha."[77] *Tīrtha* (Skt. *tīrtha*, Pkt. *tittha*, Tamil *tīrttam*) generally means "ford" and appears most prominently in the name of the 24 holy guides of Jainism, the *tīrthaṅkaras*. It can also be used to refer to the Jain community or sacred pilgrimage sites.[78] However, it should be noted that this term is not exclusively used by Jains, but can also refer generally to holy sites of other religions.

Looking beyond author's names, a cursory analysis of word frequencies within these poems does not identify any particularly Jain concepts. For example, across the 35 poems attributed to Ulōccaṉār, the most commonly used words are "sea shore grove" (*kānal*) and "fishermen" (*paratavar*). This is somewhat expected since 31 of the poems are based on the poetic theme (*tiṇai*) of separation expressed through landscape imagery of the littoral region (*neytal).*[79] The other most commonly used words in Ulōccaṉār's poems are also related to the *neytal* theme, e.g. waves (*puṇari*), fish (*koḻumīṉ*), wind (*tāḻai*), etc. However, there is something interesting about the position of his poems within the *Akanāṉūṟu*, an anthology of 400 *akam* poems. Ulōccaṉār's poems occur at the end of each group of one hundred poems (100, 200, 300, and 400). This suggests the anthology may have previously been organized into four parts, each with four hundred poems, rather than its current division, which is tripartite and contains an

[77] Lit. Great (*mā*), tīrtha (*tīrttam*), man (*-aṉ*).
[78] "tīrtha" in Glossary in Paul Dundas, *The Jains* (London: Routledge, 1992), 279.
[79] A *tiṇai* is a designation found in the colophons of the Caṅkam poems that identifies its poetic situation or theme. These themes are sometimes accompanied by a sub-category called *tuṟai*, which describes the specific subject matter. In both *akam* and *puṟam* poems, five of the *tiṇai* are associated with particular landscapes. Each of these landscapes is in turn associated with either a particular emotion (*akam*) or a particular act of war (*puṟam*). The *Tolkāppiyam* identifies 7 *tiṇais* of *akam* poetry and 7 *tiṇais* of *puṟam* poetry The *Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai* identifies 12 *tiṇais* within the *puṟam* genre. However, there are 18 unique *tiṇais* found across the two *puṟam* anthologies of the Caṅkam corpus (*Puṟanānūṟu* and *Patiṟṟuppattu*).

uneven number of poems in each section.[80] If so, the location of Ulōccaṉār's poems is certainly significant.

The contents of the poems of Nikaṇṭaṉ Kalaikkōṭṭuttaṇṭaṉār and Mātīrttaṉ do not divert significantly in style or content from other *akam* poems. Nikaṇṭaṉ's poem (*Naṟṟiṇai* 382), like the majority of poems written by Ulōccaṉār, is written in the *neytal tiṇai*. Mātīrttaṉ's poem (*Kuṟuntokai* 113) is written in the *marutam tiṇai* (agricultural lands, associated with wifely sulking) and recounts what the heroine's friend said to the hero (*tōḻi cūṟṟu*); in this case, she discusses a place for the hero and the heroine to meet.

The poems of Kaṇiyaṉ Pūṅkuṉṟaṉār include one from the *Naṟṟiṇai* (226) on the *pālai tiṇai* (arid land, associated with elopement and separation), and one from the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (192) on *potuviyal tiṇai* (general heroism) and *poruṉmoḻi kāñcii tuṟai* (principles of conduct or basic truths). Interestingly, both of these poems include sentiments in line with Jain ethical principles. For example, *Naṟṟiṇai* 226 includes a reference to penance (*tavam*). In this poem,[81] the heroine is talking to her friend (*talaivi toḻiyiṭam coṉṉatu*) about her lover, who has gone off to pursue wealth. She criticizes his choice to leave by citing examples of excess and noting that people who know better don't commit such acts. She lists three examples: people don't extract too much medicine that could kill trees, they don't do penances that will ruin the body's strength, and kings don't take away all the wealth of the people through taxes. She concludes by stating that even though her lover knew about all this, he still chose to go away through the long path where

[80] Part 1, *Kaḷiṟṟiyāṇai Nirai* includes poems 0 to 120. Part 2, *Maṇimiṭai Pavaḷam* includes poems 121-300. Part 3 *Nittilakkōvai* includes poems 301-400. Poem 0 is the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*, poem in praise of god.

[81] *Naṟ*. 226: maram cā maruntum koḷḷār māntar / uram cāc ceyyār uyartavam vaḷam keṭap / poṉṉum koḷḷār maṉṉar naṉṉutal / nām tam uṇmaiyiṉ uḷamē ataṉāl / tām ceyporuḷ aḷavu aṟiyār tām kacintu / eṉṟūḻ niṟuppa nīḷ iṭai oḻiya / ceṉṟōr maṉaṟ nam kātalar eṉṟum / iṉṉa nilaimaittu eṉpa / eṉṉōrum aṟipa iv ulakattāṉē

the sun is hot. This emphasis on restraint and the example of penance (*tavam*) may relate to Jain ascetic practices.

Kaṇiyaṉ Pūṅkuṉṟaṉār's other poem, *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 192, is categorized as belonging to the *tiṇai* of *potuviyal* (general heroism) and the tuṟai of *porunmoḻi kāñci* (a truthful utterance of wisdom). This poem has been a topic of discussion amongst numerous Tamil scholars, who have identified its themes as either inherently Buddhist or Jain, expressing both unity as well as resignation.[82] Of particular interest are lines 2-4 "Good and evil do not come from others. Suffering and relief of suffering are of similar quality [they do not come from others]. Even death is not something new."[83] Because of the notions of suffering (*nōtal*) and relief from suffering (*taṇital*), some scholars have suggested that this poem is the work of a Buddhist or a Jain author.[84] Others have argued that this particular disposition is not outside the realm of what a warrior might think after years of fighting.[85] Although many of the poems in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* deal with war, *Puṟ.* 192 is part of a larger group of poems belonging to the *puṟam tiṇai* of *kāñci*, which are somewhat didactic in tone and appear to espouse particular moral values.

A number of scholars have pointed out that poems belonging to the *kāñci tiṇai* may have been composed by a group of poets called *cāṉṟōr* who were known for their wisdom,[86] or that such poems reflect the influence of Jainism and Buddhism. For example, George Hart has highlighted a number of poems in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* that reflect on the ephemeral nature of life,

[82] The first lines of this poem yātum ūrē yāvarum kēḷir, variously translated as "Every town our home-town, every man a kinsman" (Ramanujan) or more literally "All [villages are] indeed [my] village [and] everyone [is my] kinsman." (Zvelebil) became a slogan in the ethnic and political conflict of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Ramanujan, 162; Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*, 138.
[83] tītum naṉṟum piṟar tara vārā, nōtalum taṇitalum avaṟṟōraṉṉa, cātalum putuvatu aṉṟē
[84] E.g. John Ralston Marr, *The Eight Anthologies : A Study in Early Tamil Literature* (Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1985), 249, 457.
[85] Kailasapathy.
[86] These figures are mentioned in 45 poems from across the corpus (as *cāṉṟōr, cāṉṟōṉ, cāṉṟāy, cāṉṟīr, cāṉṟāḷar, cāṉṟāḷ*, and *cāṉṟār*) Lehmann and Malten.

and "seem certainly to have been influenced by Buddhist and Jaina ideas (*Puṟ.* 27, 29, 165, 194, 195, 243, 245, 251, 252, 356-367)."[87] Like *Puṟ.* 192, these poems also have *tiṇais* or *tuṟais* classified as *kāñci*.

Kāñci can have various meanings, but generally relates to wisdom. The *tiṇai* or *tuṟai* of *kāñci* appears in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 55 times (out of the 400 poems). Of these, about half (26) are *tuṟais* related to some essential or basic kind of wisdom,[88] while the other half (29) are wisdom related to kingship and battle.[89] These poems are found throughout the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, but do appear to form two clusters or groups of poems: 182-193 and 336-366. In his analysis of the organization of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* poems, Hart grouped together poems 182-195 as "A section containing ethical and moral poems, many among the most famous poems in Tamil," and poems 336-367 as poems on "the ephemeral nature of life."[90] Both groups of poems can be further subdivided. Poems 182-191 seem to praise the life of a householder, while poems 192-195 highlight the inevitability of death. Both of these themes find correlates within Jain ethics and philosophy. Poems 336-356 are all in the *tuṟai* of *makaṭpāṟkāñci*, which are poems about a king or chieftain refusing to marry his daughter to a (rival) king who asks for her hand. These poems do not appear to have any overtly religious or ethical messages related to Jainism. Poems 357-367 highlight the inevitability of death and impermanence of this life, while also emphasizing the importance of righteous action (karma), charity, beneficence, and renunciation. As I will discuss

[87] Hart, 69. See also Shu Hikosaka, "History of Buddhism in Tamilnadu," in *Encyclopaedia of Tamil Literature* (Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1990).
[88] 18 are *poruṇmoḻi kāñci* (wisdom of basic truths), 9 are *poruṅkāñci* (essential wisdom), 5 are *mutumoḻi kāñci* (knowledge wisdom/proverbs)
[89] 18 are *makaṭpāṟkāñci* (wisdom concerning looking at a girl), 3 are *vañcina kāñci* (wisdom regarding an oath), 1 *pēykkāñci* (wisdom regarding a devil or goblin), 1 *pūkkōṭkāñci* (wisdom regarding the acceptance of a flowered scepter), and 1 *pāṟpāṟkāñci* (wisdom regarding sight).
[90] G.L. Hart and H. Heifetz, eds., *The Four Hundred Songs of War and Wisdom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 350.

later in this chapter, all of these themes are also found within the post-Caṅkam Jain didactic texts, such as the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār*.

There are also at least nine poems from the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* whose contents and/or colophons mention *vaṭakkiruttal*, the act of starving to death while seated facing north (*vaṭakku*), which is similar to *sallekhanā*, the Jain ritual practice of fasting until death (*Puṟ.* 65-66, 191, 214, 218-220, 223, 236).[91] The Tamil words used expressly for this Jain practice, *nicītikai* and *aṉacaṉam*,[92] do not occur in the *Eṭṭutokai* or *Pattuppāṭṭu*. The earliest definitive evidence in Tamil Nadu of Jains performing *sallekhanā* comes from inscriptions at Paraiyanpattu and Tirunatharkunru, dated c. 6th century CE.[93] In these inscriptions, the practice of *sallekhanā* is referred to as *nicītikai*.

4.2.2.2. Evidence of Jainism in the Tolkāppiyam

Many scholars have suggested that the grammatical treatise *Tolkāppiyam* was written by a Jain.[94] While there is some debate regarding the authorship of the *Tolkāppiyam*, including the number of authors, of particular note is the final chapter (*marapiyal*) of the third book in the grammar (*Poruḷatikāram*), which addresses the division of living things by the number of senses:

> The grass and trees and others of their kind are of one sense.
> The snail and shell-fish and others of their kind are of two senses.
> The termite and ant and others of their kind are of three senses.
> The crabs and beetles and others of their kind are of four senses.
> The animals and human beings and others of their kind are of five senses.
> Human beings and others belonging to their kind have a sixth sense.

[91] Cited in Chakravarti, 18, n3.
[92] *nicītikai* (Skt. *ni-ṣūdikā*; Kanada, *niṣidige*) Death by fasting, a custom among Jains, also *niccalam* (Skt. *nir-jala*): Complete fasting, in which even water is forbidden. *aṉacaṉam* (Skt. *an-aśana*) Ceremony of fasting, preliminary to giving up one's life. Notably, the example texts cited by the *Tamil Lexicon* for these definitions are from the medieval period. *Tamil Lexicon*.
[93] See Mahadevan, Nos. 115-16. Notably, the earliest inscriptions and related monuments in Karnataka come from the 7th century CE. See S. Settar, *Inviting Death: Historical Experiments on Sepulchral Hill. Revised Edition.* (Delhi: Primus Books, 2016).
[94] Chakravarti, 19-28; Vaiyapuri Pillai; Ramaswami Ayyangar and Seshagiri Rao, 39.

Certain species of animals also are said to have the sixth sense.[95]

Within Jainism, souls (*jīvas*) are divided into mobile (*trasa*) and stationary (*sthāvara*), and arranged hierarchically on the basis of senses, exactly as outlined above. This classification of *jīvas* based on sense-organs is unique to Jaina philosophy, as is the notion of a sixth sense. Therefore, it is very likely that this particular section was written by a Jain. As noted earlier, the *Tolkāppiyam* was probably not the work of a single author since it appears to have been written over the course of several centuries. Zvelebil has suggested that the the first two sections, *Eḻuttatikāram* (chapter on letters) and *Collatikāram* (chapter on etymology and syntax), were composed c. 2nd to 1st century BCE, while the third section (*Poruḷatikāram*) is generally considered later, c. 2nd to 4th century CE.[96]

4.2.3. The Political and Historical Significance of Nakkīraṉār's Preamble

The Caṅkam corpus as it exists today is the result of over 2,000 years of transmission, from oral composition, to recording on palm leaves, to collation and anthologization, hyper-anthologization, as well as commentaries, edits, interpolations, and loss. In order to put the Caṅkam corpus into context and elucidate the role of Jains during its period of literary production, it is necessary to return to Nakkīraṉār's 8th-century commentary on the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*, which was written around the same time that the Caṅkam corpus was being collected and organized into anthologies, some of which based on evidence from their commentaries, was at the behest of the imperial Pandiyas.

[95] *Tolkāppiyam* 1518-1525. pullum maraṉum or aṟiviṉavē piṟavum uḷavē ak kiḷaip piṟappē. nantum muraḷum īr aṟiviṉavē piṟavum uḷavē akkiḷaip piṟappē. citalum eṟumpum mū aṟiviṉavē piṟavum uḷavē ak kiḷaip piṟappē. naṇṭum tumpiyum nāṉku aṟiviṉavē piṟavum uḷavē ak kiḷaip piṟappē. māvum mākkaḷum ai aṟiviṉavē piṟavum uḷavē ak kiḷaip piṟappē. makkaḷtāmē āṟu aṟivu uyirē piṟavum uḷavē ak kiḷai piṟappē. oru cār vilaṅkum uḷa eṉa moḻipa.

[96] Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India*, 42-43.

The aim of the compilers of these anthologies, particularly the *puṟam* anthologies, may have been part of a larger historical project. Firstly, the *Patiṟṟuppattu* is essentially a history of the Chera kings. Each set of ten poems, or decad, is dedicated to a particular Chera king. The anthology is organized chronologically, comprising a series of ten famous Chera kings (although decads 1 and 10 are no longer extant). Secondly, the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* also provides a kind of history, both in the content of its poems, which praise the exploits and achievements of ancient Tamil kings and chieftains, as well as through the colophons, many of which provide a historical context for the composition of the poem. The first 85 poems focus almost exclusively on the *mūvēntar* ("three kings": Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas) of the Early Historic Period, highlighting the greatness of the ancient kings. Poems 86-165 praise the exploits of the *vēḷir* (chieftains). The *mūvēntar* appear as the main subjects again in the final poems of the anthology, 368-400.

Eva Wilden has suggested that Nakkīraṉār's commentary was part of a larger "process of cultural re-interpretation, a reshaping of poetic content based on a different moral system."[97] She continues:

> …along with the commentaries comes the appropriation of a heritage as well as the reconstruction of a past. And our legend [by Nakkīraṉār], which stands uncontested within the tradition, symbolizes quite aptly the double concern at the heart of this movement. One is the claim for antiquity and excellence, which leads to the first outlining of the canon [the legendary chronology of the three caṅkams]. Additionally, and almost unwittingly, there is a fusion of Tamil literature with a religious tradition… From this point in time Śiva is a lordly protector of Tamil.[98]

While the first portion of Nakkīraṉār's preamble to his commentary on the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* presents a historical narrative that explains the ancient literary tradition of the newly assembled

[97] Wilden, *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*, 222.
[98] Ibid.

anthologies, the second part of this preamble is equally important for contextualizing the poems; it is in this portion that Nakkīraṉār not only explains the origins of the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* (then called the *Kaḷaviyal*), but positions it as the new authoritative grammar on caṅkam poetics, with Śiva as its author, and Madurai (the home of the last Tamil caṅkam) as Śiva's home and the place of the text's genesis.

The *Kaḷaviyal* is a grammar on *akam* poetics focusing specifically on clandestine and married love. In the second part of his preamble, Nakkīraṉār attributes its composition to Śiva, specifically Śiva in his manifestation as the "flame-hued Lord of Alavāyil in Maturai".[99] Nakkīraṉār then begins his story about the rediscovery of this text. The Pandiya country had experienced a 12-year drought,[100] which had caused many of the expert grammarians and literary scholars to leave the city. When the drought ends, the scholars return, but none of them is proficient in *poruḷ* (a branch of poetics). The king then prays to Śiva, who takes pity on him and answers his prayers by engraving the *Kaḷaviyal* on copper plates and placing them beneath the altar of his temple in Madurai. These plates are discovered by a priest, who immediately brings them to the king. The scholars examine the plates, but cannot come to an agreement on their meaning. When the 49 scholars pray to Śiva, a disembodied voice is heard that tells them to go to a village and seek out a young mute child who will act as an arbitrator. If the commentary is good, he will cry and the hair on his body will stand up; if the commentary is not true (i.e. incorrect in its exegesis), he will remain indifferent. This child is none other than Śiva's son, Murukan (here Kumāra) who has appeared on earth in this form due to a curse. In the end, the

[99] Zvelebil, "The Earliest Account of the Tamil Academies," 112. It is also worth noting that it is this form of Śiva that Campantar worships when he visits Madurai in the *Tēvāram*: *Patikam* 1:94, 2:66, 3:39, 3:47, 3:51, 3:52, 3:108, 3:115, and 3:120.

[100] The notion of a 12-year drought is a common trope that also occurs in the Jain legends associated with the Jain migration from North to South India and the sage Bhadrabāhu. For a discussion of these legends, see Chapter 2.

child remains indifferent to all of the commentaries except for that of Marutan Iḷanākanār of Madurai and Nakkīraṉār.

It is necessary to critically examine the content of this preamble in order to reconstruct its historical significance. Wilden, in her analysis of Nakkīraṉār's preamble, has suggested that there is an ideological concern with loss of continuity in the caṅkam tradition, which is expressed through the drought and the demand for commentaries.[101] This may be true, but, according to both Zvelebil's and Wilden's chronologies for the Caṅkam corpus, there seems to have been continuous textual production from the 1st century BCE to the 6th century CE. However, Wilden also keenly identifies within the story an interesting "rivalry between different schools of poetics; while they are not mentioned by name, this rivalry is nevertheless tangible."[102] This rivalry is evident in the fact that although the scholars claim that there is no treatise on *poruḷ* after the drought, we know that there certainly was – the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*. The fact that Nakkīraṉār was aware of this treatise is demonstrated by his quoting of it numerous times in his commentary.[103] Moreover, Wilden suggests that the *Iṟaiyaṉar Akapporuḷ* represents an alternative to the rules presented in chapters 3 to 5 of the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*.[104] The second part of the preamble therefore imagines the *Kaḷaviyal* as the *only* authoritative treatise on *akam* poetics (excluding the older and larger *Tolkāppiyam*), situated specifically within Śaivism, written by Śiva, and whose commentary was approved by his son Murukan. Wilden suggests that the reason that it was framed in this way was to imbue the new and shorter text "with enough authority to counter that of the already established *Tolkāppiyam*."[105] Nakkīraṉār takes the

[101] Wilden, *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*, 233.
[102] Ibid.
[103] In the translation by Buck and Paramasivam., such references include footnotes: 18, 44, 57, 59, 60, 63, 68-76, 82, 83, 88, 102, 103, 124, 125, 132, 215, 250-252, 254, 344, 384, 386, 404, 522, 608, 609, 624, and 628.
[104] Wilden, *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*.
[105] Ibid., 233.

Kaḷaviyal and reframes it as the *Iṟaiyaṉar Akapporuḷ* (The grammatical treatise on *akam* poetics by Iṟaiyanar [Śiva]).

As early as 1932, scholars have suggested that the motive behind Nakkīraṉār's preamble was to legitimize a Śaivite literati and in turn, obscure the Jain origins of the caṅkam. In *Chronology of the Early Tamils*, Sivaraja Pillai wrote, "I strongly suspect whether the eighth century tradition [of the caṅkam legend] is not after all a faint reflex of the earlier Sangam movement of the Jains." To support this notion, he referenced the founding of the Drāviḍa Saṅgha in Madurai and noted that:

> Of course, that 'Sangam' 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 Sangam to the Tamil country. It is more than likely that, following closely the persecution of the Jains ruthlessly carried out in the seventh century A.D., the orthodox Hindu party must have tried to put their own house in order and resorted to the creation of Sangams with divinity too playing a part therein, for the express purpose of adding to the authority and dignity of their literature. It was the sacerdotal 'Sangam' of the early Jains that most probably supplied the orthodox party with a cue for the story of a literary Sangam of their own on that model.[106]

Sivaraja Pillai's proposition was reiterated in 1974 by A. Chakravarti, who also added that a Drāviḍa Saṅgha may have existed in Tamil Nadu as early as 1st century BCE. Moreover, Chakravarti suggested that the mention of Prakrit (*pākatam*) in the early Tamil grammar *Akattiyam*[107] 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 Tamiḻ land."[108] Essentially, Chakravarti advocates for the early migration of Prakrit-speaking Jains into Tamil Nadu and their early contributions to Tamil literary production.

[106] K.N. Sivaraja Pillai, *The Chronology of the Early Tamils - Based on the Synchronistic Tables of Their Kings, Chieftains and Poets Appearing in the Sangam Literature* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1932), 26-27.
[107] An early Tamil grammar attributed to the mythological sage Agastya. It is no longer extant, but parts of it are preserved through references in the *Tolkāppiyam*.
[108] Chakravarti, 18.

In 1986, K. Sivathamby also suggested that Nakkīraṉār's preamble may be seen as "an effort to 'Hinduise' Tamil, especially make it part of the Śaivaite tradition" and to give the Jain and Buddhist institution of *saṅgha* "a Hindu form and content."[109] Moreover, this project of attributing "a purely Śaivaite [sic] origin to Tamil"[110] is also taken up by the Śaivite nāyaṉmārs in the 6th-8th centuries, and can be seen in their invectives that criticize Jain monks' command of the Tamil language. Campantar refers to the Jains as "blind men who do not know the profit (lit. fruit, *payan*) of Sanskrit or pure Tamil."[111]

More recently, Blake Wentworth has made a similar claim, highlighting the way in which Nakkīraṉār's preamble closely aligns Śaivite identity with Tamil language.[112] He also claims that *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* itself "erases the Jains from view,"[113] noting that the exemplary verses are drawn from the *Pāṇṭikkōvai*, a collection of poems praising the Pandiyan king Arikēcari Māṟavarmaṉ,[114] whom the Śaivite saint Campantar is said to have converted from Jainism to Śaivism.[115]

Building upon this work, I argue that Nakkīraṉār's preamble was part of a deliberate project to reframe Tamil literary history and that this moment represents a subversion of an active body of Jain literary scholars by an emerging Śaivite one. What was at stake was the authority to claim mastery and exclusive use of the classical Tamil language and poetic genres

[109] Sivathamby, 35. This idea was first proposed in 1932 by Sivaraja Pillai
[110] Ibid., 36.
[111] *Tēvāram* 3:39, 4: āriyattoṭu centamiḻppayaṉ aṟikilā antakar
[112] Blake Wentworth, "Insiders, Outsiders, and the Tamil Tongue," in *South Asian Texts in History: Critical Engagements with Sheldon Pollock*, ed. Yigal Bronner, Whitney Cox, and Lawrence McCrea (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2011), 165.
[113] Ibid., 164.
[114] Whether the poems are in praise of a single or multiple Pandiyan kings is a matter of debate. See Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*, 518-19.
[115] Wentworth. This connection between the historical figure of Maravarman and the Pandiyan king described in the *Periyapurāṇam* is also a subject of debate.

for the purpose of proselytization.[116] According to the story recounted by Nakkīraṉār, the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* was the work of Śiva, who composed it in response to prayers from the Pandiyan king of Madurai. This king is Ukkirapperuvaḻuti, who Nakkīraṉār also lists as the last king of the Third Caṅkam, and the scholars who fled Madurai following the drought and returned 12 years later were presumably members of the Third Caṅkam. The story positions Madurai, a former bastion of Jainism, as a center of Śaivism, and Śiva as the patron god of literary scholars. Thus, in establishing a new literary tradition, whose heritage extends back to the First Caṅkam, this preamble effectively covers up whatever connections there may have been between Jainism and the Madurai Caṅkam.

It is worth noting that Jains and Buddhists may have also engaged in similar projects during the 9th-11th centuries. According to Sivathamby "the tradition regarding the Five Major Epics (*Aimperungkappiam*) and the Five Minor Epics (*Aincirukappiam*) is no doubt an attempt to highlight the Jaina and the Buddhist components of Tamil Literature."[117] However, he goes on to suggest that this was attempted "at a time when their cultural fortunes were low."[118] I disagree. In fact, Jainism in Tamil Nadu was revitalized and exceptionally strong during this period. Old Jain monastic sites were expanded and modified with the addition of new donational inscriptions and carved sculptures of the *jinas,* and there was an outpouring of Jain literary production.[119] I would argue that rather than marking a period of "low fortune", the ability to subvert the current narrative is in fact a sign that one's fortunes are high or on the rise.

[116] For a discussion of the ways in which Śaiva poets adopted and employed conventions from classical Tamil poetry, see Indira Viswanathan Peterson, *Poems to Siva: The Hymns of the Tamil Saints*, Princeton Library of Asian Translations (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).
[117] Sivathamby, 36.
[118] Ibid.
[119] For a discussion of Jain inscriptions from this period, see Chapter 3.

Given all this, it is perhaps not surprising that it is difficult to find definitively Jain texts and influences in the Caṅkam corpus, as their absence may be due to deliberate editing and selection of poems in the early medieval period rather than a feature of the original corpus. Nevertheless, the traces we do find, along with the positionality of Nakkīraṉār's preamble, suggest that Jains played a significant role in this early literary tradition.

In conclusion, Nakkīraṉār's commentary on the *Iṟaiyaṉar Akapporuḷ* suggests that c. 7th century CE a group of Śaivite literati was emerging in Madurai. Nakkīraṉār's preamble legitimized the authority of these new literati by establishing a connection between Śiva and Madurai, and between Nakkīraṉār (who is both the author of the commentary and a character in the story) and a long literary tradition, extending back into history nearly 10,000 years.

The historical reality of some kind of literary academy in Madurai seems very likely due to its affiliation with *centamiḻ* and its prominence within the Caṅkam poems. Moreover, Madurai was the capital of the ancient Pandiyas, and it was the imperial Pandiyas of the 7th century who set in motion the collection and anthologization of the Caṅkam poems. The term "*caṅkam"* is an important concept within Jainism, and Madurai was the location of Jain monastic communities in the early centuries BCE and of the Jain Drāviḍa Saṅgha in 5th century CE.

While the Tamil literary caṅkam was most likely located in Madurai, a city with strong ties to Jainism in the Early Historic period, and the concept of a *caṅkam* may have derived from the Jain *saṅgha*, it is still unclear to exactly what extent the Jains of Madurai participated in the composition of poems affiliated with the Madurai Caṅkam. There are poems whose contents focuses on ethics (*aṟam*) and wisdom (*kāñci*), which are compatible with Jain philosophy, though not exclusive to it. Thus, it is possible that some of the poets were Jains. A strong

affiliation between the Tamil grammarians and the Jains, at least by the 2nd to 4th centuries CE, is evidenced by the section on the classification of *jīvas* in the *marapiyal* section of the *Tolkāppiyam*. By the medieval period Jain authors dominated the genres of grammar and lexicography.[120] It is therefore significant that in Nakkīraṉār's preamble the *Tolkāppiyam* is portrayed as lost and in need of replacement, and it is the new *Iṟaiyaṉar Akapporuḷ*, created by Śiva, that is elevated to the definitive grammar of classical Tamil poetics.

All of this evidence suggests that the history and literary tradition of the Caṅkam poems was appropriated by the Śaivite literati from a former group of Tamil literati, specifically one associated with Jainism. This appropriation also entailed a deliberate transformation of Madurai from a city of Jains, the city of the earlier Tamil literary tradition, to the home of Śiva, and the location for the recreation or rebirth of this literary tradition. All of this occurs around the 7th to 8th centuries CE, which also marks the beginning of the large production of Hindu devotional literature in Tamil. I argue that the preamble to Nakkīraṉār's commentary (i.e. the history of the caṅkams, the origin of the *Iṟaiyaṉar Akapporuḷ*, and Murukan confirming the authority of Nakkīraṉār's commentary) was part of a larger project in the creation of an authoritative group of Śaivite literati, whose main purpose was to spread Śaivism throughout Tamil Nadu.

4.3. Expansion of Jainism in Tamil Nadu and Jains as Literary Subjects in the early centuries CE

While descriptions of Jains and Jain doctrine are difficult to discern within the poems of the *Eṭṭutokai*, the development and expansion of the Jain community in Tamil Nadu is more clearly

[120] *Divākara-nikaṇṭu, Piṅkala-nikaṇṭu* (*Piṅkalantai*), *Cūṭāmaṇi-nikaṇṭu* all c. 9th-10th centuries; Amitacākarar's *Yāpparuṅkalam* and *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* (the *Kārikai*) c. 11th century; Pavaṇanti's *Naṉṉūl* c. 13th century; Kuṇavīra Paṇṭitar's *Nēmināṭam* c. 13th century. See R. Vijayalakshmy, "Jainism and Tamil Literature," in *Encyclopaedia of Tamil Litarature*, ed. G. John Samuel (Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1990); Chakravarti.

evident within classical Tamil literature of the early centuries CE, which depicts Jain characters in the form of merchants and ascetics and Jain temples and monasteries on the outskirts and inside of major cities.

4.3.1. The *Maturaikkāñci* of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*

Some of the earliest descriptions of Jain communities in Tamil Nadu are found in the *Maturaikkāñci*, one of the 10 long narrative poems or songs (*pāṭṭu*) of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. The *Maturaikkāñci* was composed by the poet Maṅkuṭimarutaṉār (Marutaṉar of Maṅkuṭi) sometime between 2nd and 5th century CE.[121] Comprised of 782 lines in the *vañcippā* meter (with some lines in *āciriyappā*),[122] it is the longest poem in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* anthology. The poem itself may be divided into three parts. The first 235 lines praise the characteristics and deeds of the Pandiyan king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ who is believed to have lived sometime during the 1st or 2nd century CE.[123] The next section describes the five landscapes (*aintiṇai*) within the Pandiyan kingdom: *marutam*, *neytal*, *mullai*, *kuṟiñci*, and *pālai*. Around line 350, the poet begins a detailed description of the Pandiyan capital of Madurai and its people over the course of a day, from the morning of one day to the dawn of the next. It is in this section that we find references to the Jains of Madurai:

> The Jains (śrāvakas, *sāvakar*) worship with incense
> and flowers filled with the freshest honey around which bees swarm.
> They know well with their practice of seeing past lives, future opportunities,
> and today's present life,

[121] Zvelebil dates the poem to c. 2nd-4th centuries CE, while Wilden gives it a date of 5th century CE. Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India*; Wilden, *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*.
[122] J.V. Chelliah, *Pattupāṭṭu: Ten Tamil Idylls*, 2nd ed. (Tirunelveli: South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Pub. Society, 1962), 230.
[123] Notably, King Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ also features as a character in the epic *Cilappatikāram*. He is also mentioned in two of the six Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at the site of Mangulam near Madurai.For more about this site and its inscriptions, see Chapters 2 and 3.

and excel in their complete understanding of heaven and earth.
They are wise men whose vows are unabated, who have ceased and renounced the body,
men who control [their senses], men who endure [austerities].
They bring as utensils small-mouthed water vessels of carved rock
which hang from loops of rope.
In their temple (*nakaram*) glittering like water
they have decorated red walls to seem like copper.
They abound in the mountains, which rise to elevated heights beyond one's sight.
And even their fresh flowered dwelling places
appear brightly in the many hollowed out hills. [124]
(*Maturaikkāñci,* 475-488)

This description of Jains in the *Maturaikkāñci* comes after similar descriptions of other modes and places of religious worship: a temple of a deity (*kaṭavuṭ paḷḷi*)[125] (lines 461-467) and a Brahman temple (*antaṇar paḷḷi*) (lines 468-474). The description of Jains in the *Maturaikkāñci* appears to highlight the unique features of this group, in contrast to the other two, and its inclusion within the sequence of Madurai's religious groups is testament to its importance at that time.

The Jains are portrayed as worshipping with incense (*pukai*) and flowers and wearing small-mouthed water pots (*iṭṭuvāyk karaṇṭai*). The poet also highlights the Jains' power of omniscience. Notably, the Jain temple is referred to not as a *paḷḷi* (the term used in the previous two examples in the *Maturaikkāñci* and in many of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Jain monastic hill sites), but *nakaram.* This term, which has generally come to mean "town" is also used in the sense of "temple" in the *Cilappatikāram* (14.9). That the temple was located inside

[124] All translations are my own unless otherwise specified. vaṇṭupaṭap paḻuniya tēṉār tōṟṟattup / pūvum pukaiyuñ sāvakar paḻiccac / ceṉṟa kālamum varū umamayum / iṉṟivaṇ tōṉṟiya oḻukkamoṭu naṉkuṇarntu / vāṉamu nilanun tāmuḻu tuṇaruñ / cāṉṟa koḷkaic cāyā yākkai / āṉṟaṭaṅ kaṟiñar ceṟintaṉar nōṉmār / kalpoḷin taṉaṉ viṭṭuvāyk karaṇṭaip / palpuric cimili nāṟṟi nalkuvarak / kayaṅkaṇ ṭaṉaṉ vayaṅkuṭai nakarattuc / cempiyaṉ ṟaṉaṉ ceñcuvar puṉaintu / nōkkuvisai tavirppa mēkkuyarn tōṅki / iṟumpūtu cāṉṟa naṟumpūñ cēkkaiyuṅ / kuṉṟupala kuḻīip polivaṉa tōṉṟa

[125] Vaidehi Herbert translates this as "Buddhist monastery" https://sangamtranslationsbyvaidehi.com/pathuppattu-mathuraikanchi/

Madurai, and not in the hills (*kuṉṟu*) and mountains (*iṟumpūtu*) referenced in the final lines is indicated by the placement of this description within the poet's tour of the city.

Overall, the *Maturaikkāñci* suggests that c. 2nd -5th century CE Jain monks were not only residing in monasteries carved into the granitic hills around Madurai, but they were also living and worshipping inside the city itself. In addition, it is important to note that the author of the *Maturaikkāñci* gives Jains the same treatment as the other groups and people highlighted in the poem; they are integrated into Tamil society, a mainstay of the Madurai populace – not some separate foreign entity.

4.3.2. *Cilappatikāram*

The *Cilappatikāram* is one of the *Aimperuṅkāppiyam*, or Five Major Epics of classical Tamil, a group of long narrative poems composed by Jain and Buddhist authors. While the other four major epics were composed around the 8th to 10th centuries CE, the *Cilappatikāram* is generally dated to c. 5th century, making it roughly contemporary with the later strata of the Caṅkam corpus, such as the *Pattuppāṭṭu*.

The earliest commentary on the *Cilappatikāram* identifies it as a *toṉmai*, which is defined in the *Tolkāppiyam* as "a composition in verse interspersed with prose that speaks of old times."[126] This form, a kind of poetic sequence (*toṭarnilaicceyyuḷ*),[127] has its roots in the Caṅkam literature, particularly in the long poems of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. In fact, the descriptions of Puhar and Madurai in the *Cilappatikāram* bear many similarities with the descriptions of those cities in the *Paṭṭiṉappālai* and the *Maturaikkāñci* of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*.

[126] *Tolkāppiyam*, *Poruḷatikāram*, Ceyyuḷiyal, 228-229: toṉmaitāṉē / uraiyoṭu puṇarnta yāppiṉ mēṟṟē
[127] *Tolkāppiyam*, *Poruḷatikāram*, Ceyyuḷiyal, 202-203 māṭṭum eccamum nāṭṭal iṉṟi / uṭanilai moḻiyiṉum toṭarnilai peṟumē

While the *Cilappatikāram* contains a combination of poetry, prose, and song, the majority of the epic is written in verse, using the *āciriyam* meter, a recitative (*akaval*) meter used throughout the Caṅkam corpus.[128] Thus, while scholars have speculated about the date of its composition, its form as a narrative (*toṭarnilai)* about the ancient past (*to̲nmai*) and its use of an antique meter (*āciriyam*) together suggest that regardless of when it was composed, its author (or authors) wanted it to *feel* old and placed the narrative within an ancient context. The use of famous kings of the Caṅkam era, such as the Pandiyan king Neṭuñce̲liya̲n (c. 2nd – 1st century BCE) and the Chera king Ceṅkuṭṭuva̲n (included in the lineage of Chera kings in the *Pati̲r̲ruppattu*), as characters in the narrative, as well as the appearance of an ancient king of Sri Lanka named Gajabāhu (c. 170-225 CE), also help to situate the narrative within an ancient context. Therefore, the story, which chronicles the journey of a Jain husband Kōvala̲n and his dutiful and chaste wife Kaṇṇaki across the kingdoms of the Cholas and Pandiyas, and the subsequent apotheosis of Kaṇṇaki as the goddess Patti̲ni in the kingdom of the Cheras, may be productively explored as a text with Jain characters *set* in the early centuries BCE/CE and written by an author whose personal experience of Jainism in Tamil Nadu in c. 5th century CE informs their portrayal of these characters.

4.3.2.1. Jains and Jainism in the Cilappatikāram

Despite all evidence to the contrary, many scholars choose to overlook, ignore, or actively oppose the fact that the *Cilappatikāram* is a Jain text.[129] Here, I will argue and provide evidence

[128] R. Parthasarathy, *The Cilappatikāram: The Tale of an Anklet* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004), 318.
[129] E.g. Takanobu Takahashi, "Jain Authorship in Tamil Literature : A Reassessment," *インド哲学仏教学研究 (Indian Philosophy and Buddhist Studies)* 18, no. 31-Mar (2011). In this article, Takahashi argues that the *Cilappatikāram* along with other "so-called" Jain works "do not propagate Jainism at all and most of them do not show any signs of Jainism." *Ibid*., 5.

for the many ways in which the *Cilappatikāram* (specifically the version we have today) is very much a Jain text and can provide insight into the practice of Jainism in Tamil Nadu in c. 1st-5th century CE.

First, the prologue of the *Cilappatikāram* frames the story as the work of the older brother of the Chera king Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ, Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ,[130] who renounced the throne of the Chera kingdom to become a Jain monk. If we take the date of c. 5th century CE to be correct, then this relationship between the actual author and the ancient Chera king cannot be true. Instead, it demonstrates an intentional choice by the author to put this story into the mouth of a Jain monk and to create or highlight a connection between Jain monastics and the Chera court. It is also interesting that Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ himself appears in the story, in the third book or *kāṇṭam* associated with the Chera capital of Vañci, which also features King Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ as the main character.[131] That a king's brother could renounce the throne or devote himself to Jainism is not implausible; in the 12th-century *Periyapurāṇam,* there are a number of references to conversions to Jainism and kings who espoused Jainism.[132] In any case, this prologue serves to frame the epic as a specifically Jain text, authored by a Jain monk.

The central characters in the *Cilappatikāram*, Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalaṉ, are Jains from rich merchant families in Puhar, a Chola port on the Coromandel coast, about 145 miles south of Kanchipuram. Many of their actions and interactions with other characters affirm their identity as devout Jain lay people. Here, I have selected two episodes that most definitively state their Jain

[130] His name is essentially descriptive. It means prince (*iḷaṅkō*) ascetic (*aṭikaḷ*).
[131] Book of Vañci, Canto 30 vārntaru kātai, line 171: *yāṉūñ ceṉṟēṉ eṉṉeti reḻuntu*
[132] For example, the sage and ascetic Vākīcar, born Maruḷnīkkiyār, converted to Jainism after the death of his parents, and became a famed scholar of Jainism, earning the title of "Dharmasēnar" (PP 27.1303-6). Notable kings who were said to have espoused Jainism include the the Pandiya king of Madurai in the Mūrtti Nāyaṉār Purāṇam, the Pandiya king of Madurai in the Tiruñāṉa Campantar Purāṇam, and the Pallava king in Tirunāvukkaracar Purāṇam. (PP 21.980-985; 34.2499; 27.1344-1417) See McGlashan.

identity. When they begin their journey to the Pandiyan capital of Madurai, they worship and circumambulate (*to̲lutuvalam ko̲ṇṭu*) a stone seat (*cilātalam*) built for the Jain arhats (*cāraṇar*) by the Jain householders (*nō̲ṉpikaḷ*) of Puhar.[133] The next step in their journey is to visit a Jain nun named Kavunti, who lives in a "hermitage consisting of a thick grove of flowering trees".[134] In greeting her, both Kaṇṇaki and Kōvala̲ṉ worship her by prostrating.[135] In greeting them, Kavunti exclaims, "O you who possess good features, a noble lineage, impeccable conduct, and observe proper austerities of the holy words (*tirumo̲li*) of the arhat (*perumaka̲ṉ*)."[136] This greeting highlights the couple's observance of the Jain *aṇuvratas* (little vows) which are outlined in the Jain *Agamas* and considered proper conduct for Jain laity.[137] In addition, when Kaṇṇaki and Kōvala̲ṉ take refuge with the herdswoman Mātari outside of Madurai, she too identifies them as Jains, and insists that because Kōvala̲ṉ observes the vows of Jain ascetics (*cāvaka nō̲ṉpikaḷ aṭikaḷ ātali̲ṉ*), they must prepare his daily meal in special pots: good vessels (*na̲r kalaṅkaḷ*), cooking vessels without defect (*iyalpi̲r ku̲ṉṟā maṭaikkalam*).[138]

While Kaṇṇaki and Kōvala̲ṉ are characters in a fictional story, their actions take place in a real place and historical context. If the *Cilappatikāram* was written in the 5th century CE, it is difficult to make a case that their actions represent those of Jains during the period in which the story is set, c. 2nd century BCE – 3rd century CE. However, it is likely that the actions of Kaṇṇaki

[133] Pukār Kāṇṭam, Canto 10, 16-25. avalam nīttu a̲rintu aṭaṅkiya ko̲ḷkai / meyvkai uṇarnta vi̲lumiyōr ku̲ḻī iya / aivakai nin̲ṟa arukat tānttuc / canti aintum tammuṭa̲ṉ kūṭi / vantu thalai mayaṅkiya vāṉperu ma̲ṉṟattup / polampūm piṇṭi nalamkiḷar ko̲luni̲l / nīr aṇi vi̲lvi̲ṇum neduntēr vi̲lavi̲ṇum / cāraṇar varu-um takuti uṇṭām e̲ṉa / ulaka nō̲ṉpikaḷ oruṅkuṭa̲ṉ iṭṭa / ilaku o̲lic cilātalam tō̲ltuvalam koṇṭu / Notes: *cāraṇar* are Jain sages known for their powers of omniscience. Within the Jain tradition, such men are called generally referred to as arhats or *arihantanam*. *nō̲ṉpikaḷ* literally means those who observe austerities.

[134] PK 10.36-37. kavuntip pa̲ḷḷip pūmarap potumparp porunti āṅka̲ṉ

[135] PK 10.45. kāvunti aiyaiyaik kaṇṭu aṭi to̲lalum

[136] PK 10.46-48. uruvum kulanum uyarppēr o̲lukkamum / perumaka̲ṉ tirumo̲li pi̲ra̲lā nō̲ṉpum / uṭaiyīr

[137] The five *mahāvratas* and five *aṇuvratas* are the same (*ahiṃsā, satya, asteya, brahmacarya, aparigraha*), but the degree to which one must follow them is greater for a monk, who must aim to fulfill them completely, than for a lay person, who must fulfill them to the best of their ability.

[138] Maturai Kāṇṭam, Canto 16, 16-24.

and Kōvalaṉ do represent actual practices of Jains. The story is filled with Jain characters acting in accordance with the ethical vows of Jainism (*mahāvratas* and *aṇuvratas*) and references to the holy books and prayers of Jainism. The author intended it to be read by a Jain audience, and indeed it circulated for many years within the Jain community before its 'rediscovery' by Swaminatha Iyer. Thus, the descriptions of Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalaṉ may be examined to help elucidate some of the practices of the Jain laity in Tamil Nadu around the first half of the first millennium CE.

The *Cilappatikāram* also provides interesting details about the characteristics and practices of Jain monastics in Tamil Nadu, particularly through the characters of Kavunti, a Jain nun, and the arhat of Araṅkam. Kavunti accompanies the couple on the journey to Madurai in order to "worship the arhat (*āṟivaṉ*) there by listening to the ethical teachings (*aṟa-urai*) of the sinless sages (*kēḷviyar*) who have renounced evil teachings (*maṟa-urai*)."[139] That the couple sought Kavunti's guidance and accompaniment for their journey to Madurai is quite interesting. Was it common practice for Jain monastics to accompany Jain travelers? Aside from her knowledge of the routes, Kavunti also intercedes in interactions between the couple and outsiders: a young couple who seek to bother Kannaki and Kovalan (Canto 10), a Vaiṣnava brahmin who attempts to advise them to take different paths (Canto 11), and Mātari, the herdswoman who looks after Kaṇṇaki (Canto 15). Kavunti brings with her what appear to be her only possessions: a begging bowl (*kaṭiñai*), a sling or garment draped over her shoulder (*cuvalmēl aṟuvai*), and a whisk of peacock feathers (*pīli*).[140] She also begins their journey together by meditating upon the *Namokār-mantra* (a.k.a. *Namaskāra-mantra*, or *Navkār-*

[139] PK 10.56-59. maṟa urai nītta mācu aṟu kēḷviyar / aṟa-urai kēṭṭu āṅku aṟivaṉai ēttat (praise, extol) / teṉ tamiḻ naṉṉāṭṭut tītīr maturaikku / oṉṟiya uḷḷam uṭaiyēṉ

[140] PK 10.98-99 tōm-aṟu kaṭiñaiyum suvalmēl aṟuvaiyum / kavunti aiyaikaip pīliyum koṇṭu

mantra).[141] These descriptions have interesting implications in regards to the arguments made in earlier chapters regarding Jain ascetics accompanying merchants along ancient trade routes.

Kavunti's name appears 17 times throughout the *Cilappatikāram* in Cantos 10, 11, 14, 15, and 27.[142] She is often referred to as the female ascetic Kavunti (*kāvunti aiyai*). As noted above, she lives in a *paḷḷi* or hermitage on the outskirts of Puhar and maintains the Jain monastic vow of non-possession. She is described as very penitent (*tavantaru ciṟappiṟ kavunti*) (27.79), foremost in penance (*tavamutal kāvunti*) (10.192), an ascetic of great and abounding distinction (*kaḻipperuñ ciṟuppiṉ kavunti*) (10.170), someone whose body has been destroyed by ceremonial fasting (*nōṟṟu uṇal yākkai nosi tavat tīr-uṭan*) (10.223), who has earned through penance the power to curse (*kavunti iṭṭa tavam taru cāpam kaṭṭiyatu ātaliṉ*) (10.233-4), and an honored sage (*aṭikaḷīṅka*)(14.24). She is portrayed as someone who listens carefully, advises, instructs, and is devout in her asceticism and worship of the arhats.

During their journey to Madurai, the group stops at Araṅkam and meets an arhat. Arhats differ from monks or nuns in that they are enlightened and have attained the power of omniscience. The arhat (*cāraṇa*) arrives at a thick grove filled with flowers on one side and surrounded by low hanging bamboo, a sacred place where celestial beings lived (*vāṉavar uṟai*). He was returning from the area outside Paṭṭinam (aka Puhar), where he usually resided, seated on the raised stone dais (*cilātalam*) built by renowned learned men (*perumpeyar aiyar*) – the same

[141] PK 10.100-101. moḻipporuḷ teyvam vaḻittuṇai ākeṉa / paḻippu aruñciṟappiṉ vaḻippaṭar purintōr. The Namokār-mantra: Namo Arihantanam. Namo Siddhanam. Namo Ayriyanam. Namo Uvajjhayanam. Namo Loe Savva-sahunam. Eso panch namokaro savva-pavappanasano manglananch savvesim padhamam havei mangalam.
I bow to the arhats (enlightened human beings who have rid themselves of all karma and obtained perfect knowledge and perception - tirtankaras also fall within this category). I bow to the siddhas (liberated souls). I bow to the acharyas (esteemed leaders of Jain communities). I bow to the upadhyayas (spiritual teachers). I bow to all the sadhus and sadhvis (monks and nuns). These five bowings destroy all sins and obstacles. Amongst all that is auspicious, this mantra is foremost.

[142] Ten times as Kavunti (Puhar: five times Canto 10; Madurai: once in Canto 11, once in Canto 14, twice in Canto 15; Vañci: once in Canto 27) and 8 times as Kāvunti (usually kāvunti aiyai) (Puhar: five times in Canto 10; Madurai: once in Canto 11, once in Canto 14, and once in Canto 15).

seat that Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalaṉ circumambulated after leaving Puhar. Upon seeing him, Kavunti and the couple fall prostrate at his feet. He knew by the light of his resplendent omniscience (*koḷkaic cintai*) the reason they had come, and therefore, after praising Kavunti as an ascetic of great and abounding distinction (*kaḻipperuñ ciṟuppiṉ kavunti*), he gives a short sermon on the inexorability of karma (*valviṉai*).[143] He concludes that no one can escape the prison of rebirth (*piṟavip potiyaṟai*) unless he is enlightened by the Jain sacred texts (*otiya vētam*). After Kavunti assents that she will worship none other than the knowers (of Jain dharma) who are arhats (*arukar*) and ascetics (*aṟavaṉ*), the arhat blesses her, levitates several feet off the ground, and takes off through a path in the sky.[144]

As arhats are believed to have supernatural powers associated with their enlightened state, the descriptions of this character tell us more about Jain religious beliefs and practices than about Jain religious persons. Overall, these descriptions suggest that there was some network of Jain sacred sites in which Jain religious figures were known to circulate and which Jain monastics and laity would visit to worship and hear Jain dharma.

The *Cilappatikāram* also provides interesting descriptions of a variety of Jain sites and monuments. As noted above, on the outskirts of Puhar, a Cholan royal port located on the Coromandel Coast, there was a stone seat or dais for arhats and its creation was funded by the Jain householders of the city. These kind of patronage relationships between Jain merchants and other laity and Jain monastic communities are also evident in Early Historic Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.[145] Like the Jain ascetics described in the *Maturaikkāñci*, the Jain sadhus and arhats in the *Cilappatikāram* are described as residing in lush groves filled with trees and flowers. On

[143] Notably, this sermon includes a list of 46 different names for the tīrtankaras. PK 10.176-190
[144] PK 10.155-210.
[145] For a full discussion of these inscriptions, see Chapters 2 and 3.

the outskirts of the Jain holy city of Araṅkam (a.k.a. Śṛīraṅkam, near the Chola capital of Uraiyur/Tiruchirappalli), there was a sacred grove dedicated to the arhats and other celestial beings. Across the Kavēri River, in another extensive grove or flower garden (*takaṉpoḻil*) near Araṅkam, underneath the thick shade of an aśoka tree, Kavunti worshipped an image of a jina (*aṟivaṉ*) - described with the classic iconography of the triple umbrella resembling three moons stacked on top of one another.[146] This detail supports a date of c. 5th century CE for the composition of the *Cilappatikāram* because there are no known Jain images in Tamil Nadu prior to this time. Although the material of the image is not stated explicitly, it is described as shining and radiant, just like the stone seat of the arhats at Puhar. However, it is also possible that this was not a stone relief or statue, but one of cast metal. The grove near Araṅkam was also home to a community of Jain religious persons: sages belonging to a Jain temple or monastery (*kantaṉ paḷḷik kaṭavuḷar*). Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions from the 5th to 9th centuries CE contain numerous references to such monasteries or *paḷḷis*.

Lastly, while residing in a grove outside Madurai's city walls, the group hears the echo of conches sounding from temples within the city, including "the temple of the [Jain] arhats who expound dharma" (*aṟattuṟai viḷaṅkiya aṟavōr paḷḷi*).[147] The *Maturaikkāñci* also describes a Jain temple within Madurai's city walls. However, between the composition of the *Maturaikkāñci* and *Cilappatikāram* the number of religions has become greater, from temples of folk deities, brahmanas, and Jains to temples of Śiva, Viṣnu, Balarama, Murugan, and Jains. Specifically, in the *Maturaikkāñci* Jains are one of three prominent religious groups in Madurai, and in *Cilappatikāram* one of five, occurring last in the descriptive sequence in both texts. No doubt the

[146] MK 11.1-4 tiṅkaḷ mūṉṟ aṭukkiya tirumuk kuṭaik kīḻc / ceṅkatir ñāyiṟṟut tikaḻoḷi ciṟantu / kōtaitāḻ piṇṭik koḻuniḻalirunta / ātiyil tōṟṟatt aṟivaṉai vaṇaṅkik /
[147] MK 14.1-14.

proliferation and diversification of religions led to increased competition for patronage, with each group requiring external support for the construction of temples, observance of religious services, and support of ascetics and religious elite (e.g. priests).

Overall, the *Cilappatikāram* and the *Maturaikkāñci* contain descriptions of Jain temples, sacred groves, and carved images and stone seats. In the historical landscape envisioned in the *Cilappatikāram*, Jainism had clearly taken root across Tamil Nadu, with Jain laity and renowned arhats residing within and on the outskirts of major centers of trade and the royal capitals of the *mūvēntar* (Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas), such as the Chola port of Puhar on the Coromandel Coast, the holy city of Araṅkam located on the Kāveri River near the Chola capital of Uraiyur, and Madurai, a commercial hub and the capital city of the ancient Pandiyas. While Jains appear to still occupy spaces on the outskirts of cities, the *Cilappatikāram* lacks any references to their hill-top monasteries. Instead, the Jain communities are closely associated with spaces of abundant natural vegetation such as groves, forests, and gardens. The *Cilappatikāram* also contains the first literary descriptions of Jain laypeople, a community whose existence may be inferred from inscriptions dating back to at least the 3rd century BCE. The epic also provides greater details of the characteristics of the Jain monastic community as well as the content of the Jain dharma they preached.

4.4. The *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* and the Dissemination of Jain Values

The *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* (18 Minor Works) is a group of didactic post-classical Tamil literary texts composed sometime between the 5th and 8th centuries CE.[148] Eleven of these works focus on ethics and proper conduct (*aṟam*), and the remaining 7 follow literary conventions of the *akam* and *puṟam* genres.[149] Of these 18 works, Jains are thought to have written seven. Six of these are didactic and discuss ethics and proper conduct (*aṟam*): *Ciruppañcamulam, Elāti, Nālaṭiyār, Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai, Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu,* and *Tirukkuṟaḷ,* and one is an anthology of *akam* poems: *Tiṉaimalai Nūṟṟu Aimpatu*.[150]

The term *kīḻ* (minor) in *kīḻkkaṇakku* may be a reference to the length of the poems, which are short, in contrast to the other poems in the Caṅkam corpus from the *Eṭṭutokai* and the *Pattupāṭṭu*, which tend to be longer. And/or it may be a reference to their inferior literary nature, with the *Eṭṭutokai* (8 anthologies) and the *Pattupāṭṭu* (10 songs) representing the 18 Major Works, *Patiṉeṇmēṟkkaṇakku*. Zvelebil dismisses the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* writing, "As poetry, they are not much."[151] And after spending five pages on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and one paragraph on the *Nālaṭiyār*, he addresses the rest of the works on *aṟam* in a single section, which begins "The rest of the collection of didactic maxims must be dismissed as just rhymed instruction on right conduct; they have little merit as literature."[152]

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[148] While some scholars generally assign a date of 4th to 7th century CE to these texts, placing them within the "Kalabhra Interegnum," estimated dates for these works range from the 5th century to as late as the 9th century. With regard to the Jain contributions to this collection, the dates range from 5th to 8th centuries CE, with the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* being the earliest. See Kamil Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature*, A History of Indian Literature ; V. 10 : Dravidian Literatures ; Fasc. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974), 117-27.

[149] 11 on *aṟam*: *Nālaṭiyār, Inna Narpathu, Tirukkuṟaḷ, Acharakkovai, Ciṟupañcamūlam, Elāti, Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai, Iniyavai Narpathu, Thirikatukam, Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu, Muthumozhikkanchi, [Innilai]*, 6 on *akam: Kār Nāṟpatu, Ainthinai Aimpathu, Aintiṇai Eḻupatu, Tiṉaimoḻi Aimpatu, Thinaimalai Nurru Aimpathu, Kainnilai*, 1 on *puram*: *Kalavaḻi Narpatu*

[150] K.S. Nagarajan also includes *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu*, one of the 18 Minor Works addressing akam poetry, as written by a Jain, Muvatiyar. Nagarajan, 18.

[151] Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*.

[152] Ibid., 124.

It is interesting that these works have become associated with a break in Tamil culture, and yet, despite the emphasis on morals that map closely onto the major vows of Jainism, literary historians are quick to identify their authors as non-Jains. For example, the *Ēlāti*, which consists of 81 quatrains, each of which addresses ethical maxims pertaining to the life of householders and ascetics, is attributed to the Jain author Kaṇimētaiyār, disciple of Mākkāyaṉār, son of Tamiḻāciriyar. This information is provided in the invocatory stanza. And yet, literary historian V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar argues that because there is a "positive reference to the four Vēdas" this proves that "the author's religion was orthodox Hinduism." [153] Similarly, the *Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai*, meaning "the necklace of the four gems," consists of 100 quatrains in *veṇpā* meter, each of which addresses four important moral principles as jewels. Despite the close association between these moral principles and those advocated by Jainism, the author is often identified by literary historians as a Vaiṣṇavite.[154] Of the sources I have consulted, only A. Chakravarti, who is himself a Jain, has identified the author as Jain.[155]

Of the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* that address *aṟam*, the most well-known are the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (c. 450-550 CE) and the *Nālaṭiyār* (c. 675-700 CE).[156] Both texts have been edited into a tripartite format addressing the subjects of virtue (*aṟattuppāl*), prosperity (*poruṭpāl*), and love (*kāmattuppāl*). This format tells us more about the editors and commentators than it does the original intentions of the poems' authors. The *Tirukkuṟaḷ*'s arrangement seems to have stabilized around 13th or 14th century CE, after the commentary of Parimēlaḻakar. As Norman Cutler has noted, "early commentators order the verses within each chapter in a variety of ways."[157] The

[153] V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* (Madras: University of Madras, 1936), 43.
[154] See Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*, 478; Dikshitar, 40.
[155] Chakravarti, 46.
[156] Estimated dates from Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*.
[157] Norman Cutler, "Interpreting Tirukkuṟal: The Role of Commentary in the Creation of a Text," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112, no. 4 (1992): 553.

compiler of the *Nālaṭiyār*, the Jain Patumaṉār, organized it to match the format of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*.[158] And in fact it doesn't map exceptionally well, with the final section consisting of only a single chapter.

In addition to their similar organization, the two collections of didactic poems also touch on many of the same topics, emphasizing Jain values, and many of the poems address topics of particular relevance to kings and other rulers or are addressed directly to kings and chieftains. Because of these similarities, it is worth examining the two texts together.

4.4.1. *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār*: Jain monks as courtly advisors

4.4.1.1. Jain Origins of the Tirukkuṟaḷ

The *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (also referred to as *Muppāl* because of its three parts) is one of the most beloved texts in all of Tamil literature. Its popularity today can be seen throughout Tamil Nadu where nearly every home owns at least one copy, and innumerable editions line book store shelves: pocket editions, extended editions, multilingual editions, classical editions, editions with modern Tamil glosses, etc. It consists of 1,330 two-line stanzas or distichs divided into 133 chapters of 10 distichs each. These 133 chapters are divided into three parts (*pāl*) addressing virtue, prosperity, and love: *aṟattuppāl* (chapters 1-38), *poruṭpāl* (chapters 39-108), and *kāmattuppāl* (chapters 109-133).

The poems are composed in *kuṟaḷ veṇpā* meter, which is a shorter version of the *veṇpā* meter used in quatrains. In fact, the word *kuṟaḷ* means "short". The couplet form (*kuṟaḷ*) makes

[158] Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature*, 123. Zvelebil estimates that Patumaṉār lived around 9th century CE. This would mean that the tripartite format had already been established by then, or that Zvelebil's dates for Patumaṉār may be off by a few centuries. Patumaṉār also wrote one of the oldest commentaries on the *Nālaṭiyār*. Subrahmanian, *An Introduction to Tamil Literature*, 19.

the verses easy to memorize, and indeed this task is often required of school children.[159] The text is so ingrained in Tamil culture that people frequently will quote verses from the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* as part of normal conversation.[160] The simplicity of the verses and their polysemous nature allows the context of the situation to fill in the spaces, allowing for deep or superficial exegesis.

That the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* also enjoyed considerable popularity in the past is suggested by the number of commentaries that have been written on it. More commentaries have been written on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* than on any other Tamil text. Leading up to the commentary by Parimēlaḻakar in c. 13th-14th century CE, which is one of the most influential, there were at least 10 other ancient commentaries. Between 1838 and 1976, over the course of the Tamil Renaissance and the Dravidian Movement, over 115 commentaries on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* were published.[161]

Given its immense popularity, many communities within Tamil Nadu have claimed authorship of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. Thus, any attempt to categorize its author as belonging to any one particular religion has evoked passionate debate.[162] Although the text contains ethical lessons that bear some resemblance to the moral philosophies found in Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism, there are certain features within it that suggest a particularly Jain origin.

According to the Jain tradition, the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* was composed by Ēlācāriyar, aka Śṛi Kunda-kundācārya, the founder of the first Jain saṅgha, the Mūla saṅgha, in c. 1st century BCE – 1st century CE. It is not clear how long this tradition has been in place. References to the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* in *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* illustrate that it was being read amongst the

[159] A tradition that began during the Madras Presidency. See Stuart H. Blackburn, "Corruption and Redemption: The Legend of Valluvar and Tamil Literary History," *Modern Asian Studies* 34, no. 2 (2000): 452.
[160] Cutler, "Interpreting Tirukkuṟal: The Role of Commentary in the Creation of a Text," 552.
[161] Ibid., 551.
[162] Dikshitar; Subramania Gopalan, *The Social Philosophy of Tirukkural* (New Delhi: Affiliated East-West Press, 1979); Ka. Nā. Subramaṇyam, *Tiruvalluvar and His Tirukkural*, Jnana-Pitha Moorti Devi Jain Granthamala: English Series (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith Publication, 1987); Takahashi.

Jains and Buddhists in the first millennium. When referencing the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, the commentator of *Nīlakēci*, Camaṉa Tīvākara Vāmaṉa Muṉivar, calls it "*emm-ōttu,*" our sacred book.[163] So at least by the 12th century, there was a belief amongst the Jains that the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* was part of their religious tradition.

The reason the date of the Jains' claims to the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* are so important is because colonial intervention into the analysis of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, particularly the examination of its origins and authorship, set off a host of new scholarship and defense of its position as a Brahmin text, or the text of a Paraiyar (a low-caste Hindu), or some mixture of the two. Stuart Blackburn has constructed an excellent historiography of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* during the 18th to 20th centuries, particularly the legend about its author, the *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai* (The Garland of Holy Valluvar), and the ways in which it took center stage in debates about the history of Tamil language and culture and its status in relation to Sanskrit.[164] That is not to suggest that similar or other debates in earlier periods did not produce similar mythologies associated with the text, but after the 17th century, the number of commentaries on the text increased exponentially along with various versions of the *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*.

As Cutler has demonstrated in his analysis of Parimēlaḻakar's commentary on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, from the 13th-14th centuries CE even the commentarial tradition is not to be trusted.[165] This is not only because generally the interpretations of the commentators are strongly influenced by their socio-cultural and temporal millieux, but also because Parimēlaḻakar's commentary, which is one of the five extant pre-modern commentaries on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, was taken up as the most authoritative and influential commentary amongst later scholars. In turn, his

[163] Chakravarti, 37.
[164] Blackburn.
[165] Cutler, "Interpreting Tirukkuṟal: The Role of Commentary in the Creation of a Text."

interpretation, which "appears to be driven by his commitment to Brahmanical ideas and values in general, and to the concept of *puruṣārtha* in particular,"[166] had a profound effect on how the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* was interpreted from this point forward. Therefore, if we are to objectively seek out its origins, the stories regarding the identity of its author need to be cast aside in favor of analysis of the text itself.[167]

4.4.1.2. Jain Origins of the Nālaṭiyār

While there has been considerable debate over the origins and religious beliefs of the author (or authors) of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, no such debate exists for the *Nālaṭiyār*. The *Nālaṭiyār* is a collection of 400 quatrains in *veṇpā* meter. The term *nāl-aṭi* means "four feet" or "quatrain"; thus the title of the work signals its authors, the Quatrainists (*nālaṭi-ār*).[168] The text is also sometimes referred to by its contents alone: the *Nālaṭinānūṟu* (400 Quatrains). Like the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, the *Nālatiyār* is divided into themed chapters comprised of 10 poems each. These chapters are organized into three parts addressing virtue, prosperity, and love: *aṟattuppāl* (chapters 1-13), *poruṭpāl* (chapters 14-39), and *kāmattuppāl* (chapter 40).[169]

A legendary story attached to the text claims that the poems were written by a group of 8,000 Jain ascetics who had been living in Pandiyanadu under the auspices of the Pandiyan king Ukkirap Peruvaḻuti, after they were driven from their home due to famine. When the time came for the monks to return, the king protested, as he wished to retain their great knowledge in his

[166] Ibid., 566.
[167] It may be impossible to ever identify the name of the author of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. It is a text named purely after the meter employed – *kuṟaḷ*. Amongst the entire canon of classical Tamil literature, this is the first work to be named after its meter. Manavalan, 235.
[168] The suffix -ār can also indicate the honorific plural, i.e. the (honorable) Quatrainist. However, the preface to the collection strongly favors the third person plural.
[169] The English translation by Pl. M. Annaamalai includes chapters 38 and 39, which address prostitutes (*potumakaḷir*) and chaste women (*kaṟpuṭaimakaḷir*) in the final part on love. "Nalatiyar," ed. M. Mathialagan (Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 2001).

court. So they stole away in the dead of night, but not before each leaving the king a single quatrain. As a test of the poems' merit, the king had the palm leaves thrown in the river. Those that floated against the current and reached the shore became the *Nālaṭiyār*. Those that reached the bank at other spots became *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu* (400 Proverbs) and *Aṟaneṟiccāram* (Essence of the Path of Virtue).

This origin story is particularly interesting for a number of reasons. First, the number 8,000 is the same as that used in the story found in the *Periyapurāṇam* of the massacre of 8,000 Jains in Madurai. Moreover, Ukkirap Peruvaḻuti also features as the last Pandiyan king of the legendary Third Caṅkam and in Nakkīraṉār's story about the origin of the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*. Second, while the *Nālaṭiyār* and *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu* and are part of the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku*, *Aṟaneṟiccāram* is not. Although it follows the same format as the rest of the didactic texts, consisting of 220 quatrains in *veṇpā* meter focusing on the Jain mahāvratas, it is part of a later collection, the *Nītinūlkaḷ Pattu* (Ten Tamil Ethics).[170] Third, while the *Nālaṭiyār* is considered the work of multiple Jain authors, based on the story above, *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu* is attributed to a Jain chieftain (*araiyaṉ*) named Munṟuṟaiyaraiyan, and *Aṟaneṟiccāram* is attributed to the Jain poet Tirumuṉaippāṭiyār. Lastly, the story places Jain monks specifically within the court of a Pandiyan king in an advisory capacity. That there is some truth to this portrayal is suggested by the contents of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār* that address kings, as will be discussed in more detail below.

[170] T. B. Krishnaswami, *Ten Tamil Ethics (Nītinūlkaḷ Pattu)* (Triunelveli: South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, 1957).

4.4.1.3. Teaching the Great Vows

In both texts, the part on virtue (*aṟattuppāl*)[171] emphasizes the great vows of Jainism: non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing, chastity, and non-attachment (See Table 4.3). In the *Tirukkuṟaḷ,* such virtues were not set exclusively within a monastic context, but rather translated for a lay audience, with the message being that self-improvement and a high ethical standard of living was possible for the householder. In fact, within the chapter on family life (*ilvāḻkkai*) the life of the householder is itself upheld as a virtue: "Family life marked by love and duty is itself

Table 4.3 Great Vows in the *aṟattuppālkaḷ* of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār*

Great Vows (*Mahāvratas*)	***Tirukkuṟaḷ aṟattuppāl* (14 out of 38 chapters)**	***Nālaṭiyār aṟattuppāl* (6 out of 13 chapters)**
Ahiṃsā (non-violence)	26. *pulāl maṟuttal* – abstaining from meat, 32. *iṉṉāceyyāmai* – not doing violence, 33. *kollāmai* – not killing	13. *tīviṇaiyaccam* – avoidance of evil deeds
Satya (truthfulness)	19. *puṟankūrāmai* – against slander, 20. *payaṉila collāmai* - not saying frivolous things, 30. *vāymai* – truth, 36. *meyyuṇartal* – understanding truth	12. *meymmai* - truth
Asteya (non-stealing)	29. *kaḷḷāmai* – not stealing	
Brahmacarya (chastity)	13. *aṭakkamuṭaimai* – posessing self-control, 15. *piṟaṉil viḻaiyāmai* – not desiring another's wife	9. *piṟarmaṉainayavāmai* – not desiring another's wife
Aparigraha (non-attachment)	12. *naṭuvu nilaimai* – impartiality, 18. *veḵkāmai* – absence of desire, 23. *īkai* – charity, 37. *avāṟuttal* – removing desire	1. *celvanilaiyāmai* – instability of wealth, 6. *tuṟavu* – renunciation, 10. *īkai* – charity

[171] The *aṟattuppāl* is made up of chapters 1-38 in the *Tirukkuṟaḷ,* and chapters 1-13 in the *Nālaṭiyār*.

both virtue and reward."[172] The poems even go as far as stating that the life of the householder is foremost amongst all paths that lead to liberation, and that a householder who enables ascetics to keep on the right path and who does not deviate from his own does *greater* penance than the ascetics.[173]

In contrast, many poems in the *Nālaṭiyār* place asceticism and renunciation above the life of the householder. This view is often emphasized by portraying the joys of family life as fleeting (182), describing marriage as an affliction (*miṭi*) (54, 56, 364), or reminding the audience of the impurities and inevitable decay of women's bodies (Chapter 5, esp. 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48). The preeminence of renunciation is made explicit in poem 365:

> The best life for a person is that of penance/asceticism (*tavam*).
> Next is the stage of family life.
> Last of all are the ignorant people who think they can leach off of others,
> continuously chasing after them to gain the things they desire.[174]
> (*Nālaṭiyār* 365)

The ethical principles in the *aṟattuppāl* of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* are presented plainly, and the audience is encouraged to follow them by the promise of greatness, wealth, power, and salvation or dissuaded from unethical conduct by the threat of loss of honor, poverty, ruin, and damnation. They encourage the listener to strive toward compassion, non-violence, and truthfulness.

In contrast, the *Nālaṭiyār* seems to take a more heavy-handed approach, with more severe, harsh imagery, and threats of destruction, reminding the audience that death is right around the corner. The only motivation seems to be avoidance of the negative effects, or the reward of a better life in the next birth.

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[172] Tirukkuṟaḷ 45 aṉpum aṟaṉum uṭaittāyiṉ ilvāḻkkai / paṇpum payaṉum atu
[173] Tir. 46 aṟattāṟṟiṉ ilvāḻkkai yāṟṟiṉ puṟattāṟṟiṉ / pō-ōyp peṟuva tevaṉ. Tir. 47 iyalpiṉāṉ ilvāḻkkai vāḻpavaṉ eṉpāṉ / muyalvāruḷ ellām talai.
[174] talaiyē tavamuyaṉṟu vāḻtal oruvark / kiṭaiyē iṉiyārkaṇ taṅkal kaṭaiyē / puṇarāteṉ ṟēṇṇip poruḷ nasaiyāl tammai / uṇarārpiṉ ceṉṟu nilai

4.4.1.4. Speaking to Kings

In the *Tirukkuṟaḷ,* the second part (*poruṭpāl*) focuses on advice specifically for monarchs, with chapters addressing kingship (Ch. 39), just and unjust rule (Ch. 55-57), interacting with other kings (Ch. 70), and associating with sages, ministers, ambassadors, and the assembly (Ch. 52, 64, 71-73). It also contains chapters on battle strategies (Ch. 47-50, 59, 88, 89), the value and courage of the army (Ch. 77-78), spies (Ch. 59), and false alliances (Ch. 83).

In the *Tirukkuṟaḷ,* kings are referred to using the words *maṉṉaṉ* (*maṉṉavaṉ, maṉṉar*) and *iṟai* (*iṟaivaṉ, iṟaivar*). In all 22 instances, *maṉṉaṉ* means "king", while the term *iṟai*, which essentially means "eminence", may be glossed differently across the various contexts. For example, in poem 1157 in the *kāmattuppāl, iṟai* refers to the woman's husband,[175] and in the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* of the *aṟattuppāl, iṟai* may more accurately be glossed as "Lord" as in reference to the divine.[176] However, all 11 instances of *iṟai* in the *poruṭpāl* refer to kings. Notably, *maṉṉaṉ* (and its variants) is used exclusively in the *poruṭpāl*; it does not appear elsewhere in the text. Thus, this section is particularly focused on the life of kings and concepts of sovereignty (*kōl, kōn*).[177]

In the *Nālaṭiyār,* the *poruṭpāl* also focuses on the traits and dispositions required of a great leader, such as learning, moral greatness, friendship, wisdom, honor, and avoidance of base elements.[178] Moreover, in the *Nālaṭiyār*, 52 of the 400 quatrains are addressed directly *to* kings

[175] tuṟaivaṉ tuṟantamai tūṟṟākol muṉkai iṟai iṟavā niṉṟa vaḷai (Tir. Ch. 116 kaṟpiyal, 1157)
[176] Iruḷcēr iruviṉaiyum cērā iṟaivaṉ poruḷcēr pukaḻpurintār māṭṭu (5), piṟavip perumkaṭal nīntuvar nīntār iṟaivaṉ aṭicērā tār (10)
[177] The word *aracaṉ* is absent, and *kōṉ* only appears in relation to rule or sovereignty, along with the word *kōl* (lit. 'scepter'), 12 times. Kuṟals containing *maṉṉaṉ, maṉṉavaṉ, maṉṉar*: 386, 388, 445, 448, 520, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 548, 553, 556 (2x), 558, 559, 581, 583, 610, Ch. 70 title, 692 (2x). Kuṟals containing *iṟai* as 'king': Ch. 39 title, 388, 432, 437, 541, 547, 564, 690, 733 (2x), 778.
[178] learning (*kaḷvi*), moral greatness (*perumai*), friendship (*naṭpār*), wisdom (*aṟivu*), honor (*māṇam*), and avoidance of base elements (*kayamai*). The *poruṭpāl* is made up of chapters 39-108 in the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, and chapters 14-39 in the *Nālaṭiyār.*

or chieftains using the vocative case: 30 times as *nāṭa(n̲)*, 20 times as *cērppa(n̲)*, and 2 times as *ver̲pa(n̲)*.[179] *Nāṭan̲* and *ver̲pan̲* are both titles associated with the hill tracts, while *cērppan̲* is associated with the sea shore. While in classical Tamil literature these titles are frequently used in love poems of the *akam* genre for generalized figures,[180] in poem 49 of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, the terms *nāṭan̲*, *ūran̲*, and *cērppan̲* are all used to refer to a single Chera king, Kōkkōtai Mārpaṉ, whose domain comprises these three landscapes.[181] Thus, rather than a kind of performative address, it is likely that the intended audience for these poems were real political elites. The use in quatrains 200 and 296 of *peru muttaraiyar*, a term that appears in 7th century inscriptions in reference to minor chieftains within the Pallava empire, the Muttaraiyar, supports this interpretation.[182] Alternatively, A. Chakravarti has suggested *peru muttaraiyar* could mean "great king (*araiyar*) of pearls (*muttu-(t)*)", in reference to the Pandiya kings, whose port city of Korkai was famed for pearl fishing.[183] Another possibility is that this is a reference to the *mūvēntar*.

4.4.1.5. Advocating Agriculture: Patronage Amongst the Veḷḷalars

In the 10th-century work *Darśanasāra,* its author, Devasena, criticizes the southern Digambara Jains. As summarized by Paul Dundas, "Devasena accuses Vajranandi of advocating total laxity

[179] *Nāṭan̲* and its affiliates are used a total of 14 times in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*: 11 times in reference to a local chieftain (143.5, 236.3, 135.13, 150.28, 157.13, 158.12, 170.8, 172.8, 374.15, 381.22, 390.24), 1 time in reference to a Chera king (49.1), 1 time in reference to a Chola king (397.21) and 1 time the patron is unidentified (383.21). *Cērppan̲* is used only once in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* in reference to a Chera king (49.2). *Ver̲pan̲* is also used only once in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* in reference to a chieftain (200.5). Based on the colophons and the *Word Index for Cankam Literature* by Lehmann and Malten.

[180] Such terms are used more frequently in the *akam* anthologies than the *puṟam* anthologies, based on numbers derived from the *Word Index for Cankam Literature*.

[181] *Ūran̲* is a term for a chieftain of the agricultural (*marutam*) tracts. *Puṟ.* 49.1-2 nāṭaṉ eṉ kō ūraṉ eṉ kō / pāṭimiḻ paṉik kaṭal cērppaṉ eṉ kō

[182] Chakravarti, 43; Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*, 464.

[183] Chakravarti, 43.

of conduct in respect of bathing and eating proscribed food. Even more seriously, his followers are said to have virtually abandoned wandering mendicancy and taken to a settled mode of life, tilling the ground and selling the produce."[184] That these criticisms may have been rooted in truth is suggested by the expansion of the Jain *paḷḷis*, and the creation of temples and *paḷḷicantams* as documented in Jain inscriptions from the 5th to 9th centuries CE. The contents of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār* also indicate that farming amongst Tamil Jains was no longer considered a harmful profession, and in fact, both collections laud the virtues of farming and farmers.

In the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* an entire chapter within the *poruṭpal* is devoted to agriculture (Ch. 104, *uḻavu*). This chapter refers to farmers as *uḻavār*, 'ploughmen' (from *uḻatal*, 'to plough'), and in the first *kuṟaḷ* (1031) proclaims that farming is the highest profession: *uḻantum uḻavē talai*. The following couplets identify farmers as the support for the rest of the world, and declare that only farmers are truly self-sufficient (*uḻutuṇṭu vāḻvārē vāḻvār*) while everyone else submits (*piṉcēl pavar*) to them (by living off of their produce). The chapter also encourages farmers to give to mendicants and beggars (1035, 1036).

The *Nālaṭiyār* is commonly known as the "Farmer's Bible" (*Veḷḷāḷar-Vētam*).[185] However, farmers and ploughing are mentioned only 4 times within the entire collection (poems 115, 178, 277, and 356). Rather, the secondary title likely stems from the rich metaphors that that draw upon quotidian experiences that many farmers could relate to, such as sowing seeds, growth of crops, water canals, plants, and domestic animals (Table 4.4). These metaphors are used to convey the nature of the ethical principles the poem seeks to teach. For example:

> As in an uncultivated agricultural field, grass protected by a log
> will not be reduced by the ploughing of farmers;
> even weak people will not be brought down by those who seek to destroy them

[184] Dundas, *The Jains*, 122.
[185] *Munṉivar Aruḷicceyta Nālaṭiyār = the Naladiyar, or Four Hundred Quatrains in Tamil*, ed. G. U. Pope (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), viii.

when they are strongly attached to friends who protect them. [186]
(Nālaṭiyār 178)

Although cows differ in form,
the milk they produce does not differ.
In this manner, like milk, virtue is one,
and the ways of obtaining it are many. [187]
(Nālaṭiyār 118)

They say that a small tank if used sparingly will provide water
for an entire village. Those that understand this –
even when poor – will dutifully donate to charity,
while others – even when rich as kings – will not. [188]
(Nālaṭiyār 184)

That the emerging class of farmers known as *veḷḷālars* were the target audience of these poems is suggested by direct references to them in the contemporary ethical treatises of Hindu authors, such as the *Tirikaṭukam* by Nallātaṉar, who describes how honorable *veḷḷālars* show respect to brahmins, even if they are by all other measures friends or equals (70). Other poems outline characteristics of the ideal *veḷḷāla*(12, 16), which includes providing food and shelter to brahmin mendicants. The *Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu* similarly contains poems that laud the characteristics and vocation of farmers (3, 4). The *Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai*, which combines elements of both Jain and Hindu religious philosophy, also has poems dedicated to the *veḷḷālars*. In one poem, agriculturalists are listed second, immediately after brahmins, as the most respected and honorable people (86).[189]

[186] All of these translations are my own unless otherwise specified. kollai irum puṉattuk kuṟṟi aṭainta pul / olkāvē ākum uḻavar uḻupaṭaikku / melliyarē āyiṉum naṟ cārvu cārntārmel / cellāvām ceṟṟār ciṉam
[187] Ā vēṟu uruviṉa āyiṉum ā payanta / pāl vēṟu uruviṉa allavām pālpōl / orutaṉmaittu ākum aṟam neṟi āpōl / uruvu palakoḷāl īṅku
[188] Uṛaippu aruṅ kālattum ūṛṛu nīrk kēṇi / iṛaiththu uṇinum ūr āṟṟum eṉpar koṭaikkaṭaṉum / cā ayakkaṇṇum periyārpol maṛṛaiyār / ā ayakkaṇṇum aritu
[189] S. Sivapatha Sundaram, "A Sociological Study of *Patinenhkilkkanhakku* (Early Tamil Ethical Books)," in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madurai, Tamil Nadu* (Madras: International Association of Tamil Research, 1981).

Table 4.4 Agrarian metaphors in the *Nālaṭiyār*

Agrarian topics	**Poems**
Ploughing (*uḻavu-tal*)	115, 178, 277, 356
Seeds, sowing, digging (*vittu-tal, kiḷḷu-tal*)	243,315, 336
Cows and milk (*ā, kaṉṟu, pāl*)	101, 118, 240, 279
Wells, water canals (*kēṇi, kuḷam, vāykkāl*)	184, 191, 218, 222,
Trees	192, 202, 203, 216, 256, 344
Paddy (*nel*)	133, 179, 221, 269, 367
Soil (*nilam*)	133, 179, 356, 243
Crops (*kūḻ*)	190, 191, 2
Oxen (*pakaṭu*)	2
Sugarcane (*karumpu*)	199, 138, 211, 34, 35, 156, 390
Grains (*kappi*)	341

4.5. Preaching to the Crowd: *Patinkeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* as Proselytization

Beyond the courts of kings, the circulation of these gnomic poems may have served not only to educate the Jain laity on proper conduct, but also to attract new adherents. All six of the Jain didactic works are comprised of short poems of two to four lines written in the *veṇpā* meter. Although in many cases their content is rich and complex, their seemingly simple form makes them particularly easy to memorize and recite. Today, educated and non-educated Tamils frequently quote verses from the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and other proverbs in a range of situations.[190] That Jains may have been circulating such texts as a means of attracting lay members is suggested in the invectives against them in the hymns of the 7th-century Śaiva saint Campantar. He writes, "The Jains are proud, haughty people who go around preaching to the crowd the *Tale of the Parrot* (*kiḷiyiṉ viruttam*) and the *Song of the Rat* (*eliyiṉ toḻiṟpāṭṭu*), saying they are the truth."[191]

[190] Cutler, "Interpreting Tirukkuṟal: The Role of Commentary in the Creation of a Text."
[191] *Tēvāram* 3.39.5 kūṭṭiṉ ār kiḷiyiṉ viruttam uraittatu ōr eliyiṉ toḻiṟpāṭṭu mey solip pakkamē solum ekkar. These works are no longer extant, but may be similar to the *Nariviruttam* mentioned in the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*. See Veluppillai, 358.

The other four Jain didactic works also emphasize the Jain mahāvratas. *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu,* attributed to Muṉṟuṟai Araiyaṉār, has 400 stanzas, each containing a single proverb. These poems draw on imagery and characters of the Caṅkam corpus[192] as well as intertextual references to stories of the *Mahābhārata* and *Ramayana*. The title *Ciṟupañcamūlam* and *Ēlāti* are both names of medicines. *Ciṟupañcamūlam* means "five small remedies" and *ēlāti* is a mixture of the perfumes of cardamom, camphor, odorous wood, sandal wood, and honey.[193] In both cases, the quatrains present ethical principles (five per stanza in *Ciṟupañcamūlam* and six per stanza in *Ēlāti*) as medicinal ingredients to heal the audience of their moral sufferings. Similarly, *Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai* means "necklace of four gems," and each stanza presents four ethical principles.

While the common proverbs of *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu* seem aimed at a general audience, those of *Ciṟupañcamūlam* are targeted at students eager to learn more about Jain dharma. Many of the poems are dedicated to examining the relationship between teachers and students and the proper conduct of each. *Ciṟupañcamūlam* also warns against false teachers and disparages the types of conduct exhibited by Vedic sadhus such as bathing in rivers, growing matted hair, or shaving the head (69).[194] Many of the poems in *Ēlāti* focus on rebirth and the steps necessary to be reborn as a king. Such poems suggest that the intended audience of *Ēlāti,* in contrast to the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār,* were not kings, but rather the oppressed classes or those with some political power who were eager to improve their lot in the next life.

[192] For example, the chieftains (*vēḷ*) Pāri and Pēkaṉ, who have series of poems in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* dedicated to their deeds, feature in several poems, as does the Chola king Karikālaṉ, who is lauded in several poems in the *Puṟ*. as well as the *Paṭṭiṉappālai* of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*.
[193] Chakravarti, 47.
[194] Sivapatha Sundaram.

The ethical treatises of the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* suggest that Jain philosophy was being promulgated during this period via this new genre. The articulation of ethical treatises as aphorisms composed in metrical distichs and quatrains perhaps made them particularly palatable to a lay audience. The poems stress the impermanence of wealth and the importance of charity, education, chastity, and renunciation. There are also passages, most prominently in the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, which address matters of governance and kingship. This suggests that Jains may have played an active role in the lives of the political elite, advising them on righteous action and directing their wealth towards the support of Jain monastic communities.

4.6. Conclusions

In conclusion, Jains played a significant role in Tamil literary production from its very beginnings in the early centuries BCE. That names of Jain authors are associated with poems from some of the earliest strata in the Caṅkam corpus, combined with the fact that Jains were present in and around Madurai by at least 2nd century BCE, supports this claim. Moreover, as shown in my analysis of the poems of the *Eṭṭutokai*, such as those of the *kāñci tiṇai* in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, Jain ethics and philosophy abound, even where there are no identifiable Jain authors. As I argued here, the reason for these glaring absences is quite likely due to the ways in which the texts of the Caṅkam corpus were collected and curated during the 7th to 8th centuries CE. At this time, Nakkīraṉār wrote his preamble to the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* crafting a rich literary history which claimed Tamil, Madurai, and any historical literary academies for Śaivism. In doing so, it purposefully obscured the role of Jains in early Tamil literary production. Nevertheless, the traces that remain in conjunction with the epigraphic evidence attesting to the importance of Madurai as an early center of Jainism, strongly suggest that the Jain monks of the

early centuries BCE and CE were composing poetry and participating in the networks of early Tamil literary production, which no doubt – based on the diversity of form and content of the poems of the *Eṭṭutokai* – included a wide array of individuals from various professions, and social, political, and religious affiliations.

By the 5th century CE the place of Jains and Jainism within Tamil society becomes clearer. Jainism is highlighted as one of the three prominent religious groups of Madurai in the *Maturaikkāñci* and one of the five religions with temples inside the city in *Cilappatikāram*. Not only do these texts contain descriptions of the religious practices of Jain monastics and mendicants, but also Jainism as a lived religion amongst Tamil laypeople. Moreover, a religious landscape begins to emerge from the descriptions in *Cilappatikāram,* one made up of groves, gardens, temples, and monuments, in which Jain arhats or religious elites circulate between major cities preaching Jain dharma.

Over the next few centuries competition for patronage amongst religious groups in large cities such as Madurai increases. The links between Jain monastics and the rulers of the Pandiyas and Cheras as evinced by the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Mangulam and Pugalur, are transformed into social and political relationships. The Jain didactic texts of the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* demonstrate the outward-facing identity of Jainism in the 5th to 8th centuries CE. Jain authors composed short poems in *veṇpā* meter as a way to teach their religion to new (and old) populations of potential patrons and converts. The poems within the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār* are directed at kings and other political elites within the emerging courts of the early medieval period. That Jain monks may have had close relationships with kings in an advisory capacity is suggested by the origin story for the *Nālaṭiyār,* as well as poems within the 6th-century *Tēvāram* which note the influence of Jainism on the monarchs of Madurai and the rich

descriptions of these monks and their political and social influence in the 12th century *Periyapurāṇam*. Other Jain didactic texts appear to be aimed at agriculturalists – a trait they share with some of the Hindu didactic texts. Thus, farmers or *veḷḷalars* seem to have constituted another significant group of patrons. The poems within the Jain ethical treatises of the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* range from accessible and positive, aimed at drawing in the general populace, to alienating and threatening. With both carrot and stick, the Jain authors sought to drive new adherents toward the Jain religion, and most importantly toward practices that ensured the continued growth of the Jain monastic communities, such as charitable donations. The abundance of new inscriptions from c. 8th to 9th centuries CE attests to this growth in the Jain community. Lastly, texts like the *Ciṟupañcamūlam* shed light on the centers of learning developed by Jains during this time, and the relationships between teachers and students. The names of prominent Jain teachers and their students also appear throughout the inscriptions of this period.

Overall, the early classical Tamil poetry, narrative poems and early epics, and post-Caṅkam Jain didactic texts, in combination with the epigraphic data discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, may be used to craft a narrative for the development of Jainism in Tamil Nadu from the early centuries BCE to c. 9th century CE. In the next chapter, I will continue to develop and refine this historical narrative by situating it within the archaeological and physical landscape of Early Historic Tamil Nadu.

CHAPTER 5

Situating Jain Monastic Communities within the Archaeological Landscape of Early Historic Tamil Nadu

Over the past 50-60 years, scholars have discovered a wide range of archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence for the Early Historic Period in Tamil Nadu c. 500 BCE – 500 CE. This temporal category spans the time between the early beginnings of writing, to the beginning of the significant socio-economic, cultural, and material shifts that characterize the early medieval period. With regard to Jain monasticism in Tamil Nadu, the period between 500 BCE and 500 CE encompasses the arrival of Jain monastics in Tamil Nadu, the establishment of the first monasteries and hill sites, the rise of Jainism as a religious group within Tamil society, and an increasing visibility of Jain authors in the Tamil literary record. To understand the broader contexts of this historical narrative, it is necessary to situate, quite literally, the Jain monastic sites within the archaeological landscape of this period. To do this, I constructed a series of spatial databases containing information about archaeological sites and monuments, Early Historic coins, and Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu. By displaying these databases as maps in ArcGIS, I was able to use this software to calculate and examine spatial relationships between the Jain sites, other archaeological sites, and coin hoards, as well as assess the statistical significance of these relationships. I also utilized topographic data to construct least-cost paths through the landscape on the basis of slope and treated these paths in my analyses as hypothetical trade/travel routes. Using this topographic data and the coordinate data for Jain and other Early Historic sites, I was also able to determine the viewsheds, i.e. areas of visibility, and assess inter-visibility between sites. These analyses constituted a crucial first step in examining the early Jain

monastic hill sites within their archaeological contexts and helped to inform the research questions and the research strategies of my archaeological fieldwork in Madurai District, Tamil Nadu in 2016 (discussed in Chapter 6 and 7).

5.1. Archaeological Evidence for Early Historic Tamil Nadu

In Tamil Nadu, archaeologists have identified at least 200 Early Historic sites. The capital cities and major ports of the Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas described in Caṅkam literature have all been located and excavated to some extent (Map 5.1). This includes the Chera capital of Karur/Vañci and port of Muciṟi,[1] the Chola capital of Uraiyur and port of Kaveripattinam/Puhar,[2] and the Pandiya capital of Madurai and its major port at Korkai.[3] Following the identification of these major sites, archaeologists began to systematically excavate ancient ports along the Coromandel Coast, such as Vasavasamudram,[4] Arikamedu,[5] and Alagankulam,[6] and settlements in the mineral-rich Coimbatore region of northwest Tamil Nadu,

[1] R. Nagaswamy, *Roman Karur: A Peep into Tamil's Past* (Madras: Brahad Prakashan, 1995); P.J. Cherian, "The Tales That Potsherds Tell at Pattanam," *The Hindu*, June 18, 2010 2010; P.J. Cherian, V. Selvakumar, and K.P. Shajan, "The Muziris Heritage Project: Excavations at Pattanam 2007," *Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology* 4 (2007); K.P. Shajan et al., "Locating the Ancient Port of Muziris: Fresh Findings from Pattanam," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004); P. J. Cherian et al., "Chronology of Pattanam: A Multi-Cultural Port Site on the Malabar Coast," *Current Science* 97, no. 2 (2009).
[2] K.V. Raman, *Excavations at Uraiyur (Tiruchirappalli) 1965-1969* (Madras: University of Madras, 1988); K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Kaveripattinam Excavations 1963-73 (a Port City on the Tamilnadu Coast)* (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, Govt. of India, 1994).
[3] B.K. Gururaja Rao and K.V. Raman, "Exploration in District Madurai," *Indian Archaeology - A Review* 1957-58 (1958); A. Abdul Majeed, "A Note on Korkai Excavations," *Tamil Civilization* 5, no. 1&2 (1987); "Excavation at Korkai, District Thirunaveli," *Damilica (Tamiḻika)* 1 (1970).
[4] R. Nagaswamy and A. Majeed, *Vasavasamudram: A Report on the Excavation Conducted by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology* (Madras: Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, 1978).
[5] R.E.M. Wheeler, "Arikamedu, an Indo-Roman Trading-Station on the East Coast of India," *Ancient India* 2 (1946); V. Begley, "Arikamedu Reconsidered," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87, no. 4 (1983); V. Begley, P. Francis, Jr., and I. Mahadevan, eds., *The Ancient Port of Arikamedu: New Excavations and Researches 1989-1992*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Pondichéry: Centre d'histoire et d'archéologie, École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1996); V. Begley et al., eds., *The Ancient Port of Arikamedu: New Excavations and Researches 1989-1992*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004).
[6] R. Nagaswamy, "Alagankulam: An Indo-Roman Trading Port," in *Indian Archaeological Heritage, Vol. 1*, ed. C. Margabandhu and et al. (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1991); T.S. Sridhar, ed. *Alagankulam: An Ancient Roman Port City of Tamil Nadu* (Chennai: Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, 2005).

such as Kodumanal,[7] Porunthal,[8] and Thandikudi.[9] In addition to these excavations, archaeologists have also conducted numerous surveys of the various river valleys and hills in order to locate additional sites and archaeological remains.[10]

Megalithic sites are also scattered across the ancient landscape. These sites have been classified by the presence of funerary monuments of stone and/or urn burials, black-and-red ware pottery, and iron implements. Although the term "Megalithic" is often used inappropriately and interchangeably with the Iron Age, it is better understood as a series of mortuary or memorial *practices*, which cannot be confined to a single period. Rather, these practices emerge around the Neolithic period (as early as 1,500 BCE) and continue well into the Early Medieval (900 CE).[11] Therefore, many of the so-called megalithic sites may have been contemporary with Early Historic settlements and should be considered as part of the corpus of archaeological evidence regarding Early Historic society.

The material assemblages unearthed during the excavations at Early Historic sites are substantial. Material remains include: fine and coarse ware ceramics, imported ceramics from Arabia and the Mediterranean, and sherds of pottery with Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and graffiti

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[7] K. Rajan, "Iron and Gemstone Industries as Revealed from Kodumanal Excavations," *Puratattva* 20 (1991); "Further Excavations at Kodumanal, Tamil Nadu," *Man and Environment* 23, no. 2 (1998).
[8] *Archaeological Excavations at Porunthal 2009* (Pondicherry: Pondicherry University, 2009).
[9] K. Rajan, N. Athiyaman, and V.P. Kumar, "Further Excavations at Thandikudi, Tamil Nadu," *Man and Environment* 33, no. 2 (2009).
[10] For a comprehensive overview, see K. Rajan, "Archaeology of River Valleys," in *Catalogue of Archaeological Sites in Tamil Nadu Vol. I*, ed. K. Rajan, V.P. Yathees Kumar, and S. Selvakumar (Thanjavur: Heritage India Trust, 2009); K. Rajan and V.P. Yathees Kumar, "Cultural Transformation from Iron Age to Early Historic Times: A Case Study of the Vaigai River Valley, Tamil Nadu," in *New Dimensions in Tamil Epigraphy*, ed. Appasamy Murugaiyan (Chennai: Cre-A, 2012).
[11] Mark T. Lycett and K.D. Morrison, "Scales and Monumentalities: The Production of an Iron Age Landscape in North Interior Karnataka," in *97th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association* (Philadelphia1998); Kathleen D. Morrison, Mark T. Lycett, and Mudit Trivedi, "Megaliths and Memory: Excavations at Kadebakele and the Megaliths of Northern Karnataka," in *20th Conference of the European Association for South Asian Archaeology and Art*, ed. Verena Widorn, Ute Franke, and Petra Latschenberger (Vienna, Austria: Brepols, 2016).



Map 5.1 Excavated Early Historic sites as well as Jain caves and other sites mentioned in this chapter. All maps in this chapter were created by the author using ArcGIS.

marks; beads of glass, shell, terracotta, and semi-precious stone; bangles of shell and terracotta; local punch-marked coins and coins from the Mediterranean. Excavations have also uncovered architectural remains, such as mud-brick walls and lime-plaster floors of domestic structures, ring wells, kilns for firing pottery, brick vats for dying cloth, circular bins for storing grains, and iron smelting areas marked by iron crucibles and furnaces. The paleo-botanical and faunal assemblages associated with these settlements include grains of rice and millets and bones of cattle, sheep, goat, and deer.

Megalithic sites have yielded grave goods, such as ceramics, iron weapons, and jewelry. The form of these burial monuments varies. Examples include dolmens, menhirs, cairn-circles, stone-circles, cist-burials, urn-burials, and sarcophagi.[12] Memorial stones or hero stones, commonly associated with the medieval periods, should also be added to this list as they too represent a form of mortuary practice in the form of stone monuments. The earliest examples of inscribed hero stones in Tamil Nadu date to the Early Historic period, though the majority (approx. 200) date to c. 600-1000 CE. [13] Of particular note are the Tamil-Brahmi inscribed hero stones discovered along the Vaigai River in Madurai District by archaeologists K. Rajan V.P. Yatheeskumar and S. Selvakumar at Pulimankombai and Thathappatti.[14]

Overall, the archaeological record from the Early Historic period is quite significant and continues to grow each year with new excavations undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India branches in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology,

[12] Udayaravi S. Moorti, *Megalithic Culture of South India: Socioeconimc Perspectives* (Varanasi: Ganga Kaveri Publishing House, 1994); B. Narasimhaiah, *Neolithic and Megalithic Cultures in Tamil Nadu* (Delhi: Sindeep Prakashan, 1980).
[13] Rajan and Yathees Kumar; K. Rajan, *South Indian Memorial Stones* (Thanjavur: Manoo Pathippakam, 2000).
[14] Rajan and Yathees Kumar.

Kerala Council for Historical Research, and Tamil universities such as Pondicherry University and Tamil University, Thanjavur.

5.1.1. Numismatics

Coins from the Early Historic period may be divided into two categories: foreign currency (predominantly Roman) and local currency (predominantly associated with the *mūvēntar*). Since 1786, when a hoard of Roman *aurei* was unearthed at the Buddhist site of Nellore in Andhra Pradesh, "the finds and hoards of Roman gold and silver coins have fascinated historians and archaeologists."[15] Many of these hoards are located in the Coimbatore region of Tamil Nadu. While earlier interpretations by British archaeologists like Mortimer Wheeler equated the presence of foreign currency with the presence of foreign persons,[16] subsequent research by numismatists like Paula Turner and David MacDowall has complicated this picture, by providing more detailed analyses of these hoards.[17] It is significant that the various types of Roman coins found in India are not from the same time periods: silver *denarii* in India were minted primarily between 31 BC and 37 CE, with a few as late as 68 CE; gold *aurei* between 138 and 212 CE; gold *solidi* c. 4th and 5th centuries CE; and Roman copper coins c. mid-4th and mid-5th centuries CE.

Although early analyses by archaeologists tended to (and sometimes still do) associate the date of the coin's production with the date of its arrival in India, this is an incorrect

[15] P. Berghaus, "Roman Coins from India and Their Imitations," in *Coinage, Trade and Economy*, ed. A.K. Jha (Nashik: Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, 1991), 108.
[16] R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1954).
[17] P.J. Turner, *Roman Coins from India* (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1989); D.W. MacDowall, "Indian Imports of Roman Silver Coins," in *Coinage, Trade, and Economy*, ed. A.K. Jha (Nashik: Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, 1991); "The Evidence of the Gazetteer of Roman Artifacts in India," in *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, ed. H.P. Ray and J-F. Salles (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996).

assumption. Through careful analysis of the composition of coin hoards and the degree of wear and weight of individual coins, MacDowall was able to estimate their period of deposition. He discovered that most of the coins arrived in India *after* major currency reforms in the Roman Empire, when they could no longer be circulated in the empire, and thus Roman traders found it most profitable to export them.[18]

In addition, the patterns in coinage found in South India reflect the careful selection of specific categories of coins based on the purity of their metal content. According to MacDowall, "The deliberate selection of particular categories of *denarii* at different periods clearly shows that Indian traders were knowledgeable about the silver purity of different issues and were prepared to trade in these categories by weight."[19] This suggests that the inhabitants of South India valued the coins as bullion rather than currency. The selection by Roman traders of particular issues of old Roman coins to suit the tastes of their Indian trading partners also indicates that the inhabitants of South India had some agency in their trade negotiations and were by no means passive participants in these economic relations.

Another assumption is that the geographic distribution of Roman coins within the South Indian landscape is indicative of local exchange networks, i.e. that the location of the caches and hoards is equivalent or related to the location of the economic transactions of which they were a part. However, coins can be exchanged in other contexts, such as religious donations and personal gifts.[20] In 1886, numismatist Sir Walter Elliot observed how ancient coins commonly eroded out of the "dunes and sand-knolls" of small fishing hamlets along the coasts of Tamil Nadu.[21] He noted that these coins were "collected by the wives and children of the fishermen

[18] "Indian Imports of Roman Silver Coins."
[19] "The Evidence of the Gazetteer of Roman Artifacts in India," 89.
[20] H.P. Ray, ed. *Coins in India: Power and Communication* (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2006), 9.
[21] Sir Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India* (Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1970 [1886]), 35.

after gales of wind or heavy rains, and purchased from them by their itinerant pedlars, called Labis or Merkayars, in exchange for useful necessaries, by whom they are sold to braziers and coppersmiths."[22] The historical significance of these coins was subsidiary to their value as bullion. After being plucked from the shores, they were exchanged several times until they were ultimately recast into something new. Such processes likely took place in the ancient past as well. Thus, the caches may represent the locations of ancient economic centers where these coins were previously circulated, and/or they may represent a location associated with their use as metal for casting new objects, such as jewelry, weapons, or local currency. Ultimately, the coins were buried or hidden with some later purpose in mind, a purpose that their previous owners were never able to fulfill.

Aside from Roman coins, the numismatic evidence from the Early Historic period also includes local issues of coins attributed to the Pandiyas, Cheras, and Cholas. Although R. Krishnamurthy has published several interesting works on Caṅkam Age Tamil coins,[23] to my knowledge, no comprehensive work on these coins, such as Turner's 1989 volume for Roman coins, has been attempted. One significant obstacle to such an endeavor is the fact that there are hardly any coins from dateable archaeological contexts. Like Roman coins, most local coins are from hoards or presently in museum collections with no provenience data. Unlike Roman coins, the local issues often lack a legend or other marker that can help to precisely date the coin. Another challenge is the numismatic/art historical interpretation of the various motifs on the coins. To an untrained eye, many of the so-called Caṅkam Age coins closely resemble North Indian punch-marked coins. Moreover, the identifying symbols of the respective Caṅkam polities

[22] Ibid.
[23] R. Krishnamurthy, *Sangam Age Tamil Coins* (Madras: Garnet Publications, 1997); R. Krishnamurthy and Senarath Wickramasinghe, eds., *A Catalogue of the Sangam Age Pandya and Chola Coins in the National Museum, Colombo, Sri Lanka* (Colombo Dept. of the National Museums, 2005).

(fish for Pandiyas, bow and arrow for Cheras, and lion for Cholas) are also symbols that were used by these polities in the post-Caṅkam periods. With regard to the "fish" symbol on many Pandiyan coins, it is often nothing more than an 'X' or a 'V' engraved into the back of the coin, which begs the question of whether we can be certain that it represents a fish at all.

5.1.2. Epigraphy

Epigraphic evidence from the Early Historic period is comprised of lithic inscriptions in Tamil-Brahmi script on boulders and caves, often in association with Jain monastic residences, and on hero stones commemorating the deaths of warriors and cattle-raiding chieftains. Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions have also been found on broken ceramics and occasionally on coins, seals, and rings. Overall, in Tamil Nadu alone there are approximately 100 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on stone,[24] and between 450 and 500 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery.[25] The number of coins, seals, and rings bearing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from Tamil Nadu, is approximately 25.[26]

The number of inscriptions increases significantly around 5th century CE with the emergence of Vaṭṭeḻuttu script. According to Mahadevan, the number of Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions on hero stones is approximately 130, with a peak in production between the 7th and 9th

[24] Y. Subbarayalu, "Tamil Epigraphy: Past and Present," in *Negotiations with the Past: Classical Tamil in Contemporary Tamil*, ed. M. Kannan and Carlos Mena (Pondichéry: Institut Français de Pondichéry, 2006), 46.
[25] Y. Subbarayalu, "Archeology and the Cankam Literature with Special Reference to Inscribed Pots and Herostones," in *Uyirukku Nēr: Ulakat Tamiḻc Cemmoḻi Mānāṭu*, ed. Nakkīraṉkōpāl (Cennai: Nakkīraṉ Paṉḷikēṣaṉs, 2010), 146, n1. There is much debate among epigraphists and archaeologists concerning the type of Brahmi script found on pottery inscriptions and in lithic inscriptions in Sri Lanka. I. Mahadevan has suggested that some Brahmi inscriptions from the Jaffna area of Sri Lanka represent Tamil language and are therefore Tamil-Brahmi. However, for the majority of Brahmi inscriptions in Sri Lanka, Mahadevan uses the term "Sinhala Brahmi" on the basis that the language represented by the script is Sinhala-Prakrit. Robin Coningham has argued that Brahmi inscriptions on pottery from the Sri Lankan site of Anuradhapura are exclusively Prakrit. See I. Mahadevan, "Ancient Tamil Contacts Abroad: Recent Epigraphical Evidence," *Journal of the Institute for Asian Studies* 12, no. 1 (1994); *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 49; R.A.E. Coningham et al., "Passage to India? Anuradhapura and the Early Use of the Brahmi Script," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6, no. 01 (1996): 92.
[26] See Tables 1.6-1.8 in Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 62-67.

centuries.[27] In the list of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu by Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam, there are a total of 177 in Vaṭṭeluttu.[28] As discussed in the statistical analysis in Chapter 3, these inscriptions are found on copper plates and on stone at Jain monastic sites and temples.

5.2. Geospatial Analysis

5.2.1. Composition and creation of databases

To situate the archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphical data within the ancient landscape of Tamil Nadu, I created a series of databases: 1) archaeological sites and monuments; 2) Early Historic coins from South India; and 3) Jain inscriptions.

5.2.1.a. Archaeological sites and monuments

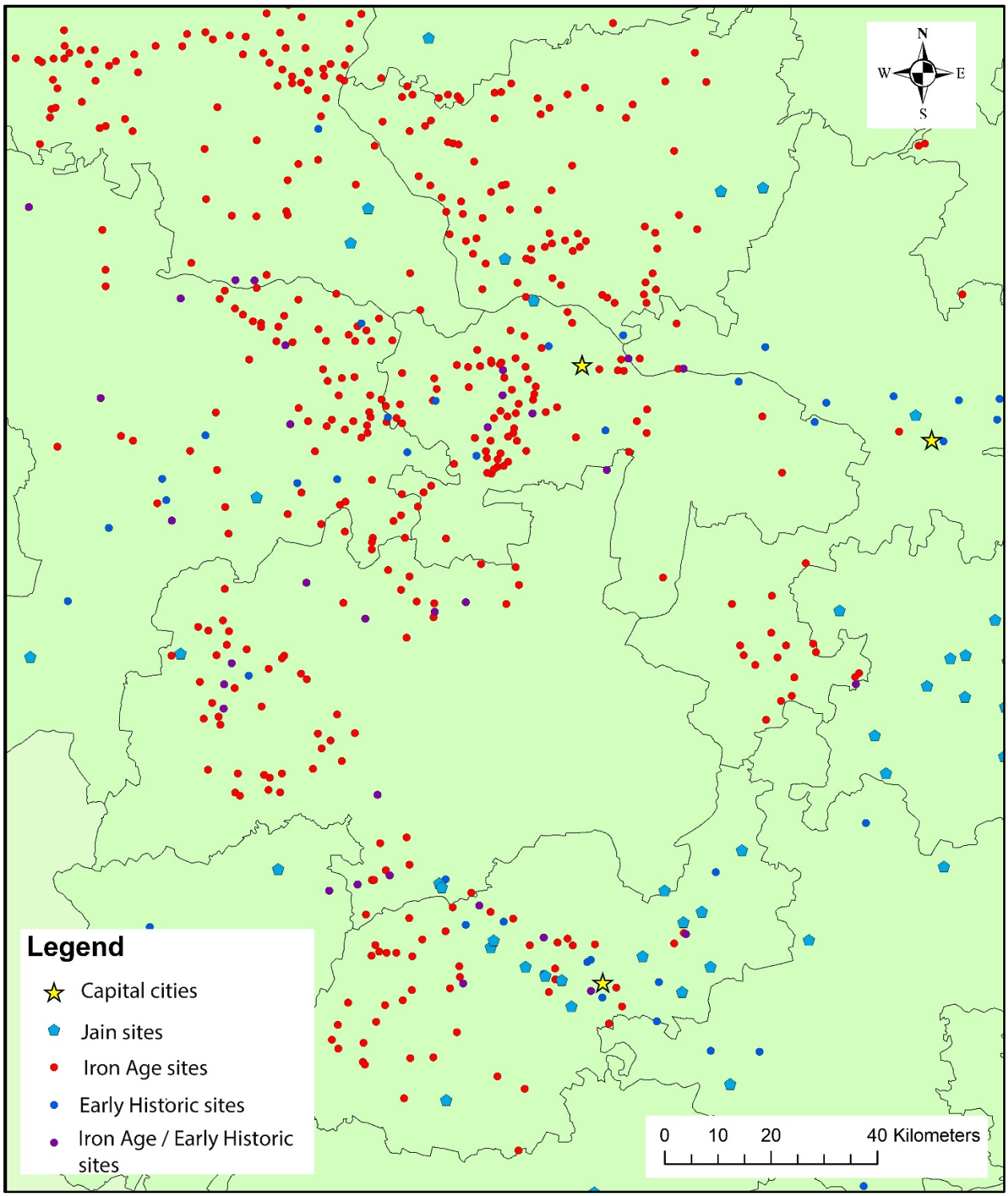
During the Early Historic period, the modern boundaries between Kerala and Tamil Nadu had no political meaning. However, archaeological research in India is organized by state, and while an extensive catalogue exists for archaeological sites in Tamil Nadu, no such resource exists for Kerala. Therefore, in order to standardize the data, I focused exclusively on the state of Tamil Nadu, relying on K. Rajan et al.'s *Catalogue of Archaeological Sites in Tamil Nadu* (2009).[29] The catalogue is organized alphabetically by state district, and the sites are numbered sequentially 1-1,995 across the entirety of the state. Each entry includes the name of the site, coordinates (in degrees, minutes, and seconds), taluk, district, the represented periods (e.g. Early Historic), short description of materials recovered from each time period, and references to the

[27] Ibid., 210-12. A complete list of hero stones or memorial stones in Tamil Nadu, including the 130 in Vaṭṭeluttu, may be found in Appendix A: List of Memorial Stones in Tamil Nadu in Rajan, *South Indian Memorial Stones*, 138-89.
[28] A. Ekambaranathan and C. K. Sivaprakasam, *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamilnadu: A Topographical List* (Madras: Research Foundation for Jainology, 1987).
[29] K. Rajan, V.P. Yathees Kumar, and S. Selvakumar, eds., *Catalogue of Archaeological Sites in Tamil Nadu*, 2 vols. (Thanjavur: Heritage India Trust, 2009).

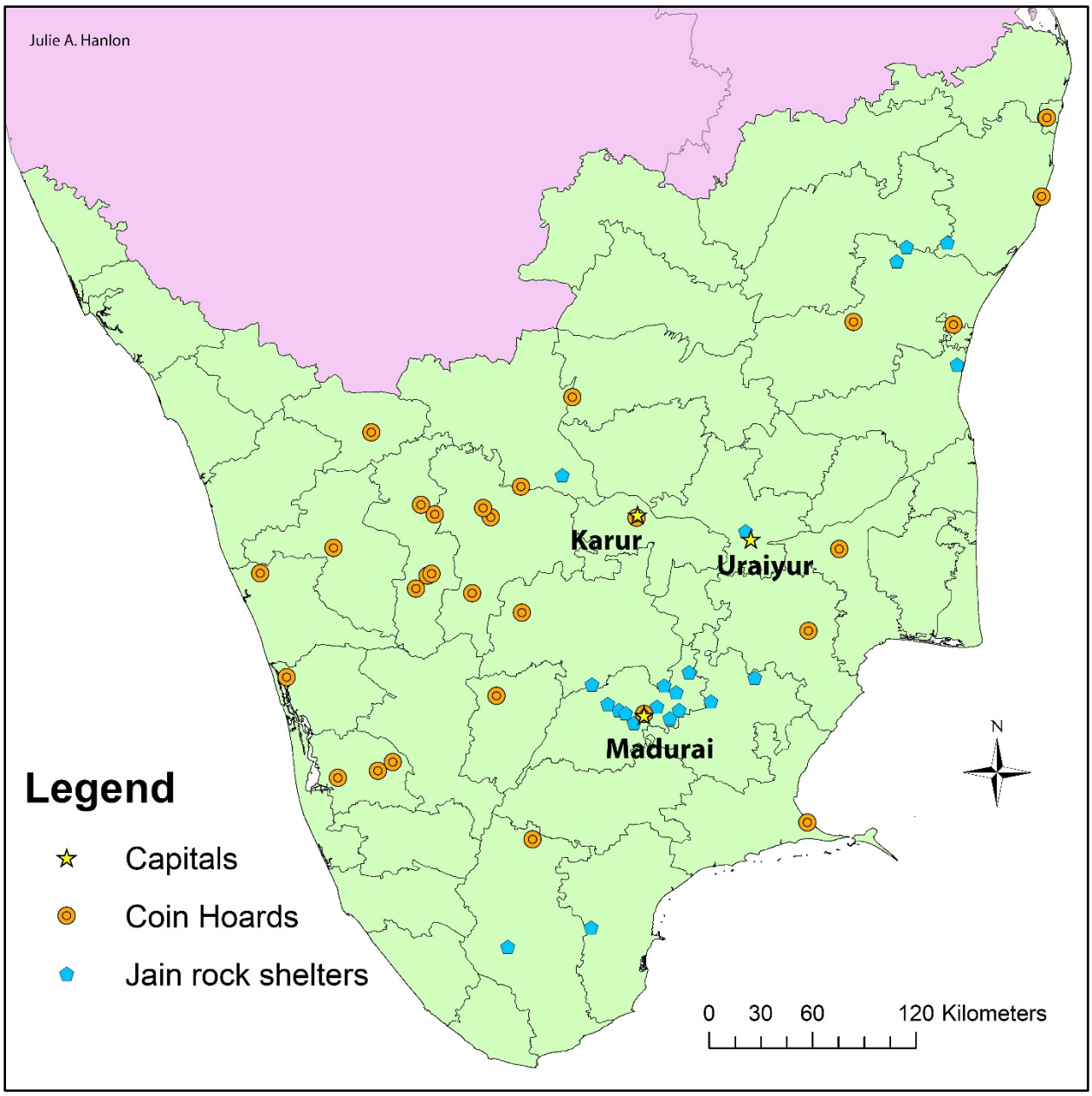
original publications for these data. As a stand-alone dataset which is publicly available, it serves as a good starting point, as the data and analysis can be easily checked. However, Kanniyakumari District is inexplicably missing from the gazetteer. As there are several important sites in this district, including the Jain site of Chitaral, this omission is certainly due to an error on the part of the editors and not due to a lack of archaeological sites in this district.

Based on the catalogue, I created an Excel file and organized the data into the following categories: catalogue number, site name, taluk, district, and longitude and latitude (converted into decimal degrees). I also created three columns marked Iron Age, Early Historic, and Jain. The entry in these columns consisted of a simple Y (yes) or N (no), based on the presence or absence of materials related to these time periods or the designation of the site as a Jain center (see Map 5.2). I also included a final column labeled 'Notes', with information on the archaeological materials from each period at the site and any personal comments. Because my primary focus is on the Early Historic period, I entered data for every site with Early Historic remains. If the site was not dated to the Early Historic but had RCPW listed in the materials from the Iron Age, I also recorded it but kept the original time period designation (i.e. Iron Age = Y, Early Historic = N). RCPW (Russet-coated painted ware) is a signature ceramic of the Early Historic period and its location at a purely Iron Age site seems an anachronism. With regard to the Iron Age sites, which are far more numerous, I confined my data entry to the districts where the capital cities of the *mūvēntar* are located (Karur, Tiruchirappalli, and Madurai) as well as the districts surrounding the site of Karur (Dindugul, Erode, and Namakkal). [30] The total number of sites recorded was 715.

[30] Later stages of this research project will involve a more detailed database, that includes all of the sites in Rajan et al.'s *Catalogue*, with columns for Iron Age, Urn, Megalith, Early Historic, Habitation, Early Medieval, Medieval, Jain, Tradewares, TradeWareType, and Notes.



Map 5.2 Iron Age, Early Historic, and Jain sites from the database



Map 5.3 Distribution of Early Historic Coin Hoards in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

5.2.1.b. Coins

In order to explore the potential economic significance of ancient Jain sites, I created a database with sites where Early Historic local and foreign currencies had been discovered. The majority of these locations contain coin hoards.

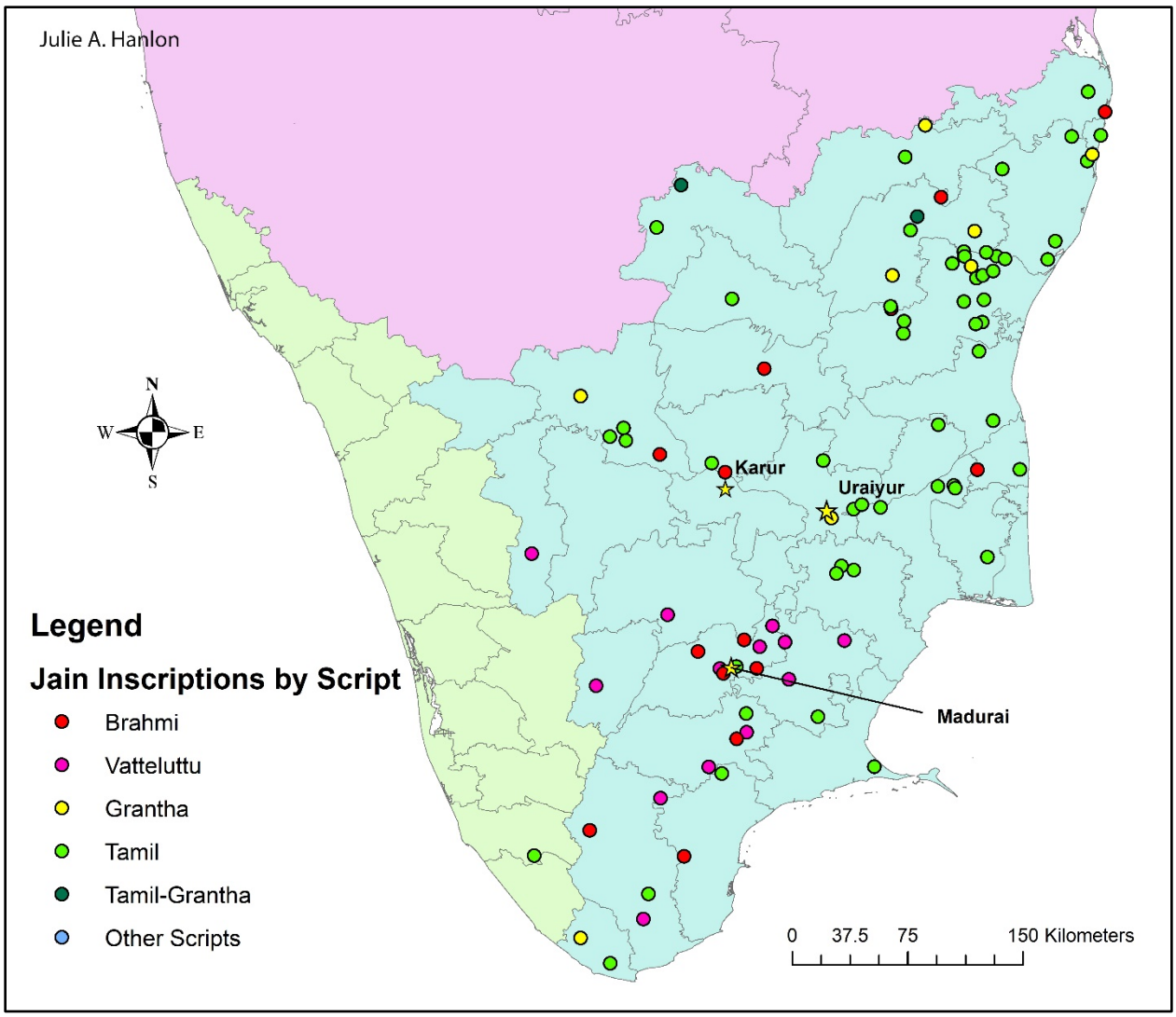
To create the database, I primarily drew on the publications of Katherine Turner and R. Krishnamurthy, as well as select publications by Robert Sewell and T. Sathyamurthy.[31] I recorded the publication information, the year the coin or coins were discovered, the site name and its location, the number of coins in the hoard, the type of metal, the origin of the coins, as well as the TPQ information,[32] where applicable. The full list of categories with descriptions of the classification schemes are listed in the table below (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Coin Database Categories

JHID	Unique ID for this catalogue
Publication	Where published
Page	Page from publication
FindYr	Year the coin or hoard was discovered
Site	Name of site
Taluk	Taluk in Tamil Nadu or Kerala where the site is located
District	District location
Latitude	Latitude in decimal degrees, from publication or Google Maps
Longitude	Longitude in decimal degrees, from publication or Google Maps
CoinNo	Number of coins in the hoard
Metal	Type of metal from which the coins were made. In the case that multiple metals were listed, the dominant metal is listed first (e.g. silver-gold).
Origin:	Origin of coins, R=Roman, RI=Roman Imitations SPM=silver punch-marked coins, I=Indian, B=Byzantine, G=Greek, S=Seleucid, Ph=Phoenician, As=Askalon, J=Judaea, Pa=Parthian, E=Edessa (Christian), Ak=Aksumite. When multiple coins are listed, the dominant coin is listed first (e.g. SPM-R).
TPQName	*Terminus post quem*, name on latest coin
TPQDate	Date of latest coin

[31] Turner; R. Krishnamurthy, *Late Roman Copper Coins from South India: Karur and Madurai* (Madras: Garnet Publications, 1994); *Sangam Age Tamil Coins*; *Non-Roman Ancient Foreign Coins from Karur in India* (Chennai: Garnet Publishers, 2000); Robert Sewell, "Roman Coins Found in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1904); T. Sathyamurthy, *Catalogue of Roman and Gold Coins* (Thiruvananthapuram: Department of Archaeology, Government of Kerala, 1992).

[32] TPQ stands for *terminus post quem* "limit after which", meaning the earliest time the coin hoard could have been buried. This date is based on the latest datable coin in the collection. So, if a hoard consists of coins known to have been minted between 50 and 200 CE, the earliest possible point after which the hoard could have been deposited is 200 CE.



Map 5.4 Sites with Jain inscriptions by script.

5.2.1.c. Inscriptions

The creation of this database has already been discussed in detail in Chapter 3. However, the original database did not contain specific locational information beyond village, taluk, and district in Tamil Nadu. In addition, since the publication of Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam's topographical list of Jain inscriptions in 1987, the names of some of the districts and taluks have changed. Therefore, it was necessary to update this information. After updating the names in the location data, I provided coordinate data by creating a Python program to geocode all of the sites

using Google Maps Geocoding API. A detailed description of this process as well as the Python program may be found in Appendix C.

5.2.2. Examining the Economic Landscape of Early Historic Tamil Nadu

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the content of the Jain inscriptions indicates that the earliest Jain communities in Tamil Nadu received support from merchant groups. Some scholars have suggested that Buddhist monastic institutions shared special relationships with merchant groups.[33] This leads to questions regarding the nature of the relationship between similar merchant groups and the early Jain monastic communities in Tamil Nadu.

To address this question, I first wanted to see if there was any relationship between the location of Jain monastic sites and Early Historic trade routes. While medieval trade routes are somewhat known based on inscriptions and references to the routes, Early Historic and Iron Age trade routes are more hypothetical.[34] One method for identifying ancient trade routes is to begin with least-cost pathways.[35] Because geology and topography are the most static landscape elements, they are the most reliably reconstructed aspects, and therefore a useful starting point for conceptualizing ancient paths of movement through a landscape. As noted by spatial technologist Andrew Bell "any study of movement through an ancient landscape should use a

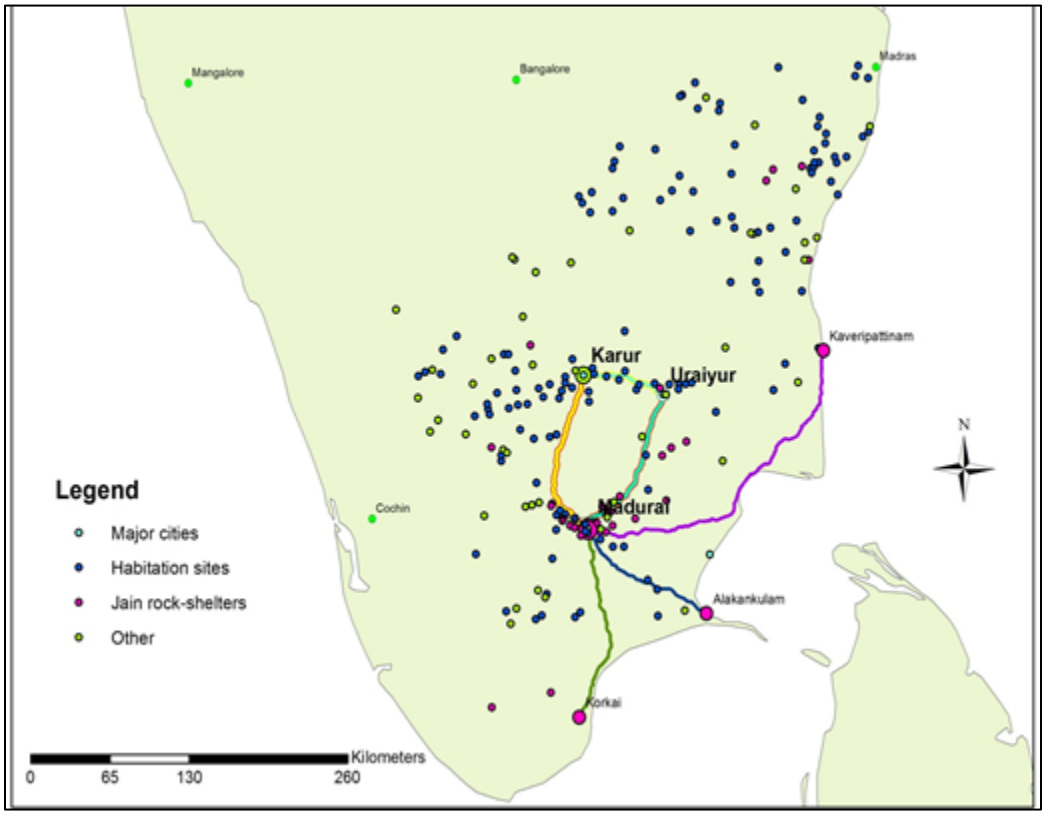
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[33] H.P. Ray, *Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Satavahanas* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986); D.K. Chakrabarti, "Buddhist Sites across South Asia as Influenced by Political and Economic Forces," *World Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (1995); Gethin Rees, "Buddhism and Donation: Rock-Cut Monasteries of the Western Ghats" (Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2010). Cf. K.D. Morrison, "Trade, Urbanism, and Agricultural Expansion: Buddhist Monastic Institutions and the State in the Early Historic Western Deccan," *World Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (1995).

[34] For example, Rajan and Yatheeskumar discuss several trade routes that they believe passed through the Vaigai River Valley during the Early Historic Period, but these appear to be hypothetical, based solely on the location of archaeological sites, inscriptions, and coin hoards. Neither textual or literary references to these routes nor archaeological evidence of roads, caravans, wells, or other kinds of trade route infrastructure are provided. See Rajan and Yathees Kumar, 171-76.

[35] Tyler Bell, Andrew Wilson, and Andrew Wickham, "Tracking the Samnites: Landscape and Communications Routes in the Sangro Valley, Italy," *American Journal of Archaeology* 106, no. 2 (2002); Marcos Llobera, "Understanding Movement: A Pilot Model Towards the Sociology of Movement," in *Beyond the Map*, ed. G. Lock (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2000).

topographic model as its foundation, upon which additional models can be constructed, incorporating further aspects of environmental and non-environmental data."[36] Therefore, I began with cost-surface analysis based on the slope and elevation data provided by a satellite image of the terrain. I utilized the slope and cost path spatial analyst tools in ArcGIS[37] to calculate paths between the capital cities, and from the Pandiyan capital city of Madurai to several port cities on the Coromandel Coast (Map 5.5).



Map 5.5 Least-Cost Paths Connecting Madurai to Early Historic Capital Cities and Port Sites

This type of modeling, as with any model, entails a number of assumptions and limitations. First, it is important to acknowledge the way in which raster-based models are calculated. This is on a cell-by-cell basis. As highlighted by Scott Branting, in real life "people

[36] Bell, Wilson, and Wickham, 174.
[37] https://www.arcgis.com/features/index.html

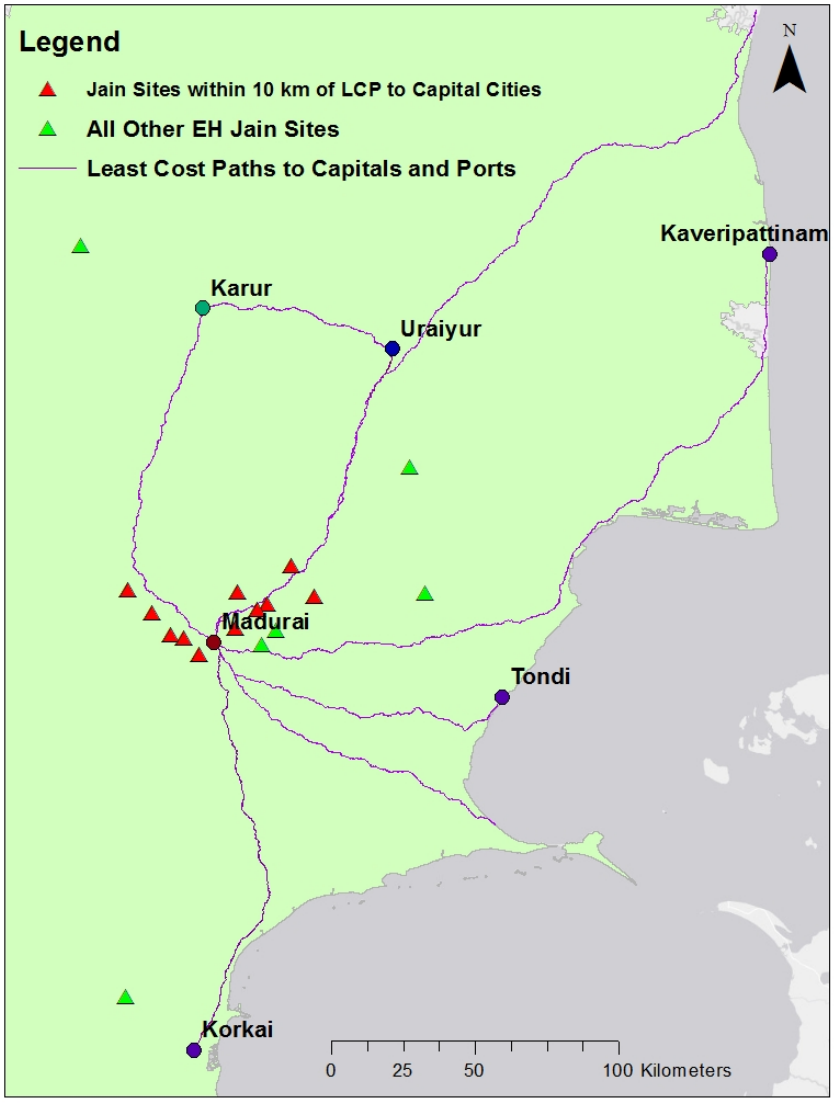
and things rarely move around the landscape like chess pieces," nor do we move in uniform distances, as is assumed by modeling movement through a raster grid.[38] Thus, there is not a close correlation in the decision-making processes of the computer and the average human being. The models that I created are based entirely on slope, and therefore ignore other factors such as vegetation, physical obstructions (man-made or otherwise), agency of the traveler, and mode of transportation. However, these least-cost paths serve as a useful foundation upon which additional variables can be added in future models.

Raster-based models are also limited by the quality of the original data.[39] The resolution of the original digital elevation model (DEM) has a significant effect on the resulting pathways. The better the resolution of the DEM, the more variation can be accounted for within the topography, and thus one can calculate more accurately the effects of the topography on the least cost paths. While 90 m is not a high-quality resolution, such resolution is perfectly adequate for this study, which attempts to calculate least cost paths over long distances, ranging from roughly 80 to 300 km.

After creating the least-cost paths, it became clear that the Early Historic Jain cave sites near the ancient Pandiyan capital city of Madurai were located particularly close to these paths. In fact, of the 13 Jain cave sites clustered around Madurai, 11 are located within 10 km of the least-cost paths connecting the ancient capital cities of the *mūvēntar*, that is the Pandiyan capital of Madurai, the Chera capital of Karur, and the Chola capital of Uraiyur (Map 5.6). While it is unclear how closely such paths, which are based on slope, relate to actual ancient trade routes,

[38] Scott Branting, "Seven Solutions for Seven Problems with Least Cost Pathways," in *Least Cost Analysis of Social Landscapes: Archaeological Case Studies*, ed. Devin A. White and Sarah L. Surface-Evans (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2012), 216.
[39] Ibid.; John Kanter, "Ancient Roads, Modern Mapping: Evaluating Chaco Anasazi Roadways Using Gis Technology," *Expedition* 39, no. 3 (1997).

these paths do correspond closely to modern highways connecting the three cities. Moreover, the path between Karur and Madurai runs close to the Vaigai River, which inscriptions and classical



Map 5.6 Least-Cost Paths and Early Historic Jain Sites

Tamil texts suggest was navigated as a route of trade and travel during the Early Historic period. For example, in the *Cilappatikāram* (c. 5th century CE), three women close to the heroine of the

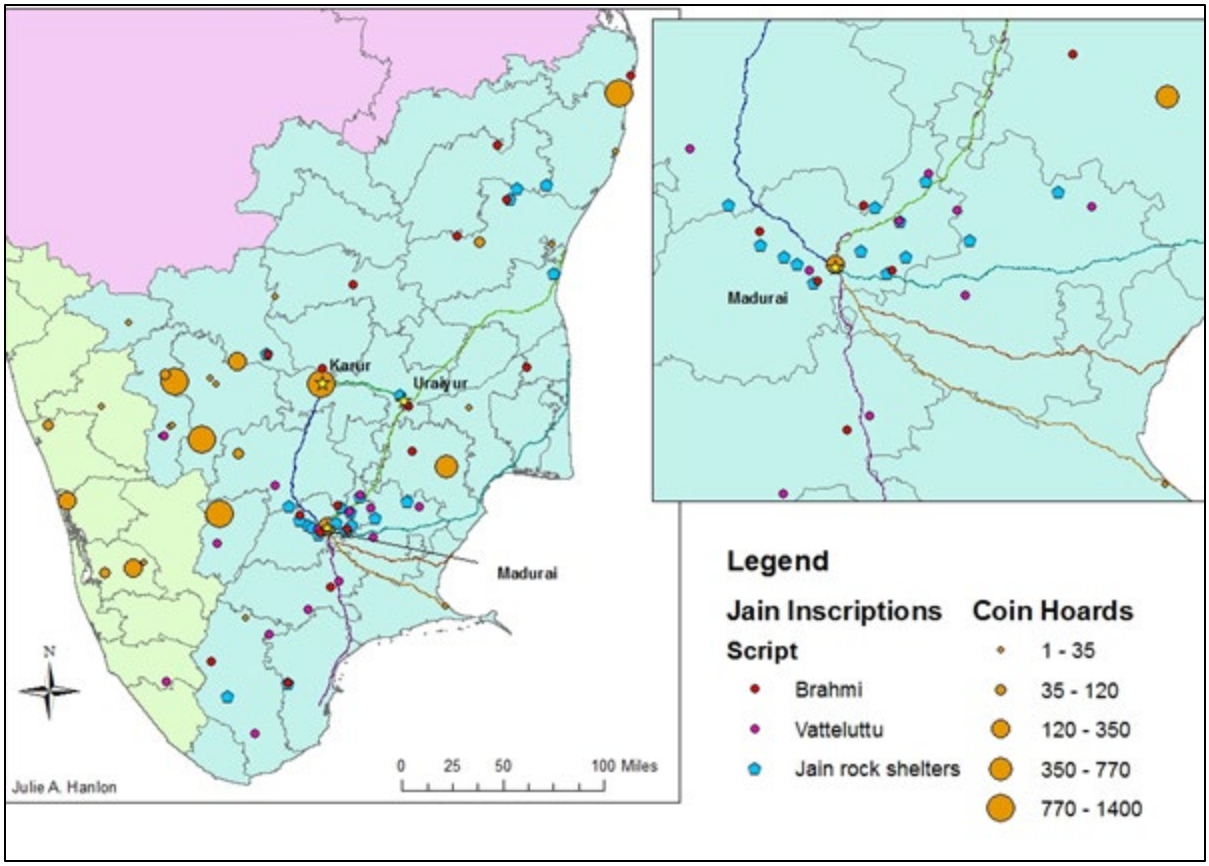
story, Kaṇṇaki, travel from Madurai to the palace of the Chera king Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ in Vañci, by travelling along the Vaigai River.[40]

Next, I wanted to examine if there was any relationship between the location of the Jain cave sites and Early Historic period coin hoards. As is evident in Map 5.7, the largest coin hoards are located along the Western Ghats, particularly near places associated with major passes. Hoards are groups of objects, like coins, that were purposefully buried.[41] That they remain to be found by archaeologists thousands of years later means that whoever buried them never returned to retrieve them. It is possible that, due to their location in the hills – away from mercantile centers – such hoards were the result of marauders and bandits preying upon merchants who they knew would drive their wares and other goods through these passes, as there are few routes through the Ghats. After robbing merchants passing through the mountains, they collected their booty and buried it for safe keeping. It is possible they drew on these funds as necessary until they were caught or killed and then their treasure remained buried with no one left to retrieve it. Other sizeable hoards are located at Karur, Pudukkottai, and Madurai. This concentration in the cities is no doubt due to their importance as major commercial hubs during the Early Historic Period. The fact that many of these finds come from river beds suggests that they may have been lost when boats carrying these coins, either going to the city to purchase wares or leaving having successfully sold their cargo, capsized. Certainly, those aboard would have tried to retrieve as much of the lost coins and cargo, but currents and the soft, muddy river bottom would have ensured that much of the smaller items like coins were irretrievable.

[40] See Canto 29, The Benediction, in R. Parthasarathy, *The Cilappatikāram: The Tale of an Anklet* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004), 258-59.
[41] Eleanor Ghey, *Hoards: Hidden History* (London: British Museum Press, 2015).

Coins from Madurai total approximately 350 and include 248 Roman coins (230 copper, 12 Roman gold coins, 6 other), 97 Indian coins in copper and silver bearing symbols associated with the Pandiyas and Cholas, and 1 Roman imitation copper coin. Most of these coins were discovered in the river beds of the Vaigai and attest to the importance of this city as a political capital and mercantile center in the Early Historic period. These features would have also made it an attractive location for Jain monks to settle, as it was home to a rich body of potential patrons. However, beyond this, there does not seem to be any significant spatial relationship between the location of Jain sites and the coin hoards.

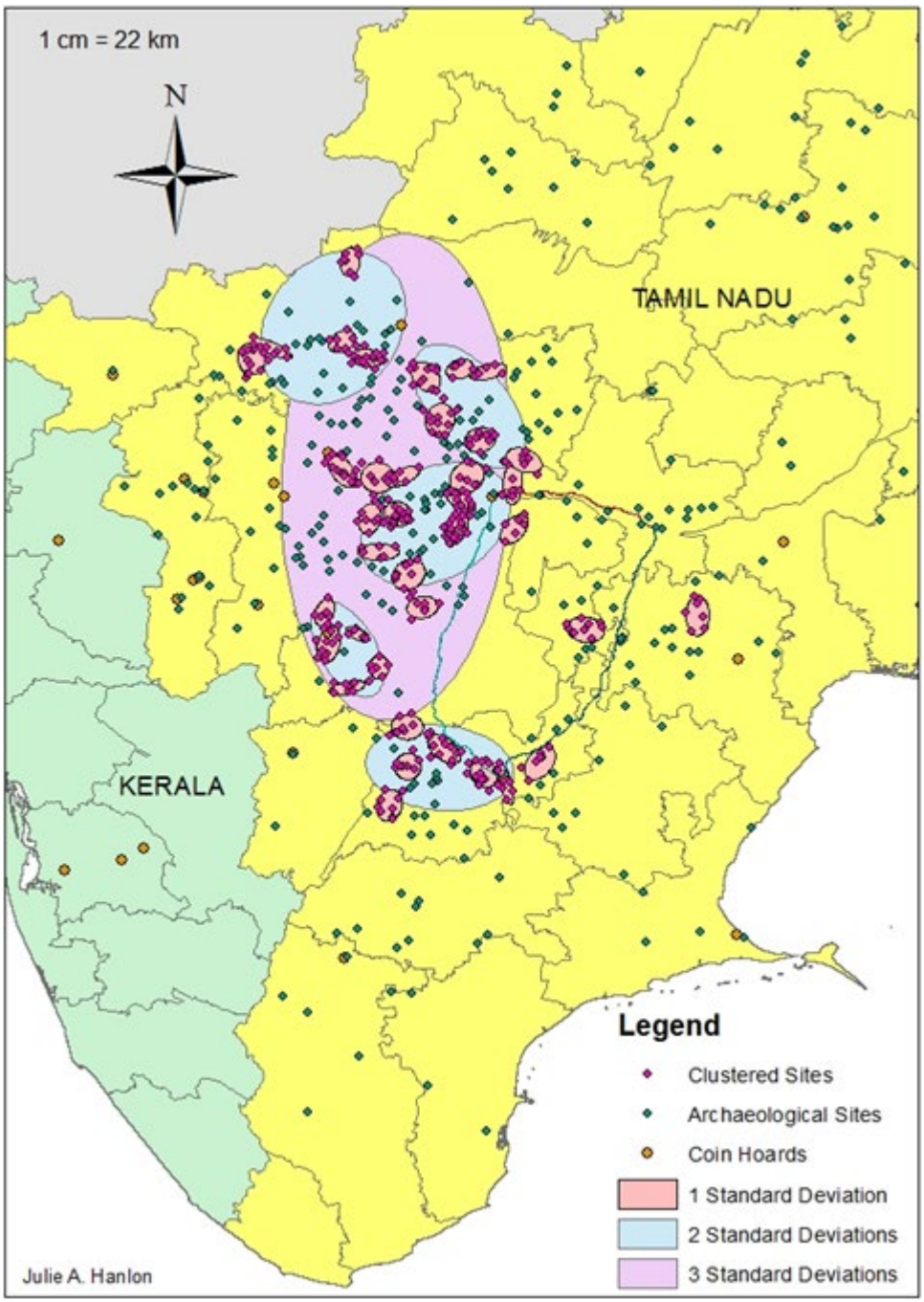
Next, I wanted to take a closer look at the relationship between the individual classes of sites. Drawing on the database of archaeological sites in conjunction with the database of Early Historic period coins, I was able to calculate whether various classes of sites were significantly clustered. The classes of sites included: 1) coin hoards, 2) capital cities and ports, 3) habitation sites, 4) megalithic sites, 5) Jain caves, and 6) other sites. Of these, coin hoards, habitation sites, megalithic sites, and other sites were significantly clustered ($p < 0.001$), the Jain caves seemed randomly distributed ($p = 0.254564$), and the capitals and ports were significantly dispersed ($p < 0.001$).



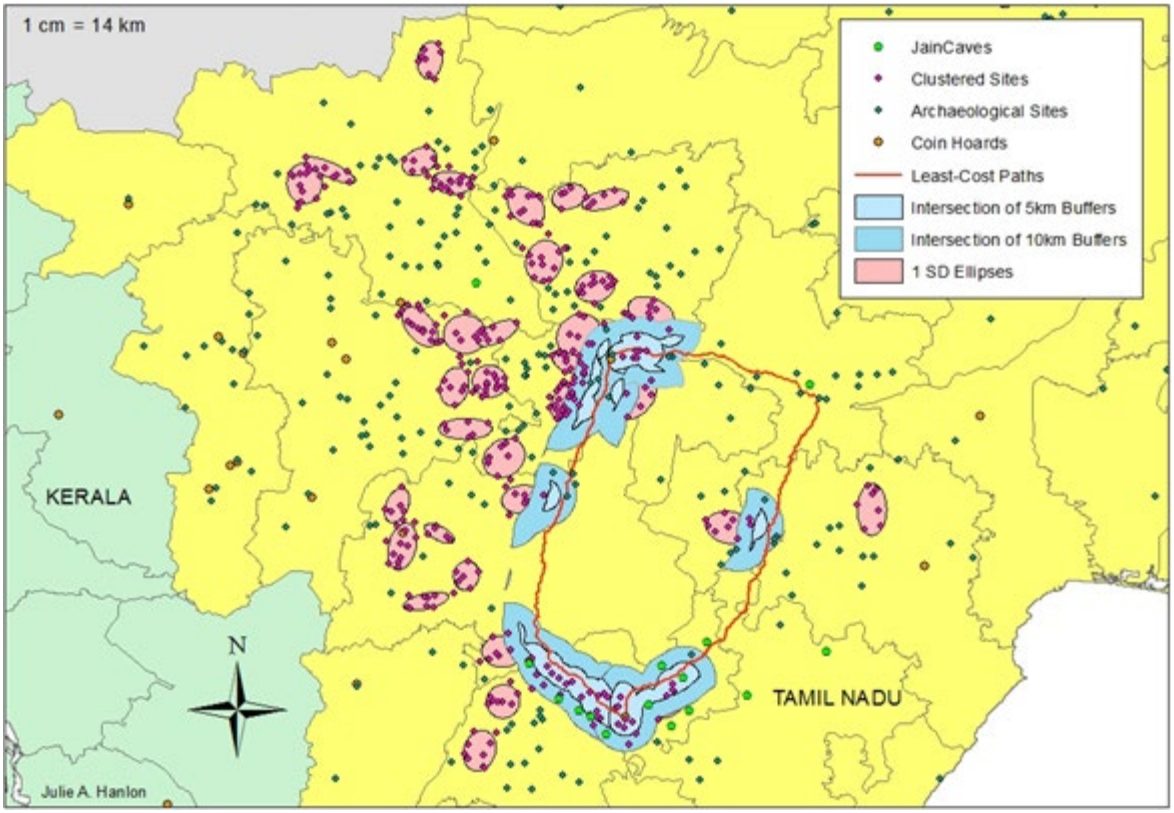
Map 5.7 Coin Hoards, Inscriptions, and Jain Caves in Early Historic Tamil Nadu, c. 500 BCE - 500 CE

Focusing on the clusters of archaeological sites, I conducted hierarchical nearest neighbor analysis using Crimestat software[42] to examine different degrees of clustering (Map 5.8). I then examined where these groups of clustered sites at 1 standard deviation intersected with areas 5 km and 10 km from the least-cost paths. Below is a map highlighting where these buffers intersect the deviational ellipses of the clustered sites (Map 5.9). These areas theoretically represent "high traffic" regions. Notably, as highlighted in the second map (Map 5.10), many of the Jain cave sites around Madurai fall within the area of overlap between the deviational ellipses of clustered sites and the 5 km and 10 km buffers. The five Jain sites located to the northwest of

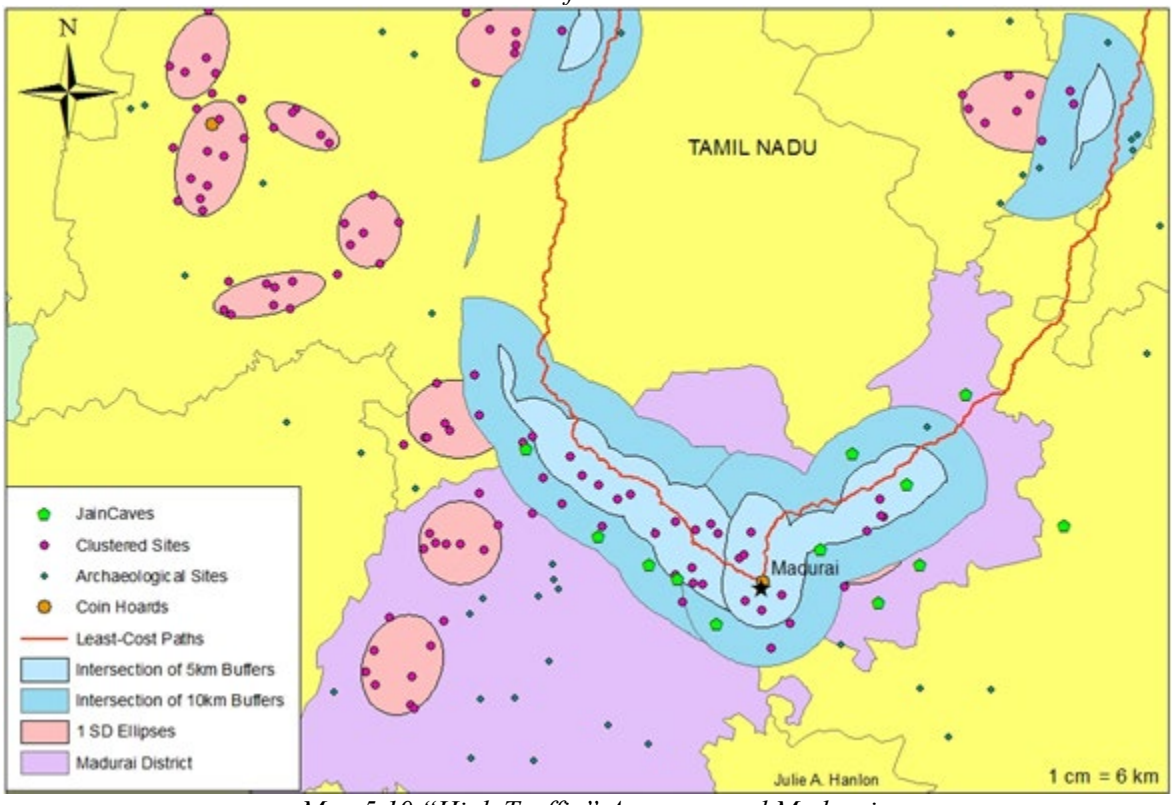
[42] https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/CrimeStat/about.html



Map 5.8 Hierarchical Nearest Neighbor Ellipses showing areas of high concentration of archaeological sites



Map 5.9 Intersection of Areas of Clustered Sites with Buffer Zones at 5 km and 10 km from Least-Cost Paths



Map 5.10 "High Traffic" Areas around Madurai

Madurai in the 10 km buffer were then selected for further exploration via pedestrian archaeological survey (Map 5.11). This survey is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

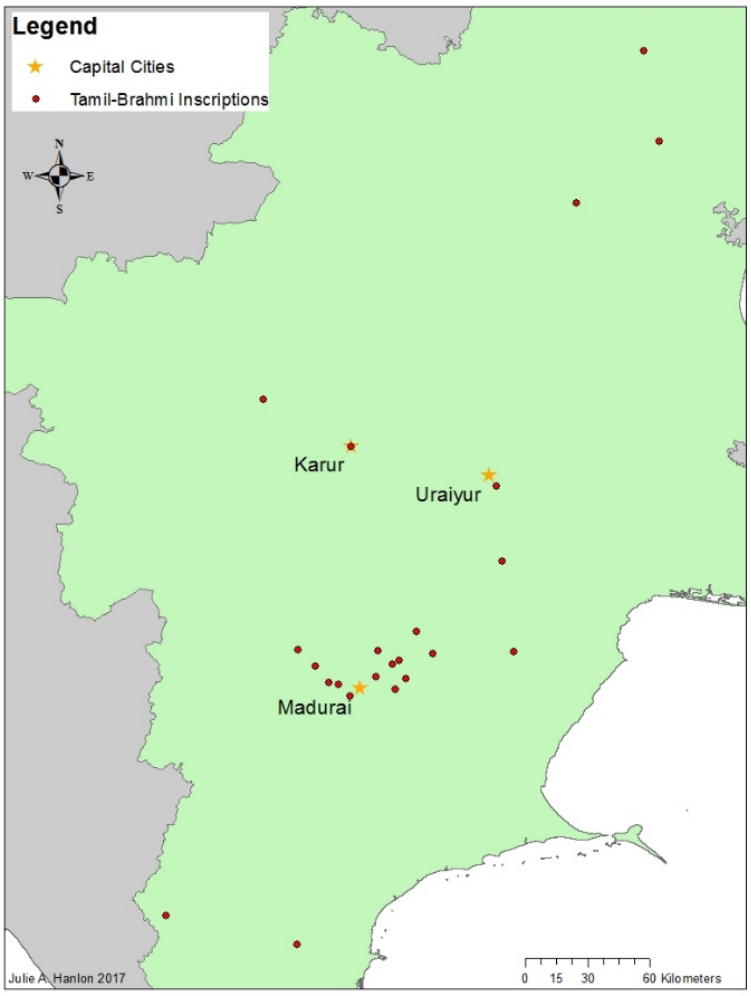


Map 5.11 Jain Sites Selected for Archaeological Survey

5.2.3. Geospatial analysis of Jain inscriptions

When situated within a broader geographical and archaeological context, the ways in which the monastic hill sites were chosen and utilized by Jain monks becomes clearer. First, looking at patterns in the chronological distribution of sites bearing Jain inscriptions, one sees an early concentration of Jain activity around the city of Madurai (See Map 5.12).[43]

[43] Directional distribution analysis of Early Historic Jain sites shows a northeast/southwest trend within a 1 standard deviation ellipse. This is significant because it further supports my hypothesis that the earliest migrations of Jains

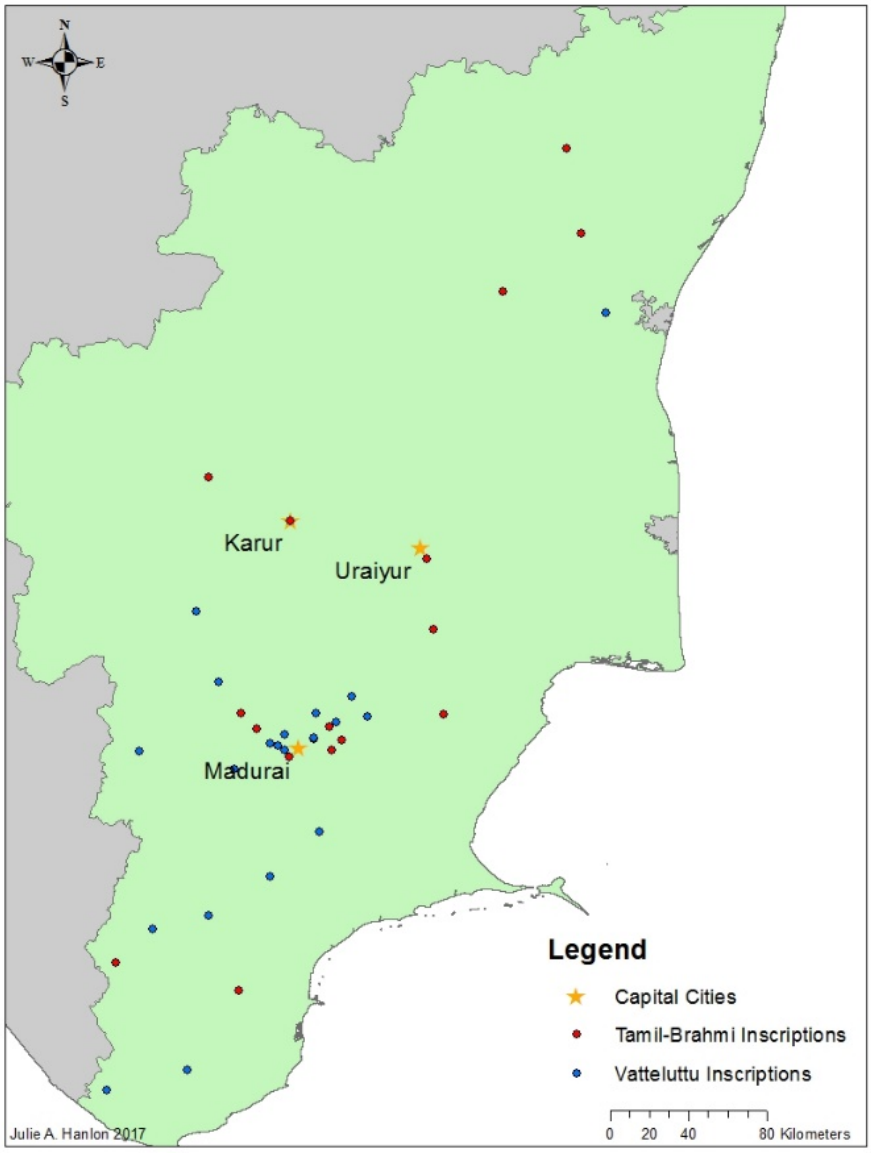


Map 5.12 Locations of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

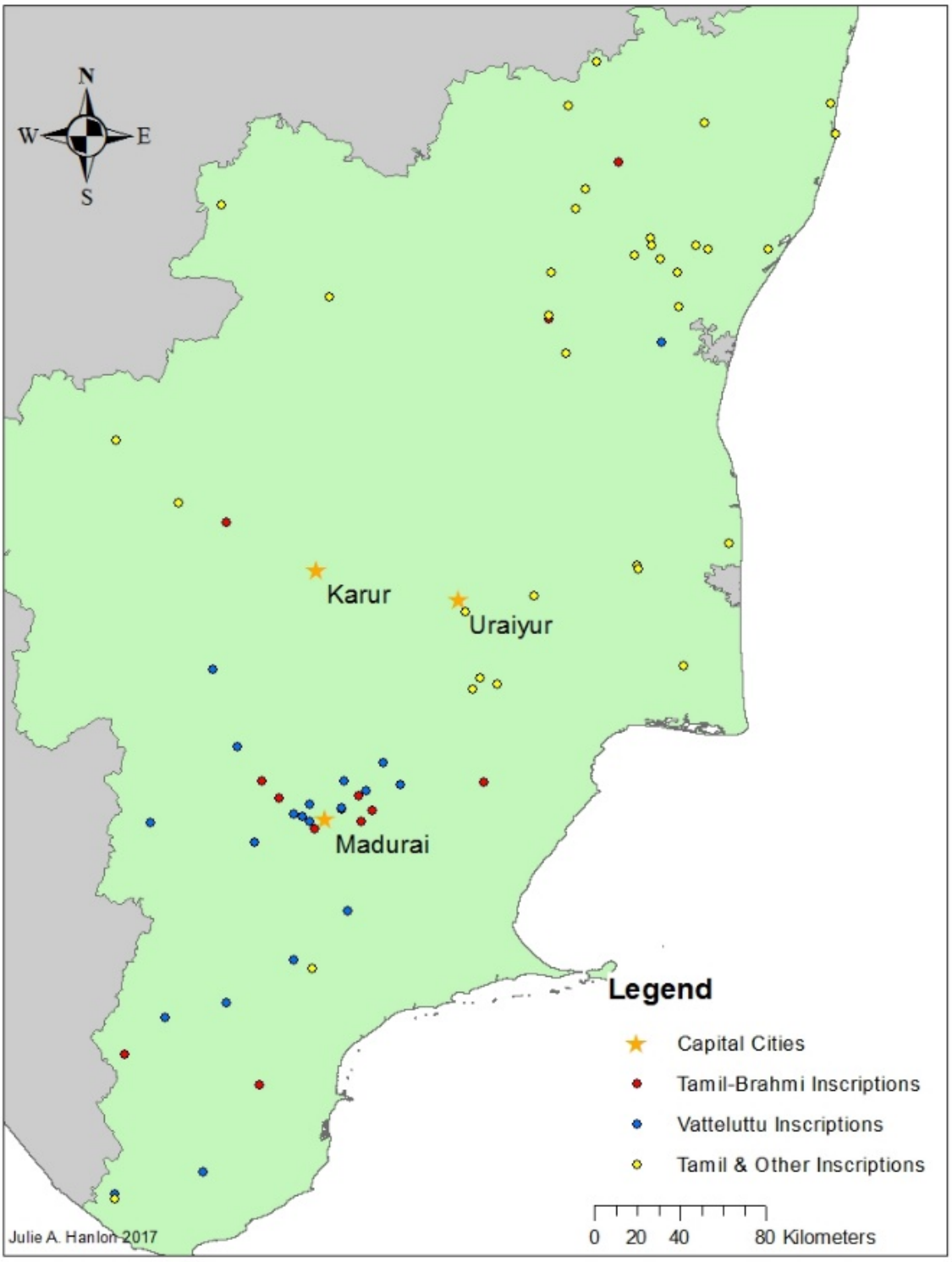
Then, between the 5th and 10th centuries, there is a significant expansion, with Jain sites bearing inscriptions in Vaṭṭeluttu spread across the southern Pandiya region (Map 5.13), and Jain sites bearing inscriptions in Tamil, Grantha, and other scripts spread across the Chola region to the northeast (Map 5.14). The consistent clustering of sites around Madurai in both periods is visually evident as well as statistically significant. Hierarchical nearest neighbor analysis highlighted clusters of sites around Madurai for both Early Historic and Early Medieval periods,

from North India took place along trade routes on the eastern coast before heading inland toward the Pandiyan capital city of Madurai, and not via Karnataka as scholars have traditionally suggested.

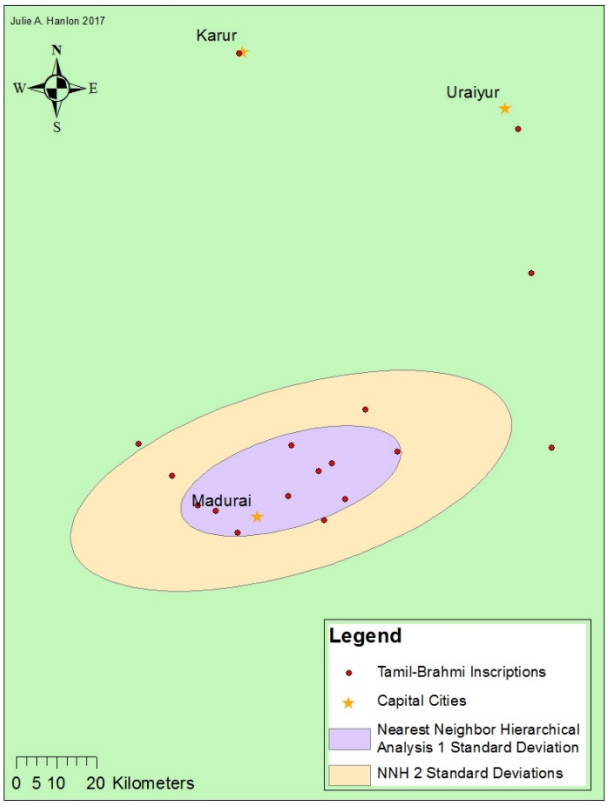
indicating the continued significance of Madurai as a center of Jainism in South India between the 3rd century BCE and 10th century CE (Maps 5.16 and 5.17).



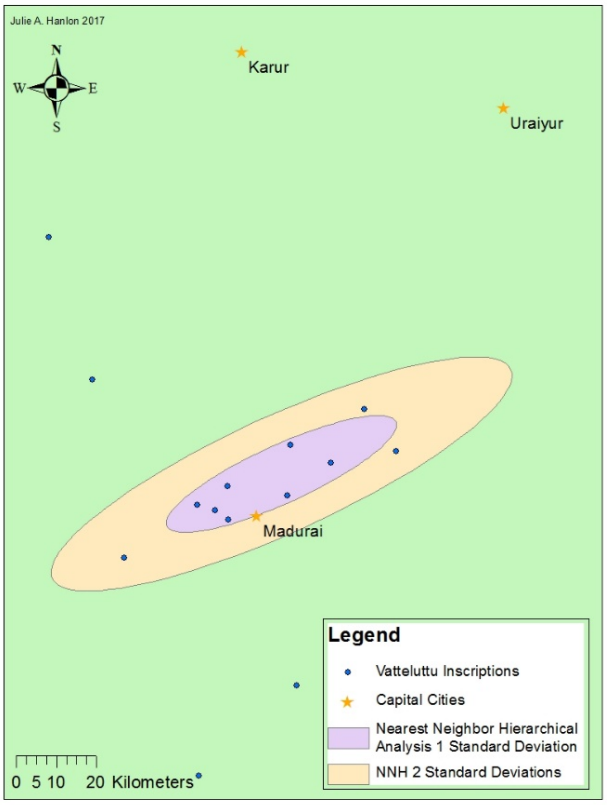
Map 5.13 Locations of Jain Tamil-Brahmi and Vaṭṭeluttu Inscriptions c. 3rd century BCE to 10th century CE



Map 5.14 All Jain Inscriptions c. 3rd century BCE to 10th century CE



Map 5.15 Clustering of Jain Sites Around Madurai in the Early Historic Period



Map 5.16 Clustering of Sites Around Madurai in the Early Medieval Period

5.2.4. Geospatial analysis of Early Historic Jain Cave Sites Near Madurai

Most Early Historic Jain sites are located in proximity to other Early Historic sites. In fact, all 23 Early Historic Jain hill sites are located within 6 km of Early Historic settlements.[44] Notably, the six sites selected for archaeological survey (Tirupparankundram, Samanar Malai, Perumal Malai, Kongarpuliyankulam, Vikkiramangalam, and Mettuppatti) each had one Early Historic site within 5 km and three to six sites within 10 km. [45] (See Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Number of Sites at Varying Distances from Jain Hill Sites in the Archaeological Survey Region

Number of Sites	<5km	<10km	<25km	<50km	<100km
Tirupparankunram	1	5	11	27	58
Samanar Malai	1	6	13	29	60
Perumal Malai	1	4	12	29	60
Kongarpuliyankulam	1	3	12	28	59
Vikkiramangalam	1	5	12	27	61
Mettuppatti	1	3	11	23	63

This proximity was no doubt strategic. While Jain monks may forage for food, consuming produce that has naturally fallen from the vine, other kinds of harvesting and cooking entails violence of some form and is therefore prohibited.[46] The Jain community or saṅgha is conceptualized as comprised of four components or tīrthas: monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen. In this symbiotic system, Jain ascetics rely on the Jain laity for sustenance and patronage, while the Jain laity rely on monks and nuns for religious education and spiritual merit. Therefore, although the elevation of the Jain hill sites makes them somewhat remote, the monks

[44] I utilized the Near tool in ArcGIS to identify the distance from each Early Historic Jain site to its nearest Early Historic site.
[45] I also utilized the Point Distance tool to calculate the distance from each of the six surveyed Jain hill sites to every Early Historic site within 100 km, representing a walking distance of approximately 2 days. There is a total of 66 Early Historic sites within 100 km, which is roughly equivalent to a walking distance of approximately 2 days, and 29 sites within 50 km.
[46] Nor can they request or accept food prepared exclusively on their behalf, as it implicates them in the violence of its creation.

who resided there could have not survived in complete isolation and likely relied on regular interaction with nearby residents. In addition, early texts such as the A S that outline rule for monastic life, suggest that a monk would beg within a general area of half a yojana, which is roughly equivalent to between 4 to 7 km.[47]

The location of the Early Historic Jain sites is also significant in terms of visibility. All six sites in the survey region are inter-visible (Map 5.17).[48] This inter-visibility would have allowed for visual communication between sites. Due to their elevation, each of the Jain hill sites has an expansive viewshed (Map 5.18). These viewsheds allow for direct observation of many of the nearby Early Historic sites. In a theoretical landscape free of vegetation, all eleven Early Historic sites falling in this cumulative viewshed would have also been able to see the hills upon which the Jain sites are located.[49]

In any case, the prominence of the location of the Early Historic Jain sites is significant. And their visibility from the surrounding landscape would have made them useful navigational markers. The Naga Malai range, which runs along the western bank of the Vaigai River, ends approximately 10 km from Madurai, and would have been a useful guide for those traveling to the capital city. The Jain hill sites stand prominently on the landscape as unique inselbergs against the homogenous Naga Malai range. It is also possible that the sanctity of these sites, and the extreme ethos of non-violence of the monks residing there, may have afforded travelers some

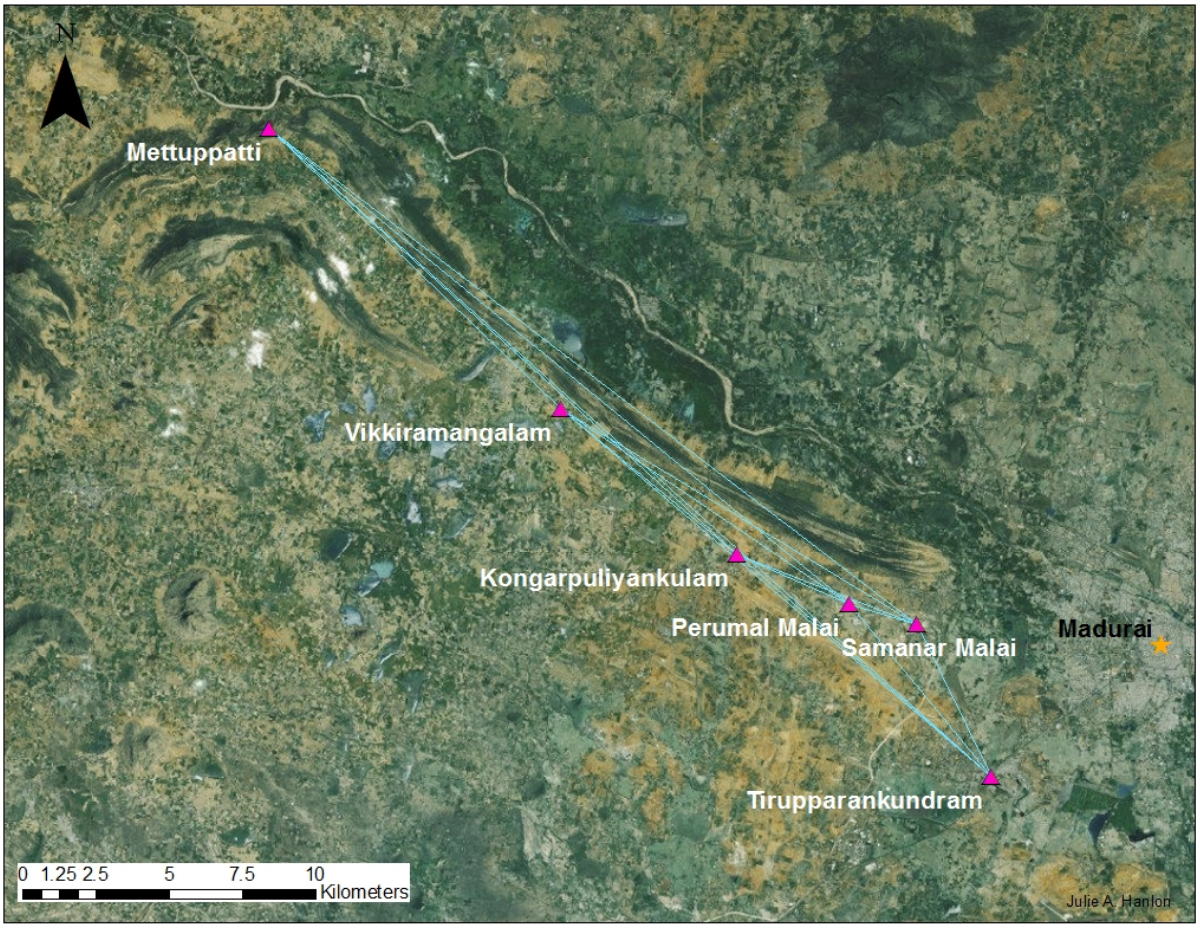
[47] Ācārāṅga SutraII.1.2.5 and Bhagavaī p. 291b, 292a cited in Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and Literature*, Deccan College Dissertation Series (Poona: Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, 1956), 174, n.219. There appears to be no consensus on the distance of a yogana/yojana, but it ranges between 8 to 15 km.

[48] By constructing lines of sight and then testing them against obstructions in the topography represented by the ASTER GDEM at 30 m.

[49] The present landscape of the immediate environs of these hills is very flat with large expanses of agricultural fields. However, in the ancient past, it is more likely that such areas were populated by large groves of trees and wild brush, similar to the kind that grow in uncultivated tracts and along the base of the hills.

forms of protection from thieves and marauders as they transported goods to and from the bustling economic hub of Madurai.

That merchants did visit and had a special relationship to these Jain sites and their monastic residents is suggested by their locations and the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions they bear.

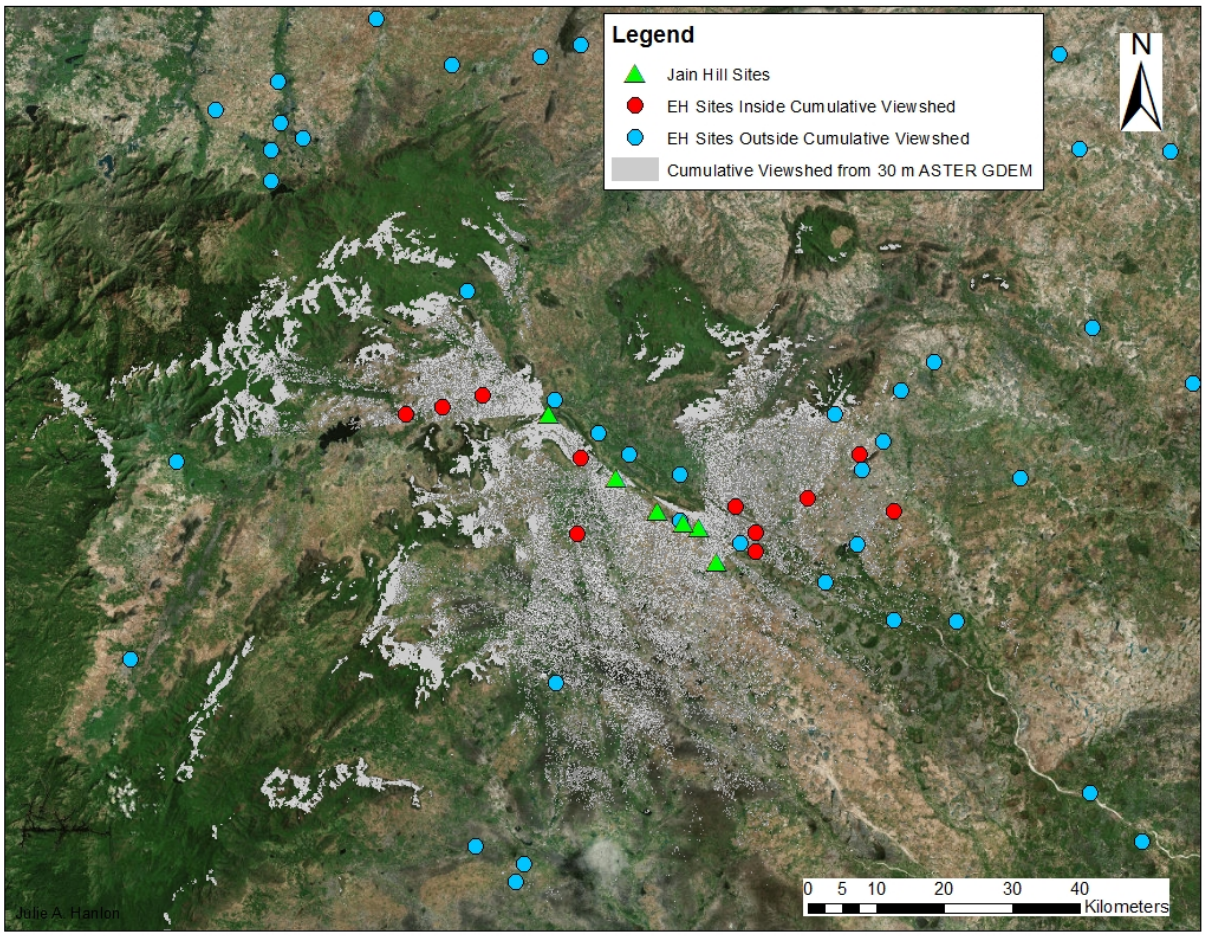


Map 5.17 Inter-visibility of Jain Cave Sites

Approximately 20-25% of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions specifically mention merchant guilds (*nigama*) or the mercantile trades of their donors. [50] For example, at the site Alagarmalai, donors

[50] EH sites with T-B Inscriptions = 23 or 30. Again, the numbers vary depending on sources. For Mahadevan the total is 30, while for Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam the number is 23. This variation is not due to a lack of information in one of the sources, but rather to a difference in the assessment of what constitutes a separate site and what constitutes a separate inscription. Although Mahadevan's work is later and therefore, in a sense, more comprehensive, he also splits up sites and inscriptions, increasing the number of both in comparison to

include a salt merchant, a cloth merchant, and a goldsmith. Moreover, as noted earlier, of the 13 Jain cave sites clustered around Madurai, 11 fall within 10 km of least cost paths connecting the ancient capital cities of the *mūvēntar*. To the extent that such paths can be interpreted as models for ancient routes of trade, the spatial relationship between these paths and the Early Historic Jain hill sites is significant.



Map 5.18 Viewsheds of Jain Hill Sites

Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam. Those mentioning merchants = 6: Mangulam, Alagarmalai, Tirumalai, Tirupparankunram, Pugalur, and Ammankoyilpatti.

5.3. Discussion: Reconstructing the Archaeological and Economic Landscape of Early Historic Tamil Nadu

5.3.1. Archaeological Evidence

During the Early Historic Period, the landscape of Tamil Nadu was dotted with small habitational sites, capital cities and ports associated with large polities (the Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas) bustling with local and long-distance trade, megalithic sites and monuments, and Jain hill sites. People generally lived in small houses with mud-brick walls and lime-plaster floors. They grew rice, millets, and pulses, and consumed cattle, sheep, goat, and wild game such as deer. The cattle-raiding depicted in the early poems of the *Eṭṭutokai* is supported by the predominance of cattle bones in the faunal record and the commemoration of fallen heroes on hero stones, dating back as early as c. 4th-3rd century BCE.[51] The construction of megalithic monuments and the burial of the deceased's body inside a stone tomb accompanied by ceramics, food, jewelry, and weapons, are some of the ways that people commemorated their dead. In more modest burials, or for children, the body might be placed inside a large ceramic jar as part of a secondary burial.

Circulating amongst the populace were jewelry, coins, ceramics, and various organic and inorganic trade items. Women wore necklaces and bracelets of glass, terracotta, and semi-precious stone beads, as well as terracotta and shell bangles. Imported coins circulated as bullion, and there were locally issued coins in silver and copper with symbols connecting them to chieftains and the early polities. Ceramics consisted of both fine table wares, some imported from North India (like Northern Black Polished Ware), some imported from the Mediterranean

[51] For example, the hero stone from Pulimankombai which reads kal peṭutīyāṉ antavāṉ kūṭālūr ākōḷ "The stone of Peṭu (village name) Tīyaṉ Antavaṉ [who died] in the cattle raid (*ākōḷ*) at Kūṭal (aka Madurai)."See Rajan and Yathees Kumar.

(like Terra Sigillata), and some traded along the eastern coast of India (like Rouletted Ware), as well as plain wares, such as the ubiquitous Black-and-Red Ware. Names found inscribed upon sherds from ceramic bowls and jars suggest that merchants from North India frequently passed through Tamil lands. As discussed in Chapter 2, I suggest that the context for these inscriptions may have been shared living spaces, e.g. caravanserai or hostels, where the merchants who owned these vessels would have taken extra care to mark their food bowls lest they become mixed up with someone else's and risk social or ritual pollution.

5.3.2. Literary Evidence

The *Puṟanāṉūṟu* contains references to rulers known as the *mūventar* or *mūvar*, the Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas, who are described as the "lords of the Tamils."[52] The world is described as "the common property of the three kings,"[53] and their kingdoms are said to have extended to the limits of the sea.[54] The Cheras ruled over the western part of Tamilakam from their capital city of Vañci (modern Karur) on the banks of the Amaravati River, with their major port of trade, ancient Muziris, located on the Malabar coast. The Cholas ruled over much of the northeastern Coromandel Coast and its agricultural hinterlands from their capital of Uraiyur (modern Trichy), located along the river banks of the great Kaveri River. Their famous coastal port of Puhar, or Kaveripattinam, which features prominently in the *Paṭṭiṉappālai* and *Cilappatikāram*, lay at the mouth of the Kaveri. Similarly, the Pandyas ruled from the city of Madurai, located on the banks of the Vaigai River and maintained a large port on the southern coast called Korkai. In addition to these larger polities, there were also a number of smaller polities ruled by chieftains or *vēḷs*.

[52] *Puṟ*. 35:3, *tamiḻk kiḻavar*
[53] *Puṟ*. 357:2, *potumai cuṭṭiya mūvar ulakamum.* Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.
[54] *Puṟ*. 137:2, *munnīr ēni …. mūvarai*

The early centuries CE in Tamil Nadu were marked by increased urbanization and the influx of wealth from the intensification of Indian Ocean trade networks. Sections of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a Greek mariner's guide to Indian Ocean trade composed in c. 50 CE describes in detail the various ports of trade along the South Indian coast line and the specific imports and exports associated with each. Western imports specific to South India include: coins, topaz, antimony, bronzes, metals (copper, tin, lead), linens, coral, crude glass (raw material), wheat, wine (in amphorae), terra sigillata, and various other ceramics. The list of South Indian exports, specifically from the Tamil region, includes: spices (pepper, ginger, cardamom, cloves), aromatics, wild woods like teak and sandal wood, textiles, silk (imported from China), gems (diamonds, sapphires), semi-precious stones, pearls, ivory, tortoise shell, conch shells, and skins of wild fauna.[55] It even mentions the kingdom of the Pandiyas.[56]

Classical Tamil poetry also reflects the increase in trade, and particularly the wealth enjoyed by the kings. *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 56 praises the excellence of the wine brought by the *yavanas* (a general term for Greco-Roman foreigners)[57] in fine ships (*nankalam*), which is served by women to the Pandiyan king Nanmaran in golden vessels. *Akanaṉūṟu* 149 describes *yavanas* bringing gold in fine ships (*nankalam*) to the Chera port of Muziris and leaving with pepper, and *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 343 references the Chera King Kuṭṭuvan whose wealth from the trade enables him to distribute gifts from the mountains and sea. *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 30 praises the Chola king Nalankilli

[55] *Periplus* 56:18.22-28; 59:20.2-3.
[56] "Nelkynda is just about 500 stades from Muziris, likewise by river and sea, but it is in another kingdom, Pandiôn's. It too lies on a river, about 120 stades from the sea." L. Casson, "Periplus Maris Erythraei," (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 85.
[57] See also H.P. Ray, "The Yavana Presence in Ancient India," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 31, no. 3 (1988); K. Zvelebil, "The Yavanas in Old Tamil Literature," in *Charisteria Orientalia: Praecipue Ad Persiam Pertinentia*, ed. F. Tauer, V. Kubickova, and I. Hrbek (Nakaladatelstvi, Checkoslovakia: Akademie Ved Ceskoslovenske, 1956).

and the wealth of his country due to the many things brought by sea in great vessels (*peruṅkalam*).

5.3.3. Numismatic Evidence

The claims to great wealth and prosperity in the literary descriptions are substantiated by archaeological evidence. Archaeological excavations at sites along the coast of Kerala and Tamil Nadu have unearthed thousands of sherds from Roman ceramic types, such as amphorae and terra sigilata, and a number of small objects such as intaglios and gold jewelry believed to be of Mediterranean origin.[58] Excavations at Karur, the ancient Chera capital, located in the middle of the peninsula also yielded Roman amphorae and several hundred Roman coins.[59] Caches of gold and silver Roman coins dated c. 1st to 2nd century CE[60] have been discovered throughout the peninsula, particularly in the Coimbatore region of Tamil Nadu. This concentration was likely due to the rich mineral resources there. For example, excavations at the Early Historic site of Kodumanal revealed evidence of mass production of semi-precious stone beads.[61] Moreover, the concentration of hoards of coins in the interior testifies to the interregional trade networks that connected coastal ports to the hinterlands. The Indo-Roman trade had a profound effect on the

[58] S. Suresh, *Symbols of Trade: Roman and Pseudo-Roman Objects Found in India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004); Nagaswamy, *Roman Karur: A Peep into Tamil's Past*; Roberta Tomber, "Rome and Mesopotamia -- Importers into India in the First Millennium Ad," *Antiquity* 81, no. 314 (2007).
[59] Nagaswamy, *Roman Karur: A Peep into Tamil's Past*; "Roman Sites in Tamil Nad: Recent Discoveries," in *Madhu: Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History*, ed. M.S. Nagaraja Rao (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1981).
[60] MacDowell TPQ Influx of roman denarii c. 70-100 CE and 107 CE
[61] Rajan, "Iron and Gemstone Industries as Revealed from Kodumanal Excavations." Kodumanal was a major center of bead manufacture. Two verses in *Patiṟṟuppattu* (67 and 74) of Sangam literature vividly describe bead making activities at the site, called Kodumanam. These descriptions are supported by the excavation of several hundred beads of sapphire, beryl, agate, carnelian, amethyst, lapis lazuli, jasper, garnet, soap stone, quartz, onyx, cat eye, etc. of various sizes and found in different stages of manufacture. See also: K. Rajan, "Maritime Trade in Early Historic Tamil Nadu," *Man and Environment* 27, no. 1 (2002).; "Early Maritime Activities of the Tamils," in *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, ed. H.P. Ray and J-F. Salles (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996). And Nagaswamy, "Roman Sites in Tamil Nad: Recent Discoveries."

economic and political infrastructure of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. Some scholars suggest that this maritime trade was "the crucial and determinant factor in early urbanization," and provided luxury items that could be used as "resources for socio-political dominance and patronage."[62]

These changes in politics and economy take material form in local coinage attributed to the *mū vēntar*. Numismatist R. Krishnamurthy collected 250 copper coins bearing symbols affiliated with the Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas (e.g. the bow, lion, and fish, respectively) from river beds near Madurai and Karur. A number of these coins suggest interesting connections between Jainism, kingship, and the economy. First, are three copper coins associated with the Pandiyas, which show an elephant with an inscription above reading *Mā Kō*, Great King, with three symbols in the middle: a *swastika*, a lamp, and a pot or jug.[63] The swastika is an auspicious signs in Jainism, symbolizing the four destinies into which a soul may be reborn: human, heavenly, animal, or hellish.[64] It can also be interpreted as representing the four parts of the Jain sangha: monks, nuns, laymen and lay women (*sadhus*, *sadhvis*, *sravakas* and *sravikas*). Other auspicious symbols include the holy jug (*kalasa*) and the pot of prosperity (*vardhamanaka*).[65] The swastika also occurs on 5 copper coins associated with the Cheras, mixed in with various other symbols above an elephant.[66] A pair of *swastikas* also appear on either side of a bow on 2 Chera copper coins.[67] While the *swastika* and the *kalasa* are not symbols exclusively affiliated with Jainism, their appearance on coinage is intriguing. Moreover, the location of these symbols within the name of a king suggests their affiliation with kingship. It is also worth noting that a

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[62] R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 Bc to Ad 1300* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996).
[63] Krishnamurthy, *Sangam Age Tamil Coins*, 53-55.
[64]Natubhai Shah, *Jainism: The World of Conquerors*, 2 vols. (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 1998), Vol. 1, 179.
[65] Ibid., Vol. 2, 193.
[66] Krishnamurthy, *Sangam Age Tamil Coins*, 83-86. Specifically, Coin Nos. 127, 128, 129, 130, 134,
[67] Ibid., 95-96. Specifically, Coin Nos. 160 and 161.

pair of fish (*meen yugala*) is also an auspicious symbol in Jainism, as well as the royal symbol of the Early Historic Pandiyas.

In sum, between the 1st to 3rd centuries CE there was a great influx of wealth into Tamil Nadu and Kerala from the Indian Ocean trade. Much of this wealth was enjoyed by the Pandya and Chera kings, as indicated by descriptions in classical Tamil literature, the location of coin hoards, and the discovery of coins or medallions in copper and silver bearing symbols associated with these polities. The donative inscriptions at Jain caves, indicate increased specialization within the merchant community, with the appearance of merchant guilds. There was much wealth circulating throughout the peninsula, and the inscriptions suggest that Jain monks were one group that benefited from this new wealth. Inscriptions and coins also suggest a growing Jain laity, which included merchants and possibly kings.

5.3.4. Evidence from Geospatial Analysis

Overall, the geo-spatial and statistical analysis of Jain sites, Early Historic sites, and coin hoards yielded a wealth of interrelated and important findings, which provide additional information about the archaeological and economic landscape of Early Historic Tamil Nadu and the early history of the Jain community in Tamil Nadu. These findings were also formative in designing my archaeological survey of Jain Caves of Madurai District (JCMD) 2016, discussed in the following chapter.

First, the least-cost paths calculated on the basis of slope are located close to many Early Historic Jain sites. In particular, of the 13 Jain sites clustered around Madurai, 11 are located within 10 km of the least-cost paths connecting the ancient capital cities of the Pandiyas, Cheras,

and Cholas. Moreover, the path between the Pandiyan capital of Madurai and the Chera capital of Karur runs close to the Vaigai River.

Second, coin hoards containing Early Historic coins are largely concentrated along the Western Ghats, and also occur at Karur and Madurai. There are no coin hoards associated with Jain sites. However, the large number of coins from Madurai (350) attests to its importance as a mercantile center, in addition to its prominence as a political capital. These features would have made it an attractive location for Jain monks to settle, as it was home to a rich body of potential patrons.

Third, while coin hoards, habitation sites, and megalithic sites were significantly clustered, the Jain sites seemed randomly distributed. However, this distribution does seem to be related to the location of habitation sites, as many of the Jain cave sites around Madurai fall within "high-traffic areas", located 5 to 10 km from the hypothesized trade routes (least-cost paths) and falling within the deviational ellipses of the clustered sites. Five Jain sites located in the "high traffic area" northwest of Madurai were selected for archaeological survey (see Chapter 6).

Fourth, patterns in the locations of Jain inscriptions over time demonstrate the importance of Madurai as an early center of Jainism and the significant expansion of Jain sites in Pandiya-nadu and Chola-nadu between the 5th and 10th centuries. Moreover, Jain sites bearing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and Jain sites bearing Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions (some sites contain both types) show statistically significant clustering around Madurai in both the Early Historic and Early Medieval periods, demonstrating the enduring significance of Madurai as a center of Jainism in South India during these periods.

Fifth, all 23 Early Historic Jain sites bearing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are located within 6 km of Early Historic settlements. This proximity, like the proximity to major mercantile centers and capital cities, was no doubt strategic. While some of the Jain sites are locates at elevated locations on the tops of hills, such monasteries were not isolated in terms of distance from local habitations and the Jain monks likely relied on periodic interactions with nearby residents for sustenance.

Sixth, many of the Jain hill sites are inter-visible. All six of the Jain hill sites selected for survey are inter-visible and have expansive viewsheds. These viewsheds allow for direct observation of many of the nearby Early Historic sites. I suggest that the elevated location of these sites as well as their proximity to the Naga Malai range and Vaigai River made them important navigational markers for travelers going to and from Madurai.

5.4. Conclusion

Overall, the dialogue between archaeological and textual evidence creates a vivid picture of life during the early centuries BCE and CE, when Jain monks first arrived in Tamil Nadu and as the community of Tamil Jains (monastics and laity) began to grow. There were nested and interconnected networks of circulation, of local goods, of long-distance trade across the Indian peninsula, and long-distance maritime trade with the West. Ports and major capitals and cities connected to them, served as hubs of commerce. Small settlements began to take shape around rivers, crossroads, and natural resources (e.g. semi-precious stones in Coimbatore region). People too were on the move. When the first Jain monks arrived in Tamil Nadu, they traveled along the trade routes on the eastern littoral of India, then likely followed the Kāveri River to the Chola capital of Uraiyur, before heading southwest following the mountain and hills that lead directly

to Madurai. This hypothesized route is supported by the distribution of the earliest Jain sites. Perhaps at times they took shelter in cities or in rural areas beyond the city walls, but during the monsoon they retreated to the hills and established what eventually became permanent retreats. These hill sites were strategically selected such that they were never too far from villages (~ 6 km). These small habitation sites were a source of patronage and people to whom the Jain monks could teach the Jain dharma. The Jain cave sites were also not far from major routes of trade and travel, and thus were able to benefit from a steady stream of new patrons and laypeople. This strategy was effective, as many of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at these sites indicate that the donors were merchants. Moreover, the inter-visibility of the Jain hill sites and their prominence on the landscape no doubt contributed to their utility within the network of trade routes, as they may have served as navigational markers, and perhaps nodes of communication. Lastly, the earliest sites cluster around the ancient Pandiyan capital of Madurai, and later the Chera capital of Karur. That there was a special relationship between the Pandiya and Chera rulers and the Jain monks is indicated by Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at the sites of Mangulam and Pugalur which record donations by people associated with the Pandiyan king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉand a gift given on the occasion of the coronation of the Chera prince Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkōṉ, son of king Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṉ. Furthermore, auspicious Jain symbols appear on the early coinage of the Pandiyas and Cheras.[68]

Nevertheless, questions still remain. What drew the merchants to the Jain hill sites? Was it their location? What motivated their desire to donate and have their names engraved on stone? Was it simply religious merit? It is possible that the sanctity of these sites, and the extreme ethos of non-violence of the Jain monks residing there, may have afforded travelers some protection

[68] Notably, the Chera king Cenkuttuvan and the Pandiyan king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉfeature in the Jain epic Cilappatikaram. And just as there are few early sites in the Chola region, no Jain symbols on Chola coins, although the epic begins in Chola-nadu, in the Chola port of Puhar, the Chola kings do not feature in the story at all.

from thieves and marauders as they transported their goods to and from Madurai. Perhaps the service of protecting these travelers, and the safety of their valuable cargo, motivated merchants to donate to these monasteries, both as an act of gratitude, as well as an investment to help ensure the Jains community would be able to remain at these sites and continue these services.

CHAPTER 6

Archaeological Survey of Jain Caves in Madurai District, Tamil Nadu

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the results of my archaeological survey of Jain hill sites in Madurai District Tamil Nadu during the summer of 2016.[1] The survey focused on a series of caves located closest to Madurai along the least-cost path connecting Madurai and Karur, and aimed to assess the archaeological significance of the results of the ArcGIS analyses discussed in Chapter 5. Here, I will begin by providing some background information on the research questions that informed the survey design and execution, the regional geography, and previous research related to the Jain caves.

After explaining my survey methodology and sampling strategies, I present the observations and analyses of six Jain hill sites in the survey region. In discussing these sites, I have attempted to highlight information related to the research questions, as well as some of the shared features of these sites. With each site, I provide geographic and topographic information about the hill and location of the caves, the layout of each cave, and number of beds. I also engage in a critical analysis of the content and context of each of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at these sites. Because of the enduring significance of these sites from the Early Historic to the Early Medieval period, I have also included a short section (where applicable) on the other known Jain vestiges on each hill, e.g. carved Jain images and Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions. This is followed by a discussion of the surface features and structures at each site, particularly features

[1] Archaeological Survey of India, Government of India, Permit F.No. 1/26/2015-EE. Director: Dr. Vandana Sinha. Co-director: Ms. Julie Alyssa Hanlon. Research affiliation as an American Institute of Indian Studies junior research fellow with Madurai Kamaraj University, guidance by Dr. T. Dharmaraj, Head and Chairperson i/c Department of Folklore and Culture Studies, School of Performing Arts.

that may have been created by or in use by the Jain monks in the Early Historic or Early Medieval periods.

My discussions of the archaeological survey and its findings are accompanied by original maps, figures, and photos, which together constitute the first systematic and comprehensive documentation of the caves and their environs. Due to the size and number of photographs they have been grouped together in a single appendix at the end of the dissertation in Appendix E. The end of the chapter also contains a glossary of key terms related to the archaeological survey.

In the next chapter, Chapter 7, I will present the surface finds from the archaeological survey, i.e. ceramics and lithics, and begin drawing connections across the sites to directly address the research questions that informed the survey (presented below). Thus, the two chapters together form a cohesive picture of the organization, purpose, and execution of the survey as well as the observations, finds, and analysis thereof.

6.2. Research Questions Developed from Pre-Field Geospatial Analysis

The research questions driving the archaeological survey of Jain caves in Madurai District developed out of pre-field geospatial analysis and preliminary epigraphic and literary analysis. These research questions are presented below, as they were integral to the organization and execution of the survey. While this chapter will present the data collected during the archaeological survey, the analysis of this data as a means of answering these questions will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7: Reconstructing Jain Occupation of Early Historic Hill Sites in Madurai, District, Tamil Nadu.

1. In addition to the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and modified caves, what other archaeological features are visible on the hills and how do they relate to one another (spatially, chronologically, culturally)?

While previous research has documented the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at these hill sites (and by association, the caves on and in which they are located), questions remain: *How were these caves inhabited by Jain monks?* and *How are these caves, as monasteries, situated on the hills? How do the caves relate to other features on the hills?* During the mapping of the Jain caves' floors and pedestrian survey across the hills, my team and I were able to identify architectural features reflecting practices that took place within the caves, as well as water catchment features, stone alignments (walls and foundations), and other modified caves and rock shelters that provided information about how the Jain monks may have occupied these hills, where they could have obtained food and water, and structures and surface finds dating from c. the Iron Age to the modern period indicative of the enduring ritual and religious significance of these hills.

2. How inter-visible are the Jain hill sites today and what may have been the significance of this inter-visibility in the past? How do the Jain cave sites relate to one another (spatially, materially, temporally)? How do they relate to the surrounding archaeological landscape?

Viewshed analysis demonstrated the inter-visibility of the Jain caves, which are located on the tops of hills, and I suggested that this visibility could have served a number of purposes related to communication. This communication hypothesis was examined during the survey by exploring the areas between the caves, to determine whether there remained any evidence of infrastructure (travel-related or otherwise) connecting the sites to one another. The inter-visibility of the hill sites was also confirmed, and viewsheds of the Jain hill sites were documented

through video and photographs. In addition, through careful mapping of the Jain caves (including the locations of inscriptions, beds, and other carved features), it is now possible to compare features across sites.

3. What is the relationship (spatial, social, and/or economic) between the Jain hill sites and the nearby trade routes?

As demonstrated in Chapter 5, many of the Jain caves are located within 2 km of the least-cost paths calculated between the Early Historic capital cities of Madurai, Karur, and Uraiyur. Least-cost paths, which are generated on the basis of slope, can serve as useful models for indicating where people were more likely to have traveled through a given landscape. Because the majority of inscriptions at the Jain caves are donative and many specifically identify the donors as merchants,[2] I hypothesized that such routes were utilized for trade and travel and that the early Jains strategically chose to take up residence in hills along these routes in order to benefit from the patronage of travelers. To test this hypothesis, I explored the areas surrounding the least-cost paths by car and on foot in order to identify material evidence of trade and travel, such as specific trade wares (e.g. Northern Black Polished Ware, Red Slipped Ware, Rouletted Ware), or architectural features indicative of travel, such as roads, caravanserai, cisterns, and wells.

Overall, the survey aimed to elucidate evidence about the organization of Jain monastic institutions in Tamil Nadu during the Early Historic period and what role, if any, these communities may have played in local trade networks. Because classical Tamil literature

[2] For example, Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at the site of Alagarmalai record donations from a goldsmith, salt merchant, accountant, sugarcane juice merchant, ploughshare merchant, and cloth merchant. For a discussion of these inscriptions, see Chapter 2 and I. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 369-83.

contains a number of references to Jains and Jain temples, but does not describe in any detail the Jain monasteries nor the practice of donative inscriptions on stone, it is primarily the archaeological evidence of caves and inscriptions that attests to the existence of Jain monastic communities and their patronage by local elites during the Early Historic period. The results of this archaeological survey thus represent an important step in reconstructing the early history of Jains in South India as well as the socio-economic landscape of Early Historic Tamil Nadu.

6.3. Situating the Survey: Region and History of Research

6.3.1. Selection of Sites for Survey

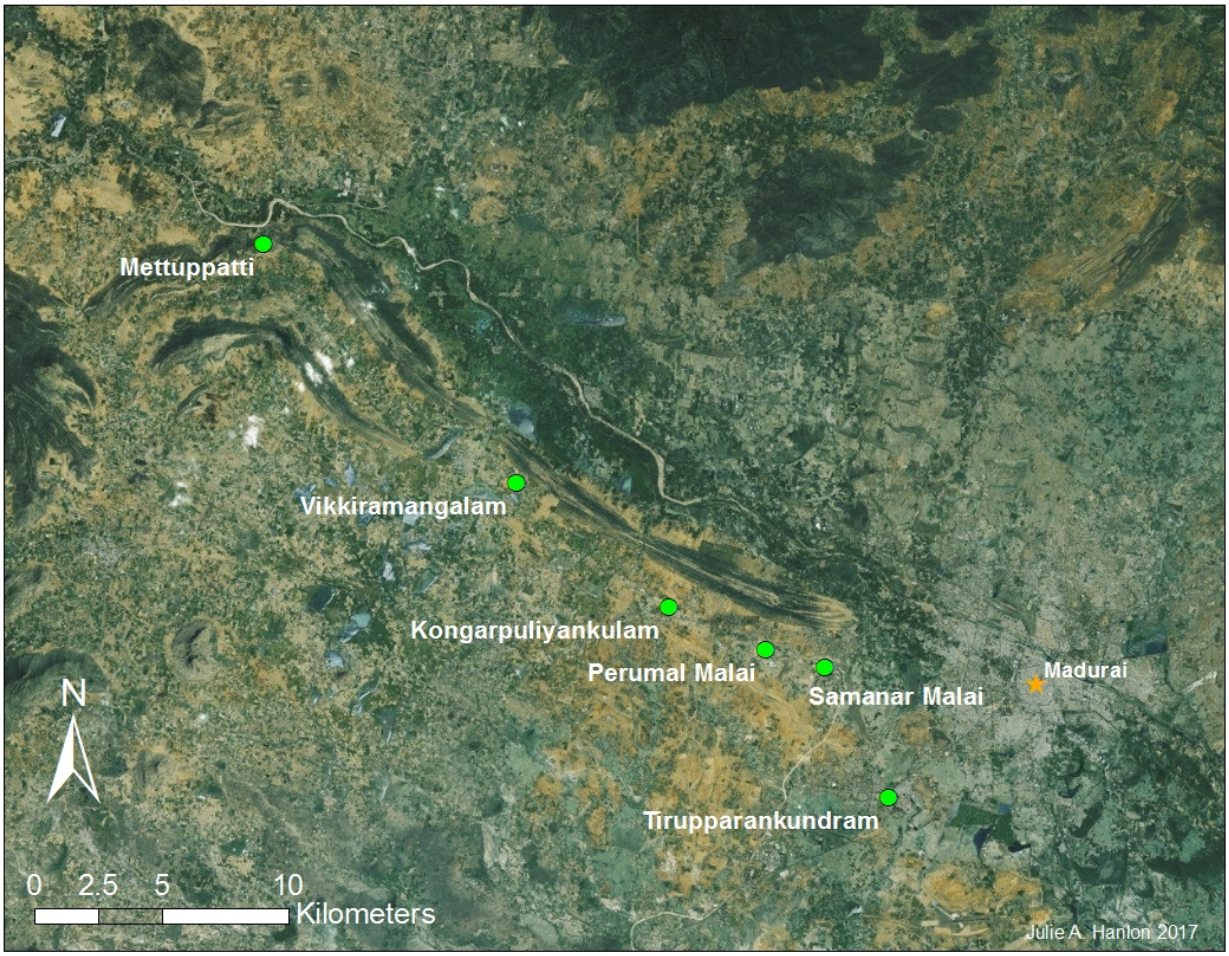
The survey area was chosen on the basis of the concentration of Jain and other Early Historic sites and proximity to least-cost paths calculated by slope in ArcGIS (See Maps 5.6, 5.7). There are significant clusters of Jain sites around both the ancient Pandiya capital of Madurai and the Chera capital of Karur. Notably, inscriptions at the Jain sites of Mangulam near Madurai and Pugalur near Karur, contain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions mentioning Pandiyan and Cheran kings, respectively. The area around Madurai has the greatest concentration of early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, nearly all of which record donations to Jain monks and monasteries,[3] and Madurai also features prominently classical Tamil literature from the Early Historic period.[4] Because of the concentrations of archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence related to Madurai, the survey focused on the six caves closest to Madurai along the least-cost path between Madurai and Karur: Tirupparankundram, Samanar Malai, Perumal Malai, Kongarpuliyankulam, Vikkiramangalam, and Mettuppatti.

[3] This is discussed extensively in Chapters 2, 3, and 5.
[4] For the position of Madurai within classical Tamil literature and its relationship with Jainism, see Chapter 4.

The group of hills close to Madurai have additional significance, particularly within the history of Jainism in Tamil Nadu, as they are referred to in various literary sources as *eṇperuṅkuṉṟam* or the "Eight Great Hills". Based on work by epigraphist V. Vedachalam, these hills are: Alagarmalai, Yanaimalai, Arittapattimalai, Kilavalavumalai, Parankunru (Tirupparankundram), Kalugumalai, and Kongarpuliyankulam.[5] Of these, two (Tirupparankundram and Kongarpuliyankulam) are located on the least-cost path from Madurai to Karur, five (Alagarmalai, Yanaimalai, Arittapatti, and Kilavalavu) are located along the least-cost path from Madurai to Uraiyur, and one (Kaḷugumalai) is located approximately 95 km south of Madurai. Tirupparankundram and Kongarpuliyankulam belong to the group of six Jain hill sites selected for intensive exploration. The rest of the Eight Great Hills were also visited during the archaeological survey season, but were not mapped or investigated with the same intensity.

In addition to conducting archaeological survey at these six Jain hill sites, I also visited a total of 10 other known Jain cave sites in the Madurai region. These included: Alagarmalai, Arittappatti, Kaḷugumalai, Kaḷunkalankudi, Kilavalavu, Mangulam (aka Meenakshipuram), Tirumalai, Tiruvadavur, Varichiyur (aka Kunnathur), and Yannai Malai. Reconnaissance was also carried out on hills in the villages of Karadikkal, Kunnamampatti, Pothampatti, and Tidiyan due to their prominence in the landscape and visual relationship to the Jain caves within the survey region.

[5] V. Vedachalam, *Eṇperuṅkuṉṟam* (Madurai: Sashta Palikesans, 2000).



Map 6.1 Jain cave sites in survey region.
All maps in this chapter were created by the author.

6.3.2. Geology and Topography of Madurai District

The surveyed Jain sites are located in the Nagamalai hills. These hills are composed primarily of granite and charnockites,[6] and extend northwest from Madurai to Dindugul (Tiṇṭukkal). The Nagamalai range stands prominently above the relatively flat landscape, though at significantly lesser heights than the Paḻani hills to the west and the Anamalai range to the east, which are

[6] Yanni Gunnell, "Granite Landforms of the Indian Cratons," in *Landscapes and Landforms of India*, ed. V.S. Kale (Dordrecht Springer Verlag, 2014).

considered some of "the most elevated topography in South Asia south of the Himalaya."[7] The Nagamalai hill range (Photo 6.1) extends northwest along the western bank of the Vaigai River, before curving west to join a larger mass of granitic hills near Usilampatti. Its narrow and curving shape has no doubt contributed to its name, which means "snake (*nāka*-) hill (*malai*)".[8] The Jain cave site at Mettuppatti is located near what is interpreted to be the head of the snake, while the caves at Samanar Malai are located near the tip of its tail. The site of Tirupparankundram shares the same underlying geologic foundation, Archean tonalite-trondhjemite gneiss (aka Peninsular Gneiss), but appears as a solitary hill to the southwest of Madurai.[9]

Notably, the Madurai *sthala purāṇa* ('local/place history') describes the Nagamalai hills, along with Yanaimalai (elephant hill) east of Madurai and Pasumalai (cow hill) adjacent to Tirupparankundram as the (nefarious) magical creations of Jains. In the story, the Jains of Kanchipuram sought to convert the populace of Madurai (who was Śaivite) to Jainism and conjured an elephant to destroy the city. In another instance the Jains were said to have conjured a snake and after that a cow demon. In all cases, their efforts were thwarted by the grace of Śiva who transformed these threating beasts into stone hills.[10]

The hills of the Nagamalai range are comprised of banded micaceous granite gneiss and granular quartz. Similarly, Tirupparankundram hill is also comprised of granite, but with pink and grey bandings. Because of its durability as a building material, these hills, particularly the

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[7] Ibid., 196.
[8] Zoomorphic features are also attributed to the hills east of Madurai, most famously Yanaimalai, or Elephant Hill. The larger range of hills, of which Yanaimalai is situated at the southern extension, is also called the Anamalai Hills.
[9] Gunnell, 197. See also K. S. Subramanian, *Geology of Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry*, ed. T. A. Selvan and India Geological Society of (Bangalore: Geological Society of India, 2001).
[10] References to this *sthala purāṇa* may be found in W. Francis, *Madras District Gazetteers: Madura* (Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1906), 74; B. S. Baliga, *Madras District Gazetteers: Madurai*, vol. 1, Gazetteer of India (Madras: Controller of Stationery and Printing, Madras, 1960), 3-4.

ones bearing Jain caves and inscriptions, have been largely quarried. Quarrying at these sites dates back to at least the Medieval period when stone mined from Tirupparankundram was used to construct parts of the Minakshi Amman Koil in Madurai.[11] Medieval quarry marks are visible on rocks across all of the hills surveyed, but it is the modern quarrying activities that have taken the greatest toll on the hills.[12] The soil in Madurai District is mostly (about 85%) red ferruginous soil (red loam and sand), with some black cotton soil (black clay loam and sand) in the areas around Tirumangalam to the south.[13] The most fertile land is along the banks of the Vaigai, or at least it was, until more recently when rains have failed to fill the river and it remains a grassy or sandy field where children play cricket throughout most of the year.

6.3.3. Previous Research Related to Jain Caves in Madurai District

Much of the previous research on the Jain caves in Tamil Nadu has been descriptive and focused on the documentation and analysis of their inscriptions.[14] Within epigraphic studies, the cave sites are not often discussed in any detail. Rather, the focus is on the content and form of the inscriptions. The significance of the location of these inscriptions on and within Jain monastic residences and what they may tell us about early Jain communities has been cursory. For example, in a recent publication by the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology on the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions of Tamil Nadu, rough maps of the Jain rock-cut beds located in close

[11] Madras District Gazetteer: Madurai, 1, 8.
[12] Madurai Jain Heritage Center (http://www.maduraijainheritage.com/aboutusenglish.php) has engaged in litigation against the illegal mining practices that threaten many of the Jain archaeological sites in Tamil Nadu. center fights with mining groups. See "Granite Mining: Once a Hill," *Frontline*, July 24, 2015 2015.
[13] Madras District Gazetteer: Madurai, 1, 8-9.
[14] Pandurang Bhimarao Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā No. 6 (Sholapur: Gulabchand Hirachand Doshi [for] Jaina Saṁskṛti Saṁrakshaka Sangha, 1957); A. Ekambaranathan and C. K. Sivaprakasam, *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamilnadu: A Topographical List* (Madras: Research Foundation for Jainology, 1987); Mahadevan; Iravatham Mahadevan, "Corpus of the Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions," in *Kalveṭṭuk Karuttaranku*, ed. R. Nagaswamy (Madras: Madras Books, 1968); K.V. Ramesh, "Appendix: Jaina Epigraphs in Tamil," in *Jaina Literature in Tamil*, ed. A. Chakravarti (Mysore: Bharatiya Jnanapitha Publication, 1974).

proximity to these inscriptions were only given for three sites (Meenakshipuram/Mangulam, Kongarpuliyankulam, and Yanaimalai), and even these maps only show a small selection of the beds at these sites.[15]

Research by historians R. Champakalakshmi and A. Ekambaranathan has helped to highlight the caves as sites of early Jainism in Tamil Nadu. Both scholars have produced lists of these cave sites accompanied by modest details about the number of caverns and beds and the types of Jain images and inscriptions found there. [16] Champakalakshmi has particularly been interested in the chronology of occupation of these sites, dated on the basis of inscriptions, for understanding the history of Jainism in South India.[17] While these publications usually contain photos, they lack maps of the caves and analysis regarding the specific context of the inscriptions.

More recently, in 2011, art historian Lisa Owens visited ten of the Jain cave sites around Madurai and published a general overview of these sites, including an estimate of the number of beds and photographs of the medieval images and inscriptions.[18] Her essay focused on the use of the sites during the medieval period and posed a number of questions regarding the significance of their location, the elevated location of the images, and how these hills may have been shared

[15] Ti. Śrī. Śrītar et al., eds., *Tamiḻ-Pirāmi Kalveṭṭukaḷ*, Array ed. (Chennai: Tamiḻnāṭu Aracu Tolliyalturai, 2006), paṭam 6-8.
[16] R. Champakalakshmi, "South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. A. Ghosh (1974); "From Natural Caverns to Rock-Cut and Structural Temples: The Changing Context of Jain Religious Tradition in Tamilnadu," in *Airāvati: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Iravatham Mahadevan* (Chennai: Varalaaru, 2008); "Jainism in Tamil Nadu: A Historical Overview," in *Religion, Tradition, and Ideology: Pre-Colonial South India*, ed. R. Champakalakshmi (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011). A. Ekambaranathan and M. Satyabhama, "Holy Abodes of the Sramanas," in *Jainthology: An Anthology of Articles Selected from the Jain Journal of Last 25 Years*, ed. Gaṇeśa Lalavānī (Calcutta: Jain Bhawan, 1991); A. Ekambaranathan, *Jainism in Tamilnadu: Art and Archaeology* (Mississauga: Jain Humanities Press, 1996). See also Satyabhama Badhreenath, "Early Jaina Caves," in *Jaina Archaeological Heritage of Tamilnadu*, ed. A. Ekambaranathan (Lucknow: Shri Bharatvarshiya Digamer Jain (Teerth Sanrakshini) Mahasabha, 2005).
[17] Champakalakshmi, "Jainism in Tamil Nadu: A Historical Overview."
[18] Lisa Owen, "Transforming the Landscape: Questions of Medieval Reuse and Worship at Ancient Jain Rock-Cut Sites near Madurai," in *Negotiating Cultural Identity: Lanscapes in Early Medieval South Asian History*, ed. Himanshu Prabha Ray (New Delhi: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2015).

between Jains and Hindus.[19] However, her initial analysis did not move beyond posing these questions.

A larger undertaking of documentation of Jain sites in Tamil Nadu was organized by the French Institute of Pondicherry under the direction of Nalini Balbir. This project, which began in 2007, has resulted an interactive CD-ROM with photos and location data on 464 Jain sites in Tamil Nadu.[20] Officially published in 2018, a copy of this CD has not yet made its way into the University of Chicago library system, and I have not had a chance to engage with this material to determine the ways in which it compares with the work that I have done at the various sites.

With regard to the archaeological significance of these sites, although there have been several archaeological surveys conducted in Madurai District and its environs,[21] the aim of these surveys has been the identification and documentation of new archaeological sites, particularly Iron Age and Early Historic habitation mounds and megalithic structures. Thus, while the location of the caves and the content of their inscriptions have been well documented, little is known about how the caves relate to one another or their surrounding environment.

One exception is the Jain site of Mangulam, where archaeological excavations were conducted between 2006 and 2007 by the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology.[22] This

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[19] Ibid., 134-36.

[20] Nalini Balbir et al., Jain Sites of Tamil Nadu, (Pondicherry: French Institute of Pondicherry, 2018). 5.25 in. disc (514). For a description of this resource, see Nalini Balbir and Karine Ladrech, "Jain Sites of Tamil Nadu: A Cd Published by the French Institute of Pondicherry," *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies, SOAS*, no. 13 (2018).

[21] K. Rajan and V.P. Yathees Kumar, "Cultural Transformation from Iron Age to Early Historic Times: A Case Study of the Vaigai River Valley, Tamil Nadu," in *New Dimensions in Tamil Epigraphy*, ed. Appasamy Murugaiyan (Chennai: Cre-A, 2012); K Rajan et al., "Archaeology of Vaigai River Valley, Tamil Nadu, Major Research Project Report Submitted to Ugc, Tamil University, Thanjavur," (Thanjavur: Tamil University, 2006); V.P. Yathees Kumar, "Archaeological Explorations in Amaravathi River Valley, Exploration Report (Unpublished)," (Pondicherry: Pondicherry University, 2006); V. Selvakumar, "Investigations into the Pre and Protohistoric Cultures of the Upper Gundar Basin, Madurai District, Tamil Nadu" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Deccan College, Pune University, 1996); B.K. Gururaja Rao and K.V. Raman, "Exploration in District Madurai," *Indian Archaeology - A Review* 1957-58 (1958).

[22] Sitharam Gurumurthi et al., eds., *Mankulam Excavations 2007* (Chennai: Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, 2008).

site, comprised of a series of rock shelters located atop a granitic inselberg in the Yanaimalai hills 20 km northeast of Madurai, bears six early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions documenting donations to Jain monks by merchants and by associates of the Pandiyan king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ. Excavations were undertaken at Mangulam to "examine the archaeological potentialities of this area and ... to find out the earlier and periodical stratigraphic evidence of this region."[23] Archaeologists identified two occupational periods: Period I (3rd century BCE-3rd century CE), and Period II (4th century CE-14th century CE).[24] They also unearthed a brick structure on a hill terrace near one of the caves, which they dated to Period I and suggested may have been used as a "meeting hall or prayer hall."[25] These findings suggest that there may have been similar structures located in the vicinity of other Jain caves. As will be discussed, during archaeological survey a number of foundation walls visible from the surface were identified at multiple sites.

6.3.4. Similar Research Projects Related to Buddhism

Over the last 20 years, there have been several archaeological survey projects focused on Early Historic and Early Medieval Buddhist monastic sites in Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, and Maharashtra. Notably, each of these projects has also sought to combine multiple lines of evidence and/or to challenge the textual understanding of the past through the analysis of archaeological evidence. Julia Shaw's Sanchi Survey Project (1998-2005) aimed to move beyond the art-historical interpretation of ritual sites, to examine how the Buddhist sangha was imbricated in pre-existing social, economic and religious networks, and to address the lack of

[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid., 13.
[25] Ibid., 15.

dialogue between archaeological and text-based analysis of Buddhist history.[26] Her survey resulted in the documentation of 35 Buddhist sites, along with a large number of settlement sites and water resource systems.[27] Drawing upon this evidence, Shaw was able to argue that the Buddhist sangha's "close relationship with agricultural improvement and water management was an important instrument of lay patronage" and that this, in turn, was "closely related to Buddhism's deeper preoccupation with human suffering (*dukkha*) and the means of its alleviation."[28] Lars Fogelin's Northeast Andhra Monastic Survey, a systematic archaeological surface survey in the area around Thotlakonda, a Buddhist monastery near Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh, also addressed the relationship between the textual and material record.[29] Fogelin suggested that "archaeology and history should complement each other, with each supplementing its weaknesses with the other's strengths."[30] In addition to this, Fogelin's project engaged anthropological approaches to ritual to develop an archaeology of Buddhism, drawing upon archaeological evidence for the role of ritual in the relationships between monastics and laity at Thotlakonda. Similarly, Gethin Rees, in his archaeological survey of Buddhist monasteries in the Western Ghats of Maharashtra sought to address lacunae in the epigraphic and literary evidence with regard to donation practices and the relationships between the donors recorded in the inscriptions and the Buddhist monks who inhabited these sites.[31] Rees's Western

[26] Julia Shaw, "The Sacred Geography of Sanchi Hill: The Archaeological Setting of Buddhist Monasteries in Central India" (Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2001); J. Shaw, *Buddhist Landscapes in Central India: Sanchi Hill and Archaeologies of Religious and Social Change, C. 3rd Century Bc to 5th Century Ad* (London: Society for South Asian Studies, The British Academy, 2007).
[27] Julia Shaw, "Archaeologies of Buddhist Propagation in Ancient India: 'Ritual' and 'Practical' Models of Religious Change," *World Archaeology* 45, no. 1 (2013): 85.
[28] Ibid., 103.
[29] Lars Fogelin, *Archaeology of Early Buddhism* (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2006); "Beyond the Monastery Walls: The Archaeology of Early Buddhism in North Coastal Andhra Pradesh, India" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2003).
[30] *Archaeology of Early Buddhism*, 15.
[31] Gethin Rees, "Buddhism and Donation: Rock-Cut Monasteries of the Western Ghats" (Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2010).

Ghats Survey Project examined 54 Early Historic Buddhist rock-cut caves dated between c. 200 BCE and 500 CE and included the creation of site plans and interior plans of the caves.

6.4. Survey Methodology

6.4.1. Goals of Survey

Pedestrian surface survey of six Jain hill sites near Madurai was conducted over the course of 10 weeks, from 4 July through 12 September 2016. The goals of this survey were (1) to create maps of the Jain caves indicating precisely the location of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and any evidence of other features in or near the caves, (2) to identify signs of ancient trade routes and assess what role, if any, Jains may have played in such trade routes, and (3) to explore the area between the caves in order to understand how the Jain cave sites may have been related to each other and situate the caves within the broader archaeological landscape.

The total extent of the proposed survey area containing the six hill sites (Tirupparankundram, Samanar Malai, Perumal Malai, Kongarpuliyankulam, Vikkiramangalam, and Mettuppatti) is approximately 126 square km. During the initial stages of planning, I proposed to conduct a stratified systematic pedestrian survey with four survey blocks of 200 x 200 m positioned strategically to include the caves and areas between the caves, with the northeast boundary formed by the Vaigai River. However, the slope, terrain, and vegetation around the hill sites made standardized and systematic transects impractical if not impossible. Therefore, the goals of the survey were addressed primarily through unsystematic survey.

6.4.2. Exploration of Jain Hills in Survey Region

Each site was divided into a series of non-arbitrary units: base, hill terraces, area with known Jain caves, and summit. The survey at each hill site began by walking around the base of the hill. Each circumambulation was divided into multiple transects based on terrain or landscape features. For example, at Samanar Malai the first transect extended from the ASI sign in front of the Ayyanar temple on the east side of the hill, headed north/north-west along the base of the hill next to the temple tank, and ended at the temple tank wall where the base of the hill began to curve due west. At Tirupparankundram and Mettuppatti, in many places the base of the hill was inaccessible due to dense vegetation. Moreover, in the case of Tirupparankundram, large portions of land were privately owned and fenced-off. In such cases, we attempted to position transects as close to the base of the hill as possible (See Fig. 6.1). In other cases, such as Perumal Malai and Vikkiramangalam, it was possible to survey the entire base unencumbered.

The next set of transects ascended from the base of the hill to the summit. In all cases there were paths already designated for this purpose. For example, Tirupparankundram has two sets of staircases leading from the base of the hill to the summit. The first begins on the southeast side of the hill and leads up to the Kasi Viswanathar Temple on the southwest part of the summit. The second begins on the northern side of the hill and leads up to the Thiruparankundram Dargah. Similarly, Mettuppatti has two sets of paths leading up to the summit where there is a Mahalingam Siva temple and a Karthikai *deepam*.[32] One path begins on the southern side of the hill in Kalyanipatti village, and the other one begins on the northern side in Mettuppatti village. In addition to well-marked paths, the survey team also attempted to

[32] A Karthikai *deepam* is a sacred lamp (*deepam*) set atop a long metal rod positioned at the highest point of the hill. This sacred lamp is lit during the Hindu holiday celebrated during the month of Karthikai (October/November) to honor the son of Siva, Karthikeya (aka Murugan).

ascend the hills from other points, where possible. During the ascent to the summit, we walked transects along distinct hill terraces, where possible. This was easily accomplished at Samanar Malai, Perumal Malai, and Kongarpuliyankulam.

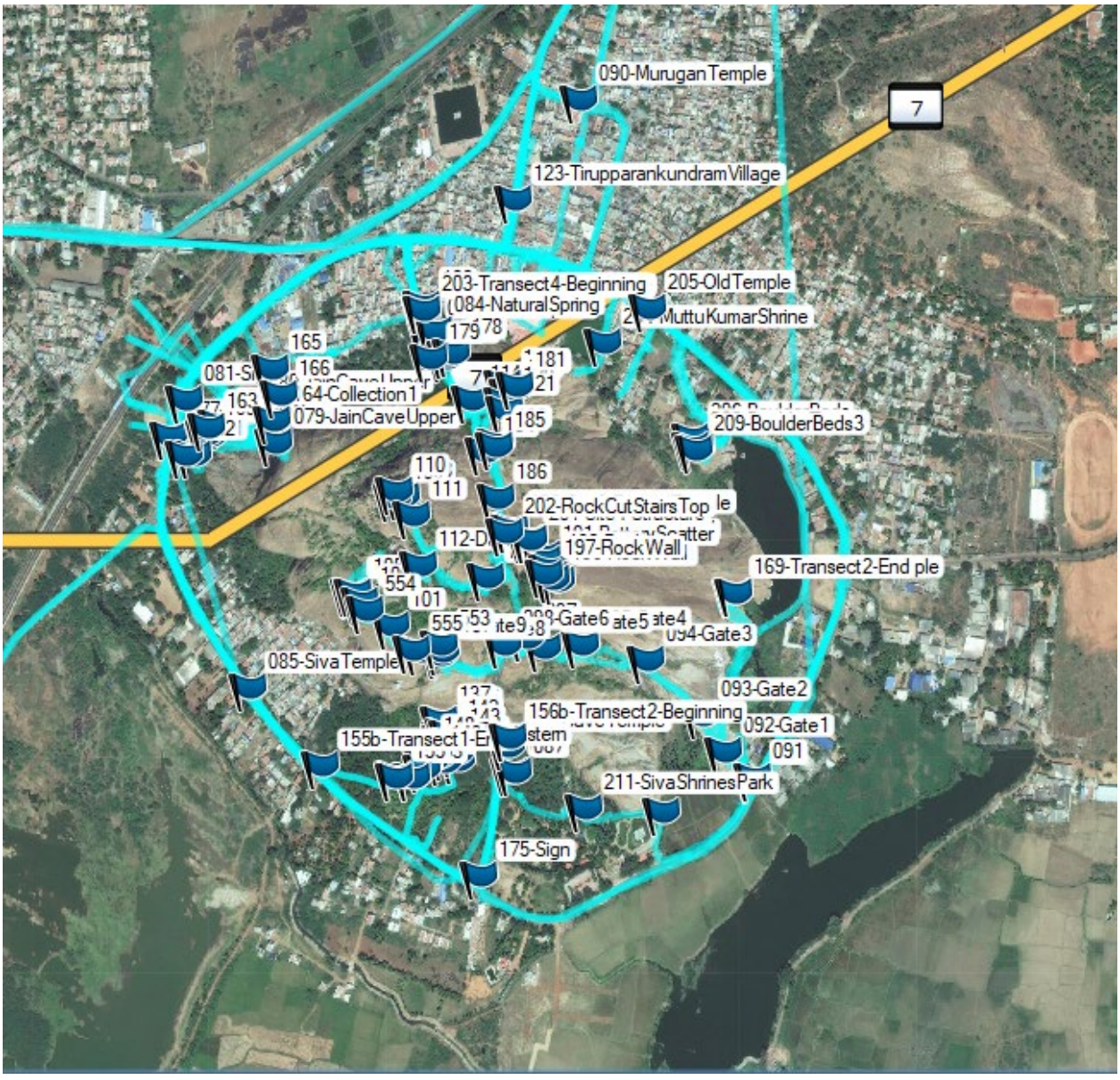


Figure 6.1 Image of Tirupparankundram with waypoints and tracks
All figures in this chapter were created by the author.

We also walked transects in the area in the immediate vicinity of the Jain caves and transects around the summits of the hills. In all cases the summits were marked by rock-cut pools for collecting rain water, temples, and/or a Karthikai *deepam*.[33] From the summit we were able to capture impressive views of the landscape and direct views of the other Jain hills. As noted in Chapter 5, all of the Jain hill sites are intervisible. In addition, the summits of the six Jain hills also provide direct views of other Jain hill sites and large hills located outside the survey region, e.g. Thidiyan hill, Usilampatti hill, Alagarmalai, and Yanaimalai.

By combining a series of transects along the base, terraces, and summit of each hill, and around the known Jain caves bearing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, the survey team was able to cover a significant portion of each hill.

6.4.3. Exploration of the Areas around the Hills and Other Hill Sites

In addition to the hills, the survey team was also able to walk a number of systematic transects in select areas near Kongarpuliyankulam and Vikkiramangalam where the terrain was relatively open and flat and comprised predominantly of tilled fields. To explore the area between hills, we conducted an unsystematic survey walking back and forth between Perumal Malai and Samanar Malai. Villages and roadways made surveying large areas between the caves and the Vaigai River difficult. In this case, we resorted to the standard Indian survey method of prospection by car, driving slowly along the small roads between the hills and the Vaigai River. Unsystematic survey and exploration was conducted at hills in the villages of Karadikkal, Kunnamampatti, Pothampatti, and Thidiyan, due to their prominent visibility from the Jain caves. Lastly, we

[33] Tirupparankundram: Kasi Viswanathar temple; Samanar Malai: ruined medieval Jain temple; Perumal Malai: Vijayanagara Period shrine; Kongarpuliyankulam: Vijayanagara Period shrine and pillar; Vikkiramangalam: Saivite cave temple (modern?); Mettupatti: Mahalingam Siva Temple

visited other Early Historic and Medieval Jain sites in Madurai District, including Alagarmalai, Arittappatti, Kalugumalai, Kalunkalankudi, Kilavalavu, Mangulam (aka Meenakshipuram), Tirumalai, Tiruvadavur, Varichiyur (aka Kunnathur), and Yannai Malai.

6.4.4. Sampling Strategies

Non-probabilistic sampling was undertaken at the Jain hill sites in the survey region in order to elucidate a general chronology of habitation at these sites and the different kinds of vessels/artifacts used. Two types of collections were made. The first were targeted collections of artifacts for the purpose of documenting their existence at the site. The object or scatter was first documented spatially using a hand-held GPS unit, then photographed in place, then collected in small bags for later analysis. The second type of collections were 1m x 1m surface collection units. Surface collection units were placed in areas where there were clear surface scatters with the purpose of assessing the ratio of different kinds of ceramics. Collection units were laid north/south and a GPS point taken at one of the corners. Photos were taken before and after collection. All surface finds were collected in a single bag or series of bags for later analysis. While the sample collections were selective and targeted, in 1m x 1m collection units all identifiable artifacts were collected from the surface.[34]

6.4.4.1. Totals

Over the course of 10 weeks of archaeological survey, between July 5 and September 11, 2016, the survey team walked a total of 42 transects, marked a total of 1,020 GPS points, collected and

[34] See Collection Forms in Appendix D.

analyzed roughly 1,750 ceramic sherds (7.3 kg), 63 lithics / stone tools, and 13 other small finds.[35]

Table 6.1 Jain Hill Sites Information

Hill	Coordinates in Decimal Degrees	Transects	Collections	Photographs	GPSPoints	Days
Tirupparankundram	**9.877192, 78.070724**	**4**	**3**	**1720**	**134**	**7**
Samanar Malai	**9.923813, 78.045210**	**9**	**15**	**1495**	**145**	**7**
Perumal Malai	**9.931317, 78.023208**	**7**	**12**	**984**	**105**	**8**
Kongarpuliyankulam	**9.946033, 77.988651**	**10**	**29**	**2193**	**181**	**11**
Vikkiramangalam	**9.990966, 77.934093**	**8**	**25**	**1030**	**93**	**6**
Mettuppatti	**10.075941, 77.845330**	**3**	**9**	**1344**	**123**	**6**

[35] E.g. modified sherds, terracotta lamps.

Table 6.2 Jain Caves Information

Jain Cave Site	Location in decimal degrees		Altitude (meters)	Number of beds	Orientation of cave
Tirupparankundram	9.878326021 N	78.06671103 E	295.2	**12-16**	**W**
Samanar Malai	9.924507961 N	78.04376003 E	249.1	**6**	**SE/NW**
Perumal Malai	9.930518959 N	78.02296202 E	177.2	**31-38**	**SW**
Kongarpuliyankulam	9.945758013 N	77.98870199 E	210.7	**77** **C1: 2** **C3: 68** **C4: 1** **C5: 5-6**	**SW**
Vikkiramangalam 1	9.989537029 N	77.93450997 E	234.8	**18**	**SW**
Vikkiramangalam 2	9.991322961 N	77.934011 E	203.0	**1**	**SE**
Mettuppatti	10.07433297 N	77.84495898 E	402.3	**10-12**	**SE**

Table 6.2 Jain Caves Information Continued

Jain Cave Site	Height at summit	Height above surrounding landscape	Length	Width	Distance from Madurai	Distance to closest cave	Next closest cave
Tirupparankundram	330 m	160 m	1.05 km	0.55 k	8 km SW	10.5 km to SM	15 km to PM
Samanar Malai	260 m	80 m	1.2	0.45 km	8 km W	1.4 km to PM	7 km to KP
Perumal Malai	215 m	25 m	0.6 km left, 1 km originally	0.20 km	10.5 km W	1.4 km to SM	4 km to KP
Kongarpuliyankulam	225 m	18 m	1 km	0.15 km	14.5 km W/NW	4 km to PM	7.5 km to VK
Vikkiramangalam	245 m	35 m	0.5 km	0.25 km	21.5 km NW	7.5 km to KP	13.5 km to MP
Mettuppatti	455	225 m	1.75 km	0.80 km	34 km NW	13.5 km to VK	21 km to KP

6.5. Jain Caves of Madurai District (JCMD) Archaeological Survey 2016

I have attempted to organize the data moving from features that are most definitively associated with the occupation of the hills by Jain monks to features that were likely or *may* have been associated with the occupation of the hills by Jain monks. For example, I begin with the Jain caves themselves and the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions within them. I then move onto features found in close proximity to these caves, such as rock-cut stairs. Such features, due to their proximity to the Jain caves or their similarity with rock-cut stairs found in association with Jain caves elsewhere in Tamil Nadu, are the most likely to have been in use during the Early Historic period. This is followed by water-catchment features, which cannot be dated precisely unless found in association with other dateable features (ceramics, architecture, inscriptions). Nevertheless, based on the location and characteristics of the various rock pools and ponds, it is possible to suggest that these features were in existence during the Early Historic period and were either elaborated/modified by the monks, or even in a 'natural' state, would have been an important source of potable water. Other caves and rock shelters, like the Jain caves themselves, have likely been in use intermittently since the Iron Age (or earlier) up to the present. However, again, like the water catchment features, these caves and rock shelters may have been used by the monks or other individuals during the Early Historic period. Lastly, I discuss walls, foundations, and various structures observed on the surface of the hills. Some of these features can be associated with occupation of the hills by Jain monks due to their location. However, in most cases such associations are conjectural and will require further (archaeological) investigation to discern any relationship between these features and the early Jain communities of Tamil Nadu.

6.5.1. Tirupparankundram

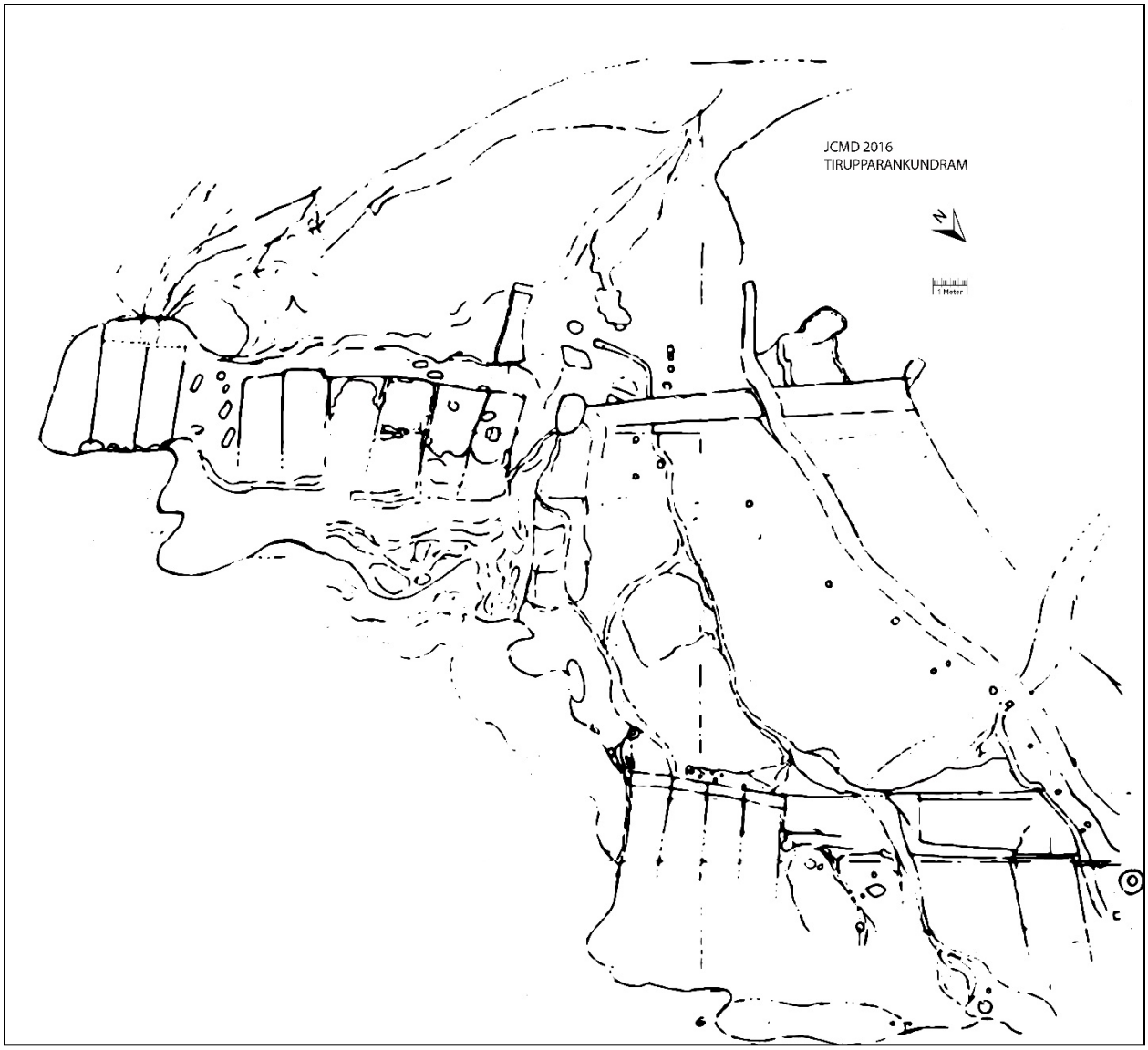
Tirupparankundram (9.877192 N, 78.070724 E) is the southernmost site in the survey region and is located approximately 8 km southwest of Madurai. Tirupparankundram hill, whose central summit is roughly 330 m above sea level (160 m above surrounding plain), is approximately 1.05 km long and 0.55 km wide. The hill was visited, mapped, and/or surveyed during a total of 7 days, resulting in a total of 134 waypoints, 4 transects, and 3 collections.

6.5.1.1. Jain Caves at Tirupparankundram

The Early Historic Jain caves containing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are located on the northwest side of Tirupparankundram hill (9.8783 E, 78.0667 N; 295 m). The cave opening faces west. However, from the area in front of the caves, one can easily see Samanar Malai to the northwest [Photo 6.2] and the gopura of the Minakshi Amman Koil in the center of Madurai to the west/northwest. Further down the slope there is a large hollowed out cave with stairs leading down to a "spring" (9.8781 N, 78.0671 E; 188 m). At the time I first visited in July, the water was a little over knee deep.[36] [Photos 6.3, 6.4]

The interior cave is divided into two areas, with a group of 6 beds located at one end of the cave on the upper slope, and a group of 4 beds at the opposite end of the cave, downslope (Map 6.2). In addition to these, there appear to be 2 more beds inside a hollowed-out cave within the main cave, located to the left of the first group of 6 beds. There may also be 4 to 5 more beds to the right of the lower group of 4; these are less distinct so their identification as beds is less certain. In total, the cave contains between 12 and 16 beds.

[36] One of our guides entered the pool, dunked his head, and was able to bathe in this pool. I imagine in wetter months the stairs leading down to the pool are likely covered in water.



Map 6.2 Jain Cave with beds at Tirupparankundram

6.5.1.1.a. Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

There are approximately three to four Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Tirupparankundram. However, I argue that some of these inscriptions may be made up of separate shorter inscriptions. The first such inscription is on the 'head board' portion above the 4 lower beds and extends over to the beginning of the 'bench'. There is a very clear line dividing the first part of the inscription from the second part. The first part is a name: "Polālaiyaṉ, an *Iḷa-kuṭumpikaṉ*

(householder, head of a large family) of Erukāṭur."[37] Presumably Polālaiyaṉ financed the cutting of the 4 beds located under this inscription. This inscription extends from above the second bed from the left over onto the left-hand side of the 'bench', then there is a clear straight line dividing this portion from the second. [Photo 6.5] The orthography of the second portion of this inscription is distinct in the formation of the characters for *ya*, as well the size of the characters, and the width and depth of lines to create them. Following the 1924 interpretation of K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, Mahadevan interprets this second part as the name Āycayaṉ Neṭucātaṉ modified by the past tense adjectival participle *ceytā[ṉ]* meaning "he who made made."[38] Thus, Āycayaṉ Neṭucātaṉ is the one who made *x*. The direct object is not included, but rather must be inferred based on the context. The interpretation is thus that Āycayaṉ is the name of the stonemason who carved the beds and inscriptions and that Polālaiyaṉ funded this endeavor.[39] Given the differences in orthography between the two sections plus the very clear line, I argue that these inscriptions are not contemporary and should be interpreted separately. The line indicates that the person who carved the second part wanted to make it distinct from the first. From this, it seems more likely that Polālaiyaṉ funded the carving of the beds, while Āycayaṉ Neṭucātaṉ funded the carving of the bench.[40]

The next set of inscriptions are found with the group of 6 beds at the upper part of the cave. The first is carved entirely upside down and runs along the left-hand side of the first of the 6 beds, on the 'threshold' of the entrance to the second hollowed-out sub-cave containing the other two beds. It reads: "[this is] that which was caused to be given [by] Antūvaṉ."[41] [Photo 6.6,

[37] e-ru-ka-ṭu-ra-i-ḷa-ku-ṭa-ma-pi-ka-ṉa-po-lā-lai-ya-ṉa | ce-ya-ta-a-ya-ca-ya-ṉa-ne-ṭu-cā-ta-ṉa. ARE 333/1908; Mahadevan 1968, No. 51; Mahadevan 2003, No 55; T. V. Mahalingam, *Early South Indian Paleography*, Madras University Archaeological Series (Madras: University of Madras, 1967), 251-57.
[38] Mahadevan, 393.
[39] Ibid., 585.
[40] For a full discussion see Appendix A.
[41] a-na-tū-vā-ṉa-ko-ṭu-pi-tā-vā-ṉa ARE 142/1951-52; Mahadevan 1968, No. 48; Mahadevan 2003, No. 53.

6.7] Perhaps Antūvaṉ donated funds for the creation of the hollowed-out cavern or the set of 6 beds adjacent to the inscription.

The final inscription occurs in two parts. The first occurs above the second bed from the left in the group of 6 beds and is written entirely upside down: mā-ra-ya-tu. Mahadevan suggests that this is the oblique form of *mārāyam*, an ancient title.[42] [Photo 6.8] The second part is written in the correct orientation, but occurs to the left of the first part, over the first bed: ka-ya. Mahadevan suggests that these two parts should be read together to mean the pool (*kayam*) of the *mārāyam* (*mārāyatu kayam*). Thus, to read this inscription properly, one must perform a kind of mental and physical gymnastics: cocking one's head to read the first on the right upside down, then turning one's head to the left to read the second part in the correct orientation. I do not have a better interpretation, but I suspect that there may be something missing here. If correct, the pool to which this inscription refers may be the one noted earlier, downslope from the caves. However, it seems strange that the inscription is placed here rather than there. It is also possible that this pool or tank is the one immediately to the left of the inscription, in the hollowed-out cave. [Photo 6.9] Moreover, as is visible on Map 6.2, there is a water channel which runs down the rocks and empties into this space. During the hot season and before the monsoon, this space remains rather dry. However, during the monsoon season this area fills with water.[43]

Overall, the Jain cave on Tirupparankundram could have provided living accommodations for approximately 12-16 Jain monks. The interior was likely further subdivided

[42] Mahadevan, 392.
[43] Another Tamil-Brahmi inscription was discovered at Tirupparankundram in 2013. However, upon close inspection of this inscription, I am doubtful whether it can accurately be attributed to Jains of the Early Historic Period. T.S. Subramanian, "Tamil-Brahmi Script Discovered on Tirupparankundram Hill," *The Hindu*, February 14 2013. For my translation and discussion of this inscription, see Appendix A.

by walls and there may have been additional walls or a railing along the opening of the cave. This is indicated by the presence of postholes inside the cave, as well as a line of postholes running alongside the mouth of the cave. Furthermore, that this space was occupied during the rainy season is indicated by the many channels carved through the cave to divert water. For example, the hollowed-out sub-cave that fills with water directed from a channel at the top of the slope, and a long channel that runs down the slope along the mouth of the cave. There is also a third channel that runs roughly through the middle of the cave. In addition to these, there are a number of smaller channels around the beds diverting water to the side. Because the cave is located on a significant slope (> 30°), it would have been very important to divert water not only out of the cave, but such that it did not flow onto the beds downslope.

There are also a number of features in and around the cave that appear to post-date the Jain occupation. The large rectangular stairs that run parallel to the opening to the cave are much larger than the ancient rock-cut stairs, which were small and akin to footholds. There is also an *ural* at the base of this staircase, which may be from a later period, based on its location and relation to the beds.

6.5.1.2. Other Known Jain Vestiges at Tirupparankundram

On the northern side of the hill, roughly at the base, behind the Paḷaṇiyāṇṭavar temple is a tank or rock pond situated at the foot of a large boulder (9.8792 N, 78.0695 E). On the boulder are carved 3 Jain images and 2 Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions. [Photo 6.10, 6.11] Two of the images are of Parshvanath, the 22nd tīrthaṅkara, easily identified by the iconic serpent hood. The third image is of a jina with a triple umbrella above his head and seated on a throne that appears to have a lion at the center. This jina is likely Mahavira, the only tīrthaṅkara associated with the lion. To the

left of the image of the seated jina and to the right of the first image of the standing Parshvanath a stonemason has prepared the surface for engraving inscriptions. Each prepared surface is rectilinear and defined by an engraved line. The inscription on the left appears to be unfinished, as it occupies less than have the allotted space. The inscription on the right fills the entire space. A third surface is located above the third image but does not contain any inscription.

On the southwest side of the hill there two more images of jinas carved into the rock face (9.8755 N, 78.0689 E). [Photos 6.12, 6.13] These are also associated with a large rock pond. They are located high up on the cliff face along the path that now leads to the Kasi Vishwanathar temple. The first image is of Bahubali (aka Gomateshvara) flanked by his two sisters, Brahmi and Sundari. The second image is of Parshvanath.

In his description of the Jain caves at Tirupparankundram, Ekambaranathan notes that "On the northern side of the hill is a smaller cave with two beds, but without inscriptions."[44] This cave is also described in the 1909 ARE as being located 100 yards away from the Muslim dargah. In this earlier description, they state that there are "five narrow beds stretching west to east" and that the cavern had been converted into "a small room by a (mud and stone) wall and is reported to have been used til recently by a mendicant Hindu devotee of Subrahmaṇya."[45] We did not come across this cave during our survey.

6.5.1.3. Surface Features and Structures at Tirupparankundram

6.5.1.3.a. Rock-cut Stairs

Rock-cut stairs from many different periods in history decorate the bare rocky slopes of Tirupparankundram hill [Photo 6.14]. It is generally possible to identify which stairs are older

[44] Ekambaranathan, 8.
[45] ARE 1909, 68.

based on size and the amount of patina and weathering of the stone. Many of the routes and destinations of the older rock cut stairs are now blocked or missing. For example, rock-cut stairs appear at the base of both the Paḻaṇiyāṇṭavar temple, Kasi Vishwanathar temple, and Muslim dargah, indicating that these structures were built after and on top of the rock-cut stairs.[46] In some high-traffic areas for pilgrims, the rock cut stairs appear in multiple groups, with different sets having been cut at various times over the past two thousand years. The many rock-cut stairs at Tirupparankundram indicate its long history as an important site of religious pilgrimage, and construction of new religious buildings on top of older rock-cut stairs indicates the enduring religious significance of these particular locations. It is unfortunate that some of the older stairs may have been enhanced or carved over with new stairs – particularly in the vicinity of the Jain caves. That this is true is suggested by the description in the 1909 ARE: "As they are situated at an inconvenient height, up the steep side of the hill and are reached only by crude foot-holds cut into the rock, no human being except the curious antiquarian would ever think of getting up to have a view of the beds."[47] Such foot-holds are only visible on the upper slope near the top of the cave. My guess is that the large rock-cut stairs that enable tourists to visit the caves today may have been carved over these earlier foot-holds.

6.5.1.3.b. Water catchment features

Water catchment features were found with limited frequency across the hill. The majority of these features were small rock pools. However, there were two large bodies of water on the

[46] At the Paḻaṇiyāṇṭavar temple, there are also deep channels cut into the rock. These channels may have formerly held in place stones which were part of the foundations of a wall or other building that stood in this spot previously. What is also problematic is that in areas around temples much of the original rock surfaces have been covered in plaster, preventing a clear view of the earlier layout and features.
[47] ARE 1909, 67.

upper terraces of the hill, and one at the base of the hill. It is worth noting that two of these water catchment features are associated with Jain images. The first, located underneath the Jain images on the cliff face on the way to the Kasi Vishwanathar temple, and the second at the base of the hill with the other group of medieval Jain images. The third large rock pond [Photo 6.15] is located near the center of the hill (9.8762 N, 78.0714 E), to the east of a ruined temple to the east of the stairs leading to Tirupparankundram dargah (see below).

6.5.1.3.c. Other caves and rock shelters

Tirupparankundram hill has many natural caverns and rock shelters. Few of these showed signs of modifications.[48] Of note is a large boulder on the north side of the hill, near the tower with the Karthikai *deepam* and above the Tirruparankundram Murugan temple (9.8787 N, 78.0707 E). This boulder has a drip-ledge carved approximately half way around it. It was not possible to climb up under this boulder. However, if one were to reach it, the view from this point gazes directly at Samanar Malai and the other Jain hill sites in the survey region. [Photos 6.16 and 6.17] Because drip-ledges seem to be a characteristic feature of Jain caves in Tamil Nadu,[49] it is possible that this boulder is associated with Jain occupation of the hill.

We also identified 5 to 6 depressions akin to those used as beds in the Jain caves at the base of the hill on the northeast side, just north of Saravana Poigai and adjacent to Saravana Poigai temple (9.8778 N, 78.0737 E). They differ from the known Jain beds at Tirupparankundram, because they are less defined and are completely exposed to the elements [Photo 6.18].

[48] One issue facing exploration of some of these caves is that they are presently occupied throughout the day by large troops of monkeys seeking shelter from the heat. The monkeys are particularly aggressive and have no fear of humans.

[49] Based upon my own observations at Jain cave sites across Tamil Nadu.

6.5.1.3.d. Walls and foundations

On an elevated rock terrace on the northern slope of Tirupparankundram hill, to the east of the stone staircase is a wall [approximately X km long], consisting of several courses of stones and a cement-like matrix (9.8761 N, 78.0715 E). [Photo 6.19]. Adjacent to these walls is the deep rock pool noted above. Between the ruined temple on the lower terrace, and the rock wall on the upper terrace, is a structure stretching across the gap or valley (9.8766 N, 78.0710 E). The structure consists of stone walls of cobbles and bricks, several courses high [Photos 6.20. and 6.21]. The embankment structure contained a high density (97%) of ceramic sherds per square meter, predominantly bases of lamps or bowls.[50] These ceramics may be dated stylistically to the medieval period.

6.5.1.3.e. Ruined temples

During survey, we identified the remains of a ruined temple (9.8769 N, 78.0708 E) located on the northern slope of Tirupparankundram hill, adjacent to the stairs leading up to the Muslim dargah. There are three partial walls and an impression in the rock where the fourth wall previously stood. [Photo 6.22] While it is not clear to which religious tradition this temple originally belonged, it is worth noting its similarity in size, shape, and construction to the c. 10th-century Jain temple on Samanar Malai (See Map 6.4).

6.5.2. Samanar Malai

Samanar Malai (9.923813 N, 78.045210 E) is located at the southernmost part of the Nagamalai hill range, approximately 8 km west of Madurai. Samanar Malai, meaning “hill of the Jains”, is

[50] These ceramics will be discussed in Chapter 7.

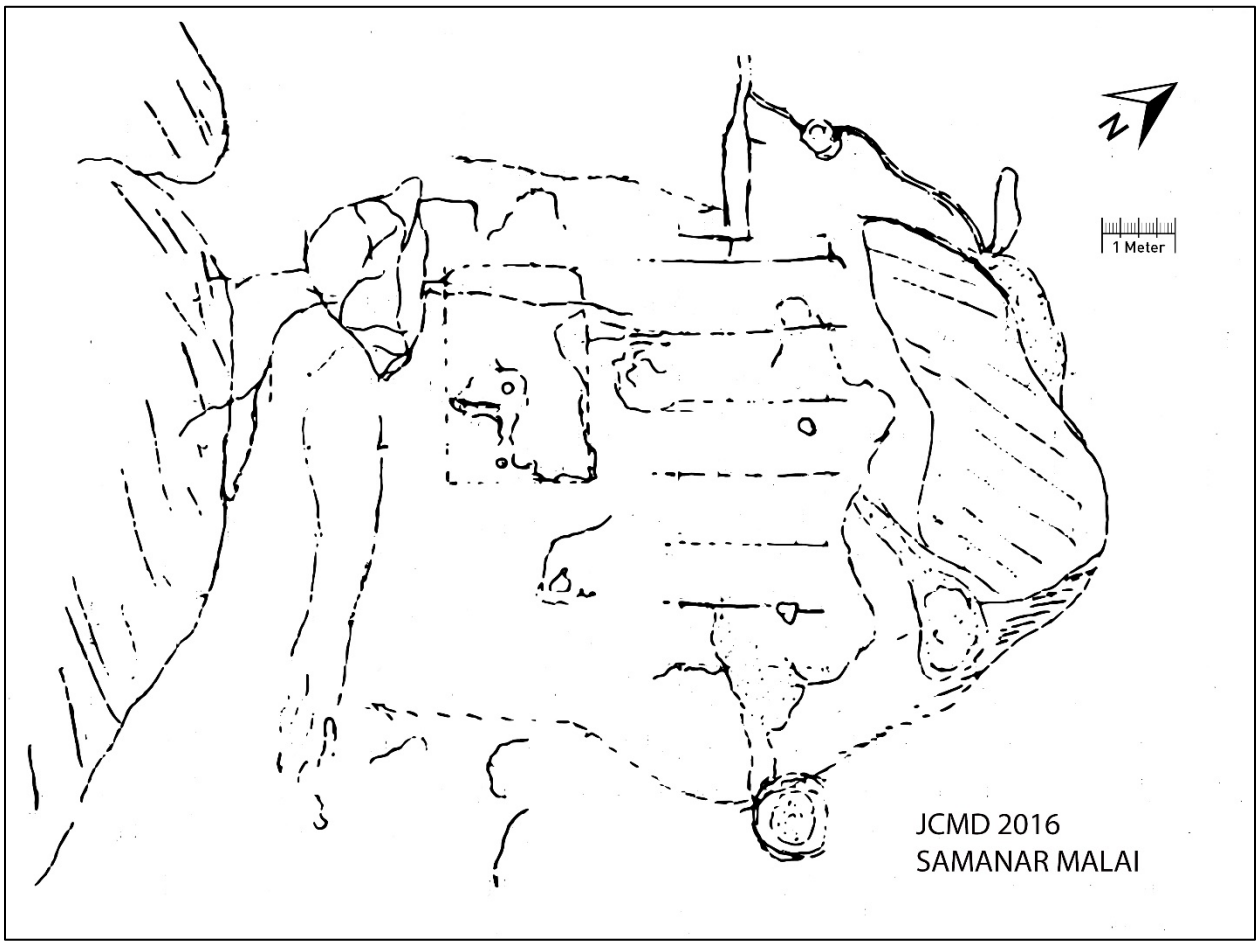
approximately 0.45 km wide and 1.2 km long, and extends roughly east-west across two villages, Melakuyilkudi and Kiḻakuyilkudi (upper and lower Kuyilkudi). The summit, located 260 m above sea level (80 m above surrounding plain), is marked by a pillar with a 12th century inscription in Kannada.[51] The hill was visited, mapped, and/or surveyed over a total of 7 days, resulting in a total of 145 waypoints, 9 transects, and 15 collections.

6.5.2.1. Jain Caves at Samanar Malai

The north western side of Samanar Malai was formerly the site of an Early Historic period cave with approximately 7-12 beds (9.9266 N, 78.0402 E, 172.4 m). Unfortunately, extensive quarrying at the site destabilized the rockface, causing the overhanging rock to come crashing down onto the beds below, shattering the rock. Today, the remains of this overhanging rock, complete with drip-ledge, are visible near the quarry pool on the northwest foot of the hill [Photo 6.23]. The beds, now shattered and ripped apart by large crevasses in the rockface, are still somewhat identifiable [Photo 6.24]. It appears that their original location was higher up on the cliff face, and that both the overhang, as well as the terrace itself detached from the hill. The cave that held these beds would have faced roughly north-northeast with direct views of Alagarmalai, and possibly views of Yanaimalai and Meenakshipuram (Mangulam). Because of its location on the northwest end of the hill, this cave may have also had direct views of Perumal Malai, which is less than 1.5 km away. A more thorough exploration of this area was not possible due to safety issues. Quarrying still continues and the hill in this area is not stable.

[51] This inscription ES 227, ARE 244/1950-51 records the names of Jain monks from the Mūlasaṅba of Beḷaguḷa (Sravana Belgola) who had come to Madurai to propagate Jainism.

However, I was told that prior to the collapse of this cave – sometime in the 1960s or 70s – no Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions had been identified.[52]



Map 6.3 Map of Samanar Malai

6.5.2.1.a. Tamil-Brahmi inscription

The only known extant Tamil-Brahmi inscription at Samanar Malai was discovered by Dr. V. Vedachalam, former Senior Epigraphist for Tamil Nadu State Archaeology Department, and V. Muthukumar, research scholar from Tamil University, Thanjavur, in 2012 under a drip-ledge on

[52] Dr. V. Vedachalam, personal communication.

a boulder located along a central rock terrace (9.9245 N, 78.0438 E, 249.1 m) [Photo 6.25]. [53] The inscription reads: pe-ru-te-ū-ra-kū-l̲i-ta-tai-a-ya-ma: "the spring/pond was caused to be carved by [the villagers of] Peruntēvūr." [Photo 6.26] The spring or pond (*ayam*) to which the inscription refers is likely the rock pond located on the terrace below. [Photo 6.27]

Unlike other sites in the survey region, the Tamil-Brahmi inscription at Samanar Malai is engraved upon a simple rock shelter rather than a large cave. The area underneath is not particularly well-protected, with openings on the northeast and southwest sides. Underneath the boulder are the shallow outlines of a row of 6 beds (Map 6.3). To the right of these is a rectangular depression that may have also been used as a sleeping area. The rock shelter is located on one of the lower summits of the hill with roughly unobstructed views to the southwest and northeast, including a clear view of Tirupparankundram. Because the present area around the rock shelter is somewhat sandy, post holes or other indications of associated structures may be obscured.

While the rock shelter at Samanar Malai is significantly smaller than the caves at the other hill sites in the survey region, it does provide protection from the sun and rain and it is possible to sit comfortably inside. Because of its size, if there was a contingent of Jain monks residing at Samanar Malai in the Early Historic period, their primary location would more likely have been the area that is now destroyed on the northwest side of the hill. It is possible that this rock shelter was an auxiliary location for study and could have been chosen due to its proximity to the water source below or its views of the surrounding landscape.

[53] T.S. Subramanian, "2,200-Year-Old Tamil-Brahmi Inscription Found on Samanamalai," *The Hindu*, March 24 2012. For different interpretations of this inscription, see Appendix A.

6.5.2.2. Other Known Jain Vestiges at Samanar Malai

It is possible that Samanar Malai did not become a significant Jain center until the medieval period, as attested by the Jain images, Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions, and remains of a Jain temple. Champakalakshmi has proposed that Kuṟaṇṭi Tirukkāṭṭāmpaḷḷi, an ancient Jain monastery mentioned in Tamil inscriptions, may have had its "main retreat of the monks" at Samanar Malai and its main center or temple at Kurandi (Kuṟaṇṭi), roughly 22 km away, or as far as Palimadam (Paḷḷimaṭam), roughly 50 km away, where inscriptions referring to this monastery have been found in stones reused to build the Śaiva temple there in the 10th century.[54]

The most well-known site on the hill is called Pechchi Pallam, *pallam* meaning an excavated pond.[55] The large rock-cut pond is located approximately half-way up the slope on the southeastern end of the hill (9.923 N, 78.047 E; 213m). [Photo 6.28, 6.29] Above this rock-cut pond are eight relief sculptures of jinas accompanied by six Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions that record the names of their donors. Three of these donors were pupils of the monk Guṇasēnadēva, who was the head monk of the *paḷḷi* at Samanar Malai. One of the inscriptions records that the image was caused to be cut by Guṇamatiyār, the mother of Ajjanandi, the famous Jain monk associated with the Jain renaissance in Tamil Nadu in the 9th century.[56]

Another well-known site is Setti Podavu (Ceṭṭipoṭavu), meaning "cave of the merchant (*cheṭṭi*)." This cave is located on the southeastern side of the hill near the base (9.922 N, 78.047

[54] R. Champakalakshmi, "Kuṟaṇḍi Tirukkāṭṭāmpaḷḷi, an Ancient Jaina Monastery of Tamil Nadu," *Studies in Indian Epigraphy (Bhāratīya purābhilēkha patrikā)* 2 (1976).
[55] P.B. Desai translates the name as "The Speaking Hollow", pecu- being the verb to speak. See Desai, 59.
[56] From left to right, the images are: Gomateshvara flanked by his two sisters; Parshvanath (with inscription below); Parshvanath (with inscription to the right); seated jina (with inscription below), Parshvanath with the serpent Dharanendra in therio-anthropomorphic form (with inscription below); seated jina; Parshvanath (with inscription to the right). It is worth noting that the therio-anthropomorphic form is somewhat uncommon. The most well-known example may be found at Kaḻugumalai. Another version is found at Yanaimalai. See ARE 64-69/1910. Champakalakshmi, "Kuṟaṇḍi Tirukkāṭṭāmpaḷḷi, an Ancient Jaina Monastery of Tamil Nadu."; "From Natural Caverns to Rock-Cut and Structural Temples: The Changing Context of Jain Religious Tradition in Tamilnadu."

E; 183m). High up on the rockface to the right of the entrance to the cave is a large image of Mahavira seated on a lion throne.[57] [Photo 6.30, 6.31] The interior of this cave has been modified to create a large dome. Inside the dome is a group of five reliefs: a sequence of three seated jinas with Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions below, flanked by an image of a goddess on either side. [Photo 6.32] The Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions between the three seated jinas record that the images were caused to be cut by pupils of the head monk Guṇasēnadēva and Arimaṇḍala-bhaṭāra.[58]

In recent years, the ASI has installed a stone staircase to make the cave more accessible to tourists and pilgrims. They also plastered most of the cave floor, making it impossible to assess whether this cave once held any traces of Jain beds. However, it is likely that it did, because in her 1976 paper on Samanar Malai, Champakalakshmi notes that "a number of damaged beds have been noticed in Śeṭṭipoḍavu."[59] Survey of caves in the immediate vicinity of Setti Podavu did not result in the discovery of any new beds or signs of human modification.

Lastly, on a hill terrace on the southeast side of the hill adjacent to Pechchi Pallam is the stone foundation and parts of a brick floor of a medieval Jain temple [Photo 6.33, Map 6.4] An inscription in Vaṭṭeḻuttu on the southwest exterior mentions the name of a monk Iraṭṭaiyan.[60] The temple faces due east, and based on the characteristics of the inscription, may date from around the 10th century.[61]

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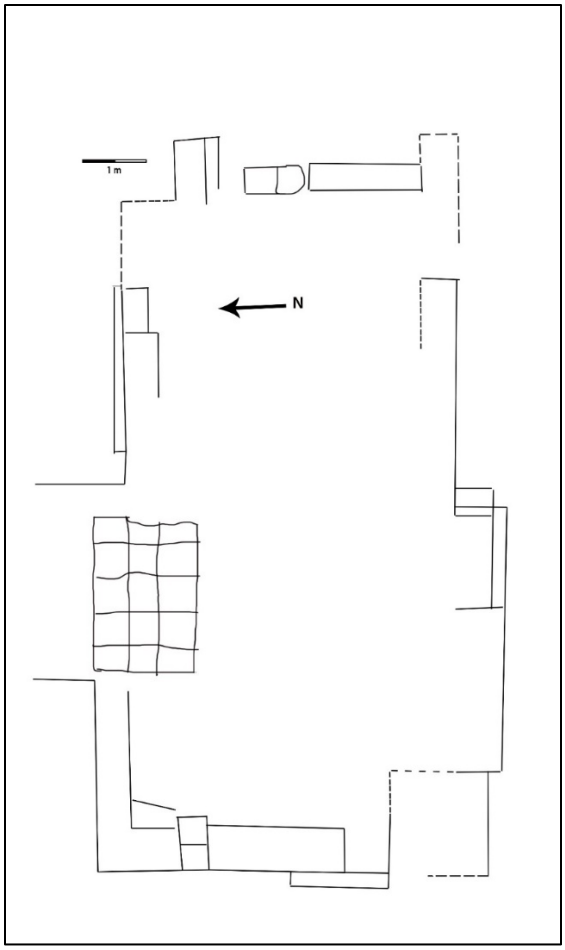
[57] Above his head is a halo of flames, triple umbrella, and a tree representing the Ashoka tree under which he gained enlightenment. He is flanked by celestials and attendants with fly whisks. An inscription in Vaṭṭeḻuttu below the image indicates the donor as Abinandan-bhaṭāra associated with the Kuṟaṇṭi Tirukkāṭṭāmpaḷḷi. Champakalakshmi, "Kuṟaṇḍi Tirukkāṭṭāmpaḷḷi, an Ancient Jaina Monastery of Tamil Nadu."

[58] The three jinas are nearly identical, except that the one on the far right is slightly larger. Each is seated on a throne and flanked by celestials and attendants. Due to the prominence of the Mahavira sculpture on the exterior of the cave, I am in agreement with epigraphist P.B. Desai in positing that the goddesses in this group represent the *yakshi* of Mahavira, Siddhāyikā. Desai, 59.

[59] Champakalakshmi, "Kuṟaṇḍi Tirukkāṭṭāmpaḷḷi, an Ancient Jaina Monastery of Tamil Nadu," 87.

[60] ES 226, ARE 243/1950-51.

[61] Ibid.



Map 6.4 Map of Medieval Jain temple at Samanar Malai

6.5.2.3. Surface Features and Structures at Samanar Malai

6.5.2.3.a. Water catchment features

Rock pools and related water catchment features were common across the areas of bare rock on the hill, particularly near the summit. [Photo 6.34] In addition, there were a number of excavated water catchment features worth noting. These include the rock-cut pond known as Pechchi Pallam, and the "spring" or rock-cut pond at the base of the cliff beneath the boulder with the Tamil-Brahmi inscription, both mentioned above. There was also a sizeable pool carved into the rock near the summit of the hill that was filled with water (and a water snake) even in July

(9.9236 N, 78.0446 E). [Photo 6.35] Finally, at the base of the northwest end of the hill was a small modified rock pool (9.9258 N, 78.0400 E). [Photo 6.36] All of these features would have enabled the Jain monks to retain fresh potable rainwater throughout the year.

6.5.2.3.b. Other caves and rock shelters

During the survey, the team thoroughly explored the hill and documented the location of 8 rock shelters and 3 modified caves. None of the rock shelters or modified caves had distinct drip-ledges similar to those typically found on Jain caves at other sites, nor did we identify any new inscriptions. We did, however, identify a number of engraved images, such as arrows, footprints, and game boards.[62]

Of particular note is a rock shelter (9.9244 N, 78.0437 E), which consists of a large flat rock positioned on top of two boulders. It is located directly in front of the "spring" or modified rock pond at the base of the cliff beneath the boulder with the Tamil-Brahmi inscription. [Photo 6.37] This rock shelter was built on bare rock face and inside are several man-made channels, approximately 3-4 cm wide. Also located nearby is a modified cave with a flattened terrace (9.9236 N, 78.0433 E). Part of this cave shelter was formed by the cliff face and appeared to have the remains of red paint on it. [Photo 6.38] It was not possible to determine how old this graffiti was, but it did appear similar in color to rock art documented at the Jain sites of Tiruvadavur and Perumal Malai. The orientation of this cave and its location high up on the hill also provided an impressive view of Tirupparankundram [Photo 6.39].

[62] Some of these images, particularly the game boards, could just as easily be from 50 to 500 years ago. It is important to keep in mind that these hills have been continuously occupied and traversed in one form or another for thousands of years. In many of the rock shelters we found sherds of ceramic vessels that could be stylistically dated to the medieval period, alongside broken liquor bottles, matches, and debris from cigarettes.

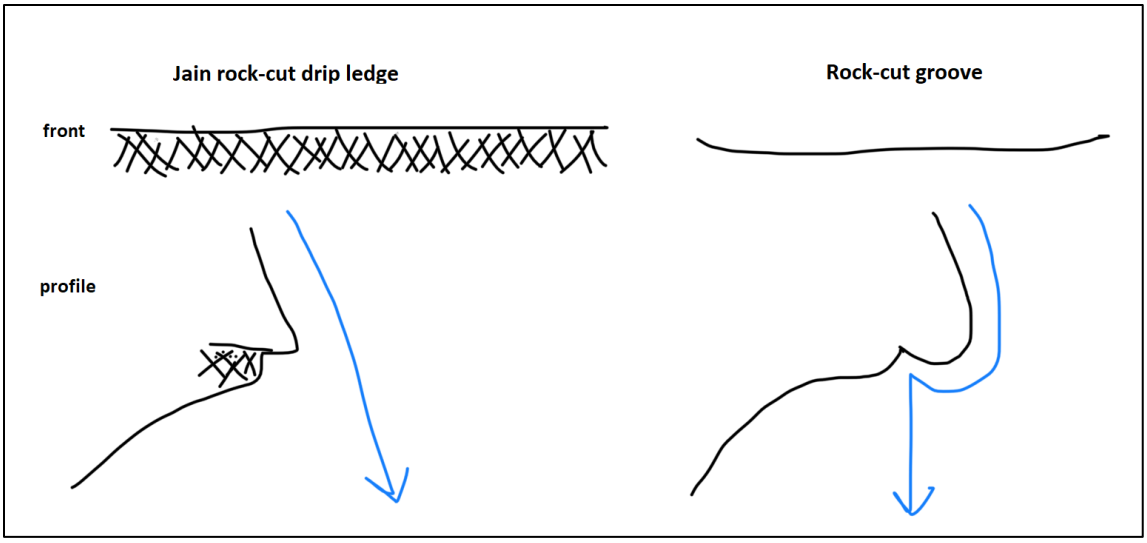
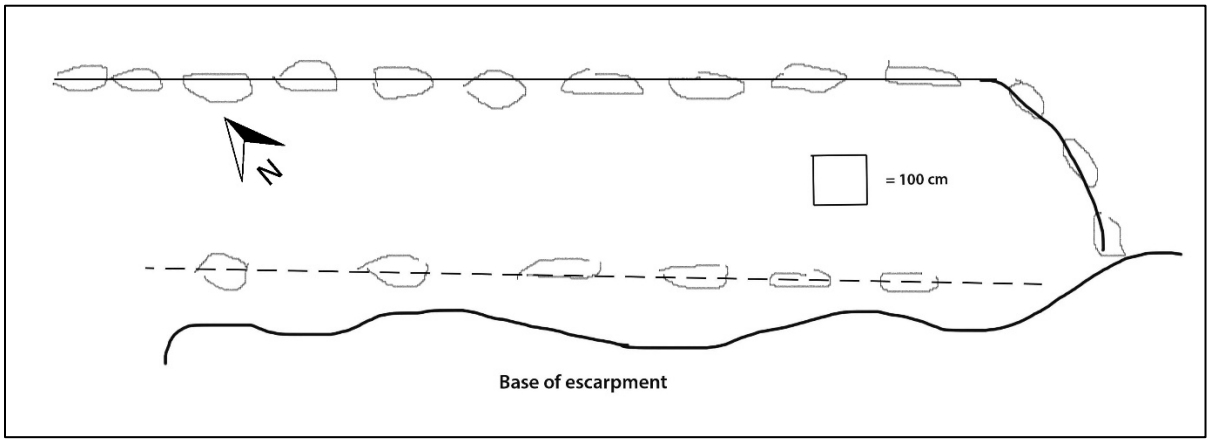


Figure 6.2 Differences in type of cave modification for the prevention of flooding. Flow of water shown in blue.

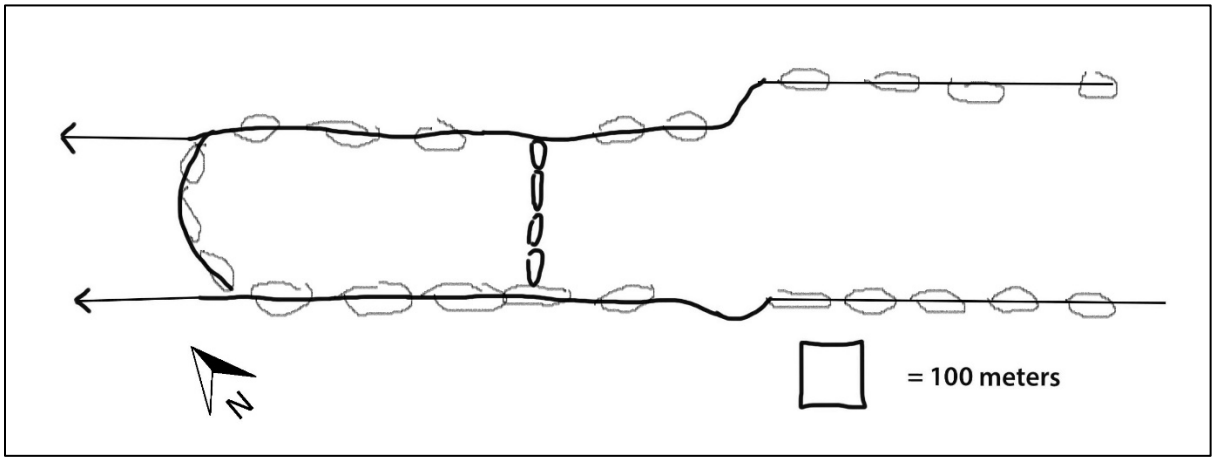
Along the upper terrace and at the base of the hill were several caves with what appeared to be intentionally carved grooves meant for diverting rainwater. [Photo 6.40, 6.41] Unlike the carved drip-ledges characteristic of Early Historic Jain caves, where the stonemason has created a sharp ledge on the exterior of the cave or boulder by chipping away the rock, these caves had grooves located in the interior of the cave, creating a kind of lip at the opening to the cave. Water flowing down the exterior of the cave runs under the lip, but is stopped and directed downward after hitting the groove (Fig. 6.2). One of these caves (9.9259 N, 78.0399 E) also had a footprint carved into the floor. [Photo 6.42]

6.5.2.3.c. Walls and foundations

Other archaeological evidence related to habitation included a number of stone alignments and walls. Of particular note are two series of parallel stone alignments (Maps 6.6, 6.7) located on an upper terrace of Samanar Malai running approx. 130 degrees SE / 310 degrees NW. Toward the southeast end, the stones are roughly 2.0-2.5 m apart (interior measurement, 3.25 m exterior),



Map 6.5 Stone Alignment No. 1 at Samanar Malai



Map 6.6 Stone Alignment No. 2 at Samanar Malai

while toward the northwest end, the distance between the parallel alignments varies from 3.5-6.0 m apart (interior measurement, 4.8-7.0 m exterior). These may represent the foundations of two separate structures, with the southeast extension running approximately 22.0- 22.5 m long, and the northwest extension running 18.5-19.25 m long. [Photo 6.43] Given the location of these alignments on the terrace between the medieval Jain temple and the Early Historic Tamil-Brahmi inscription, it is likely that this feature is related to the Jain occupation of the hill. While the

foundation of the medieval Jain temple is composed of finished stone blocks, this alignment is composed of unfinished stones, and likely pre-dates the medieval period. Further research via archaeological excavation at this site is strongly recommended.

6.5.3. Perumal Malai

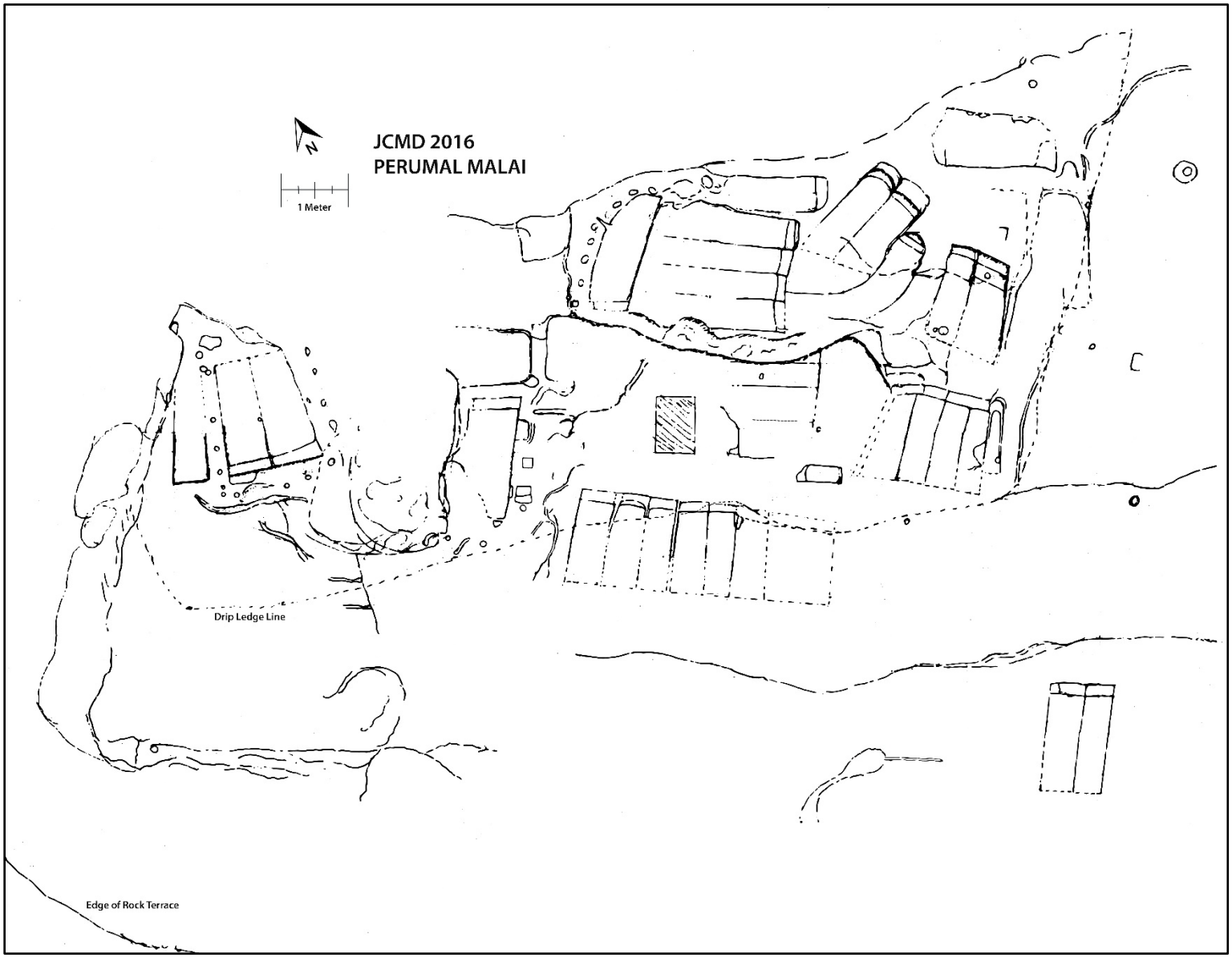
Perumal Malai, also known as Muttuppatti (9.931317 N, 78.023208 E), is located approximately 10.5 km west of Madurai and 1.4 km northwest of Samanar Malai. [63] Perumal Malai's central summit is roughly 215 m above sea level, but only 25 m above the surrounding plain. The hill measures approximately 0.6 km long (formerly 1 km prior to intensive quarrying) by 0.2 km wide. The hill was visited, mapped, and/or surveyed over a total of 8 days, resulting in a total of 105 waypoints, 7 transects, and 12 collections.

6.5.3.1. Jain Caves at Perumal Malai

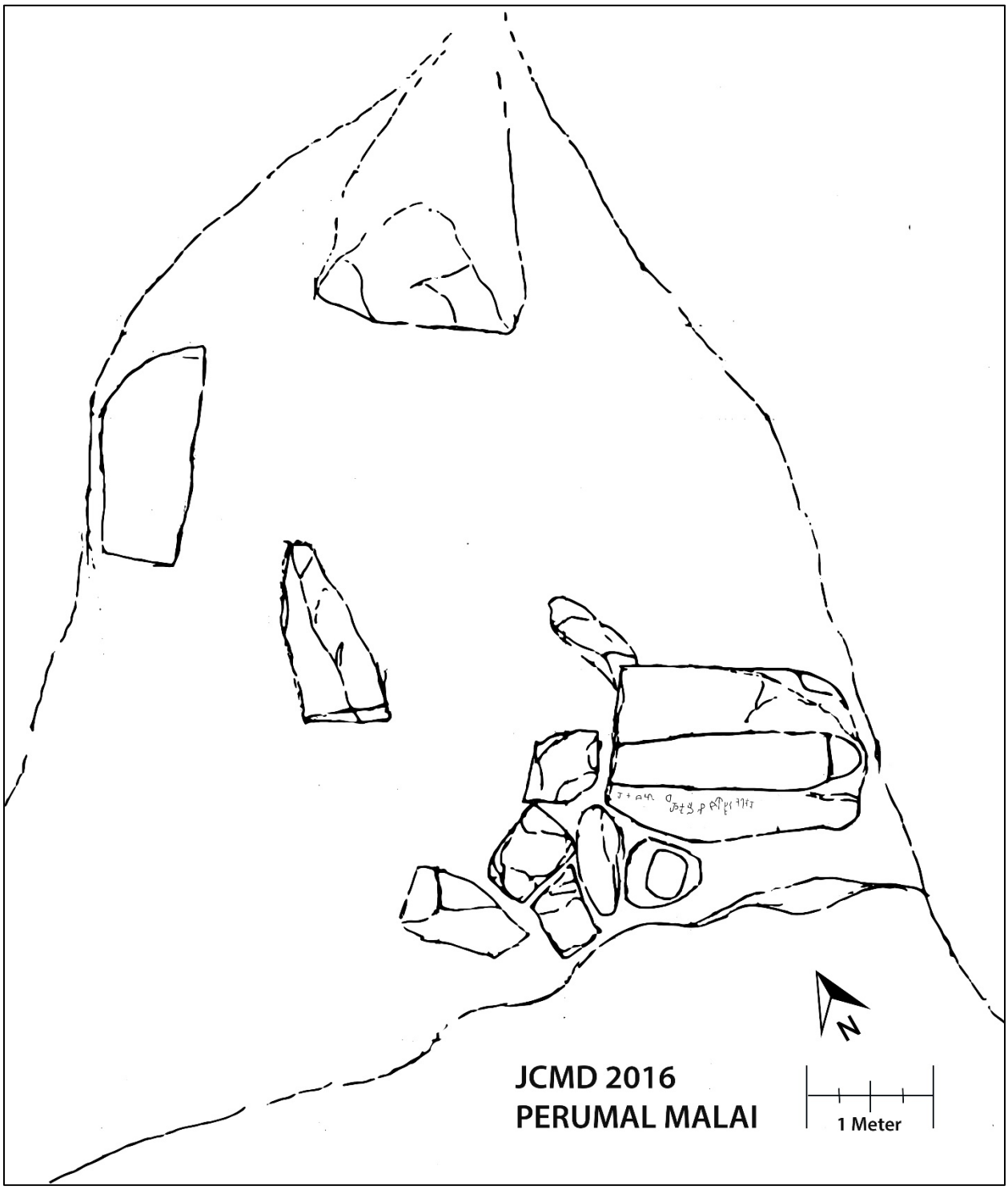
The Early Historic Jain caves containing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are located on the southern side of the hill with direct views of Samanar Malai and Tirupparankundram (9.9245 N, 78.0438 E, 177.2 m). The site of Jain occupation consists of two adjacent caves. The largest, or main cave, contains approximately 30 to 35 beds and the second is located further back along the same rock terrace, and contains between 1 and 3 beds (Maps 6.8, 6.9). The openings of both caves face southwest with clear views of Thidiyan hill to the west and Tirupparankundram to the south. Although Samanar Malai and Vikkiramangalam are the sites closest to Perumal Malai, they are not directly visible from the cave opening. They are, however, easily visible from the summit of the hill, which also provides 360-degree views of all the hills within 20-30 km.

[63] This measurement represents the distance from the southeast end of Perumal Malai to the northwest end of Samanar Malai. In comparison, Perumal Malai is approximately 4 km away from Kongarpuliyankulam.

The 30 to 38 rock cut beds of Perumal Malai are spread across an area of approximately 460 m^2. Conceptually, the site can be divided into five parts. The first (not visible on the map) is located in the northern corner of the cave. One passes by this area when entering the cave from the north and before climbing through the second area on the western side of the cave. This area is filled with sediment and it was only after clearing away some of the sediment with brushes, that we were able to identify a rectilinear prepared surface, resembling rock-cut beds. [Photo 6.44]



Map 6.7 Perumalai Main Cave



Map 6.8 Perumal Malai Back Cave

The second area is located on the incline as one enters the larger area of the main cave. Here, there is a row of three beds cut deep into the rock with two rows of postholes running lengthwise. [Photos 6.45, 6.46] Given the proximity of these beds to the cave's mouth, they would have required some kind of protection from the sun, wind, and rain. Therefore, it is likely that these post holes supported some kind of organic superstructure, e.g. a wall or curtain of woven palms.

The third area, the main part of the cave, is the largest and contains approximately 24 beds. These beds occur singly and in groups of 2 to 7. The largest group of 7 beds lies partially outside of the drip-ledge and consists of 6 beds that are each approximately 40 cm wide and over 100 cm long, followed by 1 large bed that is about 100 cm wide.

A fourth area is located well beyond the edge of the cave, approximately 3 m away from the coverage of the drip-ledge. Here, there is a single group of 2 beds. I could not identify any post holes in the immediate vicinity of these beds. However, I think it is unlikely that these beds were exposed to the elements. Their distance from the cave suggests that either they were part of another expansion project that was halted before the rest of the beds had been carved, or that there was something significant about the individuals associated with these beds, such that they slept apart from the rest of the monks. In any case, due to their distance from the main cave, I hypothesize that these beds were the last to be carved.

The second or back cave (Map 6.8), located immediately next to the main cave on the northeast side, may be considered a fifth area of occupation. This cave has a vaulted ceiling, formed by the junction of two large boulders, and no drip-ledge. The inside of this cave is covered in sediment with a few large boulders near the mouth [Photo 6.47]. One of these boulders is approximately 2 m long by 0.5 m. wide and been crafted into a rock-cut bed with a

'pillow'. This boulder bears one of the three Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at the site (see discussion below). Because of the sediment, it was not possible to discern if there were any other beds in this cave.

6.5.3.1.a. Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

There are three Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Perumal Malai.[64] One of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions is engraved below the drip-ledge of the main cave and occurs in three segments: cai-ya-a-ḷa-n̲a / vi-na-tai-ū-ra / kā-vi-ya. [Photo 6.48] It should be noted that there is a large gap between the second and third segments and the letters of each segment are different sizes. That is, the letters of the first segment (Caiyaḷan̲) are significantly larger than those of the second segment (Vintaiyūr), which is located above and to the right of it, and the letters of the third segment (*kaviya*) are larger than those of the second segment, but still smaller than those of the first. It is clear from the composition that the first and third segment were likely carved around the same time, with the meaning "The cave (*kevi* or *gavi*)[65] of Caiyaḷan̲." Later, "Vintaiyūr" was added. Because there was no room on the rock for it to precede the name (the grammatically correct location) it was written above and slightly to the right of it [Photo 6.49].

The second Tamil-Brahmi inscription is located above a group of 7 beds at the edge of the main cave. The "pillows" of these beds are located beneath the drip-ledge, while the lower parts are located outside it. The inscription is located inside the cave, above the pillows, stretching across approximately 3 of the 7 beds. It is fragmentary, as parts of the granite surface upon which it is engraved have weathered and flaked off. What remains appears to be: ti-ṭi-ka-

[64] (As Muttuppaṭṭi) ARE 243/1963-64, 58-61/1910; Mahadevan 1968, Nos. 52-54; Mahadevan 2003, Nos. 56-58. Mahalingam 1967:267-71.
[65] The characters for kā and kē are mirror images of one another, and it is possible that the engraver wrote the character with the line on the wrong side.

kā-ta-tā-n̲a-ma / break / n̲a-ma-ē-ya / break. I propose a new translation for this inscription: "[This canopy/roof] was thatched by Kāttān̲ of Tiṭi[yan̲] (Tiṭi-k-Kāttān̲ m[…]n̲ *mēy*)."[66] The name of this individual is particularly significant, as Thidiyan (Tiṭiyan̲) Malai is one of the most prominent features on the landscape, and is visible from five of the six caves in the survey region (Samanar Malai, Perumal Malai, Kongarpuliyankulam, Vikkiramangalam, and Mettuppatti). It is likely that the Tiṭi in Kāṭṭan̲'s name refers to Thidiyan. Based on the various postholes located along the rock terrace, I hypothesize that these beds were carved later than those located in the interior of the cave, as part of an expansion project. This expansion included carving more beds, and to cover these beds, the installation of an organic superstructure supported by wooden posts. This organic canopy would have expanded the living area around the cave. I also hypothesize that this expansion occurred after the carving of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions under the drip-ledge, discussed above. That this may be true, is affirmed by several large circular impressions, about the diameter of a tree trunk, located underneath the drip-ledge and along the southern side of the cave. [Photo 6.49, 6.50] One of these impressions is located directly above the Tamil-Brahmi inscription of Caiyaḷan̲. If these impressions were sockets to hold in place large poles that supported organic covering over the mouth of the cave, then this inscription would not have been visible from outside the cave. Inscriptions are meant to be seen, and therefore, it makes more sense that this inscription was carved prior to the installation of architecture that would have obstructed it. Thus, I propose that the Tamil-Brahmi inscription of Kāttān̲ caved above the beds is later than the one under the drip-ledge and is associated with a different period of construction and expansion of the Jain monastery at Perumal Malai.

[66] See Appendix A for a discussion of this translation.

The third Tamil-Brahmi inscription at Perumal Malai is located in a smaller cave, next to the main cave on its southern side. It is located on an oblong boulder whose surface has been shaped to look like a bed with a raised pillow. The boulder glistens from natural polish[67] and bears an inscription, carved upside down, along the side facing the cave opening. The inscription reads: "Nākaperūr ataiya Muciṟi Koṭaṉ eḷamakaṉ," which I have translated as "The young son of Koṭan from Muciṟi, who is the a(n)tai of Nākaperūr."[68] The boulder on which this inscription has been engraved has been modified into a bed. The boulder is oblong, laying perpendicular to the entrance of the cave, and the pillow of the bed is located on the southern end of the boulder. As discussed in Chapter 2, the inscription was likely carved upside down so that a Jain monk reclining or sitting on the bed and looking downward would be able to read it. For a donor, merit was not only accrued through the singular act of donating funds for the creation of the monastery, but continuously accrued each time the Jain monks read their name. However, this inscription is particularly difficult to read because of the uneven and bumpy surface of the rock. [Photo 6.51] Thus, I hypothesize that such inscriptions were not only carved into the rock, but may have also been highlighted through lime plaster or pigment.[69]

In the immediate vicinity of the Jain beds, there are numerous channels meant for the diversion of rainwater away from the beds. There is also a natural channel in front of the cave that is covered or protected by boulders. One of these boulders appears to have been purposefully

[67] Many scholars have incorrectly suggested that the various polished beds at Jain sites in Tamil Nadu were purposefully polished by the early Jain inhabitants. That this is certainly not the case is proven from the fact that this polish exists only on some beds, particularly places where local villagers congregate for daily card games or tourists sit.

[68] For more about the use of antai as an honorific, see Chapter 2. this translation differs from that of Mahadevan, who considers Nākapērūr antai and Muciṟi Kōṭaṉ *eḷamakaṉ* as two separate people and the term *eḷamakaṉ* as a martial title of an ancient clan. See Appendix A and Mahadevan, 395; 586-87.

[69] Remnants of plaster and pigment are still visible on medieval Jain stone relief images at other sites around Madurai, such as Yanaimalai and Kilakuyilkudi.

placed there, as it is supported by a short cylindrical stone column. [Photo 6.52, 6.53] At the base of the hill immediately below the beds is a small rock pond that has been reinforced with cobbles around the edges [Photo 6.54]. It is possible that water bodies like these may have supplied the monks with fresh drinking water.

Overall, the caves at Perumal Malai could have housed around 40+ monks. The post holes located along the edges of the cave and the impressions visible on the brow of the cave indicate that there were organic canopies and walls extending the area of the monastery beyond the mouth of the cave. Post holes located inside the cave, in two instances along the sides of rock-cut beds, suggest that there may have also been interior walls and divisions of space.

6.5.3.2. Known Jain vestiges at Perumal Malai

The main cave at Perumal Malai bears two relief images of jinas accompanied by Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions, and one free-standing relief sculpture of a jina. The relief images are carved on the brow of the main cave and appear nearly identical [Photo 6.55]. The jina is crowned with a triple umbrella and seated atop a lion throne. In the background is the Ashoka tree and two attendants with fly whisks. The inscriptions below the images indicate that disciples of Kuṟaṇṭi Ashṭōpavāśi bhaṭāra were responsible for their carving.[70] The free-standing sculpture, carved from basalt, is damaged (with the upper right corner missing), and has been cemented atop a rectangular granite pedestal [Photo 6.56]. The pedestal appears out of place in its current location, as it obstructs a number of rock-cut beds. While the granite of the stone pedestal matches that of the surrounding hill, the basalt is not from the immediate area. Stylistically, the image is similar to those carved on the brow of the cave, but the throne of the jina is more ornate, with makaras and lions. I

[70] Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam, 186-87. Nos. 247-248. ARE 61-62/1910.

estimate that this statue is several centuries later than the relief images, perhaps c. 12th-14th century. Clearly, its present location was not its original provenience, but it is not possible to determine whether the image was originally installed in a temple that existed elsewhere on the hill or whether it was brought to Perumal Malai from a more distant location.

6.5.3.3. Surface Features and Structures at Perumal Malai

Much of the surface of Perumal Malai has been ravaged by modern quarrying. Even the original paths leading up to the summit of the hill are gone. The current routes inevitably involve climbing up freshly cut rock faces. Quarry ponds, i.e. ponds created from the removal of rock due to quarrying, are found along the hill terraces and around the base of the hill. The most significant feature is a canyon that has been carved through the center of the hill due to quarrying [Photo 6.57]. Thus, aside from the Jain beds, little remains that can be dated to the Early Historic period. The medieval remains include a small shrine at the summit of the hill, which currently houses some naga statues, and a modified rock pond located adjacent to it [Photo 6.58].

6.5.3.3.a. Water catchment features

It is likely that similar to other hills in the survey region, the summit of Perumal Malai was once covered in a number of rock pools and modified rock pools for the collection of rain water. However, due to the damage to the hill from modern quarrying, it is not possible to say more than this. Today, only a few such pools remain.

6.5.3.3.b. Other caves and rock shelters

In the area immediately adjacent to the Jain caves, i.e. the area that has not been subject to heavy quarrying, there are a number of additional rock shelters. However, aside from their form, there were no artifacts or other features to indicate that they had been inhabited or were in use during the Early Historic period.

6.5.4. Kongarpuliyankulam

Kongarpuliyankulam (9.946033 N, 77.988651 E) is located southwest of the Nagamalai hill range between Perumal Malai and Vikkiramangalam and is approximately 14.5 km west/northwest from Madurai [Photo 6.59]. It is one of the shortest hills in the survey region, with a maximum height of 225m above sea level at its summit and rising only 18 m above the surrounding plain. The hill measures approximately 1 km long and 0.15 km wide, although the length is somewhat arbitrary because the rocks that form this hill formation continue to rise and fall sporadically in the space between Kongarpuliyankulam and Vikkiramangalam. Notably, Kongarpuliyankulam is located approximately 4.5 km southwest of a hill pass through the Nagamalai Range, today marked by Sholavandan Road / Thirumangalam-Pallapatti Road. The hill was visited, mapped, and/or surveyed over a total of 11 days, resulting in a total of 181 waypoints, 10 transects, and 29 collections.

6.5.4.1. Jain caves at Kongarpuliyankulam

The southwest face of Kongarpuliyankulam hill (aka Perumaāḷkōvilmalai due to the Vishnu temple located at the summit) has a series of modified caves on the upper and lower terraces

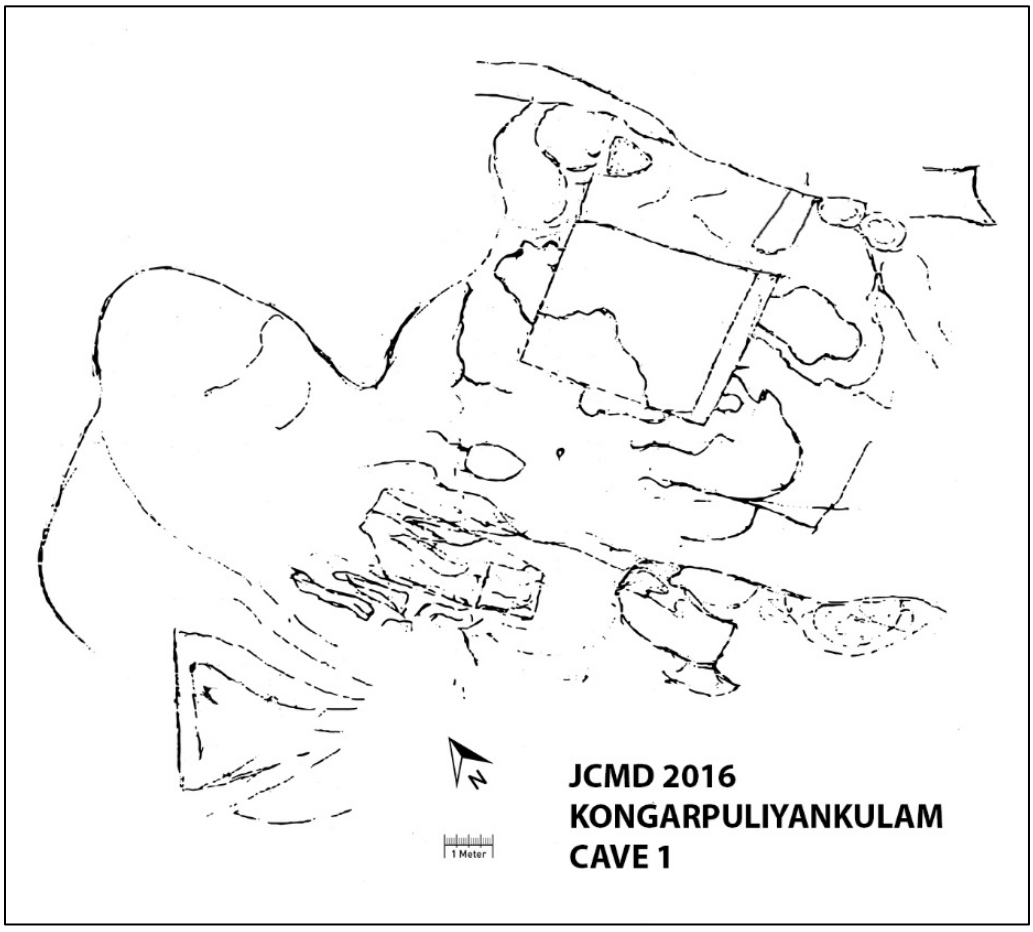
(upper: 9.9456 N, 77.9887 E, 210.7 m; lower: 9.9457 N, 77.9879 E, 186.3 m).[71] All of the caves face due west, with very clear views of the hills at Thidiyan and Usilampatti [Photo 6.60]. At the summit it is possible to gaze north and see Vikkiramangalam and to gaze south and southeast to see Perumal Malai, Samanar Malai, Tirupparankundram, Yannaimalai and Alagarmalai. The most well-known caves at the site are located on the upper terrace. One has 3 Tamil Brahmi inscriptions engraved on the brow and the other contains a large number of rock-cut beds, but no inscriptions. In surveying and mapping the area, we discovered many new beds, as well as some new caves. The main cave, which contains approximately 68 rock-cut beds, was designated Cave 3 after discovering two caves to the north of it, and a subsequent two caves to the south along the same hill terrace.

In total, there are 5 caverns, which are all part of the same cave complex on the upper terrace, and another group of 2-3 caves located on the lower terrace of the hill. The caves on the upper terrace have been modified with the addition of drip-ledges, channels for diverting water, beds, and Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. The caves on the lower terrace lack drip-ledges, although one of the caves has 2 beds in it. Overall, the caves at Kongarpuliyankulam have between 78 to 80 rock-cut beds in total. [Photo 6.61, 6.62] Because each of the caves is somewhat unique in location, architectural features, number of beds, and inscriptions, I have outlined these features by cave below.

[71] Ekambaranathan also notes the existence of "eight caverns" at Kongarpuliyankulam. However, it is difficult to discern from his description how his eight caves map onto our own. He notes the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and that "[s]ituated below this solitary cave are the remaining caverns." The numbers of beds he gives for these caves are 6, 10, 6, 8, 4, 3, 6, respectively – 43 beds in total. Ekambaranathan, 7. Other analyses of the site have listed the total number of beds at 30 (Owen.) and 50 (Śrītar et al., 28.).

6.5.4.1.a. Cave 1

Cave 1 (9.9461 N, 77.9877 E, 220.5 m) is the first cave in the series of caverns located along one of the upper terraces of Kongarpuliyankulam hill on the southwest side [Photo 6.63]. The cave contains two beds oriented along the slope with the 'pillows' at the higher end of the cave (Map 6.9). One bed is approximately 2 m square, while the other is 2 m x 0.6 cm. At the lower end of the cave we discovered evidence of cooking, indicated by thick layers of black soot on the ceiling. Because this cave is located at some distance from the other group of caves (Nos. 2-5) and because it does not have a drip-ledge or any inscriptions, it is difficult to determine its date and relation to the other Jain caves.



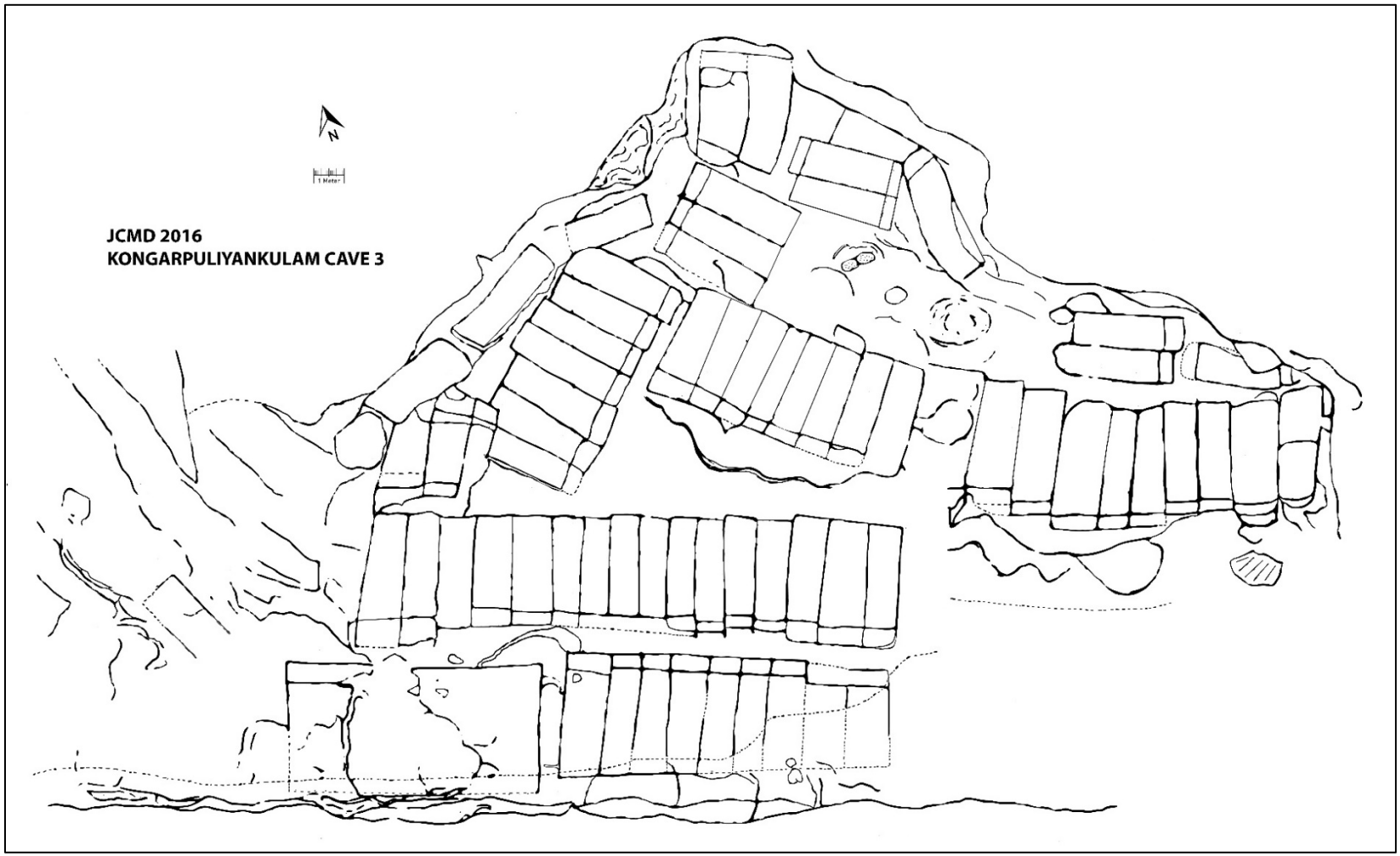
Map 6.9 Kongarpuliyankulam Cave 1

6.5.4.1.b. Cave 2

Cave 2 (9.9459 N, 77.9883 E, 209 m) is located immediately to the left of Cave 3. There is a slight incline, with the higher end of the cave located close to Cave 3 [Photo 6.64]. On the upper end of the cave the floor is dotted with 15-20 small pits. It is not clear whether these formed naturally from weathering. Given that the rock surface is identical to the rest of the caverns and none of the other caves exhibit these pits, it is likely that humans played some part in their creation. Today, these pits fill up with water after the rain [Photo 6.65], but if left uncovered in the summer heat, this water will evaporate over the course of 1-2 days. If these pits were used in the ancient past, it is likely that they were for storage of things other than water and would have had to have been covered or additional means would have had to have been taken to prevent them from filling with water during the monsoon season. Further down the slope the height of the ceiling becomes shallower and there are outlines of several beds visible along the mouth of the cave and in the interior [Photo 6.66]. Much of the interior is presently covered with light sediment. Cleaning and excavation of this cave would help to clarify its relationship to the others.

6.5.4.1.c. Cave 3

Cave 3 (9.9458 N, 77.9885 E, 209.4 m) is the largest of the group and contains approximately 68 rock-cut beds (Map 6.10). The beds are aligned in rows [Photos 6.61 and 6.62]. The first row, located closest to the mouth of the cave, begins with a large bed or delineated rectilinear space of approximately 4 m x 2 m (this may be two spaces, the first approximately 2 m x 2 m and the second 2 m x 2 m). This is followed by a row of 9 beds, each approximately 0.5 m x 1.75 m. The next row consists of 16 beds, approximately 0.5 m x 1.75 m.



Map 6.10 Kongarpuliyankulam Cave 3. Dotted line indicates location of drip-ledge

Most of the beds in the cave vary between 0.5 to 0.6 m in width, 1.75 to 2 m in length, and have pillows that are approximately 25 cm x 50 cm.

The next row runs north-south along the western side of the cave and consists of 7 beds. Adjacent to this is another row that runs east-west and consists of 8 beds, followed by a gap, and then another 9 beds. Notably, one of the beds in this group has a series of three elevated pillows that are somewhat crescent-shaped, similar to the triple-umbrella that appears over the heads of tīrthaṅkaras in Jain iconography [Photo 6.67]. In addition to these larger groups, beds have also been carved around the edges of the cave singly and in small groups of 2 to 3 beds. On the northeast corner of the cave, which is presently covered in sediment, we discovered a brick wall as well as evidence of even more beds [Photo 6.68]. The organization of the beds in neat rows in Cave 3 suggests that even in the initial stages, this monastery was built to hold at least 20+ monks, and that over time it continued to grow with more beds added to the initial rows and at later stages, carved in what space remained around the edges of the cave. Overall, the organization of the beds indicates the continued growth of this site over time.

Given the number of beds in this cave, it seems strange that there are no Tamil Brahmi inscriptions. The cave has been damaged by modern visitors who have engraved their own names and other things into the beds and pillows in modern Tamil script. It is possible at one time that there may have been some inscriptions, but those may be obscured by the modern graffiti.

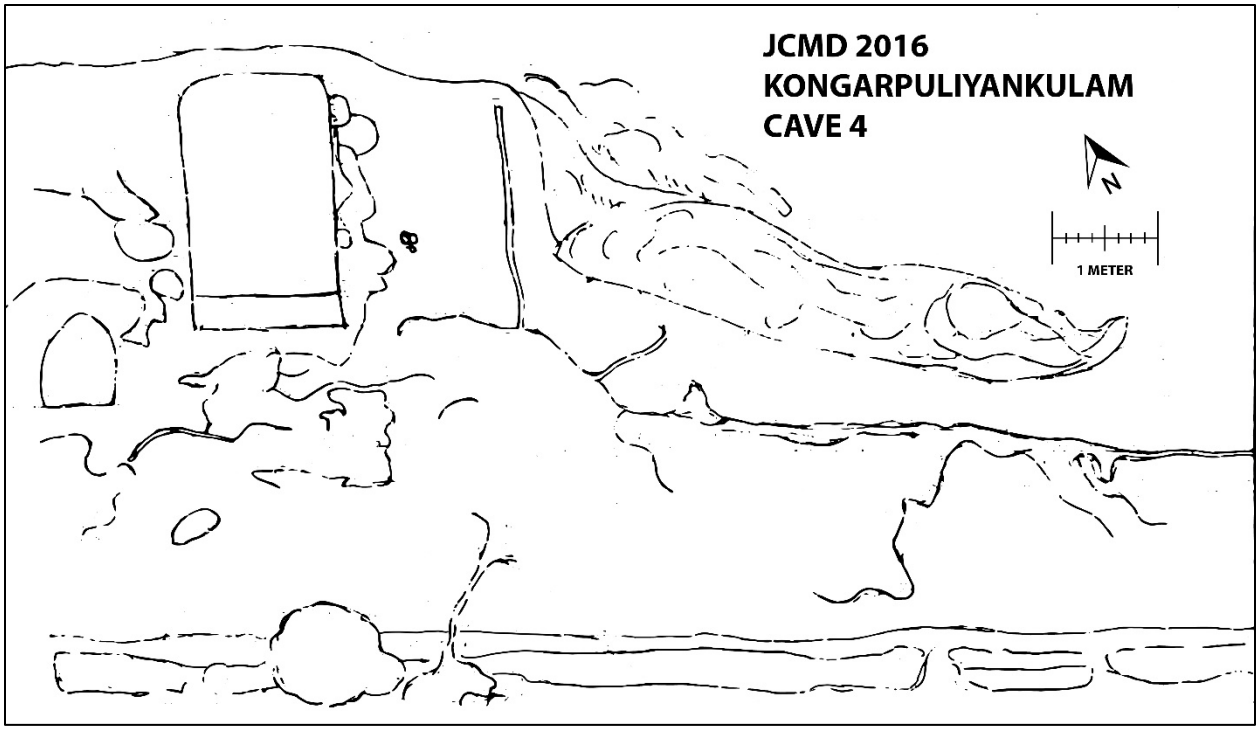
I believe that the ceramics we found in the channel near the mouth of the cave, some of which date to the Early Historic period, are from this cave and that the sediment that is presently in the channel is the result of the initial excavation/cleaning of this cave by the ASI many

decades ago. More intensive exploration and excavation of this cave is recommended for further research.

6.5.4.1.d. Cave 4

Cave 4 is not much of a cave at all, with a depth of less than 3 m (Map 6.11). The rockface that forms the brows of Caves 2 and 3 recedes, and the space underneath the overhand is quite shallow. However, it is the brow of Cave 4 that bears the 3 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (see discussion below). Aside from the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, the cave contains a single bed measuring approximately 1.5 m x 2 m with a 25 cm raised pillow. Next to the bed are 3 circular shallow pits on the left-hand side [Photos 6.69 and 6.70]. This large bed had been obscured by a shallow layer of sediment and covered by a large cobble, which had broken off from the rock above. To the right of this bed, we discovered a symbol that resembles a bow and arrow (Fig. 6.3). A similar symbol appears in association with a Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription at Sittannavasal, dated to the 5th century.[72] Next to the inscription at Sittannavasal, Mahadevan noticed "faint traces of an earlier(?) layer of inscriptions seen to the left of [this inscription]."[73] This might explain the strange placement of the bow and arrow in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription at Sittannavasal; it likely pre-dates the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription by several centuries and is part of what Mahadevan identified an obscured layer of earlier inscriptions. This earlier layer, then, likely dates to the Early Historic period. In any case, the appearance of this bow-like symbol at Kongarpuliyankulam in association a large bed located below three prominent Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, which also bear symbols that resemble bows, is certainly something worthy of further study.

[72] Mahadevan, 206-07; 450-51, No. 101.
[73] Ibid., 451.



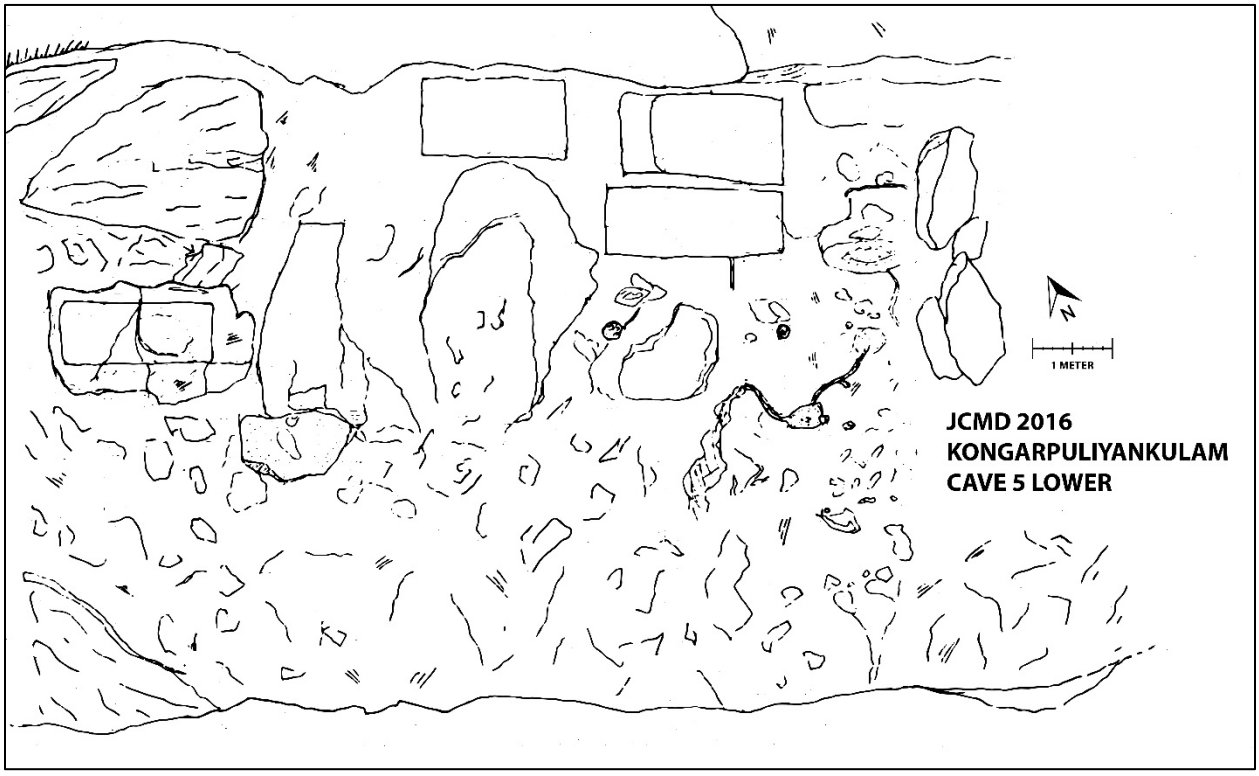
Map 6.11 Cave 4 at Kongarpuliyankulam with bed and symbol



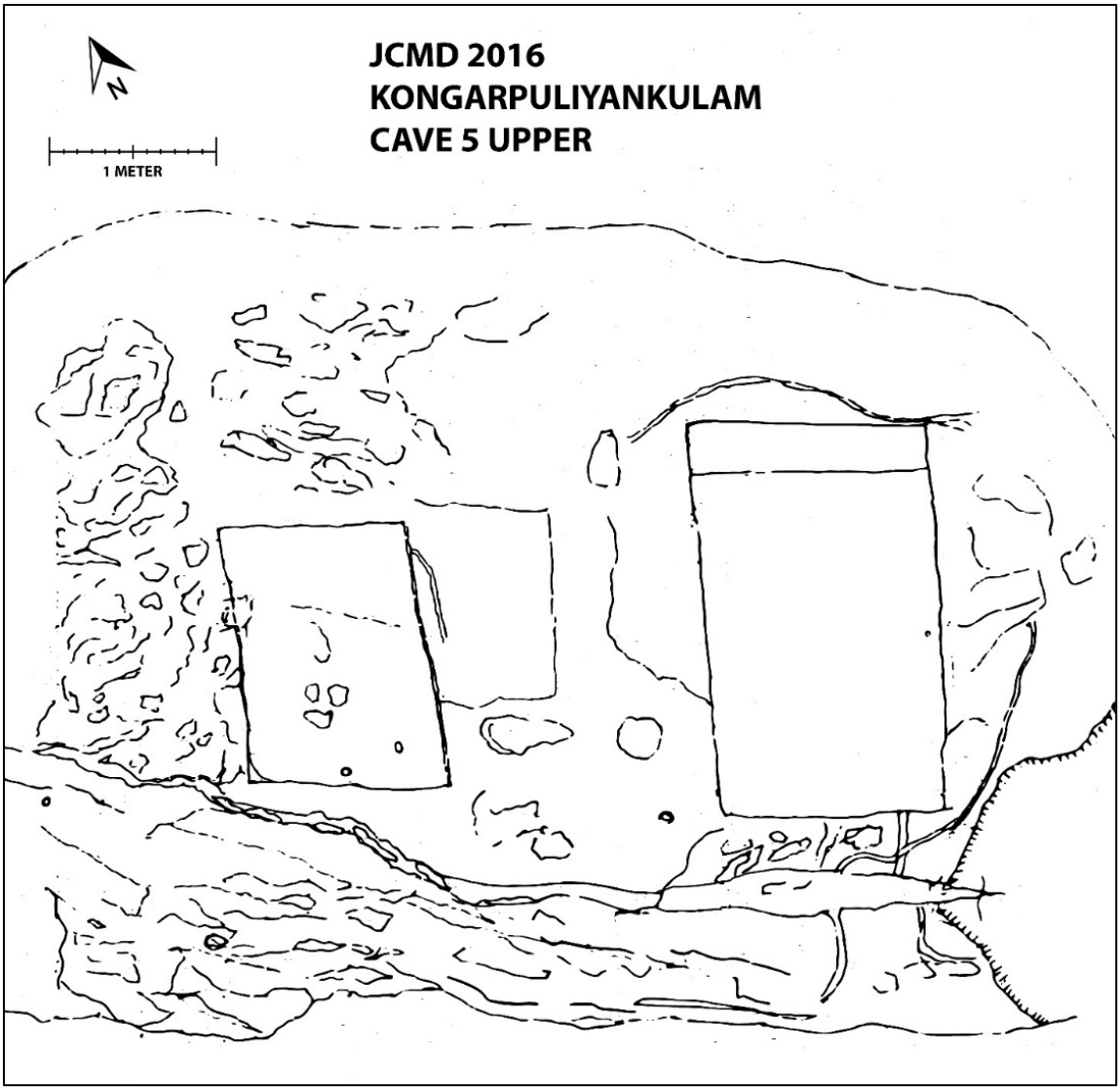
Figure 6.3 Symbol next to rock-cut bed in Cave 4 at Kongarpuliyankulam.
L-R:estampage, photo, tracing.

6.5.4.1.e. Cave 5

Cave 5 is located to the right of Cave 4 and consists of an upper and lower section. The lower part of Cave 5 is not a cave at all, as by this point the rock face that had formed the brow of Caves 1 through 3 (and Cave 4) is now flush with the rock face (Map 6.12). Therefore, this area is completely exposed. Still, there are beds here. One bed is located atop a boulder about 2 m high. [Photo 6.71] On the sheet rock there are 3 rectilinear features, which may be beds. Each of these features is approximately 1 m x 2 m. One of these features has a channel that helps to drain water out of it. Three circular post holes suggest that this lower area was once covered by some sort of organic superstructure.



Map 6.12 Lower part of Cave 5 at Kongarpuliyankulam



Map 6.13 Upper part of Cave 5 at Kongarpuliyankulam

The upper portion of Cave 5 is indeed a cave, approximately 6 m deep (Map 6.13). The ceiling of the cave is high enough in some places to stand. Inside the cave is a large bed, approximately 2.2 m x 3.5 m with a pillow about 40 cm deep [Photo 6.72]. To the left of this bed is a rectangular feature approximately 1.65 m x 2.25 m. Because it lacks a 'pillow' it is unclear whether this was meant to be another bed, or whether this area was set aside for other purposes. There is a natural channel that runs lengthwise along the mouth of the upper cave and a number of man-made channels running into it for the diversion of rain water. Several square sockets or

postholes are also located along the mouth of the cave. [Photo 6.73] It is likely that these sockets would have held branches or timbers. Given their orientation, it is possible that they formed a wall, blocking off the front of the upper cave. It is also possible that these posts articulated with whatever organic superstructure protected the area in front of the lower part of Cave 5.

6.5.4.1.f. Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions

A total of 3 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions have been discovered at Kongarpuliyankulam, all carved on the brow of Cave 4 below the drip-ledge.[74] Interestingly, Cave 4 is only 3 m or so deep, and the mouth of the cave is low, less than 2 m above the rock floor. Thus, the inscriptions have been engraved at roughly eye-level.

The first inscription, beginning at the left end of the series states that Uppaṟuvaṉ, a lay devotee (*upācāṉ ~ upācākaṉ*), donated one of the drip-ledges at Kongarpuliyankulam: "Lay devotee Uppaṟuvan is he who gave [this] section (*kuṟu*)."[75] While examining the following inscription, I identified a merchant guild symbol occurring immediately before the first character (Fig. 6.4). This symbol is one variant of a group of symbols that have been discovered in other Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions in stone and on pottery.[76] Due to their shape and orientation, such symbols, to me, appear like bows (with the bowstring either missing or implied). Such symbols occur in greatest number at Alagarmalai, where there are eight, each primarily occurring after a name.[77] Depending upon the interpretation of the second letter as ṟu or ṭai, the inscription may read: "[$] [This] cave (*pōṉ*) is the one for which Ceṟātaṉ is the one who gave for the carving of the section [$ $]" or "[$] [This] cave is the one for which Ceṟātaṉ is the one who gave for the

[74] ARE 55-57/1910; Mahadevan 1968, No. 11; Mahadevan 2003, No. 12. Mahalingam 1967: 230-231.
[75] ku-ṟu-kō-ṭu-pi-tā-vā-ṉ ū-pā-cā-a-ṉ ū-pā-ṟu-vā [ṉ]. Unless otherwise specified, all translations are my own. See Appendix A.
[76] See Mahadevan, 205-07; Fig. 5.11. See also Clarence Thomas Maloney, "The Effect of Early Coastal Sea Traffic on the Development of Civilization in South India" (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1969), 90.
[77] See Mahadevan, Nos. 36-48. In addition to the new symbols discovered at Kongarpuliyankulam, trade guild symbols were also identified before some of the names in the inscriptions at Mettupatti as well.

bending/construction of the canopy [$ $].” I am also undecided between two translation for the third inscription as well, which may read “Pērātaṉ Piṭaṉ of Pākaṉūr (place) thatched (*vēy*-) this,” or “[This] cave was given by Pērātaṉ Piṭaṉ of Pākaṉūr.”

Many of the earlier translations of these inscription identified the object of donation as a canopy rather than the drip-ledge or section (*kuṟu/kuṟa/kuṟai*, ‘cutting’).[78] This earlier interpretation seems to make the most sense to me, given the mediocre drip-ledge upon which these inscriptions are engraved.[79] However, it is also possible that the sections to which these inscriptions refer are those located on the brows of the adjacent caves or that ‘cutting’ refers more generally to the cave itself the beds within (e.g. the many beds within Cave 3). Notably, there are no known inscriptions in Cave 3, not upon any of the beds, nor above or below the drip-ledge. The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions in Cave 4 may have been placed there precisely due to their visibility and the association of this space with a head monk, as suggested by the over-sized bed in the center, as well as the elevated bed upon a boulder in the adjacent Lower Cave 5.



Figure 6.4 Trade guild symbol in front of Tamil-Brahmi inscription No. 1 at Kongarpuliyankulam L-R: estampage, chalk, water, tracing.

[78] ARE 55/1910; Mahalingam, 224-25; Mahadevan, 1968, 61. Cf. Mahadevan, 2003, 334; 555-556.
[79] Because the drip-ledge in Cave 4 is somewhat less effective than the one located above Cave 3, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) has installed a metal canopy attached to the rock with metal supports and cement to protect the inscriptions from further weathering.

Overall, the Jain caves at Kongarpuliyankulam could have provided living accommodations for approximately 70 to 100+ Jain monks. The distribution of beds across the various caves and the different sizes of the beds could indicate differences in the use of these spaces and/or hierarchical differences between the people who occupied them. In particular, the large beds located on the upper level of Cave 5, the elevated bed carved atop a boulder on the southwest side of the lower level of Cave 5, and the large bed accompanied by an engraved symbol in Cave 4 may have been reserved for higher status monks. Within the caves, particularly Caves 3 and 5, there are narrow channels for diverting rainwater as well as shallow depressions that today collected pooled rainwater. It is not clear whether this was their original purpose, or whether they have formed naturally from weathering of the rock over the last two thousand years.

Moreover, as indicated in Map 6.10, about 10 beds have edges located outside the drip-ledge. Like the beds at Perumal Malai, it is unlikely that these remained uncovered. Instead, it is likely that there was some kind of organic superstructure or canopy extending outward from the brow of the cave to the edge of the terrace. There is a channel running lengthwise along the edge of the terrace (also visible in Map 6.10) that could have held large timbers. Today this channel is filled with debris from the caves, including sherds of modern, medieval, and Early Historic period ceramics.

While the close proximity of the beds in Caves 3, 4, and 5 and the Tamil-Brahmi inscription in Cave 4 suggests that these caves, and the beds they contain, were occupied during the Early Historic period, it is more difficult to confirm this for the other caves. For example, Cave 1, which contains two large beds with raised pillows, lacks the distinct chiseled drip-ledge characteristic of the other Early Historic Jain caves. In addition, the cave on the lower terrace

with 2 small beds lacks any drip-ledge. The variety of religious images and shrines located at Kongarpuliyankulam attest to its importance to both Jain and Vedic traditions. It is possible that those caves are from different times, or are contemporary but associated with different groups, or that they were used for different functions (such as cooking, housing guests and travelers, etc.).

6.5.4.2. Other Known Jain vestiges at Kongarpuliyankulam

Approximately 30 m northwest of the caves, carved into the face of the same rock formation, is a giant image of an enthroned jina with a triple-umbrella seated under an Ashoka tree [Photo 6.74]. The jina is flanked by two attendants with fly whisks. The image has eroded so that it is not possible to make out the faces of the individuals, nor is it possible to identify any symbols on the throne to indicate which jina this is. The attendant on the right appears to be female and the attendant on the left male. Below the image is an inscription in Vaṭṭeḻuttu, of which only the first character is clearly visible: Śṛī. According to earlier publications, the full inscriptions reads "Śṛī Ajjanandi," and is dated c. 9th century CE.[80] Above the image is a row of 8 square post holes that would have held beams to support a canopy to protect the image from water damage and weathering. With the canopy no longer extant, the image is slowly being erased by the elements.

6.5.4.3. Surface Features and Structures at Kongarpuliyankulam

6.5.4.3.a. Rock-cut stairs

There are several series of rock-cut stairs located on the southwestern face of the hill leading up to the summit. However, given their shape, and the destination – a Vijayanagara period Vaiṣnava

[80] ARE 54/1910; ES No. 236, p. 176.

shrine, these likely date to the late medieval.[81] No Early Historic rock cut stairs, akin to those seen at Tirupparankundram or Alagarmalai were identified.

6.5.4.3.b. Water catchment features

There are 20-30 shallow rock pools scattered along the rock terraces and the summit of the hill ranging from 5 to 20 cm in depth. While many of these rock pools appear natural, several show signs of human intervention, such as chisel marks around the edges. Even in late July, prior to the beginning of the monsoon season, many of these pools were filled with water [Photo 6.75]. In addition to these small pools, there were also a number of longer and larger rock ponds located at the base of escarpments. All of these are today filled with sediment and dense green vegetation. The exterior perimeters are lined with large cobbles [Photo 6.76]. Lastly, at the base of the hill, a circular, partially buried, rock wall suggests that this used to be the site of some kind of well. Another rock pond was discovered on the northeastern side of the hill, now overgrown with vegetation and moss.

There are also 2 very large modified rock ponds located at the base of Kongarpuliyankulam hill. The first is located next to the modern Viṣnu temple and measures approximately 8 m long and 4 m wide [Photo 6.77]. The second one is located further north and measures approximately 35 m long and 8 m wide [Photo 6.78]. On the terrace above this pond is a rock shelter that has been partially destroyed by modern quarrying. It has a rough drip-ledge and the floor has some channels carved in the shape of a square, but no identifiable beds.

[81] Notably, this shrine is surrounded by a combination of circular and square post holes, which suggest that it is located atop the site of some earlier structure.

6.5.4.3.c. Other caves and rock shelters

Kongarpuliyankulam hill extends in a northwesterly direction and is dotted on both sides by small natural caverns. However, much of the backside of the hill has been completely removed due to quarrying [Photo 6.79]. Some of these caverns, like the ones bearing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, have been modified with drip-ledges, or the carving of beds, or have curved archways lined with thick layers of black soot from cooking fires. Many of these caverns are used today by the local villagers as afternoon gathering spots for cards. One cave has been converted into a Viṣnu temple (Aruḷmiku Māyaṉ Kōvil), and another cave has been converted into a Śaivite temple with the idol of a local goddess inside.

Of particular note are a series of three, hollow, interconnected chambers on the lower terrace of the hill [Photo 6.80]. After cleaning the one on the far right, we discovered 2 rock cut beds inside [Photo 6.81]. This cave is very shallow in height, about 1 m. Enough for someone to sit upright, but not much else. None of these caves had drip-ledges or inscriptions. In front of these caves was a rock pond, whose bottom was currently lined with green moss [Photo 6.82]. Another set of adjacent caves are located further north, also on the west side of the hill close to the base. These caves are slightly larger, and their interiors have what appear to be rock cut beds or channels. However, there are no drip-ledges along the outside. These particular caves are also located close to a water source, a deep channel that runs into a hollow chamber [Photos 6.83 and 6.84]. On the "back" or northeastern side of the hill, there are several caves that appear to have drip-ledges. One has a "staircase" to the summit, that is, it is possible to climb up the jagged boulders within the cave in order to emerge at the summit.[82]

[82] I watched several boys from K. Puliyankulam village climb the boulders in this cave to emerge at the top of the hill. Although I was also invited to climb the 'staircase', I did not, as it was past sunset and there was no longer any natural light left to guide my way up.

6.5.4.3.d. Walls and foundations

Near the southeast end of the hill, below a terrace, there are several rock revetment walls 10 to 14 courses high. On the northern half of the hill we identified several rock alignments of approximately 4 to 5 m long. Two of these alignments came together at a right angle, suggesting that this may represent the outline of some rectilinear structure [Photo 6.85]. On the southwest side of the hill, between the relief image of the jina and Cave 1 is an area with 3-4 small hollowed out chambers between 0.5 and 1 m in diameter. On the rock face high above these niches can be seen large impressions that used to hold posts [Photo 6.86]. It is likely that the area in front of these niches was covered and formed some kind of structure.

6.5.5. Vikkiramangalam

Vikkiramangalam (9.990966 N, 77.934093 E) is located 7.5 km north of Kongarpuliyankulam, 13.5 km south of Mettuppatti, and 21.5 km northwest of Madurai. Vikkiramangalam hill has often been described as two separate locations, with the northern portion of the hill referred to as Nadumudalaikulam. This name may come from the fact that although the hill is located directly off of Vikkiramangalam road, the villages to the immediate north and south of it are Naduvoor (Naṭuvūr) and Keelappatti (Kīḻappaṭṭi). The identification of this location as two hills may also stem from the fact that the hill has two peaks separated by an elevated terrace approximately 60 m wide.

It is also worth noting that Vikkiramangalam village, over 2 km north of the hill, is located at a hill pass through the Nagamalai range. During the Early Historic period, it is quite likely that Vikkiramangalam village developed as a result of the trade routes leading to Madurai, via the Vaigai River and next to the Nagamalai hill range. Thus, the location of the Jain

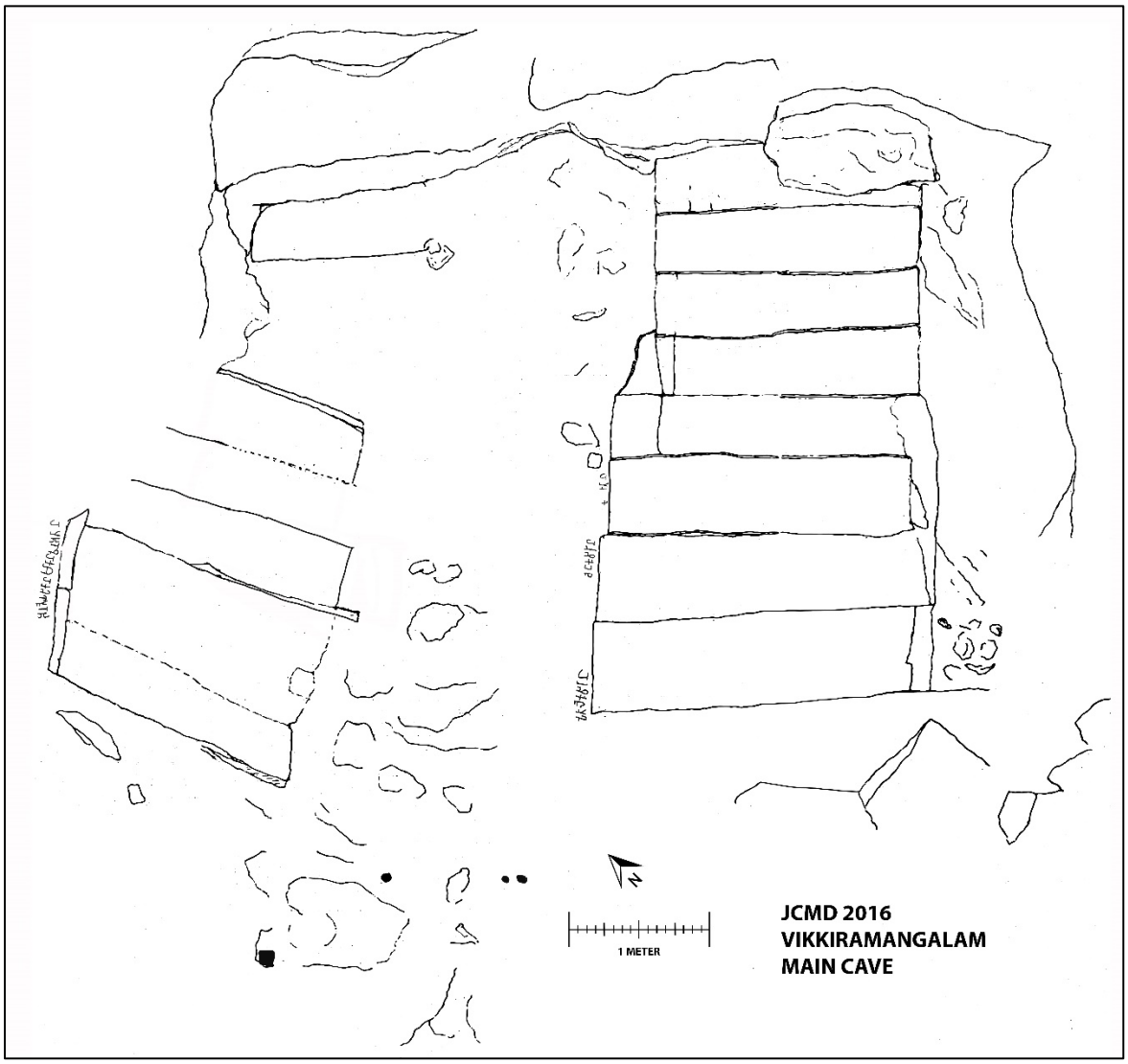
monastery at Vikkiramangalam hill would have benefited from the traffic of merchants and other travelers crossing through the hill pass at Vikkiramangalam village.

Vikkiramangalam hill is prominently visible on the landscape [Photo 6.87]. The summit of its southern peak is approximately 35 m above the surrounding plain (245 m above sea level). The base of the entire hill measures approximately 500 m long and 200 m wide. During the summer 2016 field season, the hill was visited, mapped, and/or surveyed over a total of 6 days, resulting in a total of 93 waypoints, 8 transects, and 9 collections. Of these, 18 waypoints, 2 transects, and 7 collections were conducted in the hill pass adjacent to Vikkiramangalam village. While the materials and features noted here cannot be definitively connected to the Jain monastery, they do confirm the importance of this area during the Early Historic period.

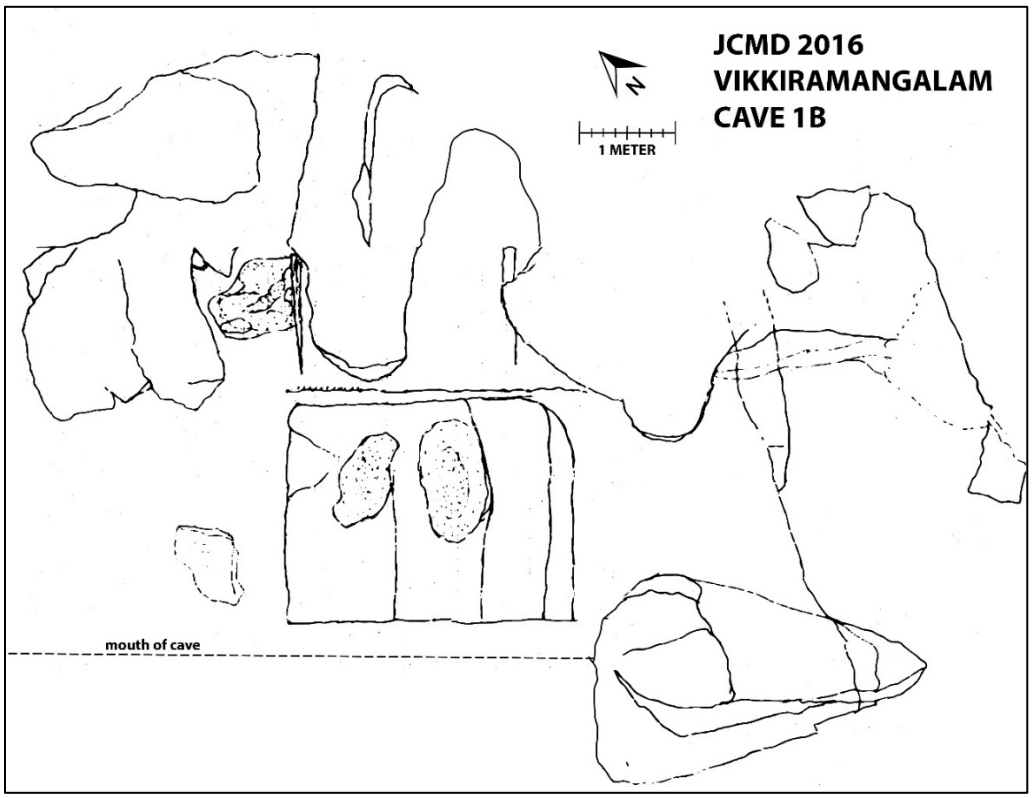
6.5.5.1. Jain caves at Vikkiramangalam

There are two caves bearing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Vikkiramangalam. The first cave is located on the southwest side of the hill and contains 14 beds and 5 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (9.9895 N, 77.9345 E, 234.8 m) (Map 6.14). The mouth of the cave faces southwest, with direct views of Thidiyan and Usilampatti hills, as well as Pothampatti hill and Ayothipatti hill. From the summit above the caves, it is possible to get 360-degree views with Samanar Malai and Tirupparankundram faintly visible in the far distance. To the left of the main cave are a series of smaller sub-caves that extend north along the rock terrace (Map 6.15). On the underside of an overhanging boulder at the beginning of these sub-caves is a Tamil-Brahmi inscription, and immediately next to this are 3 to 4 beds. The second major cave is located on the northern side of the hill on the southeastern side of the second summit (9.9913 N, 77.9340 E, 202.4 m), and has a single Tamil-Brahmi inscription carved over the doorway (Map 6.16). The cave itself is only 2 to

3 meters above ground level and is easily accessed via footholds cut into the rock. From the cave opening, not much is visible other than the southern peak of Vikkiramangalam hill and the base of the Nagarmalai hills.



Map 6.14 Vikkiramangalam main cave located on southern peak



Map 6.15 Cave adjacent to Vikkiramangalam main cave

6.5.5.1.a. Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions

Six of the seven Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Vikkiramangalam are located at the caves on the southern peak.[83] The main cave is formed between two large boulders. The boulder on the left has a pronounced overhang and a sharp drip-ledge [Photo 6.88], and the boulder on the right has a drip-ledge carved along the front and part of the side. On the face of the boulder to the left of the cave, underneath the overhang, is a Tamil-Brahmi inscription in large letters that reads: "Ci̲livan̲ Atan̲ of our village gave."[84]

Another inscription carved on the underside of a boulder to the left of the main cave is somewhat difficult to decipher. If we allow that the scribe made several errors in this inscription,

[83] ARE 285-6/1963-64; 621-23/1926; Mahadevan 1968, Nos. 13-17; Mahadevan 2003, Nos. 18-23.
[84] e-ma-ū-ra-ci-l̲i-vā-n̲a-a-tā-n̲a #

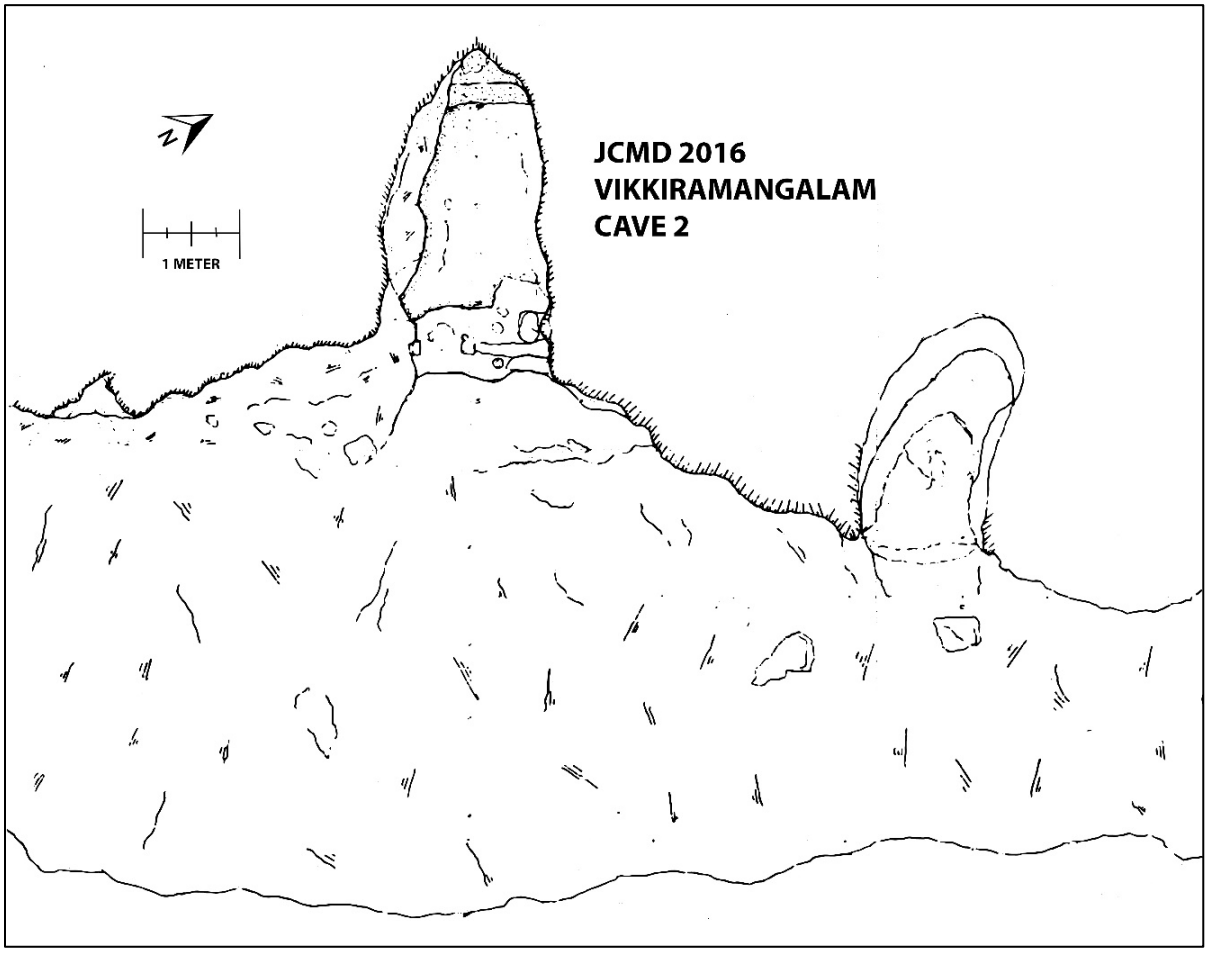
it may be read "Ariytaṉ of Eyil caused to be made."[85] The object of donation may be the series of sub-caves, the beds carved within them, or the large drip-ledge on a larger boulder above the one with the inscription [Photo 6.89].

Within the main cave there are 4 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions engraved at the heads of rock-cut beds. Three out of 4 of these inscriptions contain some version of the name Kuviraṉ (Kubera, the god of wealth) and the fourth contains the title *antai*. As discussed in Chapter 2, these names and titles may be indicative of merchant identities. One inscription, engraved above the second bed in a row of five beds on the left-hand side of the cave, reads "The gift (*tāṉa*) of Veṉ, son of Antai Pikāṉ."[86] This inscription, which begins slightly above the first bed, likely refers to the entire group of beds. The next three inscriptions, located on the right-hand side of the cave, likely refer to single beds, as they are located precisely above or at the beginning of each bed. In order, they are "Pētālai Kuvirāṉ," "Ceṅkuvirāṉ," and "Ku[..]rā *tāṉa* (gift of Kuviran)."[87]

The last Tamil-Brahmi inscription at Vikkiramangalam is located above the entrance to the second cave, which is a solitary, narrow chamber, containing a single carved bed with pillow [Photo 6.90]. As noted above, this cave is often designated as a separate site, called Mudalaikulam or Nadumudalaikulam. This cave is located near the base of the northern peak, and likely originated as a weathering pit in the surface of the rock [Photo 6.91]. This pit was then expanded into an approximately 3 x 1 m chamber (Map 6.16). A lintel and circular hole for a door jamb indicate that it used to have a wooden door on the front [Photo 6.92]. There are also 2 niches carved into the side of the cave on the left-hand side. Next to the chamber containing the

[85] The inscription reads: ē/e-ī-ya-la-ā-ra-ī-ya-tā-ṉa-ce/cē-vi-to/tō-ṉ. Mahadevan suggests that the scribe reversed ī and y in the first word, and that the final verb is a causative form of *cey-tal*. Mahadevan, 343; 560.
[86] a-na-tai-ya-pi-kā-ṉa-mā-kā-ṉa-ve-na-a-tā-ṉa Mahadevan 2003, No. 20.
[87] pe-tā-lai-ku-vi-rā-ṉa / ce-ṅa-ku-vi-rā-ṉa / ku-[vi]-rā-tā-ṉa Mahadevan 2003, Nos. 21-23.

rock-cut bed is a larger, globular, hollowed out chamber that was likely used for water storage. In large Tamil-Brahmi characters above the entrance to the chamber containing the rock-cut bed, it reads "Vempiṟ-ūr made the large tank (*ayam*)."[88] Notably, this inscription, like the smaller one under the boulder at the first cave both use the verb *cey-* ("to do or make") to indicate the creation or construction rather than causative (had made or carved) or the verb *koṭu-,* 'to give'. The large tank referred to in the inscription is the one immediately to the right of the cave.



Map 6.16 Cave located at the base of the northern peak at Vikkiramangalam

[88] ve-ma-pi-ṟa-ū-ra-pe-ra-a-ya-a-ma-ce-ta-va-ra ARE 265/1978-79; Mahadevan 2003, No. 35 (as Mutalaikuḷam)

Given the similarity in the orthography between the inscriptions at the two caves as well as the similar format and use of the verb *cē-(cey-)*, it is likely that the two locations were occupied at the same time. The first cave contains 14 beds plus an additional 3 to 4 beds in the sub-caves. Overall, this main area could have accommodated around 20 monks. Like the other Jain sites in the survey region, there are signs here that the cave may have also had some kind of organic superstructure based on three small (3-4 cm in diameter) post holes and one square post hole (8 x 8 cm) in front of the main cave entrance [Photo 6.93]. The second cave, with a single bed, could not fit more than 1 monk, and even then, the low ceiling would have made it uncomfortable for daytime habitation. Perhaps this cave was where the head monk slept, or it was occupied by someone who cared for or tended to the water tank beside it. Or, it may be that due to its accessible location, this was where a monk might greet merchants and travelers, providing them with cool water from the tank, before accompanying them on the steep trek up to the caves on the second peak.

6.5.5.2. Other Known Jain vestiges at Vikkiramangalam

Unlike the previous four hills discussed in the survey region, Vikkiramangalam does not have any known Jain images or inscriptions dating to the medieval period. The caves at Vikkiramangalam and Nadumudalaikulam are the only known Jain vestiges on the hill. It is possible that the site continued to be occupied by Jains into the early medieval period, but did not experience the kind of expansion and dedication of images observed at other sites. Therefore, while the site remained occupied, there were no inscriptions carved to commemorate donations for the carving of new images or construction of new features.

6.5.5.3. Surface Features and Structures at Vikkiramangalam

6.5.5.3.a. Water catchment features

On the summit of the hill, behind the main cave (Cave 1), there is a *paḷḷam* or rock cut pool. This narrow cistern also has rock cut stairs leading down into it. In August, the water was approximately 10 cm deep, but from watermarks on the surrounding rock, it appeared that the pool could accumulate about 1 m of water [Photo 6.94]. Elsewhere on the hill are a handful of rock pools that collect rain water.

6.5.5.3.b. Other caves and rock shelters

Downslope from the main cave (Cave 1) is a rock shelter formed by a small overhanging boulder. The boulder is marked by a shallow drip-ledge and appears to have the outline of a single bed beneath it. Based on its size, this shelter could have only accommodated a single person, lying down [Photo 6.95]. On the northern side of the hill, on the opposite side from where Cave 2 is located, there are two large caves that have been modified into a Śaivite shrine [Photo 6.96]. Shallow, rectangular rock-cut stairs lead the way to the shrine. There is an archway, but no visible drip-ledge, and the interior ceiling has been painted white. The floor of the cave is covered in a thick layer of sediment. What is significant about this cave, however, is its location, which affords direct views of Mettuppatti [Photo 6.97]. Next to the shrine is another small cave with no drip-ledge [Photo 6.98]. The floor of this cave is also covered in dirt and leaves, and therefore it was not possible to assess if it contained any beds. Also located on the northern side of the hill, though closer to the base, is another cave. It does not have a drip-ledge. The ceiling of the cave is black with soot and there are several engraved game boards for Lambs & Tigers (*āṭu puli ātam*) and a quartered square on the floor [Photo 6.99].

6.5.6. Mettuppatti

Mettuppatti (10.075941 N, 77.845330 E) is the northernmost site in the survey region, located approximately 13.5 km north of Vikkiramangalam and 34 km northwest of Madurai. Mettuppatti hill is locally known as Siddhar Malai (*cittarmalai*). In Jainism the siddha are the perfected souls that have been freed from the cycle of rebirth. On the south side of the hill is the village of Kaliyanipatti and on the north side of the hill is S. Mettuppatti, from which the site takes its name. There are paths leading up to the summit from the base on the north and south sides of the hill. These paths are marked by arrows in bright white paint to guide pilgrims up to the Mahalingam Śiva Temple at the summit, as well as the Karthikai *deepam* planted atop the highest point on the hill – a giant boulder overlooking the steep eastern slope.

Mettuppatti hill is located several hundred meters away from the Vaigai River, at a bend in the river as it shifts direction from flowing eastward to flowing southward toward Madurai [Photo 6.100]. Today, the remains of structures on the banks of the river at this junction are still visible [Photos 6.101 and 6.102]. Its location in combination with its monumental presence on the landscape, 455 m above sea level and 225 m above the surrounding landscape, would have made it a significant landmark for ancient travelers headed toward Madurai. The hill is not only tall, but also extends 0.8 to 1.75 km in diameter [Photo 6.103]. Given the time constraints of the survey season, it would have been challenging to survey the entirety of the base. Instead, survey focused on the accessible slopes and terraces of the hill. Overall, Mettuppatti hill was visited, mapped, and/or surveyed over a total of 6 days, resulting in a total of 123 waypoints, 3 transects, and 9 collections.

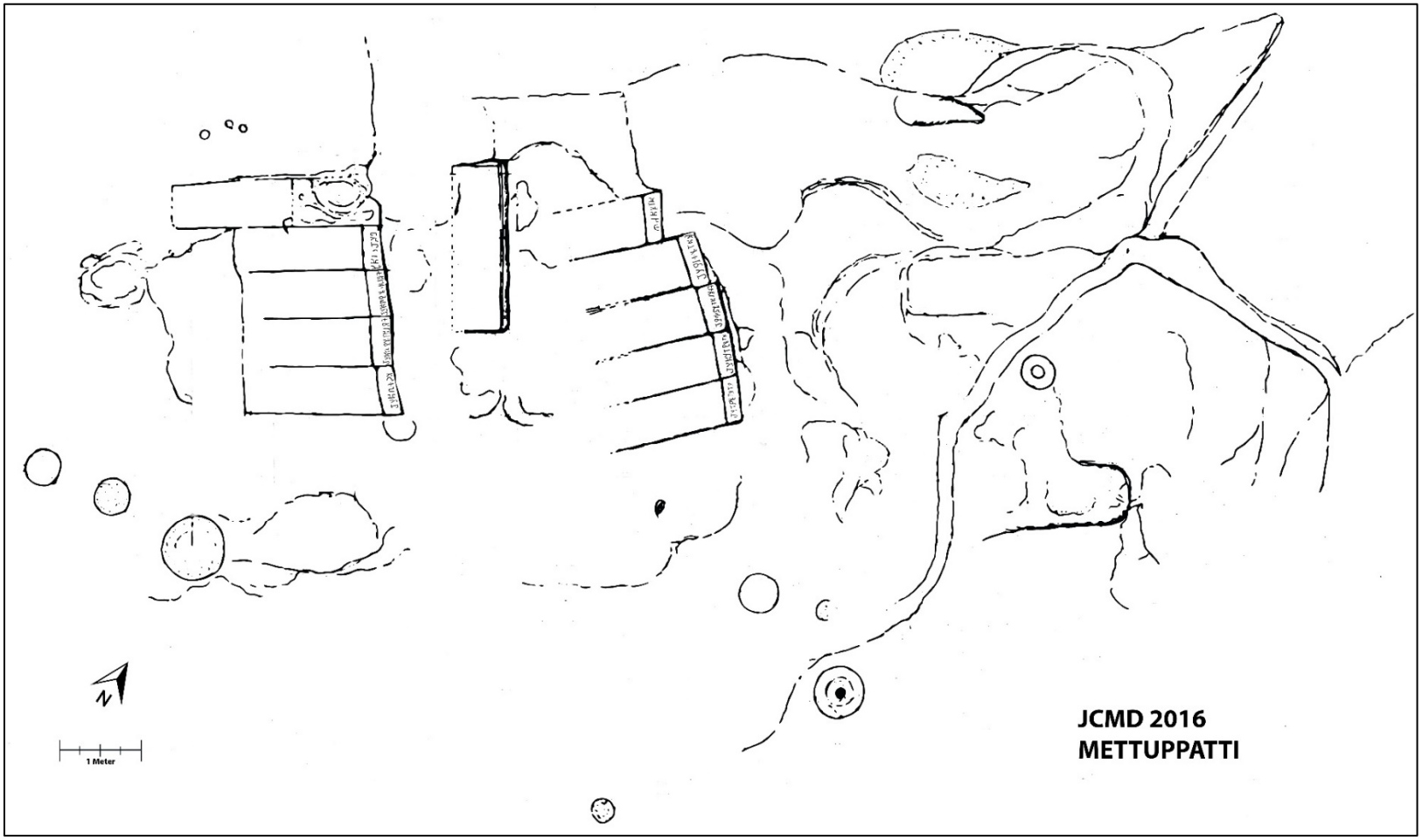
6.5.6.1. Jain caves at Mettuppatti

The Early Historic Jain caves at Mettuppatti (10.0743 N, 77.8449 E) are the highest and most remote of all six sites in the survey region. They are located at 402.3 m above sea-level, and approximately 180 m above the surrounding plain. The opening of the cave faces south-southeast with clear views of the Usilampatti hills, the Western Ghats, and the hill pass that runs through Theni, Bodinayakanur, and Munnar (Bodi Pass). While it is possible to see Mettuppatti from Vikkiramangalam, from Mettuppatti, the hills of the Nagamalai range seem small in comparison and all begin to blend into one indistinguishable undulating group.

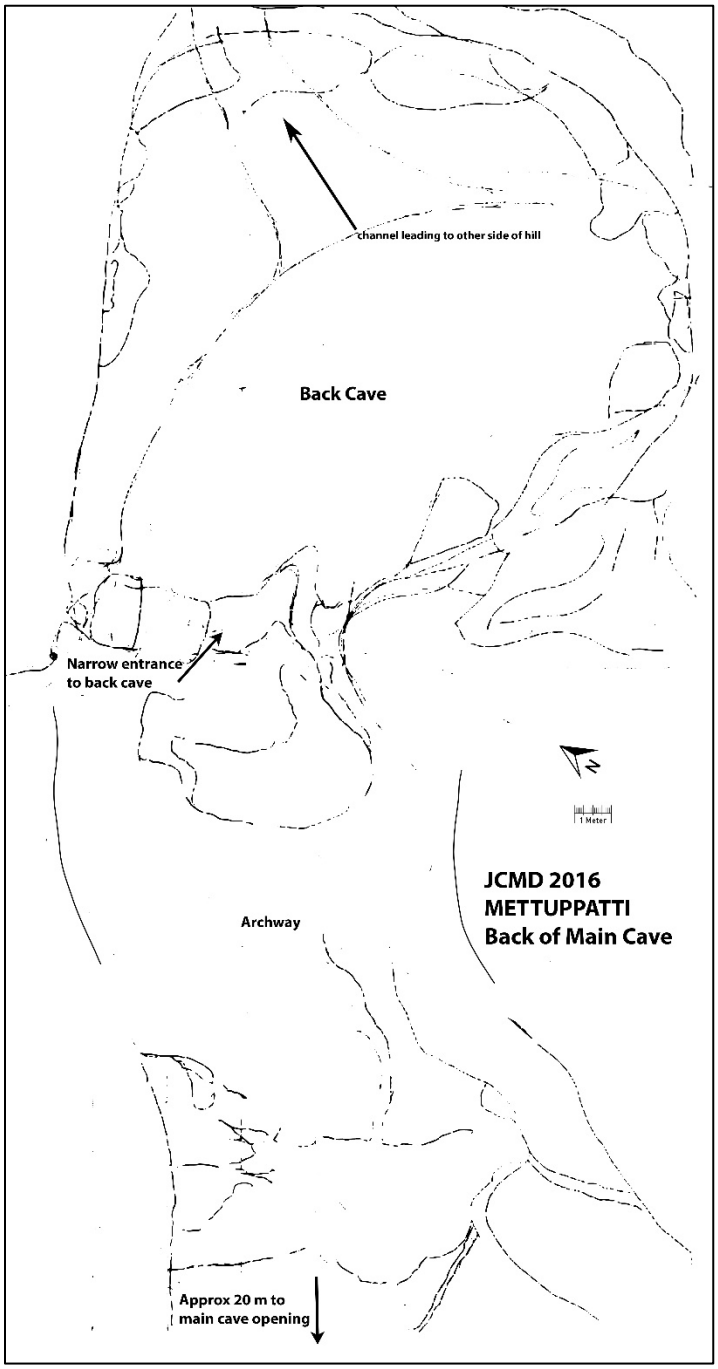
The cave at Mettuppatti containing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions extends along a sloped terrace and is approximately 84 m long (Map 6.17). The height of the cave ranges from 1 to 2 meters. In the far back of the cave, about 30 m in, is a tunnel that leads to a subcave, a round hall with a ceiling of approximately 3 meters. This part of the cave currently houses an old pillar that has been transformed into a Śiva linga. We discovered that behind this linga was a much smaller tunnel, large enough for a child or small adolescent to crawl through. This tunnel leads to the other side of the hill – a distance of approximately 20 m (Map 6.18). The floor of the sub-cave was covered in sediment and no beds were visible. However, there was a very visible drip-ledge [Photo 6.104] and other stone features, such as postholes and a round circular carving on top of a stone on the northern side [Photo 6.105].

There are 10 beds in the main front cave on the southern side of the hill (Map 6.17), essentially two rows with 5 beds each and 1 bench or seat in between, with a Tamil inscription indicating that it was carved at a much later date. In addition to these, there are faint traces of possibly two more beds. Of the 10 distinct beds, 9 bear Tamil-Brahmi inscription on their

pillows. It is possible that the tenth bed originally had an inscription, but the top of the bed is badly damaged with no pillow remaining.



Map 6.17 Mettuppatti main cave



Map 6.18 Mettuppatti back cave and tunnel

6.5.6.1.a. Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions

The Early Historic cave at Mettuppatti has a total of 10 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. One located on the brow of the cave and 9 on the pillows of 9 rock-cut beds within the cave. The inscription on the outside of the cave is located above the drip-ledge and, having been completely exposed to the elements, is quite weathered. It identifies the cave as the abode (*uṟai*) of Attirāṉ, the Jain monk (*amaṇaṉ*) of Madurai (Matirai). The final part of the inscription indicates that it belongs to (or was the gift of) Utaiyan (Ūtāyāṉa). Notably, this association is indicated using the Prakrit genitive suffice -*sa*, using the Ashokan-Brahmi letter 's'.[89]

Moving from left to right and starting at the first group of five beds in the upper part of the cave, the inscriptions read as follows: [$] Antai Āriya / [$] Antai Irāvataṉ / Matirai Antai Visuvaṉ, / Gift of Antai Vēntaṉ / Antai Cantaṉ, son of Cantaṉ. The second group of five reads: [damaged, no inscription] / Patiṉ[...] Atai / Gift of Kuvirā Antai Vēy / Gift of Kuvirā Antai Vēḷ / Gift of Tiṭi-il (Tiḍiyaṉ village).[90] All of these inscriptions are about 3-4 mm in depth with letters that have been engraved using a round pointed metal chisel or awl struck by a hammer. This method is clearly visible by examining the letters whose lines are composed of a sequence of small circular punch-marked holes [Photo 6.106]. The similarity in orthography, syntax, and grammar, suggests that these inscriptions were all carved around the same time.

There are additional similarities amongst the inscriptions. Eight of the inscriptions include the title Antai. Five of the inscriptions consist of only a name. Three reference places: Matirai, Patiṉūr, and Tiṭi-il. Four of the inscriptions include the genitive suffix -*a* followed by *tāṉa*, identifying the beds as gifts of specific individuals. Two of the inscriptions have markings

[89] a-ma-ṇā-na-mā-tī-rai-a-ta-ti-rā-ṉa-ū-ṟai-ū-tā-yā-ṉa-sa ARE 373/1985-6. Mahadevan 2003, No. 24.
[90] ARE 45a-j/1908, ARE 864-869/1917 (both untranslated). Mahadevan 1968, Nos. 18-26; Mahadevan 2003, Nos. 25-33.

preceding the first letter. In the case of Antai Irāvataṉ I am fairly certain that the markings are the same trade symbol as the ones seen at Kongarpuliyankulam and Vikkiramangalam [Photo 6.107]. This symbol has been misinterpreted as a *-ti*.[91] The argument that this character is part of the previous inscription is weak. First, the previous inscription makes perfect sense without the *-ti*. Second, there is a very large gap between the last letter of the previous inscription (*-ya*) and the next bed [Photo 6.108]. So it is not as though they ran out of room and were forced to put it on an adjacent bed. Third, there is a drop of about 5-7 cm between the two beds [Photo 6.109]. This would have made it even more difficult to read this letter as part of the previous inscription. Inscription No. 2 also appears to have some markings before the first character. However, it is unclear whether these were intended to be a legible symbol [Photo 6.110].

Although there are only 10-12 beds, based on the size of the cave and the significant size of the hill, it is likely that this monastic site was able to accommodate considerably more than that. Like the Jain cave at Tirupparankundram, the interior is sloped with multiple rows of beds, with the pillows located at the top, and water channels to divert rainwater. If the interior subcave was excavated during the Early Historic period, this room could have served as a prayer hall. At the bottom of the slope, to the left of the cave, are large cobbles arranged in a rectilinear pattern [Photo 6.111]. It is possible these represent the foundations of structures associated with the monastery. Because the cave is located on a slope, deep channels inside the cave help to divert water away from the beds and out of the cave.

There are also a number of features in and around the cave that appear to post-date the Jain occupation. These include a shrine with the carved footprints of a Śaivite saint and an

[91] See Appendix A for my transliterations and translations of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

associated Grantha inscription on the brow of the cave next to this shrine. In front of the cave, there is a series of three round depressions, which were likely used for preparing grain, along with two *urals*. While it is possible that such food preparation features were in use during the Early Historic period, it is more likely that these date from the late medieval or early modern periods.

6.5.6.2. Other Known Jain vestiges at Mettuppatti

There are no other known Jain vestiges at Mettuppatti.

6.5.6.3. Surface Features and Structures at Mettuppatti

6.5.6.3.a. Rock-cut stairs

Because of the Mahalingam Śiva temple and the Karthikai *deepam* located at the top of the summit, there are many sets of rock-cut stairs that criss-cross up the northern slope of the hill, which is less steep than the southern side where the Jain caves are located. There are also stairs on the southern side of the hill as well, which begin after the tree-line and are accompanied by metal railings. Based on the size, shape, and patina of the rock, it is possible to determine which are older. The oldest stairs are the smallest, resembling footholds rather than stairs, and are spaced further apart. They are generally located on steep parts of the hill and generally occur in smaller groups than the later stairs.

We identified some Early Historic rock-cut stairs on the southern slope of the hill, near the top, at approximately 348 m [Photo 6.112]. These stairs were located to the left side of the current path and appeared to be cutting a path toward the summit. I followed the path as far as I could until I hit thick brush and was unable to continue. This is an area I recommend for future

exploration, as it has been my experience at other Jain cave sites that such stairs generally lead to Early Historic Jain caves. There are also several sets of older-style small rectangular rock-cut stairs on the southern side of the hill [Photo 6.113].

6.5.6.3.b. Water catchment features

At the summit of Mettuppatti hill is a large modified rock pond. There are rock walls at either end: one to prevent water from flowing out, and one to prevent soil from the slope eroding into the pond. It is also possible that at one time water filled the pond up to this wall, which served as a barrier. The rock wall on the southern end of the pond is reinforced with cement, although the original wall appears to pre-date modern times. Lines on the rock attest to the previous water levels [Photo 6.114], which were approximately 60 cm higher than present levels. Next to the pond we found a damaged image of what appeared to be a female devotee with hands folded in prayer [Photo 6.115].

There are several rock pools on the slopes and terraces immediately in front of the cave, and several on the 'back' or northern side of the hill immediately behind the cave. However, such features are not as common at Mettuppatti as at other sites in the survey region.

6.5.6.3.c. Other caves and rock shelters

The area and height of Mettuppatti prevented us from surveying much beyond the paths on either side of the hill. However, in circumambulating the hill by car, it was possible to see numerous rock shelters and caves on the cliff face. A few appeared to be similar in shape to the main cave. Such caves were also visible as we climbed the hills, but the steep rockface and untamed brush prevented us from exploring any further. On a shallow section of rock jutting out from the base

on the southeastern side of the hill, we discovered several smaller caves. These appeared similar in form to those found at the base of Samanar Malai. Like the caves at Samanar Malai, these caves also have interior ridge-type drip-ledges. One of the caves also contained a shallow rock pond [Photos 6.116 and 6.117].

6.5.6.3.d. Walls and foundations

In addition to the rectilinear stone foundations immediately next to the cave (Photo 6.111), and the rock walls mentioned above in association with the modified rock pond on the summit (visible in Photo 6.114), we also noted additional rock alignments on the summit of the hill. These were located on a relatively flat terrace covered in sandy sediment near the boulder with the Karthikai *deepam*. Red Ware sherds and bricks could be seen eroding out of the sediment [Photo 6.118].

6.5.6.3.e. Ruined temple

The outline of some kind of rectilinear structure, perhaps a temple, is visible on the rock face next to the modified rock pond. This outline was visible from the color in the rock, as well as from cuts that had been made to make the slightly curved surface of the rock level [Photo 6.119]. There were also large, deep, post holes about 10-12 cm in diameter [Photo 6.120]. Based on the size and precision of the post holes and the size of the outline of the temple, it is likely that there was previously a temple made of brick and stone that sat on this spot sometime during the medieval period. I suspect that some of the heavy layers of slope wash on the northern side of the hill, and the bits of brick visible on the summit as well as on the southern slope, may be related to this earlier temple.

Glossary of Terms Used in This Chapter

Caves and Rock shelters

- **Cave**: a hollow cavity created through erosion, cavern.
- **Jain cave**: all of the Jain caves in the survey area and in Tamil Nadu generally are marked by the alteration of the exterior of the cave through the creation of a drip-ledge (see below), as well as rock-cut beds and inscriptions.
- **Modified cave**: a natural cave that has some alteration, whether this is an expansion of the interior, burning marks on the arched entrance, carved features such as post-holes, mortars, urals, etc. Such caves indicate human presence and alteration, but cannot be labeled as "Jain".
- **Drip-ledge**: a sharp horizontal edge of approximately 1-3 cm deep, which creates a break in the surface of the rock, preventing water from flowing along the surface of the rock into the cave, and instead directs such water straight down at the point of the ledge.
- **Rock shelter**: a rock, boulder, or combination of several rocks or boulders that create an area protected from sun and rain. In some cases, natural erosional processes have helped to carve out these spaces.

Architectural features

- **Post-hole or mortar**: round depression in bare rock made through grinding. The purpose of this hole is either for the grinding of materials (generally shallow) or for setting large poles or posts for architectural purposes (generally deep).
- **Rock-cut stairs**: Ancient rock-cut stairs are oval or rectangular footholds carved into bare rock to provide a stable surface for climbing the hills. Modern rock-cut stairs often resemble modern stair cases with sharp block-like rectangular steps.
- **Wall**: a linear architectural feature generally comprised of multiple courses of stones or bricks.
- **Stone alignment**: a series of rocks placed in a roughly straight line.
- **Rectilinear structure**: the remains of a structure indicated by stone or brick foundations in a somewhat rectangular layout.
- **Ural**: a traditional grinding stone still in use in villages in Tamil Nadu consisting of a 5-6 inches deep circular hole in stone, encircled by a 8-10 inch ring of pecked stone. Meant to be used with a separate large grinding stone inside or a larger wheel-like stone on top for grinding lentils and grains. Can exist in portable stones, but also appears in bare sheet rock.
- **Shrines**: architecturally a shrine is a square or rectilinear structure of modest size (no larger than 4-5 m in length), often marked by the presence of interior features indicating the current or past presence of an idol, e.g. a pedestal or ledge or niche. A shrine can be any area designated for the worship of an idol or other object, e.g. tree shrines.
- **Temple**: a rectilinear or T-shaped building used for the housing of idols, larger in size than a shrine, generally >5m in length.

Water catchment features

- **Rock pool**: a shallow depression or pit, created and enlarged via weathering and erosion and capable of holding water.
- **Modified rock pool**: a round or rectilinear depression of several inches carved for the collection of rain water, or a natural depression in the rock, made larger through weathering and man-made intervention for the collection of rain water.
- **Rock pond**: A deep (> 1 ft) pool of water, often found at base of an escarpment.
- **Modified rock pond:** a deep pool of water created, enlarged, or otherwise modified through the cutting of rock, or arrangement of stones, often around the edges.
- **Cistern:** a reservoir, tank, or container for holding water; a collection area for water that has been dug into the ground and reinforced on the sides with rocks.

Surface finds

- **Pottery scatter**: a group of sherds found clustered together on the ground and visible from the surface. For our purposes, a "scatter" usually comprised 10-30 small sherds. These were most often found on hill terraces, where debris had settled after eroding off of the slope, near the base of the hills either where debris had settled, or where debris had settled and subsequent erosion had brought these remains to the surface, or in agricultural fields where tilling had churned up the soil and brought these remains to the surface.

Modern features

- **Quarry**: A surface excavation from which stone is or has been extracted by hammering, cutting, blasting, or other means. While many rocks in the survey region exhibited pre-industrial quarry marks, a quarry proper is defined not by the presence of a single or even multiple boulders with quarry marks, but when large chunks of rock have been extracted from the side or base of a hill, resulting in a significant change in the shape of the hill and the creation of new features (e.g. canyons, new slope, creation of pools or larger water bodies formed from run-off - see quarry pool)
- **Quarry pool**: a body of water created from the quarrying of rock (distinct from rock-cut pool).

CHAPTER 7

Reconstructing Jain Occupation of Early Historic Hill Sites in Madurai District, Tamil Nadu

In this chapter I present the surface finds, specifically ceramics and lithics, from the archaeological survey of Jain Caves in Madurai District Tamil Nadu (JCMD 2016) and highlight patterns in the data across the six sites, drawing on early Jain canonical texts about monastic life to help interpret and affirm some of these data. In addition, I consider the experiential characteristics of the sites and posit the utility of drawing on phenomenological approaches to landscape as another way of thinking through the ways in which Jain monks and other individuals may have inhabited and experienced these places.

7.1. Surface Finds

In addition to the architectural and other features noted on the hills and in association with the Jain cave sites, the survey team and I also engaged in limiting sampling of surface finds. As noted in Chapter 6, non-probabilistic sampling was undertaken at the Jain hill sites in the survey region with the primary goals of establishing or affirming a general chronology of habitation at these sites and to get a sense of the different kinds of vessels/artifacts used.

The surface finds fall into three main categories: ceramics, lithics/stone tools, and slag. With regard to the latter, the soils in this area are highly ferric, such that it is a common occurrence for iron nodules to be part of the normal sediment matrix. The areas with the highest, or most notably, concentrations of iron ore and slag (the result of separating the metal from its ore at high heat) were Kongarpuliyankulam and Perumal Malai. Given that these were surface

finds, it is possible that these materials were created some time after the Jain occupation of these hills in the Early Historic and Early Medieval period (Fig. 7.1).



Figure 7.1 Slag from Kongarpuliyankulam

One question I am often asked by non-archaeologists, is "How do ancient materials become available on the surface? Wouldn't they be buried far beneath the ground?" First, the nature of the caves, given that they are sheer rock, do not lend themselves to accumulation of large amounts of sediment. Second, ceramics that have become buried by sediment in the intervening millennia are often unearthed through weathering processes, whereby rain and other elements cause the surface to erode, and particularly on hills, for sediment to become exposed and travel down slope before being redeposited on a terrace or other stable surface. Other opportunities for these ancient ceramics to rise to the surface include human intervention. Particularly in the areas around the base of these hills, which have been either quarried or cultivated, large amounts of sediment have been disturbed, with older deposits rising to the surface through ploughing and ceramics visible in exposed sections of deposits that have been

cut, e.g. by construction vehicles. Most of the small finds were recovered in areas of low sedimentation, at the base of slopes in the "slope wash", on ploughed fields, in piles of dirt at the side of quarries and agricultural fields, and in areas where weathering had eroded the surface deposits (e.g. on the summit of the hills) revealing bricks and ancient potteries and other small finds.

7.1.1. Ceramics

Ceramics collected from the surface were washed, sorted, and coded using a typology and coding form developed by Carla Sinopoli for Iron Age and Early Historic excavations at the site of Kadebakale in Karnataka,[1] and also consulted Gwen Kelly's analysis of the ceramics at Kodumanal in Tamil Nadu.[2] My determination of the wares, forms, and tentative period for each of the sherds was corroborated by my colleague R. Suresh from Tamil University, Thanjavur, who assisted in part of the survey and analysis portion of the field season, and in part by M. Rajesh, Assistant Archaeologist at the Archaeological Survey of India, Bangalore Circle. Any errors are, of course, entirely my own.

In general, the most commonly identifiable form of vessel was jars.[3] However, given that jars are often thicker, and more durable than bowls or table wares, it is expected that these would be overrepresented in sampling from the surface. Medieval ceramic types were most common

[1] See Carla M. Sinopoli, "Late Prehistoric Landscapes of the Tungabhadra Corridor: Recent Excavations at Kadebakele (Koppal District, Karnataka)" (paper presented at the Recent Research Trends in South Asian Archaeology: Proceedings of the Professor HD Sankalia Birth Centenary Seminar, 2009).

[2] For a clear discussion of some of the challenges of crafting ceramic typologies for the Iron Age and Early Historic periods in South India, see Gwendolyn Ida Ornter Kelly, "Craft Specialization, Technology and Social Change: A Study of Material Culture in Iron Age and Early Historic South India (C. 1200 Bce - 400 Ce)" (PhD Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2013).

[3] Here the terms 'jar' and 'bowl' are used to represent the two main forms of earthenware vessels: restricted or necked vessels (jars) and unrestricted or open vessels (bowls). C.M. Sinopoli, *Approaches to Archaeological Ceramics* (New York: Plenum Press, 1991), 60-64.

across all six sites in the survey region and attest to the continued use of these sites (by Jains and/or other persons) from the Early Historic to Medieval period. The counts, weights, and proportions of each type of ceramic by period, ware, and form are presented in Appendix F.

Table 7.1 Counts and weights of surface ceramics from across the survey region

All Sites	**Bowls**	**Jars**	**Other***
Iron Age / Early Historic	24 sherds, 119 g	24 sherds, 661 g	33 sherds, 109 g
Medieval	114 sherds, 664 g	213 sherds, 2,948 g	454 sherds, 1787 g

*Indeterminate – ware is identifiable, but could not distinguish between bowl, jar, or other vessel form

The types of ceramics identified at the six survey sites included: coarse red ware, red plain ware, black plain ware, brown plain ware, red slipped/polished ware, black slipped/polished ware, 1-sided Black-and-Red Ware (2 colors on one side), 2-sided Black-and-Red Ware (colors on opposite sides), and burnt. While "burnt" is not a ware, I used this classification to record sherds that appeared burnt as a way of tracking cooking/fire activities at these sites. However, again, given the surface context, the presence of such sherds may be a result of their encounter with a hearth many centuries after they were initially discarded.

The most popular ceramic wares were red plain ware, red slipped/polished ware, black slipped/polished wares, and 2-sided Black-and-Red Ware. This was true of both the Early Historic as well as the Medieval period, which attests to the continued cultural valence of these types over time. This is also why such wares are not useful for distinguishing between periods. Rather, what distinguished a plain red ware sherd from the Early Historic vs. the Medieval period was its thickness (sherds from the Early Historic tend to be thinner and more eroded), interior markings (Medieval ceramics are all wheel-thrown and less care was taken to smooth the interiors), and firing temperature (assessed via sound – a sherd dropped on the ground that has

Table 7.2 Presence of Iron Age and Early Historic Ceramic Types Across Jain Hill Sites

Site	Coarse red	Red pw	Black pw	Red slip/pol	Black slip/pol	Brown slip/pol	BRW 1 side	BRW 2 side
Tirupparankundram				X				
Samanar Malai		X	X	X	X			X
Perumal Malai		X			X	X		X
Kongarpuliyankulam								
Vikkiramangalam	X	X		X	X	X		X
Mettuppatti				X	X		X	X

Table 7.3 Presence of Medieval Ceramic Types Across Jain Hill Sites

Site	Coarse red	Red pw	Black pw	Brown pw	Red slip/pol	Black slip/pol	Brown slip/pol	BRW 1 side	BRW 2 side	Burnt
Tirupparankundram		X			X					
Samanar Malai		X			X	X		X	X	X
Perumal Malai		X	X	X	X	X			X	
Kongarpuliyankulam	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X
Vikkiramangalam		X		X	X			X	X	X
Mettuppatti	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	

been fired at a higher temperature tinkles whereas one fired at a lower temperature does not). This is no doubt an imperfect rubric, and the strength of these classifications can be evaluated in the future in comparison with ceramics recovered from actual archaeological excavations at these sites. Still, there do appear interesting patterns in these wares over time between the Early Historic and Medieval period, as demonstrated in Figures 7.2 through 7.9 below.

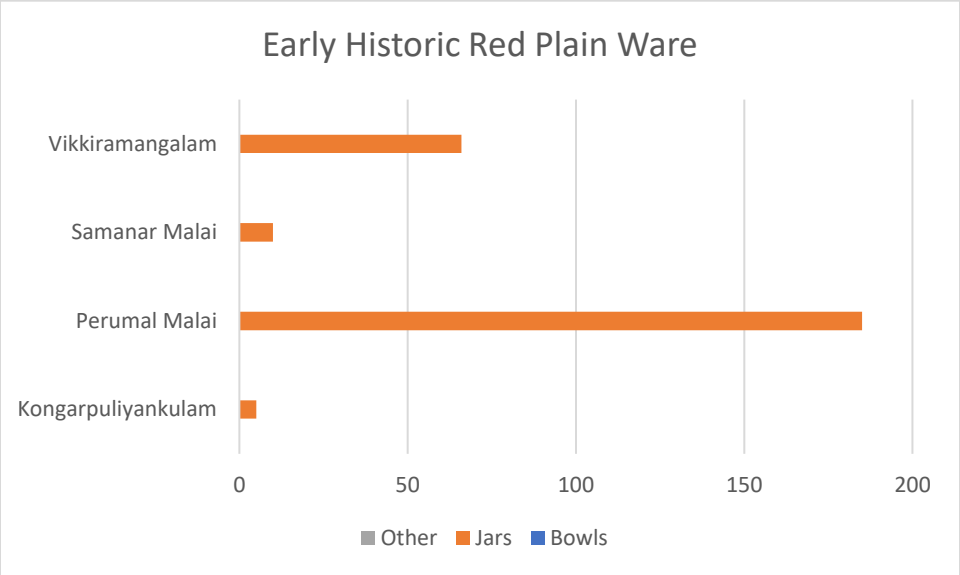


Figure 7.2 Weights (in grams) of Early Historic Red Plain Ware Sherds
There are no bowls or other forms.

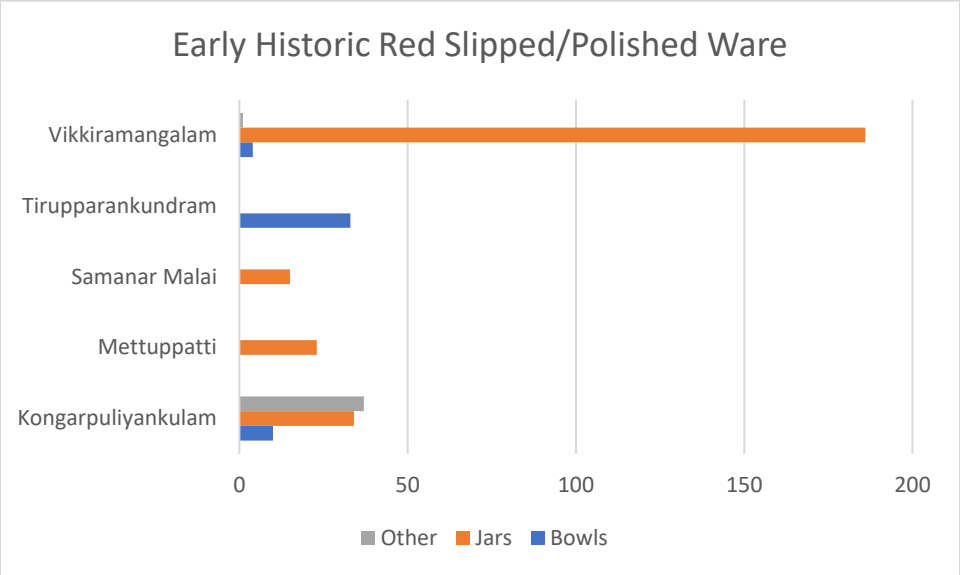


Figure 7.3 Weights (in grams) of Early Historic Red Slipped/Polished Ware Sherds

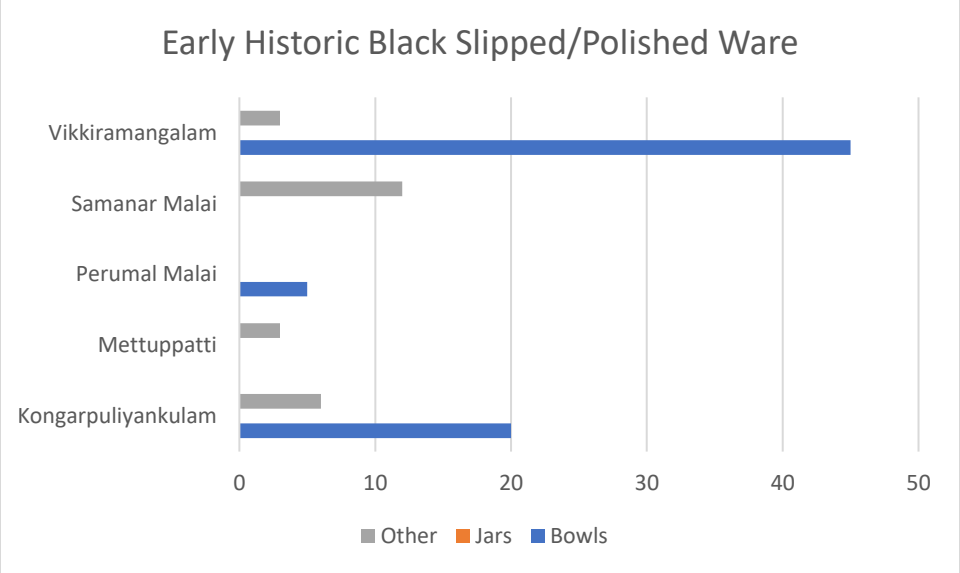


Figure 7.4 Weights (in grams) of Early Historic Black Slipped/Polished Ware Sherds There are no jars.

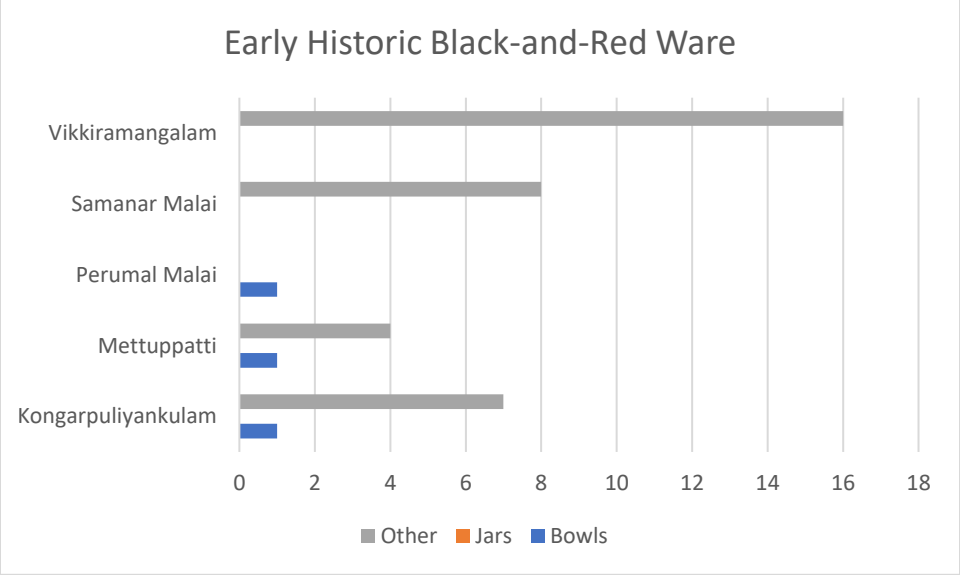


Figure 7.5 Weights (in grams) of Early Historic (2-sided) Black-and-Red Ware Sherds There are no jars.

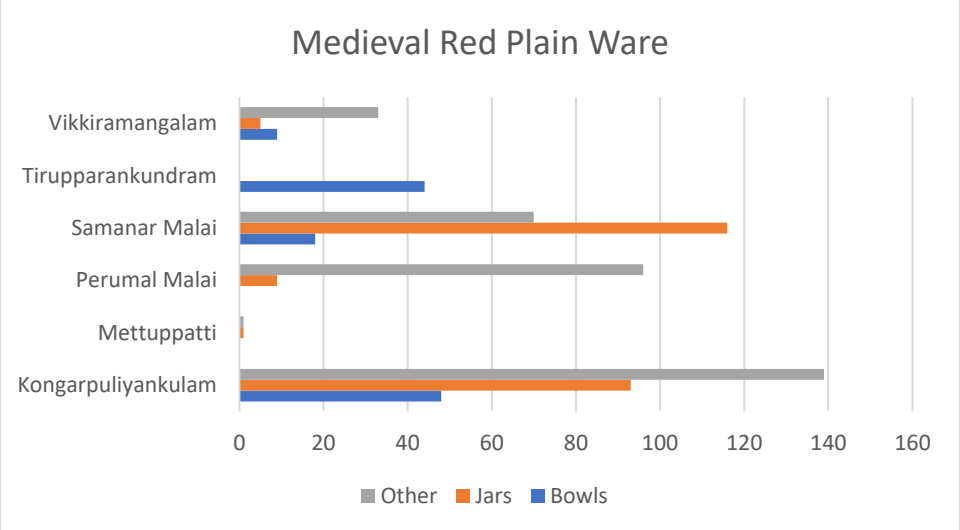


Figure 7.6 Weights (in grams) of Medieval Red Plain Ware Sherds

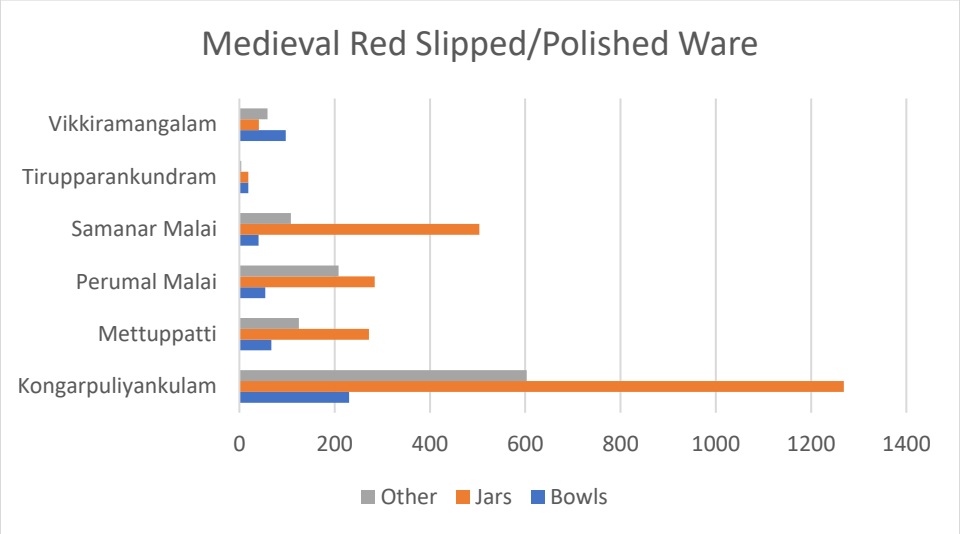


Figure 7.7 Weights (in grams) of Medieval Red Slipped/Polished Ware Sherds.

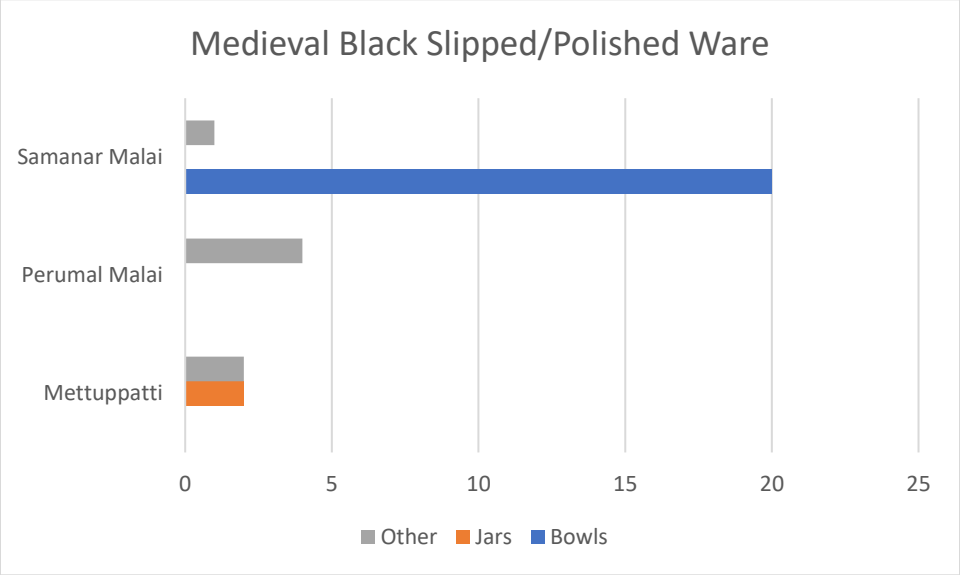


Figure 7.8 Weights (in grams) of Medieval Black Slipped/Polished Ware Sherds.

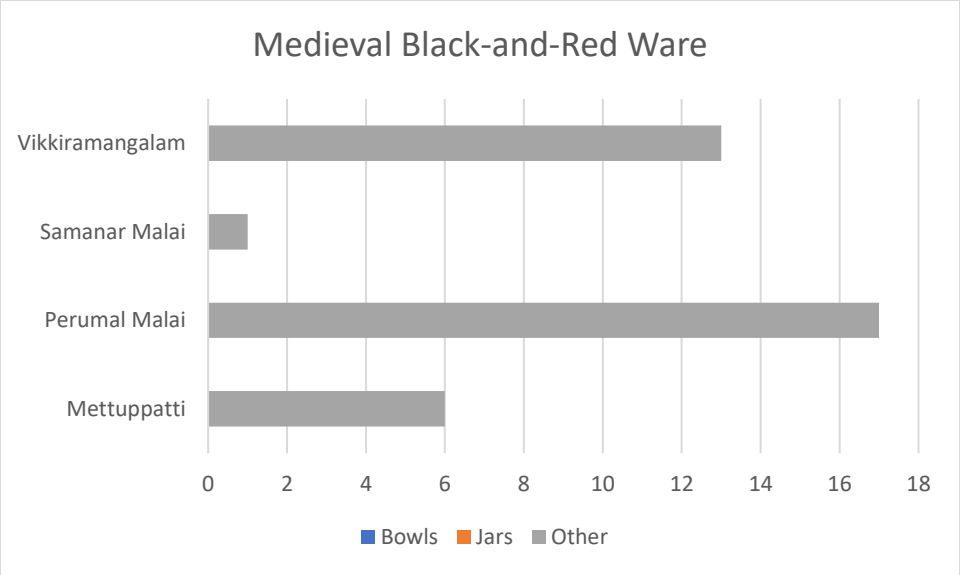


Figure 7.9 Weights (in grams) of (2-sided) Black-and-Red Ware Sherds. There are no bowls or jars.

All of the red plain ware surface ceramics dateable to the Early Historic period are jars, whereas those from the Medieval period show a greater diversity of forms across the sites. These red plain ware jar sherds may represent the remains of storage vessels. In a few instances, specifically at the site of Vikkiramangalam, these jar fragments were up to 2 cm thick. Such thick sherds from jars were also found at Vikkiramangalam in coarse red ware and red slipped ware. During one of my early visits to the site of Vikkiramangalam, one of the elderly women tending the fields told me that when she was a little girl and the field was ploughed for the first time, the farmers discovered hundreds of urn burials and stones. Not wishing to create any bad karma or disturb the spirits, they carefully placed each urn and stone by the base of the hill, away from the field.[4] She told me that several years ago some archaeologists had come by and collected them all for a study. Although we surveyed the base of Vikkiramangalam, I did not

[4] Specifically, the words she used to described these finds were: *pāṇai ōṭukaḷ* (pottery pieces), *kutir* (big urns), *mutu makkaḷ tāḻi* – (pot where they put old people), *matamatakkatāḻi* (urn pot), and *cūṭṭu elumpu* (burnt bones).

come across any piles of urns. I did find many piles of stones, which in the very least, corroborated the portion of the story about placing the fieldstones by the base of the hill. However, I did not find any complete urns. Urn burials are generally characteristic of the Iron Age and when considered in combination with the lithics discovered at these sites (see discussion below), it suggests that Vikkiramangalam hill was a place of enduring ritual significance from at least as early as the Iron Age.



*Figure 7.10 Early Historic/Iron Age Plain Red Ware Urn (*tāḻi*) sherds from Vikkiramangalam*

Most of the red slipped/polished ware surface ceramics dateable to the Early Historic period are also jars, although all examples from Tirupparankundram are bowls. The diversity of forms continues in the Medieval period, with jars again being the dominant form both in terms of weight as well as number of sherds. Notably, the high weight of red slipped/polished ware jar

sherds from Vikkiramangalam comes from just 5 sherds, as these were the thick urn-type jars. Vikkiramangalam was the only place where these thick jar sherds were observed.

All of the black slipped/polished ware and Black-and-Red Ware surface ceramics dateable to the Early Historic period are bowls or other (i.e. indeterminate whether the sherd came from a bowl or a jar). This suggests that these wares were primarily used as table wares. The use of Black-and-Red Ware for bowls continues more-or-less into the Medieval period, except for some black slipped/polished ware jar sherds from Mettuppatti.



Figure 7.11 Early Historic Black-and-Red Ware sherds from Mettuppatti
A. Exterior, B. Interior

Overall, these surface ceramics confirm that people were active on these hills in both the Early Historic and the Medieval period. This is particularly significant in the cases of Vikkiramangalam and Mettuppatti, which do not have any Jain images or inscriptions from the Medieval period. The predominance of jars from the Early Historic period may be a result of post-depositional processes and the durability of jar sherds vs. bowl sherds. However, if these numbers bear any relation to Early Historic deposits (a question that requires archaeological excavation), it does tell us something about the lives of Jain monks on these hills.

Jain Ceramics

According to some of the earliest extant Jain texts regarding proper conduct for Jain monastics, possessions were limited to an alms-bowl (*pāya*), blanket (*kaṁbala*), and broom (*pāyapuñchaṇa*), and a modest amount of clothes (*vattha*).[5] The monks were supposed to travel light and avoid the accumulation of possessions. For anything else they needed, they would borrow, and there were rules as well about proper borrowing practices. The strict vow of non-possession or non-attachment (*aparigraha*) also applied to food. The monks would acquire food daily through begging, and after sharing that food with anyone else who was hungry, would consume the rest. It was prohibited to leave anything behind or to store any of the food.[6] Given this, such jars, if possessed by the monks, would have likely been used for water rather than for food storage. It is also possible that such these vessels were carried by visitors to these hills, such as merchants and local patrons.

[5] Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and Literature*, Deccan College Dissertation Series (Poona: Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, 1956), 165. Deo cites *Ācārāṅga Sutra* II.6.1.1-3. See Hermann Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, The Sacred Books of the East, V. 22 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964).
[6] Deo, 175.

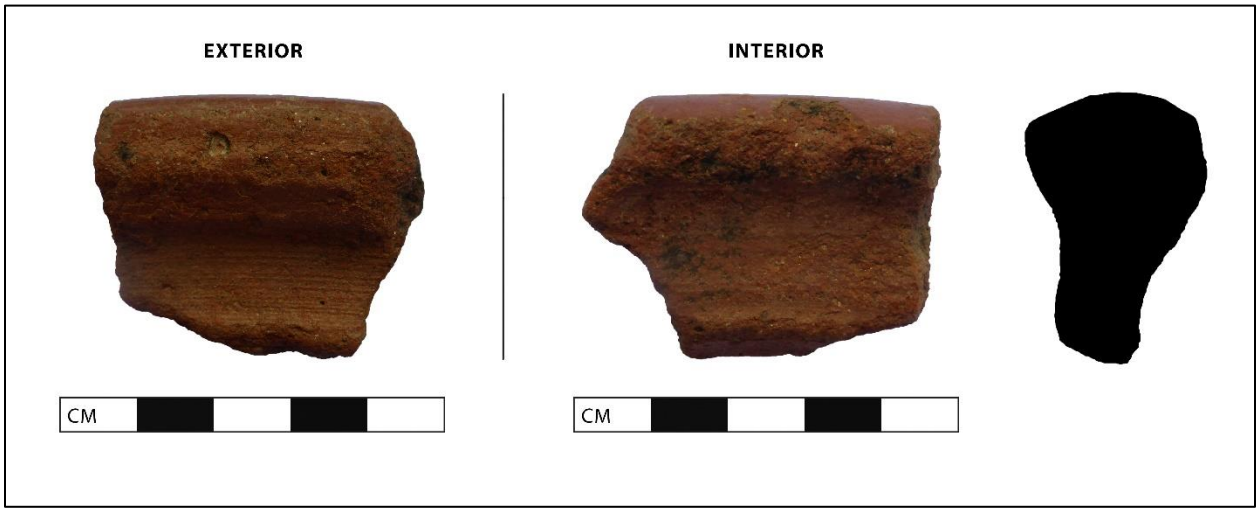


Figure 7.12 Early Historic Red Slipped/Polished Ware jar sherd from Samanar Malai

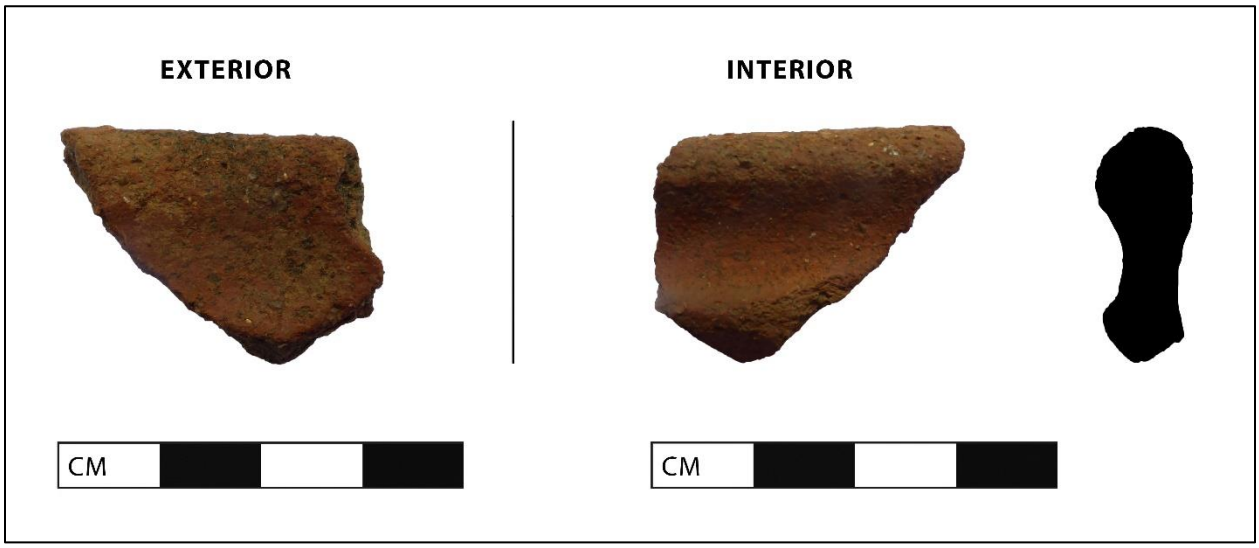


Figure 7.13 Early Historic Red Slipped/Polished bowl sherd from Kongarpuliyankulam



Figure 7.14 Medieval Red Slipped/Polished Ware jar sherd from Kongarpuliyankulam

The bowls of black slipped/polished ware and Black-and-Red Ware may have also belonged to visitors, but they could also have belonged to the monks. According to the *Ācārāṅga Sutra* (II.6.1.1), c. 4th-3rd century BCE,[7] the alms-bowl should be made of a gourd, wood, or clay.[8] Later Jain texts, such as the *Chedasūtras* and *Niryuktis*, go into greater detail about the nature of begging bowls. Monks were instructed to handle them with care, and if broken, they would undergo punishment.[9] According to the *Oghaṇijjuti* (*Oghaniryukti*), c. 7th-8th century CE,[10] an ideal pot was perfectly round, belonged permanently to the monk and was polished. In contrast, a vessel with an uneven surface which was porous, cracked, or had a hole, was seen as unfit. Many pages of the *Oghaṇijjuti* are devoted to outlining the process of coating a pot (*leva*). The concern with slip or polish was due to the belief that food kept in a non-coated pot would

[7] Date from Herman Jacobi "Jaina Sutras Part I: The Akaranga Sutra, the Kalpa Sutra," in *Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. Max Muller (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968; reprint, 2nd).
[8] Ibid., 165.
[9] Ibid., 265.
[10] Date from Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Collected Papers on Jaina Studies*, Array ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2000).

become unfit for eating (purity, contamination, etc.) and "the fear of people condemning a monk with a bad, uncoated pot."[11]

These descriptions from Jain texts suggest that any bowls belonging to the monks may have been slipped or polished and that there was also an aesthetic preference for such bowls amongst the laity. The point about ownership is also significant, as it reaffirms my earlier hypothesis discussed in Chapter 2 concerning the use of early Brahmi and Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on vessels by merchants and other travelers residing in communal inns and caravanserai who did not want their bowls mixed with those of other persons due to reasons related to religious purity. Because of their porous nature, it has long been believed that earthenware ceramics absorb the nature or quality of the foods they hold as well as the people who own and touch them.[12] In the Hindu codes of behavior outlined in the *Dharmaśastra* (compiled c. 2nd century CE), members of high-caste groups are warned to avoid accepting vessels containing cooked foods or water from people of lower social or ritual status. Because monks were strictly instructed to keep track of their bowls and to not let them exchange hands, it is possible that some of the persons named in the early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery discovered in archaeological contexts were Jain. It also suggests that were we to excavate any of the hill sites in the survey region, we should expect to find bowls marked with inscriptions or other symbols distinguishing them as belonging to specific individuals.

[11] Deo, 267. Deo cites *Oghaṇijjuti bhāsya* 196-7.
[12] Carla M. Sinopoli, *The Political Economy of Craft Production: Crafting Empire in South India, C. 1350-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 239.



Figure 7.15 Early Historic Black Slipped/Polished Bowl sherd from Vikkiramangalam

7.1.2. Lithics

The majority of lithics encountered during archaeological survey were from Vikkiramangalam and Kongarpuliyankulam. These included finished tools (e.g. blades and scrapers), debitage (i.e. cores and flakes), as well as hammerstones and rubberstones. At Perumal Malai and Samanar Malai, we encountered a handful of cores and flakes, but no stone tools. Overall, we noted 6 finished tools, 16 cores, 15 hammerstones and 1 rubberstone. All of these lithics were crafted from varieties of quartz (quartz, cloudy quartz, quartzite, quartz crystal, rose quartz) which is readily available in the area and particularly on the hills, which are granitic.

While the use of stone tools is characteristic of the earliest periods in Indian history, microliths continued to be used in the Iron Age and Early Historic periods, and hammerstones are even used in villages today. The presence of these lithics on the surface of the Jain hills in teh survey region, in conjunction with the Early Historic and Medieval period ceramics, attests to the longue durée of use and occupation of these hills from the Iron Age through the Medieval period

and beyond. It also suggests that when the Jains first arrived in Tamil Nadu and sought to shelter in these caves during the monsoon season, these hills may have already been in use by other populations.



Figure 7.16 Quartz lithics and flakes from Vikkiramangalam

Table 7.4 Distribution of Inscriptions, Ceramics, and Lithics Across Sites

Site	# Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions	# Vatteluttu Inscriptions	Ceramics	Lithics
Tirupparankunram	5	2	EH, Med	N
Samanar Malai	1	8	EH, Med	Y
Perumal Malai	3	2	EH, Med	Y
Kongarpuliyankulam	3	1	EH, Med	Y
Vikkiramangalam	5	0	IA, EH, Med	Y
Mettuppatti	9	0	EH, Med	N

IA = Iron Age, EH = Early Historic, Med = Medieval

7.2. Discussion: Patterns and Places

The archaeological survey and mapping of the Jain caves provided me with an opportunity to physically explore these sites in situ, and to come to know them in ways that textual descriptions,

photographs, and points on a map do not convey. At the same time that I was collecting data related to the material record I observed on the surface of the hills (inscriptions, water catchment features, post-holes, ceramics, etc.), I was also collecting sensorial data. Here I present patterns in the material data discussed above and in Chapter 6 alongside experiential characteristics of the sites and posit the utility of drawing on phenomenological approaches to landscape as another way of thinking about the ways in which these places were inhabited. In using the term "place" I am referencing the large body of philosophical literature which explores the sense of place as experiential, perceived as well as constituted through the senses,[13] and place as "a scene of personal and historical happening."[14]

I spent long days at the Jain hill sites, heading out around 4:30 or 5 am and ending around 2 pm when the sun became too hot. In some cases, I stayed at the hill until 6 or 7 pm, and sheltered in the cool shade of the caves during the afternoon. I had the opportunity to witness the sun set over Madurai from Yannai Malai and over the Western Ghats from the summit of Kongarpuliyankulam. I trekked up the hills each morning,[15] spent the day traversing the terraces, bases, and summits; ate lunch in the shade of trees along the base of the hill or inside the caves; took shelter from sudden monsoon rains inside the caves and witnessed first-hand the effectiveness of the drip-ledges and channels; and on one or two occasions even napped in the rock-cut beds, which felt cool and peaceful in contrast to the scorching heat of the July and

[13] Such ideas have a long history within Western philosophy, explored by the likes of Kant, Husserl, and Merleu-Ponty. My personal engagement with these ideas has primarily come from the writings of the philosopher Edward Casey and the archaeologist Christopher Tilley. C. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1994). For a discussion of the role of 'place' within anthropology, see also Margaret C Rodman, "Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality," *American anthropologist* 94, no. 3 (1992).
[14] "Introduction to the Second Edition" Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World*, Array ed., Studies in Continental Thought (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), xxv.
[15] A long, steep trek in the case of Samanar Malai and Mettuppatti, a steep but somewhat shorter trek for Tirupparankundram, Kongarpuliyankulam, and Vikkiramangalam, and a short climb for Perumal Malai.

August weather. I mapped the caves with a team of architects, took measurements on my hands and knees, inspected with my eyes and fingertips each groove and indentation of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, and swept my hands over the bumpy granite surfaces in search of new inscriptions. I spelunked caves and rock shelters, shimmied into tight spaces, carefully walked along ledges,[16] and shared the steep granite hill tops with bats, goats, and monkeys and the more forested areas along the base with less friendly ants, mosquitos, and snakes.

As noted by philosopher and phenomenologist Edward Casey, "There is no knowing or sensing a place except by being in that place, and to be in a place is to be in a position to perceive it."[17] The sensorial or phenomenological aspects of place are significant here, not only for ways of knowing the Jain hill sites, but rather for what these kinds of sensorial data can tell us about how people may have experienced these places in the past. As highlighted by archaeologist and phenomenologist Christopher Tilley "The physicality of landscapes grounds and orientates people and places within them; it is a physical and sensory resource for living and the social and symbolic construction of life-worlds."[18] Put another way, "places gather together persons, memories, structures, histories, myths and symbols. Mental and material, symbolic and practical, wild and domestic, they constitute landscapes, collections of place-bound structures and meanings."[19]

Such phenomenological perspectives provide a useful jumping off point for thinking about the ways in which the multi-sensory and physical characteristics of the landscape and the

[16] Due to my undaunted (and unwise) spirit in climbing and exploring these hills, particularly the steep slopes and ledges, one of my colleagues nicknamed me *malai āṭu*, the mountain goat.
[17] Edward S. Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena," in *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1996), 18.
[18] Christopher Tilley, *Interpreting Landscapes*, Geologies, Topographies, Identities; Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology 3. (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010), 26.
[19] Christopher Y. Tilley, *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 25.

social organization of the hills as monasteries structured the monks' lived experiences of these places. They also enable us to consider some of the ways in which these hills formed part of the social identities of the Jain monks and the ramifications or significance that holds in terms of thinking about the role of Jain monastics within the social landscape of Early Historic Tamil Nadu, specifically Madurai.

7.2.1. Location

The caves at Tirupparankundram, Samanar Malai, Perumal Mali, Kongarpuliyankulam, Vikkiramangalam are all located on an upper terrace and face westward. The exceptions are the single chamber at Vikkiramangalam, which faces south, and the main cave at Mettuppatti, which also faces south. One might argue that these locations were pre-determined by where natural caverns already existed. However, there are caverns in other locations at Samanar Malai (e.g. the cave at Ceṭṭipoṭavu and the natural cave adjacent to it), Kongarpuliyankulam, Vikkiramangalam, and Mettuppatti. So the choice of these particular caves as designated shelters for the monsoon season, and later as more enduring monasteries, was not random.

As noted in Chapter 5, the average distance between the Jain cave sites bearing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and the nearest Early Historic settlement is approximately 6 km, and for the six sites in the survey the distance was less than this (see Table 5.2). According to the *Ācārāṅga Sutra* (II.3.1.4-5) the residence of a monk had to be free from the crowd and conducive to study and meditation. Because of this, gardens or temples outside the city as well as mountain caves were deemed appropriate places.[20] However, it is worth noting that although many of the caves require trekking up steep slopes, the caves are not inaccessible. In fact, it is likely that the hills

[20] Ācār. I.7.2.1 "A mendicant may exert himself, or stand or sit or lie in a burying-place or in an empty house or in a mountain cave or in a potter's workshop."

adjacent to the Nagamalai hill range were ideal locations for monasteries, as they were removed from the crowds and temptations of city life, but close enough for the monks to make daily trips to beg for food. Conversely, these spaces were also easy to spot from the plain below and accessible for Jain laity and other individuals who wished to visit the monks.

It is also worth noting the 'soundscape' of these areas. Because study formed an important part of monastic life, it was necessary for their residences to be quiet. The early Jain texts stressed the importance of proper evironment essential for concentration in study. Such places should also be devoid of living beings, eggs, and cobwebs.[21] Thus, the natural rock caves, which could be swept and kept in a pristine state, were an ideal location for study. Sitting in these places today, one can't help but notice the serenity. Particularly for some of the more remote locations such as Samanar Malai and Mettuppatti, it was rare to see anyone on the hill at those heights and as a result, aside from an occasional tweeting bird or bleating goat, the air was completely still.

7.2.2. Spatial Organization

The importance of study no doubt also influenced the interior organization of the beds within the caves. Inside each cave the rock-cut beds appear in rows. These rows are generally comprised of 3 to 5 beds; At Kongarpuliyankulam such rows are much longer, with as many as 15 beds. There are also a number of beds that appear considerably larger than others or are located atop boulders (Perumal Malai and Kongarpuliyankulam) or higher terraces (Kongarpuliyankulam). Earlier, I had posited that such spaces may have had a different purpose other than sleeping. However, the *Oghaniryukti* indicates that if sleeping in a "very extensive lodge, then the monks were reserved

[21] Deo, 184. Cites Ācār. II, 9 (p. 179); II.2.1.1. (p. 120)

three sleeping places (i.e. three times bigger) (*santhāragabhūmitigaṁ*), for the guru."[22] The rest of the monks slept in rows (*āvalayā*) but with enough distance such that they would not brush up against one another.[23] Notably, the larger beds at Kongarpuliyankulam are not 3 times wider than the average berth, but rather 2 times wider. The length is generally about the same. It is possible that such beds were designated for the head monk or senior monks.

Water catchment features were noted at various places across the hills. These varied from simple natural rock pools, to modified rock pools, to larger bodies of water and modified rock ponds. The latter were generally modified by the addition of stones to mark the edges. Each cave had a water catchment feature in close proximity to it. At Tirupparankundram there was the large *ayam* or mountain spring, which contained rock-cut stairs and was located down slope from the beds. At Samanar Malai there was a sizeable modified rock pond or 'spring' at the base of the escarpment just below the rock shelter with the Tamil-Brahmi inscription. At Perumal Malai and Kongarpuliyankulam there were similar modified rock ponds lined with stones immediately below the terraces where the beds were located. At Vikkiramangalam, the *paḷḷam* or water tank, was located on the terrace behind and above the cave with the beds, but was still easily accessible from the caves. At Mettuppatti, there was a large modified rock pond on the summit of the hill, approximately 5 minute walk from the caves, which was reinforced one either end by stone walls. Such water features would have been indispensable during the hot season and also enabled the monks to remain on the hills for longer periods of time or fasts between begging tours.

During the time I spent at the caves it became apparent, from postholes and other features, that there must have been additional organic superstructures attached to the caves. At

[22] Ibid., 254. Cites *Ogha-N*. 202.
[23] Ibid., 255.

both Perumal Malai and Kongarpuliyankulam there are rows of beds that are located directly beneath the drip ledge and beds that lie completely outside the caves. Such exposed beds were also noted on a boulder near Saravana Poigai at Tirupparankundram. While an argument could be made that the beds located well outside of the cave were designated as outdoor spaces, and perhaps locations of penance and rigorous ascetic practices, those located directly beneath the drip-ledge would have required some organic covering or canopy to be functional during the monsoon season. In fact, I have seen such canopies and wooden pandals in modern times at the caves at Udaiyagiri and Kandagiri in Orissa. The photo below, taken near Mettuppatti demonstrates how palm leaves and trees may be used to build large structures.



Figure 7.17 Palm Hut near Mettuppatti

Aside from evidence of organic superstructure in and around the caves, there is also evidence to suggest that rock walls and stone alignments found at various locations on the hills may represent the remains of additional structures associated with the monasteries. During the

2006-7 excavations at Mangulam, excavators discovered a brick structure on a hill terrace near one of the caves, which they dated to c. 3rd century BCE-3rd century CE, and suggested may have been used as a "meeting hall or prayer hall."[24] Samanar Malai, two lines of large unfinished rocks embedded in the ground between the Medieval Jain temple and the Early Historic Jain rock shelter, may represent the foundations of an Early Historic period structure.[25] At Mettuppatti, adjacent to the caves at the foot of the slope, are two rectilinear features, also comprised of large unfinished cobbles embedded in the ground, which may represent the foundations of an Early Historic period structure. Additional investigation via archaeological excavation is recommended to assess the date and function of these features and their precise relationship with the Jain cave monasteries.

Overall, the features noted on the surface of the Jain hill sites during archaeological survey suggest that the monks not only utilized the modified natural caves as monasteries, but would have traversed other parts of the hill where water resources and auxiliary structures were located. Thus, it may be more useful to conceptualize the site of these Jain monasteries as the hills themselves. It is unclear what the relationship may have been between monasteries located on adjacent hills. Of the six sites surveyed, Samanar Malai and Perumal Malai are located closest to one another at a distance of approximately 1.4 km. It is conceivable that both hills were overseen by a single head monk. However, most of the other sites are considerably further apart, between 4 and 13.5 km. In addition, part of the appeal of these sites for the Jain monks, particularly as monsoon retreats, was no doubt the bare rock, which enabled the monks to safely inhabit these spaces without fear of stepping upon or harming small insects or other creatures

[24] Sitharam Gurumurthi et al., eds., *Mankulam Excavations 2007* (Chennai: Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, 2008), 15.
[25] See Chapter 6, Figures X.X and X.X and Photo 6.X

that are often found in vegetated areas. With the water catchment features located on the hills and the vegetation parts of the hill terraces away from the caves, Jain monks may have been able to remain completely stationary during the monsoon season, subsisting on rain water and spring water and local vegetation. Gifts of food delivered by Jain laity may have also helped to sustain the monks, with little need for them to leave the hills or engage in begging tours.

7.2.3. Vision-scapes and Viewsheds

As demonstrated in the geospatial analysis and confirmed during the archaeological survey, all of the sites in the survey region are – for the most part – inter-visible. Certainly, this is most true for the sites that are closest to one another (i.e. it is easier to see Mettuppatti from Vikkiramangalam, but less feasible from as far away as Tirupparankundram). Certain sites rise starkly above the plain and are easy to identify. Such sites include Tirupparankundram (and Pasumalai) to the south, Tidiyan and Pothampatti to the west, and Yanai Malai and Alagarmalai to the east. These hills are easily seen, even at great distances, from the summits of the Jain hills. From the plain, vegetation blocks one's ability to see great distances, but for the inhabitants of the villages located within several kilometers of the Jain hills, these sites would have been easily visible.

The height of the hills and their inter-visibility could have served any number of purposes. The height and viewscapes of these lofty granitic inselbergs made them appealing locations for fortresses and places of military observation during the late Medieval and Early Modern periods. For example, the great rock at Dindugul was fortified by the Nayaka kings in the 16th century "if not before" and considered "the key of Madura country on its western side."[26] For the many traders and travelers circulating between the various market towns and capital

[26] James Henry Nelson, *The Madura Country: A Manual Compiled by Order of the Madras Government*, 5 parts vols. (Madras: W. Thomas, 1868; repr., 1989), 9.

cities, particularly Madurai, the Nagamalai range and the Jain hills would have served as useful navigational landmarks.

7.2.4. Movement

With regard to movement, I have already discussed above the spatial organization of the monasteries within and beyond the caves and the ways in which the Jain monks may have occupied and moved through these spaces. The rock-cut stairs noted at almost all of the Jain hill sites are useful for thinking about movement to and from the hill sites by the monks, as they made their daily begging tours in the local villages and returned to the monasteries at night, as well as by laity and other outside visitors.

At almost all of the Jain hill sites that I visited, there were designated paths for reaching the caves. In some cases, such as Samanar Malai, Tirupparankundram, and Mettuppatti, these paths were marked by signs and metal railings installed by the Archaeological Survey of India. In other cases the modern visitor is left to create their own path, such as Perumal Malai, or has to be taught the correct path that will enable them to reach the top, such as at Vikkiramangalam.[27] In many cases there were rock-cut stairs located somewhere in the vicinity of the caves or on the path leading to the cave. Often, these paths were not the same as those designated or created by the ASI. For example, at Alagarmalai, I noticed the characteristic small Early Historic rock-cut steps along a steep escarpment which ended below in an area of thick brush. At Mettuppatti, as noted in Chapter 6, there were rock-cut stairs that distinctly diverged from the prescribed path.

[27] Here, I posit that the original path to the caves has been destroyed by quarrying. It is clear that there used to be a more gentle slope and I think the path would have been there or perhaps the caves were reached from the backside of the hill, opposite the Jain caves, where the Śaivite shrine and other rock-cut steps are. The current route that I used was absolutely not amenable to anyone but the most agile of climbers, and even the college students who accompanied me for several weeks on the survey found the route daunting.

Early documentation of the Jain caves by British epigraphists in the first half of the twentieth century attest to the small number of stairs originally in place, prior to the conversion of these spaces into accessible archaeological heritage spots. The following account from 1909 notes that "As they are situated at an inconvenient height, up the steep side of the hill and are reached only by crude foot-holds cut into the rock, no human being except the curious antiquarian would ever think of getting up to have a view of the beds."[28]

Due to their locations on steep hills, there were a limited number of ways in which one can reach the Jain caves. While in the present such paths are marked by arrows and signs, in the past, one of the key visual markers would have been the small rock-cut stairs. Such stairs not only enabled visitors, and the monks, to reach the caves, but inherent in the nature of following a prescribed path is the structuring of one's physical experience of the climb. Within such a structured movement also comes a shared experience, each person treading the same ground and having the same visual experience of approaching the caves, as well as the creation of a shared sense of directionality – front/back, entrance/exit, beginning/end.

My experience of climbing to these sites also suggests that it would not have been feasible to bring pack animals or large amounts of cargo up to the caves or to the summit, without an unreasonable amount of physical effort.[29] Therefore, if merchants were to take shelter at these hills, their cargo would have had to stay at the base of the hill. Notably, at Samanar Malai and Mettuppatti there are additional caves (without beds) at the base of the hills. At Kongarpuliyankulam, there are several caves located close to the base of the hill that contain

[28] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy (ARE) 1909, p. 68.
[29] One caveat is the designated – modern – staircase at Tirupparankundram that leads to the Muslim dargah. I saw several individuals carrying heavy loads of snacks and entire cases of soda and cool drinks on their heads to restock the snack stand in front of the dargah.

beds, but no drip-ledges. It is possible that such caves could have been used as shelters for travelers, or for anyone accompanying the merchants and tasked with guarding the cargo.

In addition to the movement of the monks on the hills, and the movement of monastics and laity to and from the caves, we can also consider the movement of people alongside the hills, specifically the flow of people and goods along the Vaigai River, along the Nagamalai range, and along the trade routes connected Madurai with Karur and other rich market centers in Tamil Nadu and on the coast of Kerala, on the other side of the Western Ghats. The Vaigai River begins on the eastern slopes of the Western Ghats and runs east-north-eastwards along the northern slopes of the Andipatti hills and the Nagamalai range before turning due south towards Madurai. From there it continues in a south-eastern direction until it reaches the sea. Its use as a navigational route is suggested in the *Cilappatikāram* (c. 5th century CE), when three women are described as travelling along the Vaigai River to get from the Pandiya capital of Madurai to the Chera capital of Vañci.[30] The Jain monks perched atop lofty hills along these routes no doubt benefited from these flows of people and objects. As I will explore in the concluding chapter, the defensive advantage of these hills based on elevation along with their religious significance and sanctity, in part from their occupation by Jain monks, may have made these hills safe havens for merchants and other travelers.

[30] See Canto 29, The Benediction, in R. Parthasarathy, *The Cilappatikāram: The Tale of an Anklet* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004), 258-59.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Integrating the Sources: Jain Monastic Communities in Early Historic Tamil Nadu

This dissertation began with the premise that although scholars have traditionally drawn upon multiple lines of evidence to reconstruct the ancient Indian past, such approaches have generally prioritized the analysis of textual evidence, particularly literature, over all other forms of evidence. As a result, archaeological evidence has taken the subsidiary role of supplementing the historical narratives already created on the basis of literary analysis, or it is cast aside because the information it provides is perceived as ill-fitting within the pre-constructed framework. To address this, I proposed a multi-perspectival approach to examining the past, one in which archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence are each critically assessed and brought into dialogue with one another. The subject of analysis to test this methodology is Jainism in Early Historic Tamil Nadu, about which we have ample amounts archaeological, epigraphical, and literary data.

In archaeology, the advice of "moving from the known, to the unknown" is a common adage.[1] In bringing the various kinds of evidence together to construct an historical narrative for the arrival and development of Jainism in Tamil Nadu c. 4th century BCE to 7th century CE, I have essentially followed this principle. I began my analysis with the Jain caves, which unlike other kinds of material evidence are immobile. The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions engraved upon them, unlike other kinds of textual evidence, are also relatively fixed in form, content, and context. From this definite material evidence for the existence of Jainism and Jain monks in Tamil Nadu during the early centuries BCE and CE, I shifted the scales of analysis to

[1] This idea can be traced back to the nineteenth-century philosopher Herbert Spencer, and was later popularized in the 1960s by the educational psychologist Jean Piaget.

contextualize these sites and inscriptions within the larger datasets of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (Chapter 2) and Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu (Chapter 3). With a general chronology for the development of the Tamil-Brahmi script (c. 5th century BCE), the arrival of Jain monks in Tamil Nadu (c. 4th century BCE), and the carving of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Jain cave sites around Madurai (beginning c. 3rd century BCE), I again shifted focus to closely examine classical Tamil literature (Chapter 4). Here, the aim was to discern the role of Jains as authors of classical Tamil literature, and to assess what the content of this literature can tell us about Jainism during the Early Historic period. I also examined several works in the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* corpus attributed to Jain monks, c. 5th to 8th century CE, in order to assess what these texts can tell us about the position of Jain monks within Tamil society and the development of Jainism at this time. With each new chapter a new layer and a new perspective was added to the developing historical narrative.

Chapters 5 highlighted the abundance of published archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic data for the Early Historic period and demonstrated the ways in which geospatial and statistical analyses of this data may be used to identify significant patterns and relationships. Again, shifting focus to broader scales of analyses enabled me to develop a material framework, an archaeological and material landscape, that provided a chronological, cultural, and geographical context for the analyses and conclusions from the previous chapters. While the content of literary texts may tell us something about the social, economic, and political contexts in which they were composed and circulated, archaeological evidence can also help to delineate these contexts. Literary texts, particularly those on perishable materials like palm leaves (as is the case for classical Tamil texts), which were copied and recopied, edited, redacted, selected for anthologies, curated, lost, and rediscovered over the course of several millennia have complex

life histories that prevent us from reading them as unchanging urtexts or windows onto the ancient past.[2] To be sure, archaeological evidence, particularly portable objects, are capable of developing complex life histories.[3] However, more quotidian objects and architecture tend to be abandoned in or in close proximity to the location and context of their original use. Moreover, in contrast to the analysis of literary texts, the significance of archaeological data often comes from the aggregate rather than the particular. Thus, material evidence requires different methods and scales of analyses.

Where the critical engagement and close analysis of text and artifact come together is in the final chapters regarding my archaeological survey of Jain caves in Madurai District (JCMD 2016) (Chapters 6 and 7). Here, in situ analysis of inscriptions, detailed mapping of rock-cut monastic spaces, collection of surface ceramics and lithics, and identification of features that may have been created and/or used by Jain monks falls in the liminal space between the different methods and scales of analysis. The inscriptions represent singular moments: a single donation, a single act of engraving and recording the donation in stone. At the same time, the durability of these inscriptions ensures that they endure long after, which is also part of the original intention of their creation. Similarly, the Jain caves, though fixed geographically, were never static. They too have life histories comprised of different moments of creation, elaboration, expansion, abandonment, renovation, conversion, and reoccupation by people other than Jain monastics. Today these spaces endure and continue to be used by local villagers as the locations for daily

[2] The term 'life history' refers to the various stages in the life of a text as outlined by K. Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 24.
[3] Arjun Appadurai, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

card games (e.g. Kongarpuliyankulam) but are also damaged and defaced by the graffiti of tourists eager to carve their own names into the rock or destroyed due to modern quarrying.[4]

In this final chapter, I will bring together all of the analyses and conclusions of the previous chapters to craft a single historical narrative for the arrival and growth of Jainism in Tamil Nadu, South India between c. 4th century BCE and 7th century CE and explore the interactions and relationships of Jain monastics with the merchants whose donations funded the carving and maintenance of the early Jain cave sites, and the kings, chieftains, and other political elite who controlled the social and economic landscape in which these monasteries were situated. In doing so, I will also attempt to highlight some of the main arguments, new discoveries, and significant contributions of this dissertation.

8.1. The Arrival and Development of the Earliest Jain Monastic Communities in Tamil Nadu, c. 4th century BCE

8.1.1. Tamil Nadu Upon the Arrival of Jain Monks in the Early Historic Period

As discussed in Chapter 5, the Early Historic period in South India was a time of great transition: from agro-pastoralism to a more sedentary society composed of elites, merchants, and farmers; from cattle-raiding chieftains to monarchs residing in capital cities. These changes are evident in both the literary and archaeological records. Cattle raiding features prominently in many of the poems in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*,[5] and Megalithic sites across South India contain the graves of warriors buried alongside iron weapons, jewelry of semi-precious stone beads, and other grave

[4] All of the sites have been damaged by modern graffiti. Mining and quarrying of granite has also taken place at all of the hills, but has been the most destructive at Samanar Malai, Perumal Malai, Kongarpuliyankulam, and Vikkiramangalam.
[5] K. Kailasapathy, *Tamil Heroic Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

goods.[6] Cattle raiding is also mentioned in a Tamil-Brahmi inscription on a hero stone discovered at Pulimankombai, dated c. 3rd century BCE. The inscription reads: "the [hero] stone of Tīyaṉ Antavaṉ who died in a cattle raid (*ākōḷ*) in Madurai (Kūṭal)."[7]

The *Puṟanāṉūṟu* also contains many poems related to the large polities ruled by the Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas, also known as the *mūventar* or *mūvar* and described as the "lords of the Tamils."[8] During the Early Historic period, South India witnessed a significant influx of wealth due the intensification of long-distance trade with the Mediterranean West. The rulers who were once chieftains now commanded a great deal of wealth, which they wielded for "socio-political dominance and patronage," [9] expanding the size of their armies and land-holdings. The fame of these great rulers was well known. The 2nd and 13th rock edicts of Ashoka (3rd century BCE) refer to the "the Cōḻas, the Pāṇṭiyas, Satyaputras, and the Keralaputras [Cēras],"[10] and the Hathigumpha inscription of King Kharavela (c. 2nd century BCE) records a conflict with a confederacy of Tamil polities, and lists spoils of war brought back to Kalinga from the Pandiya kingdom.[11] References to the Pandiyas also occur in classical texts of Greece and Rome, including Megasthenes (302 BCE), Strabo (20 CE), the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (50 CE), Pliny (77 CE), and Ptolemy (140 CE).[12]

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[6] Udayaravi S. Moorti, *Megalithic Culture of South India: Socioeconimc Perspectives* (Varanasi: Ganga Kaveri Publishing House, 1994); B. Narasimhaiah, *Neolithic and Megalithic Cultures in Tamil Nadu* (Delhi: Sindeep Prakashan, 1980).

[7] ka-la-pe-ṭu-tī-yā-ṉa-a-na-ta-vā-ṉa-kū-ṭā-la-ū-ra-ā-kō-ḷa (*kal Pēṭu Tīyan Antavan Kūṭal ūr ākōḷ*) K. Rajan and V.P. Yathees Kumar, "Cultural Transformation from Iron Age to Early Historic Times: A Case Study of the Vaigai River Valley, Tamil Nadu," in *New Dimensions in Tamil Epigraphy*, ed. Appasamy Murugaiyan (Chennai: Cre-A, 2012), 194-96.

[8] *Puṟ*. 35:3, *tamiḻk kiḻavar*

[9] R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 Bc to Ad 1300* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 94. Emphasis added.

[10] Ven. S. Dhammika, "The Edicts of King Asoka: An English Rendering," http://www.accesstoinsight.org/lib/authors/dhammika/wheel386.html.

[11] Shashi Kant, *The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela and the Bhabru Edict of Aśoka: A Critical Study* (Delhi: Prints India, 1971).

[12] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India: From Megasthenes to Ma Huan* (Madras: University of Madras, 1972), 41, 47, 53, 59.

Classical Tamil poetry also reflects this increase in trade, particularly the wealth enjoyed by kings. For example, *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 56 praises the excellence of the wine brought by the *yavanas* (that is, Greco-Roman foreigners)[13] in fine ships (*naṉkalam)* and served by women to the Pandiyan king in golden vessels.[14] Sections of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a Greek mariner's guide to Indian Ocean trade composed in c. 50 CE, describe in some detail the various ports of trade along the South Indian coastline and the particular imports and exports associated with them. For example, the author notes the demand for imported coinage, the pepper exported from Kottonara (Kottaram near Kollam), and the pearl-fisheries at Kolchis (Kochi).[15] The veracity of these descriptions is demonstrated by archaeological evidence, including thousands of sherds from Roman ceramic types, such as amphorae and terra sigillata,[16] caches of gold and silver Greek and Roman coins dated c. 1st to 2nd century CE,[17] and various other objects, such as small statues and jewelry.[18] The Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas also began minting their own coins. Hundreds of copper and silver coins bearing symbols affiliated with these polities (i.e. the bow,

[13] See also H.P. Ray, "The Yavana Presence in Ancient India," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 31, no. 3 (1988); K. Zvelebil, "The Yavanas in Old Tamil Literature," in *Charisteria Orientalia: Praecipue Ad Persiam Pertinentia*, ed. F. Tauer, V. Kubičková, and I. Hrbek (Prague: Nakl. Československé akademie věd, 1956).

[14] Also *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 343 references the wealth of Chera King Kuṭṭuvan, who distributed gifts from the mountains and sea. And *Akanaṉūṟu* 149 describes *yavanas* bringing gold in fine ships (*nankalam*) to the Chera port of Muziris and leaving with pepper and *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 30 praises the Chola king Nalankilli and the wealth of his country due to the many things brought by sea in great vessels (*peruṅkalam*).

[15] For a full list of these imports and exports see Chapter 5. *Periplus* 56:18.22-28; 59:20.2-3.

[16] R. Nagaswamy, *Roman Karur: A Peep into Tamil's Past* (Madras: Brahad Prakashan, 1995); Roberta Tomber, "Rome and Mesopotamia -- Importers into India in the First Millennium Ad," *Antiquity* 81, no. 314 (2007); V. Begley and R.D. dePuma, eds., *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).

[17] TPQ Influx of Roman *denarii* c. 70-100 CE and 107 CE. D.W. MacDowall, "Indian Imports of Roman Silver Coins," in *Coinage, Trade, and Economy*, ed. A.K. Jha (Nashik: Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, 1991).

[18] S. Suresh, *Symbols of Trade: Roman and Pseudo-Roman Objects Found in India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004).

lion, and fish) have been discovered along river beds near Madurai and Karur, and in Sri Lanka.[19]

8.1.2. Jain Migrations to South India

As discussed in Chapter 2, by c. 5th century BCE, regular trade networks between North India and South India and Sri Lanka had developed, facilitating movement of peoples and goods across the subcontinent. Archaeological and epigraphical evidence from Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka attest to the presence of North Indian merchants traveling along these routes and using Tamil-Brahmi and Brahmi scripts to mark their names on bowls and on the lids of storage jars containing their trade goods.[20] It was also around this time that Jainism began to spread across North India, drawing large numbers of adherents, particularly from the merchant and upper classes. By the 3rd century BCE, the trade routes connecting North and South India were well established, particularly due to the rise of the Mauryan Empire in North India, under whose governance roads were provided with amenities to support trade and travel, such as trees for shade and wells for water. Jain commentaries from the 7th century CE also claim that Ashoka's grandson Samprati (3rd century BCE) was a great proponent of Jainism and built shrines in Tamil Nadu.[21]

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[19] R. Krishnamurthy, *Sangam Age Tamil Coins* (Madras: Garnet Publications, 1997); R. Krishnamurthy and Senarath Wickramasinghe, eds., *A Catalogue of the Sangam Age Pandya and Chola Coins in the National Museum, Colombo, Sri Lanka* (Colombo Dept. of the National Museums, 2005).

[20] Y. Subbarayalu, "Pottery Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu - a Comparative View," in *Airāvati: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Iravatham Mahadevan* (Chennai: Varalaaru.com, 2008); R.A.E. Coningham et al., "Passage to India? Anuradhapura and the Early Use of the Brahmi Script," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6, no. 01 (1996); F.R. Allchin, "Inscriptions and Graffiti," in *Anuradhapura: The British - Sri Lankan Excavations at Anuradhapura Salgaha Watta: Volume 2 the Artefacts*, ed. R.A.E. Coningham (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006).

[21] Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism, up to 1000 A.D*, Array ed. (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1978), 37-38. According to S.B. Deo, the Bṛhatkalpa (Kalpa Sūtra) (c. 9th century CE) and the Pariśiṣtaparvan also discuss Samprati and that he made the regions of "Andha, Damila, Maharaṭṭa and Kuḍukka [Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, and Coorg in Karnataka] safe for the Jain monks." Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and Literature*, Deccan College Dissertation Series (Poona: Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, 1956), 91.

As discussed in Chapter 2, archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu suggests that the earliest migrations of Jains into Tamil Nadu involved monks traveling in the company of merchants along trade routes on the eastern coast of India. According to the *Sthānāṅga sūtra* (c. 2nd century BCE), a proper road was one that was well-travelled, upon which there was regular traffic by carts, chariots, elephants, horses, oxen, men and women.[22] The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* spends quite a bit of time discussing rules for water travel, which suggests that it was a regular mode of travel for the monks.[23] Monks were instructed to avoid dense forests that could not be crossed in less than five days. They were also prohibited from traveling at night, because they would be unable to avoid inadvertently injuring insects and plants. Jain texts dated to the 7th century CE and later suggest that what motivated the monks to leave North India was severe famine.[24] However, given the significant influx of wealth in South India and the growing fame of the southern polities of the Cheras, Cholas, and Pandiyas, it is also quite likely that the migrations were motivated by economic opportunity.

Travel was also a requisite part of monastic life, as monks were required to remain peripatetic eight months of the year, wandering from village to village preaching Jain dharma. During the four months of the rainy season, monks were prohibited from traveling to avoid injuring the many new creatures and plants that come alive during the monsoon. Monks were also advised to take up residence away from crowds and cities, in places like gardens, mountain caves, or generally deserted areas.[25] And so it was, upon their arrival in Tamil Nadu, that the first communities of Jain monks took up residence in the natural caves in the granitic hills around

[22] Deo, 156 .
[23] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* II.3.1-2.
[24] These stories include: *Bṛihatkathākōśa* by Harishena (c. 931), *Bhadrabāhucharita* by Ratnanandi (c. 15th century), *Munivamśābhyudaya* by Chidanandakavi (c. 1680), and *Rājāvalī-kathe* by Devachandra (1838). See discussion in Chapter 2.
[25] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* I.7.2.1

Madurai. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, the majority (51%) of Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are located in Madurai district, and Madurai remained a significant center of Jainism in South India from the Early Historic period through c. 10th century CE, when other important centers developed in Pudukkottai, Kanchipuram, Tiruvannamalai, and Villupuram.

As discussed in Chapter 7, the granitic caves around Madurai were the ideal locations for monsoon retreats: quiet, away from crowds, and the bare rock face ensured that the monks could more easily avoid injuring any plants or small creatures. Prior to the arrival of the Jain monks, these hills may have already been in use as rock shelters and places for burying the dead. Lithics were visible on the surface of 4 of the 6 surveyed sites, and sherds from Iron Age / Early Historic burial urns were discovered at Vikkiramangalam.

As highlighted in Chapter 5, all of the Early Historic Jain cave sites were located within 5 to 6 km of trade routes and local villages. The proximity to trade routes may have been motivated by a desire to remain within range of a steady stream of potential patrons. It is also possible that the monks chose these locations due to their proximity to the trade routes upon which the Jains themselves had traveled. Notably, in the region selected for archaeological survey, many of the cave openings provided direct views of other Jain hill sites and were oriented westward with views of the Western Ghats and trade routes leading to Kerala. The summit of Mettuppatti also provided wide panoramic views of the Western Ghats, Alagarmalai and other hills to the northeast of Madurai, and the Vaigai River, which was also an important route of trade and travel.

The caves and rock shelters in which the Jain monks took up residence were natural features of the landscape, formed through processes of erosion. However, in order to make these spaces habitable during the heavy monsoon rains, additional modifications had to be made to

prevent water from entering the cave. Thus, the earliest architectural features at the caves are most likely those related to water management: drip-ledges and water channels. Over time, additional modifications were made, including rock-cut beds for meditation and study and postholes to support organic superstructure, and these monsoon retreats soon transformed into year-round monastic residences.

8.2. The Establishment of Patronage Relationships and the Elaboration of Monastic Spaces from c. 3rd century BCE

Having entered Tamil Nadu and taken up temporary residence in the granitic hills around Madurai for the monsoon season, the first communities of Jain monks began to establish themselves more permanently in the area. Contrary to the dominant historical narratives that portray Jains as non-Tamils and foreign (see Chapter 4) it is unlikely that the Jain monastic community would have been able to sustain itself without the addition of local converts. The continuation of these communities also required patronage: generous laity willing to provide food and other necessities for the monks. That Jainism was met with favorably in the area around Madurai is borne out by the long periods of occupation of the Jain cave sites, their architectural modification and expansion, and Tamil-Brahmi and Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions recording donations to these Jain monastic communities.

As discussed in Chapter 2, I propose a date of at least 3rd century BCE for the carving of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at the Jain cave sites. Based on analyses in Chapter 3, we know that the majority of these inscriptions were engraved on the brows of the caves, usually below the drip-ledge, and inside the caves on the rock-cut beds. While drip-ledges and other water management features would have been a requisite of any monsoon retreat, the appearance of

beds suggests more permanent residence. Other architectural features include postholes both inside and outside of the caves, small rock-cut stairs on the steep slopes leading up to the caves, as well as auxiliary buildings located nearby the caves (e.g. at Samanar Malai, Mettuppatti, and Mangulam).

As discussed in Chapter 3, many of the earliest patrons of these communities were merchants. Of the 83 different named donors in the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, at least 22 are merchants or merchant guilds. In some cases, the mercantile profession of the individual is clearly expressed (e.g. *vaṇikaṉ*), and in other cases their vocation is implied by their title, (e.g. *antai* or *kaviti*). There are also five donors with the name Kubera, the god of wealth.[26] It is possible that these individuals may have been merchants, but such a connection is tenuous and they were not classified as such during the statistical analysis. Trade-guild symbols appear at Alagarmalai, Kongarpuliyankulam, Vikkiramangalam, and possibly Mettuppatti (see Chapter 6). These symbols predominantly appear in the larger inscriptions carved on the exteriors of the caves beneath the drip-ledge. The potential significance of these symbols will be discussed in more detail below.

Other people donating funds for the creation of these cave monasteries and their maintenance included elites (n=11), such as chieftains (*vēḷ, kōṉ, ilayar*) and individuals associated with the Pandiya and Chera kings. A smaller number of individuals named in inscriptions may be identified as religious persons (n=6). Of particular note is the occurrence of the term *upācaṉ*, meaning "worshipper" or "devotee", which occurs at the sites of Tiruvadavur,

[26] Cenkuviran, Kuvira-antai, Kuvira-antai Vel, Kuviran, Kuviran of Pettalai.

Kilavalavu, and Kongarpuliyankulam.[27] There are also donations from entire villages (Akalur, Peruntevur, Titti-il (Tidiyan), and Vempirrur).[28]

The inscriptions and carving of architectural features suggests that the early Jain monastic communities were not only well-supported, but were also increasing in size. That is, one need not expand a cave or carve additional beds if there are not bodies to fill those spaces. The inscriptions also attest to the support of the early Jain monastic communities by a combination of merchants, elites, villages, and devotees. But what motivated these donors to provide for the Jain monastic communities at these hill sites?

One straightforward answer might be the acquisition of religious merit, moving themselves forward on the path toward liberation. The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions not only commemorated the gifts of donors to the monasteries, but also ensured that the donor's name would remain in perpetuity to be read by the monks residing at these sites. In this way, the merit of the donor's gift would continue to accrue long after the donation event. As I suggested in Chapter 3, names carved upon rock-cut beds would have been seen by the monks daily, as they prayed, meditated, studied, and slept upon and in close proximity to these beds, resulting in the continuous accumulation of merit for the donor.

In contrast, the inscriptions carved on the brows of the caves, by location, were more public in nature. It is these inscriptions where political elites and prosperous merchants are named, which suggests that such inscriptions represent more significant donations, either in form (e.g. more money) and/or the status of their patron. Indeed, there is a statistically significant relationship between the type of donor and the object donated, specifically the association of

[27] ARE 275/1965-66, ARE 135/1903, ARE 55/1910. Mahadevan 2003, Nos. 9-11.
[28] Recorded in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Tondur, Samanar Malai, Mettuppatti, and Vikkiramangalam (aka Mudalaikulam), respectively.

elite donors with caves and drip-ledges and merchant donors with rock-cut beds (Chapter 3). Because the exteriors of these caves were augmented with wooden canopies (as indicated by post holes), and because most of the caves are located high up on hills, close to cliff faces, it is unlikely that they were read with the same frequency or intensity by the monks as the inscriptions located within the living quarters. Instead, the primary audience for the large exterior inscriptions may have been the devotees and other individuals who primarily viewed the caves from the exterior. Therefore, such inscriptions not only recorded donative acts that would have accrued those named great merit, but also served to communicate these deeds to large audiences of visitors, thereby accruing additional renown.

During my archaeological survey of the Jain caves, I noticed at some places, such as Perumal Malai, that the location of the Tamil-Brahmi inscription below a drip-ledge also occurs below notches for wooden posts. If we consider how the organic superstructure would have been arranged in front of and attached to the caves, this would have meant that the inscription was obstructed by the organic structure. Because most inscriptions are meant to be seen, this suggests that the inscriptions on the drip-ledges may be older than the other architectural features and beds that expand beyond the interior of the caves. And because drip-ledges were an essential aspect of making these caves inhabitable during the monsoon season, it is likely that they were some of the first features carved. Thus, we may want to consider inscriptions engraved below drip-ledges as the first inscriptions, roughly contemporary with the official establishment of these spaces as Jain monasteries.[29] That such inscriptions represent the founding of these

[29] It should also be noted that the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions and images at Perumal Malai occur above the drip-ledge. Similarly, at Kilavalavu, the Jain images are not only carved above the drip ledge, but above the row of rectangular notches around the boulder that forms the cave. Because these images and inscriptions were exposed to weathering (since they were meant to be seen and were not covered by the larger organic structures), small individual canopies were built to protect them. This is the case at Kilavalavu, as well as Kongarpuliyankulam, among others.

monasteries is also supported by their content in which the object of donation is the entire monastic space, i.e. *paḷḷi* (10 sites).[30]

In addition to religious merit and social or political renown, there may have also been a more strategic and pragmatic motivation for these contributions. As noted above, the Early Historic period was a time of great transition and the influx of wealth from growing long-distance maritime trade networks had profound effects on the social and political landscape of Tamil Nadu. In the *Eṭṭutokai*, *akam* poems composed in the *tiṇai* or theme of *pālai*, that is expressions of hardship or separation set in the landscape of a wasteland (i.e. parched and uncultivated land, forests, and mountains), frequently include references to marauders or bandits (*maṟavar*). Salt merchants (*ūmaṇar*) also appear in these scenes and are described as travelling in carts (*oḻukai*) pulled by draught animals (e.g. oxen, donkeys) along paths (*atar*) through the hills or mountains. The salt merchants are also described as traveling in groups or caravans, presumably for protection against violent bandits. As noted in Chapter 1, it is unwise to uncritically interpret the content of classical Tamil literature as a window onto the ancient past. However, it is not the individual descriptions of bandits and salt merchants that is significant, but rather the collective imagery of the areas outside of cities as menacing and harsh. Within the context of these poems, such imagery enhances the emotional distress of the protagonist (e.g. hero, heroine's friend, foster mother, etc.). These scenes are purposefully designed to elicit a particular emotional response in the audience. However, it is not unlikely that such scenes were effectively menacing because they were rooted in reality.

[30] Sites where the donation in the exterior drip-ledge inscription is paḷḷi: Karungalakkudi, Kongarpuliyankulam, Jambai, Mangulam, Pugalur, Tirumalai, Varichiyur, Kudumiyamalai, Mannarkoil and Nekanurpatti.

In the *Akanāṉūṟu*, one of the older anthologies of the Caṅkam corpus composed c. 1st century BCE to 3rd century CE,[31] the image of merchants in the uncultivated wastelands (*pālai*) occurs in about 20 of the 400 poems. In several of these poems, the bandits are described as those who kill merchants and make off with their cargo.[32] As noted in Chapter 5, it is interesting that many of the Early Historic coin hoards are spatially clustered in the Western Ghats. In essence, hoards represent items that were purposefully buried, but never retrieved. There are multiple reasons why someone might bury a large pile of coins. Large coin hoards, like the ones discovered in the Western Ghats, generally fall into two categories: hoards buried due to conflict and economic insecurity, and those stored as bullion and put aside for reuse ("founders' hoards").[33] While it is possible that some of the Early Historic coin hoards fall into the latter category, the ones clustered in the mountains may fall into the former category. That is, these coins may represent the result of conflict, either as the loot of marauding bandits, or as wealth someone hid to prevent it from being stolen by bandits.

If the areas outside of the urban political capitals of Madurai, Karur, and Uraiyur were indeed dangerous areas where merchants' lives and loot could be lost, it then follows that finding safe resting places along trade routes and journeys between mercantile hubs would have been of utmost importance. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, many of the hills upon which the Jain monks established their monastic residences tower high above the relatively flat landscape. This, and their proximity to larger mountain ranges, such as the Nagamalai range that runs along the western bank of the Vaigai and leads one directly to Madurai, would have made them suitable navigational markers. Moreover, these tall islands of rock were not only useful navigational

[31] Zvelebil gives a range of c. 1st century BCE to 2nd century CE, and Wilden suggests 1st-3rd century CE.
[32] *Akanāṉūṟu* 89, 167, 245, 291.
[33] Eleanor Ghey, *Hoards: Hidden History* (London: British Museum Press, 2015).

markers from the plain, but the views of the landscape from their summits would have been equally useful, not only for navigation, but also for defense.

The Jain monks occupying these remote spaces would not likely have been a target for bandits, as they lived lives of quiet study and had renounced their possessions. And while it is possible that Jains and bandits (*maṟavar*) could have occupied these hills at the same time, it seems unlikely that the two groups could have peacefully coexisted given their diametrically opposed lifestyles (in addition to killing, bandits are also described as drinking liquor and eating meat). Moreover, it is unlikely that Jains would choose to reside in a hill already under the control of such a group. I suggest here, that the presence of the Jains on these hills sanctified these spaces, some of which may have already had religious significance. Moreover, because of the extreme ethos of non-violence amongst Jain monastics, the presence of a Jain monastery high on a hill terrace, visible from the plain below, would have signaled to the viewer that the hill was a safe space, and that the presence of the Jain monks would ensure (or at least increase) their chances that no harm would befall them.

As noted in Chapter 7, my personal experience climbing these hills suggests that it would not have been possible to drive bullock carts or carry heavy cargo up to the summit. Thus, if merchant caravans were to stop at the Jain hills, their animals and cargo would have had to remain at the base. As noted in Chapter 6, along the base of the hills at Samanar Malai, Kongarpuliyankulam, and Mettuppatti, I discovered caves with evidence of human occupation and modification. Such caves could have been used by travelers for eating and sleeping. Thus, to have been effective as a deterrent to marauders, the sanctity of the hill would have had to extend beyond the immediate vicinity of the cave monastery to encompass the entirety of the hill itself. This is certainly plausible, given that today it is entire hills and not simply parts of them that are

considered sacred. For example, at Tirupparankundram, the base of the hill is certainly as sacred as the top, and Hindu temples exist in both places. Indeed, perhaps it is the form of the inselberg itself that inspires people to identify them as sacred. As noted by the geologist Yanni Gunnell, "few inselbergs lack a small temple, sacred cavity at their summit, or sacred forest grove at their base, where trees persist naturally due to rainwater running off the bedrock."[34]

By donating to these early Jain monastic communities, funding and the carving and maintenance of the caves, merchants could help to ensure that the monks remained on these hills and continued to serve as a refuge, offering protection to travelers. Based on the names of the donors, it seems that some of them may have been from North India, while others were local. For example, at Alagarmalai, the list of donors includes a goldsmith from Madurai (*mātiray poṉkolvaṉ*) and a salt merchant from Madurai (*māttiraike ūpuvāṇikaṉ*). [35]

Like the merchants, the Pandiya and Chera kings may have had similar reasons for donating to the Jain monasteries. Based on *puṟam* poems from the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and *Patiṟṟuppattu* one of the symbolic duties of a king was to protect the balance between order and chaos.[36] The king's parasol (*kuṭai*), described as white, tall, and associated with victory, appears frequently as a symbol of his ability to protect and care for his subjects.[37] Part of this care no doubt included protecting his people from the harm of marauders and protecting the economic trade networks that enriched his kingdom.

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[34] Yanni Gunnell, "Granite Landforms of the Indian Cratons," in *Landscapes and Landforms of India*, ed. V.S. Kale (Dordrecht Springer Verlag, 2014), 200. He cites as examples the Jain site of Sravanabelagola in Karnataka, Hampi, also in Karnataka, and Golconda in Andhra.

[35] Nos. 36-47, c. 1st century BCE. I. Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 368-82.

[36] Kailasapathy.

[37] The parasol, or *kuṭai*, appears as a fundamental possession of kingship in 22 of the poems. Julie A Hanlon, "Politics in Poetry and Material Mediations of Power: Kingship and Authority in Ancient Tamil Nadu," in *41st Annual Conference on South Asia* (Madison, Wisconsin2012).

Just as Jains occupying the hills along trade routes may have been favorable for merchants, ensuring the protection of merchants would have also been favorable for kings. However, it is worth noting that while there are inscriptions which record donations from elites such as *vēḷs*, kings are not recorded as having given donations directly to the Jain monks. Rather, the inscriptions at Mangulam refer to donations by individuals *associated with* the Pandiyan king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ and the inscriptions at Pugalur record a gift given *on the occasion of* the coronation of the Chera prince Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkōṉ. Because of the caves' proximity to the capital cities of the Pandiyas and Cheras, the land on which these hills stood was likely under their purview. Thus, such inscriptions may have been symbolic of these dynasties granting permission and endorsing the Jains' occupation of the hills.

8.3. Tamil Jains and their Communities up to 5th century CE

8.3.1. The Jain Saṅgha

While the monks who established the first Jain monastic communities in Tamil Nadu may have been from North India, the survival and growth of these communities necessitated gaining local adherents. It is also clear that these communities were not isolated, but were part of a larger system of Jain monachism and the Jain church, which was organized into *gaṇas* or *saṅghas*. As discussed in Chapter 4, the historical lineage of the Digambara community in Tamil Nadu is said to begin with the Mūla saṅgha of Kunda-kundācārya, a Tamil Jain, c. 2nd-3rd century CE. This main lineage then split into four groups: Nandi-saṅgha, Deva-saṅgha, Sena-saṅgha, and Siṃha-saṅgha.[38] Jain texts also refer to a Drāviḍa saṅgha, which was founded in Madurai in 470 CE for

[38] Epigraphia Carnatica 1973, No. 360. M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar and B. Seshagiri Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, 2 vols. (Madras: Hoe & Co., 1922), 28; Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, 2nd ed., Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices. (London: Routledge, 2002), 121.

the propagation of Jainism by Vajranandi, a Jain grammarian and disciple of the ācārya Pūjyapāda.[39] The Drāviḍa saṅgha is said to have been part of the Nandi-gaṇa.[40] The connection between the Jains of Madurai and the Nandi-gaṇa is highlighted in the 6th-century invectives against them by the Śaivite saint Campantar who sang:

> Kaṇakananti and Puṭpananti and Pavaṇananti, lacking in dignity, Cuṉakananti and Kuṉakananti and Tivaṇananti, those 'pure' Nantis who do not understand [Tamil] language, by the Jains, who say that our penances are useless and abstain from liquor, I will not be defeated [in debate], as Araṉ (Śiva) of Holy Ālavāy (Madurai) stands by my side.[41]

Notably, the name 'Nanti' also appears in two of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Mangulam, dated c. 2nd century BCE, in reference to the head monk there, Kaṇi Nanta Aciriya.[42] It also appears in the name of the founder of the Drāviḍa saṅgha noted above, Vajranandi, and in the name of the 8th-century Jain monk associated with the proliferation of new Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions and images at Jain sites in Tamil Nadu, Ajjanandi.

8.3.2. The Madurai Caṅkam

As noted in Chapter 4, the concept of a Tamil literary academy or caṅkam in Madurai was likely borrowed from Jainism, and several names of Jain authors are associated with poems from the earliest strata in the Caṅkam corpus. Moreover, as shown in my analysis of the poems of the *Eṭṭutokai*, such as those of the *kāñci tuṟai* in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, Jain ethics and philosophy abound even where there are no identifiable Jain authors. Indeed, Jains are conspicuous by their absence.

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[39] *Darśanasāra* of Devasena, c. 10th century CE. A. Chakravarti, *Jaina Literature in Tamil* (New Delhi: Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha Publication, 1974), 14-17; Dundas, 122.
[40] S.K. Ramachandra Rao, *Jainism in South India*, Complete Works (Bangalore: Suramā Prakāshana, 2009), 23.
[41] Tēvāram, Tirumuṟai 3, Verse 416. My translation, maintaining the original word order to convey the order in which each insult is revealed, and the emphasis falls on the end. Kaṇakanantiyum Puṭpanantiyum Pavaṇanantiyuṅku maṇamā Cuṉakanantiyum Kuṉakanantiyum Tivaṇanantiyum moḻikoḷā aṉaka nantiyar matu oḻintu avemē tavam purivōm eṉum ciṉakarukku eḷiyēṉ alēṉ Tiruvālavāy Araṉ niṟkavē.
[42] ARE 460,463-465/1906 (untranslated). Manadevan 2003, Nos. 1-3.

As I argued in Chapter 4, the preamble to the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* written by Nakkīraṉār c. 9th century CE crafted a rich literary history that claimed Tamil, Madurai, and any historical literary academies for Śaivism. In doing so, it purposefully obscured the role of Jains in early Tamil literary production. Nevertheless, the traces that remain, in conjunction with the epigraphic and archaeological evidence that attest to the importance of Madurai as an early center of Jainism, strongly suggest that the Jain monks of the early centuries BCE and CE were composing poetry and participating in networks of early Tamil literary production. Based on the diversity of form and content of the poems in the *Eṭṭutokai*, their authors likely included a wide array of individuals from various professions, and social, political, and religious affiliations.

8.3.3. Jain Monastic Communities and Caves

Much of our understanding of early Jain monasticism comes from Jain Agamas, such as the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra,* and the study of Jain inscriptions. In addition to the analysis of these kinds of texts, the physical monastic spaces left behind by these early monks also convey information about their daily life. For example, one of the significant outcomes of the archaeological survey of Jain caves in Madurai District was the creation of floor plans or maps of the interiors of the caves at six Jain hill sites (14 mapped caves in total). Such maps contain data on the size, quantity, and spatial organization of rock-cut beds and other features and may be analyzed to assess patterns in the quantity and location of inscriptions within the caves. Archaeological survey at the hills also resulted in the identification of a number of stone alignments that may represent the foundations of structures associated with the Jain monasteries (e.g. like the Early Historic brick structure or 'prayer hall' excavated at Mangulam).[43] In addition, the water

[43] Sitharam Gurumurthi et al., eds., *Mankulam Excavations 2007* (Chennai: Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, 2008).

channels within the interior of the caves and the modified rock pools and rock ponds located near to the Jain caves indicates that the collection and management of water, in both the monsoon and the hot seasons, was part of living in these spaces. The presence of fresh water from springs and rain catchment features would have enabled the monks to remain on the hills for longer periods of time.

The arrangement and size of the rock-cut beds also suggest a hierarchy of space at these monasteries. For example, at Kongarpuliyankulam, we have several beds that are about twice the size of all of the others. One of these is located in the outermost row of beds in Cave 3, another occurs singly beneath the three prominent Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions in Cave 4, and another two occur in an elevated terrace that is part of Cave 5. Examples of these large beds also occur at Vikkiramangalam. The fact that there are multiple examples of these beds at each site suggests that these spaces were reserved for senior monks or another particular group within the monastery, rather than associated with specific individuals. In contrast, at Perumal Malai the back cave contains a boulder that has been shaped into a bed. Its location away from the rest of the beds, its elevation, and the Tamil-Brahmi inscription upon it all serve to set this bed apart from the others.

The beds and other features associated with the Jain caves suggest that the monasteries varied considerably in the number of monks living at the site. Kongarpuliyankulam was a thriving monastery with nearly 80 beds. Perumal Malai contains between 30-40 beds, and Tirupparankundram, Mettuppatti, and Vikkiramangalam range from 10-20 beds. Samanar Malai, at present, only has 6 beds inside the modest rock shelter with the drip ledge and Tamil-Brahmi inscription. However, as discussed in Chapter 6, a more traditional cave with rock-cut beds

formerly existed there, but was destroyed by quarrying.[44] It should also be noted that the number of beds may not represent the total number of monks residing at these sites, as the early Jain texts emphasize the austere sleeping accommodations of monks as including beds of grass, stone, or a wooden stool or plank.[45]

The daily routine of a monk, as depicted in the Jain Agamas, was largely spent in the study and recital of the sacred texts, with the senior monks providing instruction to the younger monks.[46] Thus, the "beds" may have also designated individual seats for study. In this light, the large bed in Cave 3 at Kongarpuliyankulam may be interpreted as an area where senior monks taught. The rows of beds in the interior of the cave might then be interpreted like rows of desks in a school. The location of this large bed at the mouth of the cave, may have also enabled devotees who had not taken monastic vows to be able to participate in these sessions, without entering the more private recesses of the cave.

Overall, there is much to be learned from studying the spatial organization of these early Jain caves. Moving forward, it is of some urgency that the rest of the Jain caves in Tamil Nadu be accurately mapped and all architectural and epigraphic features documented. This would not only facilitate more robust comparisons across sites, but is also necessary to preserve this information before the caves are completely destroyed by quarrying.

8.3.4 The Jains of Madurai City

As discussed in Chapter 4, the long narrative poem *Maturaikkāñci* (c. 2nd-5th century CE) and the epic *Cilappatikāram* (c. 5th century CE) contain descriptions of Jains and Jain temples within the

[44] It is also no longer possible to assess the presence of beds in the Jain cave at the base of Samanar Malai, which contains Jain images and inscriptions, because it has been plastered over with cement.
[45] Deo, 167. He cites *Ācārāṅga Sūtra, Uttarajjhayaṇa, Bhagavaī,* and the *Ṭhāṇaṅga*.
[46] Ibid., 183-87.

city of Madurai. While the Jain monks were never completely isolated from society, as they require interaction with laity for food and teaching Jain dharma, the descriptions in these texts suggest an increased level of activity in the city proper. In the *Maturaikkāñci*, Jainism is presented as one of the three prominent religious groups of Madurai and Jain monks are portrayed worshipping at a temple (*nakaram*) within the city itself, although the poet also refers to their cave dwellings in the hills.

The Jain epic *Cilappatikāram* provides much detail about the lives of Jain laity and the activities of Jain religious persons. In the historical landscape envisioned in the *Cilappatikāram*, Jainism had taken root across Tamil Nadu, with Jain laity and renowned arhats residing within and on the outskirts of Puhar on the Coromandel Coast, Araṅkam on the Kāveri River, and Madurai on the Vaigai River. Jain laity, represented by the main characters, Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki, are shown consulting with the Jain nun Kavunti, worshipping an arhat, circumambulating Jain monuments, and embodying the Jain vows of chastity and non-violence in their daily lives. Although there is archaeological and epigraphic evidence indicating the continued occupation of the Jain cave sites through the 5th century, the *Cilappatikāram* lacks any references to the hill-top monasteries. Instead, the Jain religious landscape is comprised of groves, gardens, temples, and monuments, in which Jain arhats or religious elites circulate between major cities preaching Jain dharma.

While in the early centuries BCE, Jain monks resided in hilly retreats on the outskirts of small cities, by c. 2nd to 5th centuries CE, Jain monastics are depicted in classical Tamil literature residing in monasteries and worshipping at temples located within cities. Overall, the archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence suggest that by c. 5th century CE Jainism had

gained a wider following and was considered a major religion (at least in Madurai), with Jain temples, gardens, and holy sites scattered across Tamil Nadu.

8.4. Development of Jainism in Tamil Nadu between 5th and 9th century CE

Between the 5th and 9th centuries CE, the composition of the Jain community in Tamil Nadu began to change, as did Jain religious spaces and architecture, and donation and worship practices. Within the epigraphic record, there is a significant shift away from donations to Jain monasteries and an increase in donations for the construction and maintenance of temples and donations associated with worship (e.g. creation of images or funds/supplies for worship services at a temple). As discussed in Chapter 3, between the 5th and 9th centuries CE only 10% of Jain inscriptions record donations to monks or monasteries. Instead, the majority (66.5%) of donations are related to the carving of images. Donative inscriptions recording gifts of temples, or the construction of temple architecture (e.g. mandapa) account for 20%. These patterns reflect changes in worship practices, with the emergence of veneration of rock-cut relief images and funds directed to support new temple complexes, which housed relief images and three-dimensional idols of the jinas. Indeed, most (80%) of donative inscriptions from this period were engraved on or around temples. There is also a move away from the construction of new monastic cave sites, with patronage instead focused on the restoration and elaboration of old sites with new images and temples.

Analysis of Jain inscriptions also indicates changes within the Jain monastic and lay communities and their patrons. In the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions of the Early Historic period, the majority of donations were from merchants and craftsmen, followed by elites, and then religious persons. This distribution gets turned on its head in Jain inscriptions from c. 5th to 9th century CE,

with the largest number of donors classified as Jain religious persons, followed by elite, and only a few donations from merchants. Many of these religious donors are students or disciples of monks and nuns. Women become increasingly visible in Jain inscriptions, though still significantly underrepresented. The ratio of male:female donors changes from over 15:1 in Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions to roughly 5:1 (3:1 when Kaḻugumalai is included). In addition, the 9th-century inscription from Vēṭal (Vedal) in Villuppuram district testifies to the existence of large numbers of female monastics: a group of 500 female disciples of Kanakavirakurattiyar, a Jain nun, and a group of 400 nuns from Vēṭal.[47] As discussed in Chapter 3, the lack of women in early Jain inscriptions may not correlate to a lack of women in the Jain community, but rather signal differences in donations practices and/or issues of representation (i.e. who is able or permitted to be represented in lithic inscriptions).

These changes in the composition of the Jain religious and lay communities indicated by shifts in the locus of donations (temples rather than monasteries) and the types of patrons or donors (elites and Jain religious persons rather than merchants), are also expressed in literary and archaeological evidence from this period. With regard to the Jain hill sites, many of those occupied during the Early Historic period remained so, and were expanded and renovated with the carving of relief images of the jinas accompanied by Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions recording the names of their donors. While Jain image worship in Tamil Nadu only becomes visible in the archaeological and epigraphic records c. 8th century, the literary record suggests that image worship began several centuries prior. For example, in the *Cilappatikāram* (c. 5th century CE), the Jain nun Kavunti is portrayed worshiping an image of a jina (*aṟivaṉ*), in the garden of a Jain

[47] ES No. 357.

temple in Araṅkam.[48] In addition to images of the jinas, temples were also built on the hills. At Samanar Malai, there are the remains of a Jain temple with a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription, dated c. 9th century CE.[49] Remains of temples, primarily foundations, were also identified at Tirupparankundram and Mettuppatti.[50]

8.4.1. Proselytization and Patronage of Political Elites

As explored in Chapter 4, I propose that Jains used the ethical treatises of the *Patiṉeṇkīlkkaṇakku* to preach Jain dharma to a wider audience and expand networks of patronage. The short poems in these anthologies, which stress the impermanence of wealth and the importance of charity, education, chastity, and renunciation, are written in *veṇpā* meter and organized into quatrains and distichs.[51] This articulation Jain ethics as short aphorisms would have made them more accessible (and memorable) to a lay audience. Moreover, while the form of the poems in the Jain anthologies was the same (quatrains), the content appears aimed at different audiences.

Many of the poems within the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār* are directed at kings and other political elites. In both texts, the parts on virtue (*aṟattuppāl*),[52] emphasize the great vows of Jainism: non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing, chastity, and non-attachment. In the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, the second (*poruṭpāl*), focuses on advice specifically for monarchs, with chapters addressing kingship, just and unjust rule, interacting with other kings, associating with sages, ministers, ambassadors, and the assembly. In the *Nālaṭiyār,* the *poruṭpāl* focuses on the traits and

[48] MK 11.1-4 tiṅkaḷ mūṉṟ aṭukkiya tirumuk kuṭaik kīḻc / ceṅkatir ñāyiṟṟut tikaḻoḷi ciṟantu / kōtaitāḻ piṇṭik koḻuniḻalirunta / ātiyil tōṟṟatt aṟivaṉai vaṇaṅkik /
[49] ES 226, ARE 243/1950-51.
[50] It is, however, not possible to identify whether these were Jain temples without archaeological excavation and further research.
[51] Only the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* contains two-line poems, all of the other anthologies are comprised of quatrains.
[52] The aṟattuppāl is made up of chapters 1-38 in the Tirukkural, and chapters 1-13 in the Nalatiyar.

dispositions required of a great leader, such as learning, moral greatness, friendship, wisdom, honor, and avoidance of base elements.[53] In addition, 52 of the 400 poems of the *Nālaṭiyār* are addressed directly to kings or chieftains using the vocative case.

The contents of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār* also indicate that farming amongst Tamil Jains was no longer considered a harmful profession, and in fact, both collections laud the virtues of farming and farmers. In the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* an entire chapter within the *poruṭpāl* is devoted to agriculture and in the first *kuṟaḷ* proclaims that farming is the highest profession: *uḻantum uḻavē talai*. The *Nālaṭiyār,* commonly known as the "Farmer's Bible" (*Veḷḷāḷar-Vētam*), has fewer direct references to farmers, but crafts rich metaphors that that draw upon quotidian experiences that many farmers could relate to, such as sowing seeds, growth of crops, water canals, plants, and domestic animals.

The other four Jain didactic works in the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* (*Ciṟupañcamūlam*, *Ēlāti*, *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu, Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai*) also emphasize the Jain mahāvratas. Moreover, while the common proverbs of *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu* seem aimed at a general audience, those of *Ciṟupañcamūlam* are targeted at students eager to learn more about Jain dharma. Many of the poems are dedicated to examining the relationship between teachers and students and the proper conduct of each.

The effectiveness of these texts to draw new adherents to the Jain religion is perhaps demonstrated in the epigraphic record discussed above, where there is a flood of new inscriptional activity associated with the carving of images and construction of temples. Moreover, the Jain religious community is expanding with disciples representing the majority of

[53] learning (*kaḷvi*), moral greatness (*perumai*), friendship (*naṭpār*), wisdom (*aṟivu*), honor (*māṇam*), and avoidance of base elements (*kayamai*). The *poruṭpāl* is made up of chapters 39-108 in the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, and chapters 14-39 in the *Nālaṭiyār*. The *kāmattuppāl* consists of chapters 109-133 in the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, and a single chapter (40) in the *Nālaṭiyār*.

donations by Jain religious persons. The *Ciṟupañcamūlam,* which highlights the teacher-student relationship and role of a good student, may have helped support and encourage this growing number of students.

8.5. Summary

While traditional narratives of Tamil history suggest that the 7th century, with the rise of bhakti and the Hindu temple complex, marked a great defeat of the heterodox sects of Jainism and Buddhism, or at least the beginning of the end for these religions, literary, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence strongly suggest otherwise. In fact, the historical narrative I have proposed here regarding the arrival and development of Jainism in South India, particularly in the environs of Madurai, Tamil Nadu, is primarily positive. Jains arrived in Tamil Nadu c. 4th century BCE, and through the patronage of itinerant merchants, among others, established monasteries in the granitic hills around Madurai. These monasteries, initially monsoon retreats, grew along with the Jain monastic and lay communities. Inscriptions and classical Tamil literature document the spread of the Jain religion across Tamil Nadu, and the continued prosperity of Madurai as a center of Jainism. Between the 5th and 8th centuries CE, Jain monastics engaged in a popular campaign of spreading Jain dharma, which was aimed at kings and other political elites, and the rising class of agriculturalists known as *veḷḷāḷars*. Thus, at the close of this historical narrative, the Jain communities in Tamil Nadu are thriving.

8.6. Future Research

There are many directions this project could take in the future. Looking back upon the areas covered in this dissertation, there remains room for even closer analysis of the texts of the

Eṭṭutokai as well as closer analyses of the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* in dialogue with other contemporary texts. Such analysis would aim to reconstruct the literary culture of Tamil Jains and explore in more detail some of the arguments proposed in Chapter 4. In addition, within my databases of archaeological sites, coin caches, and Jain inscriptions, there is room to expand and to classify with finer detail. The inter-visibility of the Jain hill sites is striking, and it would be interesting to see if this pattern extends to Jain sites beyond the survey area and also over time.

At present only one Early Historic Jain site has been excavated in Tamil Nadu, and many of the other sites are in threat of erasure from quarrying. There is much work to be done in documenting these sites, perhaps with professional engineering equipment for digital mapping. Excavations in areas at the bases and terraces of some of these hills may also reveal hidden structures or material culture that could contribute to our understanding of Jainism in Tamil Nadu during the Early Historic period. My discussions of the Jain begging bowls in Chapter 7 hints at what an "archaeology of Jainism" might look like. It is also likely that such excavations would shed light on how these granitic inselbergs were used by different religious communities at different periods in history.

Looking outward, beyond the present scope of this project, there is still a much longer story to tell about the Tamil Jains. Moreover, the narrative presented here has focused primarily on evidence from Tamil Nadu, representing just one part of a larger history of Jainism in South India. The narrative here stops at roughly c. 7th century, but there is much more to explore with regard to the tensions between Śaivites and Jains during the Medieval period, as well as the continuing development of Jain communities across Tamil Nadu and Jain literary production c. 7th-16th century.

APPENDIX A

TRANSLATIONS OF TAMIL-BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

Translations have been provided below for all inscriptions where contextual information or in situ examination has suggested interpretations that differ from the most recent readings of these inscriptions.

ARE: *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* Number/Volume
ES No: Number in Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam (1987) *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamilnadu*
IM No: Number in Mahadevan (2003) *Early Tamil Epigraphy*
TPK: Number in Sridhar et al. (2006) *Tamiḻ-Pirāmi Kalveṭṭukaḷ*
TL: *Tamil Lexicon*
: symbol (e.g. trade guild symbol at Kongarpuliyankulam)

Inscription	**Tirupparankundram – 2 a, b**
Publications consulted	ARE 140-141/1951-2; ES No. 256-257; IM No. 54; Mahadevan 1968: Nos. 49-50; TPK 16:2; Mahalingam 1967: pp. 251-257.
Transliteration	ARE/Mahalingam: n̲a-ya …. ma-ta-ye-va (upside down) Mahadevan: ka-ya …. ma-ra-ya-tu (upside down)
Modern Tamil Equivalent	ARE/Mahalingam: unintelligible Mahadevan: *marayatu kaya[m]*
English Translation	Mahadevan: the pool (*kayam*) [is the gift] of the *marayam*
Comments	Upon closer inspection of these inscriptions it was clear where the discrepencies between the two readings arise. The line to make the *ka* a *n̲a* is there, but because the line falls below the horizontal cross in the *ka*, Mahadevan's reading is the more likely (unless this is a form of *n̲u*). The *ra* in the second inscription is damaged, and old estampages show the line for the *ta*. Similarly, the bottom of the *tu* in *marayatu* is also worn. While Mahadevan's readings of these two inscriptions are intelligible, the mental and physical gymnastics required to read them properly suggest that there is something we are missing. It is possible that the first part of the first inscription (…*ka-ya*) was worn away through water erosion. The upside down inscription on the adjacent bed is curious. Given the high level of literacy amongst Jain monks, these kinds of errors may have been the work of an unsupervised and illiterate stonemason.

Inscription	**Tirupparankundram - 3**
Publications consulted	ARE 333/1908 (untranslated); ES No. 258; IM No. 55 (cf. Mahadevan 1968: No. 51); TPK 16:3; Mahalingam 1967: pp. 251-257.
Transliteration	e-ru-ka-ṭu-ra-i-l̲a-ku-ṭa-ma-pi-ka-n̲a-po-lā-lai-ya-n̲a | ce-ya-ta-a-ya-ca-ya-n̲a-ne-ṭu-cā-ta-n̲a
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Erukaṭṭūr Il̲a-*kuṭumpikan̲* Polālaiyan̲ | *ceyta[n̲]* Āycayan̲ Neṭucātan̲ OR *ceyta āy-cayan̲a* Neṭucātan̲.
English Translation	Polālaiyan̲ the Sri Lankan householder from Erukaṭṭūr [donated the 4 stone beds beneath the inscription]. Āycayan̲ Neṭucātan̲ is he who made [the bench beneath the inscription] OR Neṭucātan̲ made the small bed/couch.
Comments	It is unclear whether Āycayan̲ Neṭucātan̲ was the stonemason, while Polālaiyan̲ was the financial donor, as suggested by Mahadevan (2003). Instead, Mahalingam's (1967) translation seems more compelling. He translates *āy-cayan̲a* as "the bed (Skt. *śayana*) for sleeping (*āyvai*)" and *neṭucātan̲a* as "long (*neṭu*) meditation (Skt. *sādhana*)." For Mahalingam's reading to work, both parts must be read together. Based on very clear differences in the formation of the letters and organization of each of these inscriptions, in addition to the line dividing them, I strongly doubt that the two portions of this inscription are contemporary. Instead, I think that they refer to two different donations: 1) the four beds, and 2) the small bench. Read this way, *āy* is 'smallness' (*TL*, Pur̲. 249:10) and *cayan̲a* is 'bed or couch' (Tamil *cāyan̲am*, from Skt. *śayana, TL*).

Inscription	**Tirupparankundram 2013 – Kasi Viswanathar Temple**
Publications consulted	Subramanian, T. S. "Tamil-Brahmi script discovered on Tirupparankundram hill." *The Hindu*. February 14, 2013.
Transliteration	mū-nā-ka-rā [#] / mū-ca-ka-ti
Modern Tamil Equivalent	*mū nākarā* [#] *mū cakti*
English Translation	The three powers (*śakti*) [*triśula*] of the old city.
Other Translations	M. Prasanna and R. Ramesh: The old yakshi of the old city [Madurai]. V. Vedachalam: [mū-ca-ka-ti = *motcha/moksha gadhi*] The Jaina monk who faced north and fasted unto death. A. Karthikeyan: The attainment of liberation or salvation (*moksha*) of a female monk (*saadhvi*), named elderly Nākarā.
Comments	This inscription, discovered in 2013, is located on the rock-cut stairs next to the natural rock pool behind the Kasi Viswanathar Temple near the summit of Tirupparankundram hill. The symbol after the first line closely resembles a trisula. Due to the flanged outer lines, the short middle line, and the long line

	at the bottom, I do not think this was intended as a Brahmi *yu*. The letters of the inscription, along with the triśula, are identically sized and are carved in two straight lines with characters of equal depth. Although epigraphists have translated this inscription to fit a Jain context, I favor the more direct reading, which suggests a Hindu origin. This reading also fits with its location on a stair/ledge that is carved on either side of a Medieval period shrine. The stratigraphical position of this inscription, its aesthetic qualities, and its content combined make this inscription particularly puzzling.

Inscription	**Samanar Malai**
Publications consulted	Hindu, Avanam 2012 http://www.thehindu.com/features/friday-review/history-and-culture/2200-year-old-Tamil-Brahmi-inscription-found-on-Samanamalai/article13240994.ece
Transliteration	pe-ru-te-ū-ra-ku-l̲i-ta-tai-a-ya-ma
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Perute[v]ūr *kul̲ittai ayam*
English Translation	The spring/pond was caused to be carved by [the villagers of] Peruntēvūr.
Other translations	Mahadevan: Peru Thorur *kunra ko ayam* - Inscription records the gift of a mountain pool/spring (*ayam*) by the chief of the hill at a place called Peru Thorur. Subbarayalu: Peru Tho Ur Uzhithegne *ayam* - Inscription records gift of the cave (ayam) by a man named Uzhitegne from Peruthorur. Vedachalam: Drip ledge (*ayam*) carved by a man called Uzhithegne of Perunthevur. Santhalingam: Peru te rur *kul̲ittai ayam* - These rock beds (*ayam*) were carved by the villagers of Peru Therur.
Comments	According to the Tamil Lexicon, the verb *ul̲i-tal* appears in the *Tēvāram* (553, 10), while the verb *kul̲i-ttal* appears in the commentary to the *Kalitokai*, as well as the *Nanmaṇikatikai* and *kul̲i-tal* in the *Nālaṭiyār*. Interestingly, these last two texts have strong Jain associations. The verb to inscribe or excavate (*kul̲i*) makes the most sense in this context and depends on a single stroke to convert the ū to a ku. *Ayam* can mean a number of things, but considering that the boulder upon which this inscription is engraved sits above a "spring" or large water catchment feature on the terrace below, it seems likely that ayam in this case might refer to an excavated water body rather than the beds. It could possibly refer to the drip ledge, but this would be a unique interpretation.

Inscription	**Perumal Malai - 1**
Publications consulted	ARE 58-59/1910; ES No 244; IM No. 57; TPK 17:2; Mahalingam 1967: 267-271.
Transliteration	cai-ya-a-ḷa-n̲a / vi-na-tai-ū-ra / kā-vi-ya
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Vintaiyūr Caiya(m)-*aḷaṉ̲ kevi*
English Translation	The cave of Caiyaḷaṉ̲ (he of self-control) from Vintaiyūr
Comments	To my knowledge, I am the first to suggest the notion of *caiyam* = self-control (*saṃ-yama, Skrt saṃyamanam*). It is also possible that Caiyaḷaṉ̲ is a Jain donor. Vintai-ūr may not be a specific town, but rather indicate that Caiyaḷaṉ̲ is from a town (*ūr*) where the Vindhya mountains (*vintai*) are, i.e. northern India, beyond the boundaries of Tamil Nadu. It should be noted that inscriptions which identify the name of a monk residing at the monastery are almost always on the exterior brow of the cave. Thus, in this instance, it could be the donor or the presiding monk.

Inscription	**Perumal Malai - 2**
Publications consulted	ARE 58/1910; ES No. 246, IM No. 58, TPK 17:3.
Transliteration	ti-ṭi-ka-kā-ta-tā-n̲a-ma / break / n̲a-ma-ē-ya / break
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Tiṭi-k-kāttaṉ̲ *ma*[…]-*aṉ̲ mēy*[…]
English Translation	[This canopy/cave] was thatched (*mēy*) by Kāttaṉ̲ of Tiṭi
Comments	Given the location of this inscription above a group of beds that are located directly beneath the drip ledge, half-exposed to the rain and sun, I suggest that this inscription is related to the construction of a canopy that would have covered these beds. *mēy-tal*: 'to cover fully; to thatch, as with leaves; to roof, as with tiles' (*Tēvāram* 838:4) (*Tamil Lexicon*). It is also worth noting that the donor comes from Tiṭi, this is likely a reference to Tidiyan village or Tidiyan malai, a hill that is prominently visible from all of the Jain hill sites in the survey region. Tidiyan Malai is approximately 19 km west of Perumal Malai.

Inscription	**Perumal Malai - 3**
Publications consulted	ARE 243/1963-64; ES No. 245; IM No. 56; TPK 17:1.
Transliteration	nā-kā-pe-rū-ra-tai-ya-mu-ci-r̲i-ko-ṭa-n̲a / break / e-ḷa-ma-ka-n̲a
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Nāka-per-ūr -*a[tai] ya* Muciṟi Koṭaṉ *eḷamakaṉ*
English Translation	The young son of Muciri Koṭaṉ (Koṭaṉ of Muciṟi) who is the *antai* (honorific title associated with merchants) of Nākaperūr (Great City of Snakes).
Comments	In my own analysis of the inscription, I do not find the character for *e/ē* located next to the *n̲* but rather immediately next to *ma-ka-n̲a*. While it is possible, as suggested by Mahadevan, that this represents a joint donation from two individuals (*antai* of Nākapērūr and Kōṭaṉ), there is nothing in the grammar or orthography to suggest that the first part of the inscription should be considered distinct from the second. A similar inscription from Mettuppatti (ES No. 18; IM No. 27) follows the same pattern: city-antai-name: Matirai antai Visuvaṉ. Indeed, most of the inscriptions at Mettupatti that use the honorific *antai* are followed by the name that it modifies: Antai Ariyti, Antai Irāvataṉ, Antai Cēntaṉ. The one exception is in the name Kuvira-*antai* (*vēḷ*). Another inscription at Mettupatti also has the name of the city prior to the *antai* title (Mahadevan No. 30). Therefore, it makes more sense that Nākapērūr is the city, *antai* is the title, and the name of the individual is Muciri-Koṭan. This name then modifies the final portion, which is *eḷamakaṉ* (*iḷamakaṉ*) 'young son.'

Inscription	**Kongarpuliyankulam - 1**
Publications consulted	ARE 55/1910; ES No.233; IM No. 11 (c.f. Mahadevan 1966: No. 10); TPK 5:1; Mahalingam 1967: pp. 224-225.
Transliteration	ku-r̲u-kō-ṭu-pi-tā-vā-n̲ ū-pā-cā-a-n̲ ū-pā-r̲u-vā-[n̲]
Modern Tamil Equivalent	*kūr̲a kōṭupitavaṉ upācāṉ* Uppaṟuvaṉ
English Translation	Lay devotee Uppaṟuvan is he who caused to be given [this] section.
Comments	I read *ū-pā-cā-a-n̲* as *upācāṉ* and gloss it as devotee, from *upācakaṉ*. This interpretation is in accord with Mahadevan's 1966 translation This contrasts with Mahadevan's 2003 interpretation, where *ū-pā-cā-a-n̲a* is glossed as 'Jain preceptor', from *upādhyāya.* In my translation, it is a lay person, devotee, who has donated to the Jain monastery, rather than a Jain monastic.

Inscription	**Kongarpuliyankulam - 2**
Publications consulted	ARE 56/1910; ES No.234; IM No. 12 (c.f. Mahadevan 1966: No. 11); TPK 5:2; Mahalingam 1967: 230-231.
Transliteration	# ku-ṟu(ṭai?)-kō-ṭā-la-ku-ī-ta-tā-vā-ṉa-ce-ṟa-a-tā-ṉa-[?]-ṉa # #
Modern Tamil Equivalent	# *kuṟu koṭṭal-ku īttavaṉ* Ceṟ-ātaṉ *[pō]ṉ* # # OR # *kuṭai kōṭṭal-ku īttavaṉ* Ceṟ-ātaṉ *[pō]ṉ* # #
English Translation	Mahadevan: # The cave for which Ceṟātaṉ is the one who gave for the carving (*koṭṭu*-) of the section # # # The cave for which Ceṟātaṉ is the one who gave for the bending/construction of the canopy. # #
Comments	As noted in Chapter 6, close examination of this inscription revealed a never-before-seen character preceding it, which resembles a common symbol seen in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at Alagarmalai. Mahadevan's reading of the inscription by interpreting *kuṟu* as 'section' and *koṭṭal* as 'carving' (verbal noun of *koṭṭu*) is the most compelling interpretation. However, if the *ṟ* were interpreted as a *ṭai*, this would make the word *kuṭai* (canopy). The reading of the *ṟ* as *ṭai* is possible, because the two lines begin at the base of the *ṭa* with no intermediate line. If *kuṟu* can be read as *kuṭai*, then the second word could be read as *kōṭṭu-āl-ku: kōṭṭu* (to bend, causative of *kōṭu*) + *āl* (particle used to create verbal nouns, as seen in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 46 *TL*) + *ku* (dative ending). On the other hand, given that this is only a slight variation in the formation of the letter and Kongarpuliyankulam – 1 begins with the same sequence of letters (*kā-ṟu-kō*), it is more likely that the meanings of these initial words match. Because the drip ledge here is small, low to the ground, and there is only a single bed inside, it seems strange that 3 different individuals would have contributed to its carving. It is possible that the sections to which the donations refer are part of the series of dripledges in the adjacent cave, Cave 3, and that the reason these inscriptions were carved in this particular location was due to the proximity to the large bed below, which may have been associated with the head monk of the monastery. In both cases I agree with with Mahalingam's reading of the penultimate letter as *pō* such that the final word is *pōṉ* meaning not 'gold' but 'cave' (TL).

Inscription	**Kongarpuliyankulam - 3**
Publications consulted	ARE 57/190; ES No.235; IM No. 13 (c.f. Mahadevan 1966: No. 12); TPK 5:3; Mahalingam 1967: 227-229.
Transliteration	pā-kā-ṉa-ū-ra-pe-tā-tā-ṉa-pi-ṭā-ṉa-ī-ta-tā-vē-pō-ṉa # #
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Pākaṉ-ūr Pērātaṉ Piṭāṉ *īttā vēpōṉ* # # OR Pākaṉ-ūr Pērātaṉ Piṭāṉ *īttāvē pōṉ* # #
English Translation	Pērātaṉ Piṭaṉ of Pākaṉūr (place) thatched (*vēy*-) this # # OR [This] cave was given by Pērātaṉ Piṭaṉ of Pākaṉūr # #
Comments	Because there is no distinction between *vē* and *ve*, Mahadevan's 2003 translation reads the final verb as *veppōṉ* and derives this from *vaippōṉ* ~ *vāikka*, 'to give'. In my interpretation, the final verb is *vēpōṉ* (*vēppōṉ*) from *vē[y]* 'to thatch' (TL). This supports the earlier translations which identify a canopy, rather than the cutting of the drip ledge, as the object of donation. Based on Mahalingam's 1967 interpretation of the final word as *pōṉ*, meaning a "cave running into the side of a hill," (TL) which is exactly what these caves are, then *īttа* becomes the adejctival participle of *ī-tal*, meaning 'to give or bestow' (TL) and *ē* a copulative.

Inscription	**Mettuppatti – 2**
Publications consulted	ARE 45a-j /1908, ARE 864-869/1917 (both untranslated); ES No. 16; IM No. 25; TPK 9:2; Mahalingam 1967: 258-266.
Transliteration	[#] a-na-tai-a-ri-ya
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Antai Ariya
English Translation	Antai Āriya[ṉ]
Mahadevan Translation	Antai Ariyti (Hariti)
Comments	The inscription very clearly ends with the character *ya*. There is a large blank space on the pillow. The *ti* that precedes the following inscription (Mettuppatti – 3) is actually a trade guild symbol. Moreover, the heights of the two beds do not align, so it is not easy to combine these two inscriptions accidentally, as it might be elsewhere in the cave. There are also marks at the beginning of this inscription, which may or may not be a trade-guild symbol. Closer inspection and additional estampages are required.

Inscription	**Mettuppatti – 3**
Publications consulted	ARE 45a-j /1908, ARE 864-869/1917 (both untranslated). ES No. 17; IM No. 26; TPK 9:3; Mahalingam 1967: 258-266.
Transliteration	[#] a-na-tai-ī-rā-vā-ta-n̲
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Antai Irāvatan̲
English Translation	Antai Irāvatan̲
Comments	The *ti* read by Subrahmanya Ayyar and Mahadevan is actually a trade guild symbol. I could not identify a line indicating *tā* (vs. *ta*).

Inscription	**Mettuppatti – 5**
Publications consulted	ARE 45a-j /1908, ARE 864-869/1917 (both untranslated). ES No. 19; IM No. 28; TPK 9:5; Mahalingam 1967: 258-266.
Transliteration	a-na-tai-vē-n-tā-a-tā-n̲a
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Antai Vēnta[n̲]-a tān̲a[m]
English Translation	Gift of Antai Vēntan
Comments	Krishna Sastri identified the first character of the second word as *ve*, Subrahmanya Ayyar read *vē*, while Mahadevan reads *cē*. The location and angle of the loop at the bottom of the character suggests that Subrahmanya Ayyar's reading of *vē* is correct. For it to be a *cē* the loop would have to be farther to the left (e.g. as it is in Mettuppatti – 6). *Vēntan̲* means 'king', but can also refer to the god Indra, who is accorded a special place within Jainism. Mahadevan supports his reading by drawing on other uses of the name Cēntan̲ in Caṅkam poetry and inscriptions from the region. However, it should be noted that none of the other names are inherently Tamil; they are all Tamilized versions of Sanskritic names.

Inscription	**Mettuppatti – 6**
Publications consulted	ARE 45a-j /1908, ARE 864-869/1917 (both untranslated). ES No. 20; IM No. 29 (c.f. Mahadevan 1968 No. 22); TPK 9:6; Mahalingam 1967: 258-266.
Transliteration	[#] cā-na-ta-na-tai-cā-na-ta-n̲a
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Canta[n̲] Antai Canta[n̲]

English Translation	Antai Cantaṉ, son of Canta[ṉ]
Comments	Mahadevan reads the inscription as "Cantaṉ, son of Cantantai." Given that in almost every instance (except after Kuvira or place name) Antai is the title that precedes the name, I think that it is more likely that Antai Cantaṉ is the son. Moreover, the men making these donations at Mettuppatti all have titles in their name. So this would be the one instance of a son of someone with the title Antai making the donation. There are some carvings at the beginning of this inscription to the left of the first letter. These need to be investigated in closer detail.

Inscription	**Mettuppatti – 8**
Publications consulted	ARE 45a-j /1908, ARE 864-869/1917 (both untranslated). ES No. 22; IM No. 31; TPK 9:8; Mahalingam 1967: 258-266.
Transliteration	Ku-vi-rā-a-[na]-tai-vē-ya-a-tā-ṉa
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Kuvira[ṉ] Antai Vēy-*a tāṉa*
English Translation	The gift of Kuvira[ṉ] Antai Vēy
Comments	In the other inscriptions at Mettuppatti, Mahadevan reads the sequence *a-tā-ṉa* with *a* as a genitive and *tāṉa* as 'gift'. Yet here, he chooses to read the penultimate word as an ajectival past participle (*cēya* – 'made'), rather than a name, as it is in the other inscriptions. The main problem with this inscription is the *ya*. While *vēy* can mean the 7th nakshatra or 'covering' (*TL*), I think it may have been a scribal error. The following inscription (Mettuppatti -9) is completely identical to Mettuppatti-8 except in 9 the *ya* is replaced by a *ḷa*. I think this difference is due to an error by the scribe or stonemason.

Inscription	**Mettupatti – 9**
Publications consulted	ARE 45a-j /1908, ARE 864-869/1917 (both untranslated). ES No. 23; IM No. 32; TPK 9:9; Mahalingam 1967: 258-266.
Transliteration	Ku-vi-rā-a-na-tai-vē-ḷa-a-tā-ṉa
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Kuviraṉ Antai Vēḷ-*a tāṉa*
English Translation	The gift of Kuviraṉ Antai Vēḷ
Comments	My transliteration and translation are identical to that of Mahadevan. I include this here for comparison with Mettuppatti-8.

Inscription	**Mettuppatti – 10**
Publications consulted	ARE 45a-j /1908, ARE 864-869/1917 (both untranslated). ES No. 24; IM No. 33; TPK 9:10; Mahalingam 1967: 258-266.
Transliteration	Ti-ṭi-ī-la-a-tā-n̲a
Modern Tamil Equivalent	Tiṭi-il-*a tān̲a*
English Translation	Gift of Tiṭi-il ~ Gift of Tiṭiyan village.
Comments	Mahadevan doubles the ṭ so that the name means place of raised ground: "The gift of Tiṭṭi-il." The village of Tiṭi is also mentioned in Perumal Malai – 2. It is very likely that Tiṭi is Tiṭiyan̲. This view was also expressed by T.V. Mahalingam in 1967.

APPENDIX B

STATISTICAL ANALYSES AND OUTPUT

EKAMBARANATHAN AND SIVAPRAKASAM *JAINA INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMILNADU* (1987)

N=530 single-count

N=566 when inscriptions are divided on the basis of individual donors and items

FREQUENCY TABLES AND BAR CHARTS FOR SINGLE COUNT (N=530)

Table B.1 Distribution of All Jain Inscriptions by Village

Village				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Abaranadari	1	.2	.2	.2
Adiyamankottai	1	.2	.2	.4
Agalur	2	.4	.4	.8
Aiyampalayam	14	2.6	2.6	3.4
Alagarmalai	7	1.3	1.3	4.7
Ammachattiram	4	.8	.8	5.5
Anaimalai	9	1.7	1.7	7.2
Anathamangalam	1	.2	.2	7.4
Anbil	1	.2	.2	7.5
Arachchalur	3	.6	.6	8.1
Arasankalani	1	.2	.2	8.3
Arittapatti	2	.4	.4	8.7
Bommaimalai	1	.2	.2	8.9
Chakkaramallur	1	.2	.2	9.1
Chennai	4	.8	.8	9.8
Chettipatti	1	.2	.2	10.0
Chitharal	9	1.7	1.7	11.7
Chittamur	16	3.0	3.0	14.7
Cholavandipuram	2	.4	.4	15.1
Dadapuram	1	.2	.2	15.3
Devathur	1	.2	.2	15.5
Dharmapuri	4	.8	.8	16.2
Elangadu	1	.2	.2	16.4
Eruvadi	3	.6	.6	17.0
Hanumantagudi	1	.2	.2	17.2
Hosur	1	.2	.2	17.4
Idayalam	3	.6	.6	17.9
Ilayankudi	1	.2	.2	18.1
Irukkankudi	1	.2	.2	18.3
Jambai	1	.2	.2	18.5
Jambugeswar Temple	1	.2	.2	18.7
K.Puliyankulam	4	.8	.8	19.4
Kalugumalai	101	19.1	19.1	38.5
Kanchipuram	1	.2	.2	38.7
Karaikudi	2	.4	.4	39.1

Table B.1 Continued

Karungalakkudi	3	.6	.6	39.6
Kayampatti	1	.2	.2	39.8
Kilakkudi	4	.8	.8	40.6
Kilakuyilkudi	9	1.7	1.7	42.3
Kilavalavu	5	.9	.9	43.2
Kilsathamangalam	8	1.5	1.5	44.7
Kirappakkam	1	.2	.2	44.9
Koliyanur	2	.4	.4	45.3
Kovilankulam	2	.4	.4	45.7
Kuhur	1	.2	.2	45.8
Kunnathur	1	.2	.2	46.0
Kuppalnatham	1	.2	.2	46.2
Kurralam	1	.2	.2	46.4
Madavilagam (Rettanai)	1	.2	.2	46.6
Malaiyakoil	1	.2	.2	46.8
Mamandur	1	.2	.2	47.0
Mambakkam	1	.2	.2	47.2
Mangadu	1	.2	.2	47.4
Mankulam	6	1.1	1.1	48.5
Marukaltalai	1	.2	.2	48.7
Maruttuvakkudi	1	.2	.2	48.9
Muttuppatti	5	.9	.9	49.8
Nagercoil	12	2.3	2.3	52.1
Narthamalai	2	.4	.4	52.5
Olagapuram	1	.2	.2	52.6
Olakkur	1	.2	.2	52.8
Othalavady	3	.6	.6	53.4
Pahad	2	.4	.4	53.8
Pallankoil	2	.4	.4	54.2
Pallichchandal	3	.6	.6	54.7
Pallimadam	4	.8	.8	55.5
Panampattu	1	.2	.2	55.7
Peramandur	3	.6	.6	56.2
Perungulam	1	.2	.2	56.4
Ponneri	1	.2	.2	56.6
Ponnur	4	.8	.8	57.4
Puduppattu	1	.2	.2	57.5
Pughali Malai	10	1.9	1.9	59.4
Pundi	1	.2	.2	59.6
S.Mettupatti	9	1.7	1.7	61.3
Salukki	1	.2	.2	61.5
Santhome Cathedral	1	.2	.2	61.7
Seeyamangalam	2	.4	.4	62.1
Sembattur	1	.2	.2	62.3
Sendalai	1	.2	.2	62.5
Senji Kunnathur	5	.9	.9	63.4
Singavaram	2	.4	.4	63.8
Singikulam	2	.4	.4	64.2

Table B.1 Continued

Siruvakkam	1	.2	.2	64.3
Sittannavasal	13	2.5	2.5	66.8
Sivayam North	1	.2	.2	67.0
Thenimalai	2	.4	.4	67.4
Thirakoil	6	1.1	1.1	68.5
Thirukokarnam	1	.2	.2	68.7
Thiruppanamoor	17	3.2	3.2	71.9
Thiruvaiyaru	1	.2	.2	72.1
Thiruvalam	1	.2	.2	72.3
Thiruvathigai	1	.2	.2	72.5
Tindivanam	1	.2	.2	72.6
Tingalur	3	.6	.6	73.2
Tiruchirappalli	4	.8	.8	74.0
Tirumalai	23	4.3	4.3	78.3
Tirunagesvaram	1	.2	.2	78.5
Tirunarankonri	39	7.4	7.4	85.8
Tirupandiyur	3	.6	.6	86.4
Tiruppalappandal	1	.2	.2	86.6
Tirupparankunram	4	.8	.8	87.4
Tirupparuttikkunru	18	3.4	3.4	90.8
Tiruvatavur	2	.4	.4	91.1
Tondur	2	.4	.4	91.5
Trimurtimalai	1	.2	.2	91.7
Uttamapalayam	9	1.7	1.7	93.4
Vallimalai	5	.9	.9	94.3
Varichchiyur	3	.6	.6	94.9
Vazhuthalangunam	1	.2	.2	95.1
Vedal	3	.6	.6	95.7
Veerasigamani	2	.4	.4	96.0
Velappadi	2	.4	.4	96.4
Velur	1	.2	.2	96.6
Vidur	2	.4	.4	97.0
Vijayamangalam	8	1.5	1.5	98.5
Vikkiramangalam	5	.9	.9	99.4
Vilappakkam	1	.2	.2	99.6
Vizhukkam	1	.2	.2	99.8
Walajah	1	.2	.2	100.0
Total	530	100.0	100.0	

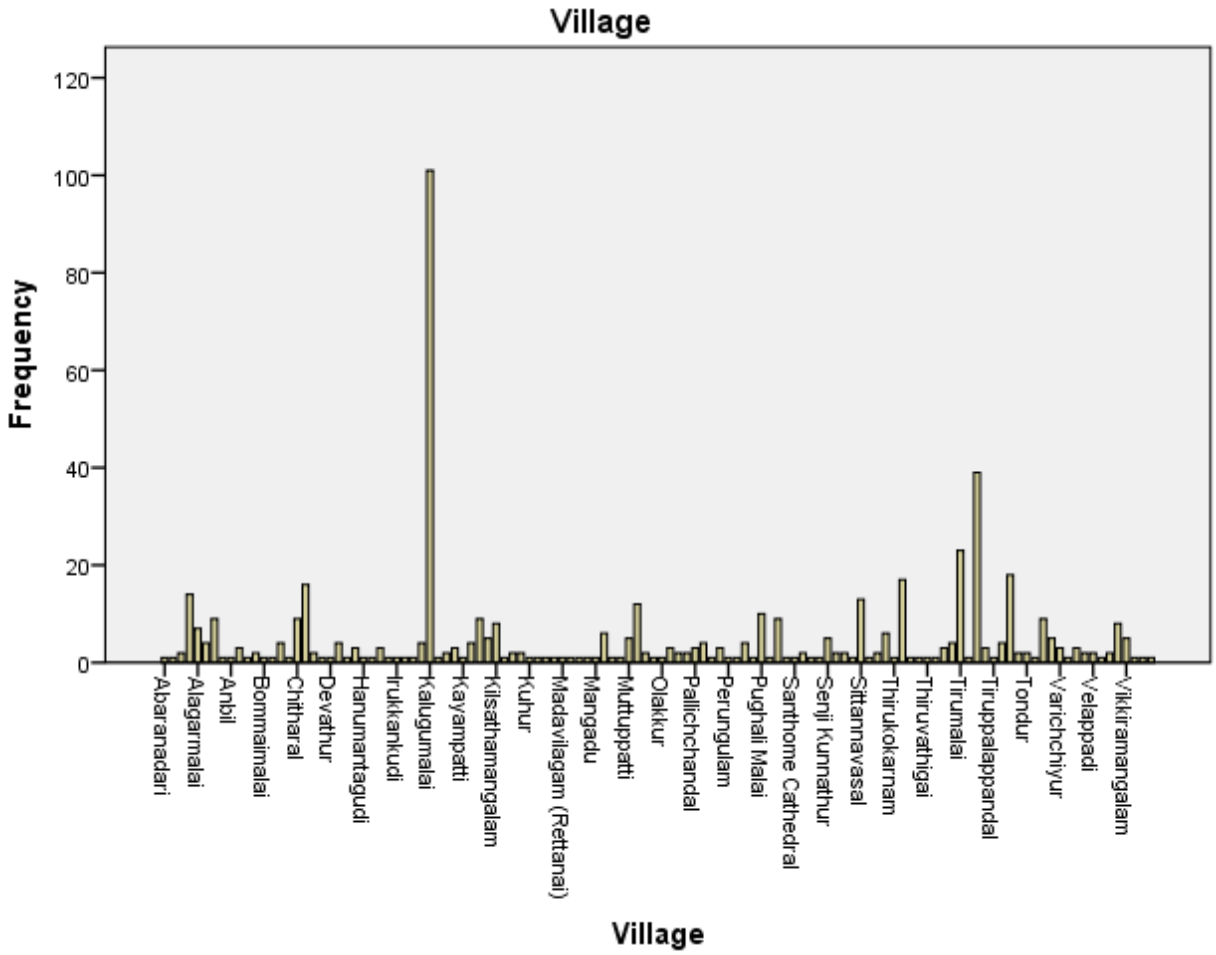


Figure B.1 Frequency of All Jain Inscriptions by Village

Table B.2. Distribution of All Jain Inscriptions by Taluk

Taluk					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Agasteeswaram	12	2.3	2.3	2.3
	Alangudi	2	.4	.4	2.6
	Arani	1	.2	.2	2.8
	Arcot	2	.4	.4	3.2
	Aruppukkottai	6	1.1	1.1	4.3
	Attur	14	2.6	2.6	7.0
	Chengalpattu	1	.2	.2	7.2
	Chennai	4	.8	.8	7.9
	Cheyyar	18	3.4	3.4	11.3
	Dharmapuri	5	.9	.9	12.3
	Erode	14	2.6	2.6	14.9
	Gingee	31	5.8	5.8	20.8
	Gudiyattam	5	.9	.9	21.7
	Hosur	1	.2	.2	21.9
	Kanchipuram	20	3.8	3.8	25.7
	Karur	10	1.9	1.9	27.5
	Katpadi	1	.2	.2	27.7
	Kovilpatti	101	19.1	19.1	46.8
	Kulathur	22	4.2	4.2	50.9
	Kulittalai	1	.2	.2	51.1
	Kumbakonam	2	.4	.4	51.5
	Madhuranthangam	1	.2	.2	51.7
	Madurai	34	6.4	6.4	58.1
	Madurai South	6	1.1	1.1	59.2
	Melur	19	3.6	3.6	62.8
	Nagapattinam	1	.2	.2	63.0
	Nanguneri	5	.9	.9	64.0
	Nilakkottai	9	1.7	1.7	65.7
	Oddanchatram	1	.2	.2	65.8
	Panruti	1	.2	.2	66.0
	Papanasam	1	.2	.2	66.2
	Paramakudi	1	.2	.2	66.4
	Peraiyur	1	.2	.2	66.6
	Periyakulam	9	1.7	1.7	68.3
	Polur	27	5.1	5.1	73.4
	Ponnamaravathi	2	.4	.4	73.8
	Ponneri	1	.2	.2	74.0
	Sankarankoil	2	.4	.4	74.3
	Santhome	1	.2	.2	74.5
	Sattur	1	.2	.2	74.7
	Sholinganallur	2	.4	.4	75.1

Table B.2 Continued

Srivaikuntam	1	.2	.2	75.3
Tenkasi	1	.2	.2	75.5
Thanjavur	1	.2	.2	75.7
Thirumangalam	4	.8	.8	76.4
Thirumayam	1	.2	.2	76.6
Thiruporur	1	.2	.2	76.8
Thiruthuraipoondi	2	.4	.4	77.2
Thiruvaiyaru	1	.2	.2	77.4
Thiruvallur	3	.6	.6	77.9
Tindivanam	12	2.3	2.3	80.2
Tiruchirappalli	6	1.1	1.1	81.3
Tirukkoyilur	7	1.3	1.3	82.6
Tirumangalam	5	.9	.9	83.6
Tirunelveli	1	.2	.2	83.8
Tirupathur	2	.4	.4	84.2
Tiruvadanai	1	.2	.2	84.3
Tiruvallur	1	.2	.2	84.5
Tiruvannamalai	1	.2	.2	84.7
Udumalaipettai	1	.2	.2	84.9
Ulundurpettai	39	7.4	7.4	92.3
Vandavasi	27	5.1	5.1	97.4
Vellore	2	.4	.4	97.7
Vilavancode	9	1.7	1.7	99.4
Viluppuram	2	.4	.4	99.8
Wallajah	1	.2	.2	100.0
Total	530	100.0	100.0	

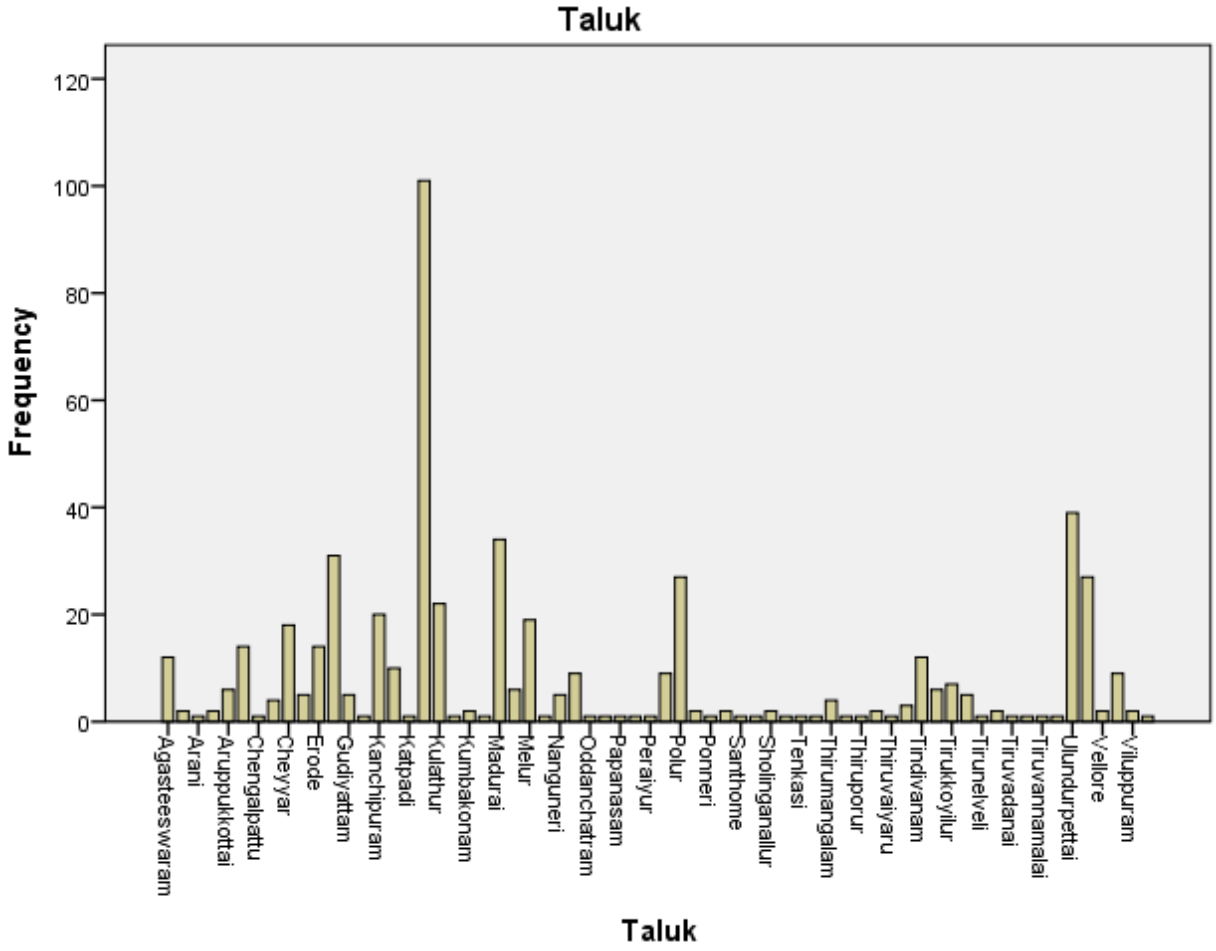


Figure B.2 Distribution of All Jain Inscriptions by Taluk

Table B.3 Distribution of All Jain Inscriptions by District

District	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Chennai	5	.9	.9	.9
Coimbatore	1	.2	.2	1.1
Cuddalore	1	.2	.2	1.3
Dharmapuri	5	.9	.9	2.3
Dindigul	24	4.5	4.5	6.8
Erode	14	2.6	2.6	9.4
Kancheepuram	26	4.9	4.9	14.3
Kanniyakumari	21	4.0	4.0	18.3
Karur	11	2.1	2.1	20.4
Krishnagiri	1	.2	.2	20.6
Madurai	78	14.7	14.7	35.3
Nagapattinam	1	.2	.2	35.5
Pudukkottai	27	5.1	5.1	40.6
Ramanathapuram	2	.4	.4	40.9
Sivaganga	2	.4	.4	41.3
Thanjavur	5	.9	.9	42.3
Thirunelveli	2	.4	.4	42.6
Thiruvallur	4	.8	.8	43.4
Thiruvannamalai	3	.6	.6	44.0
Thiruvarur	2	.4	.4	44.3
Thoothukkudi	102	19.2	19.2	63.6
Tiruchirappalli	6	1.1	1.1	64.7
Tirunelveli	7	1.3	1.3	66.0
Tiruvannamalai	71	13.4	13.4	79.4
Vellore	11	2.1	2.1	81.5
Villupuram	45	8.5	8.5	90.0
Viluppuram	46	8.7	8.7	98.7
Virudhunagar	7	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	530	100.0	100.0	

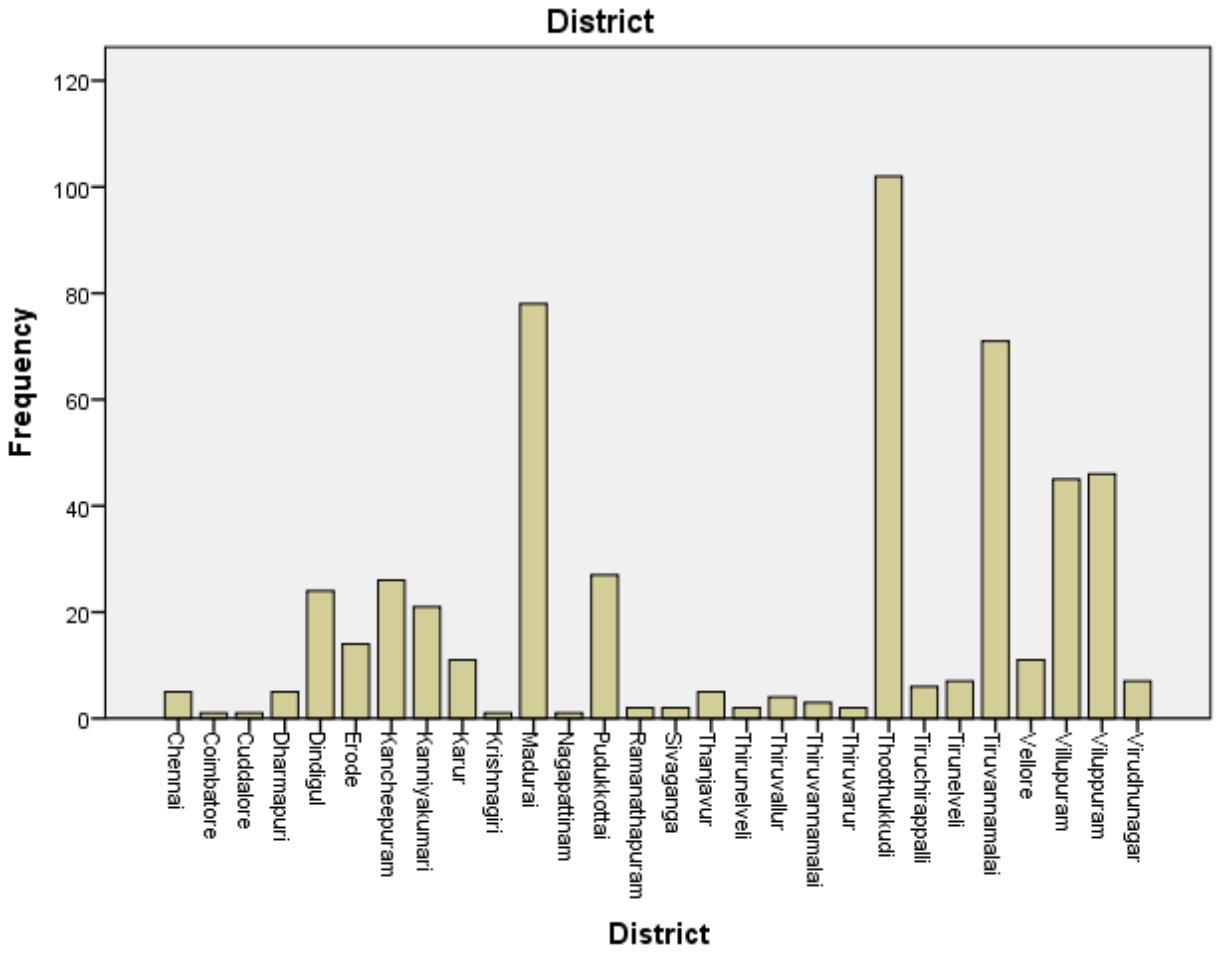


Figure B.3 Distribution of All Jain Inscriptions by District

Table B.4. Distribution of All Jain Inscriptions by Context

Context	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
bed	49	9.2	9.2	9.2
bronze image	1	.2	.2	9.4
cave	26	4.9	4.9	14.3
cave-natural	15	2.8	2.8	17.2
cave-painted	4	.8	.8	17.9
cave-temple	1	.2	.2	18.1
copper plate	2	.4	.4	18.5
footprints	1	.2	.2	18.7
image-above	1	.2	.2	18.9
image-below	143	27.0	27.0	45.8
image-beside	1	.2	.2	46.0
image-pedestal	2	.4	.4	46.4
mandapa	3	.6	.6	47.0
metal image	5	.9	.9	47.9
rock	94	17.7	17.7	65.7
rock-river	1	.2	.2	65.8
rock-tank	7	1.3	1.3	67.2
Siva Temple	5	.9	.9	68.1
slab	32	6.0	6.0	74.2
slab-tank	4	.8	.8	74.9
slab-well	1	.2	.2	75.1
stone	4	.8	.8	75.8
stone-tank	1	.2	.2	76.0
temple	55	10.4	10.4	86.4
temple-altar	1	.2	.2	86.6
temple-ceiling	1	.2	.2	86.8
temple-mandapa	1	.2	.2	87.0
temple-pillar	25	4.7	4.7	91.7
temple-wall	44	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	530	100.0	100.0	

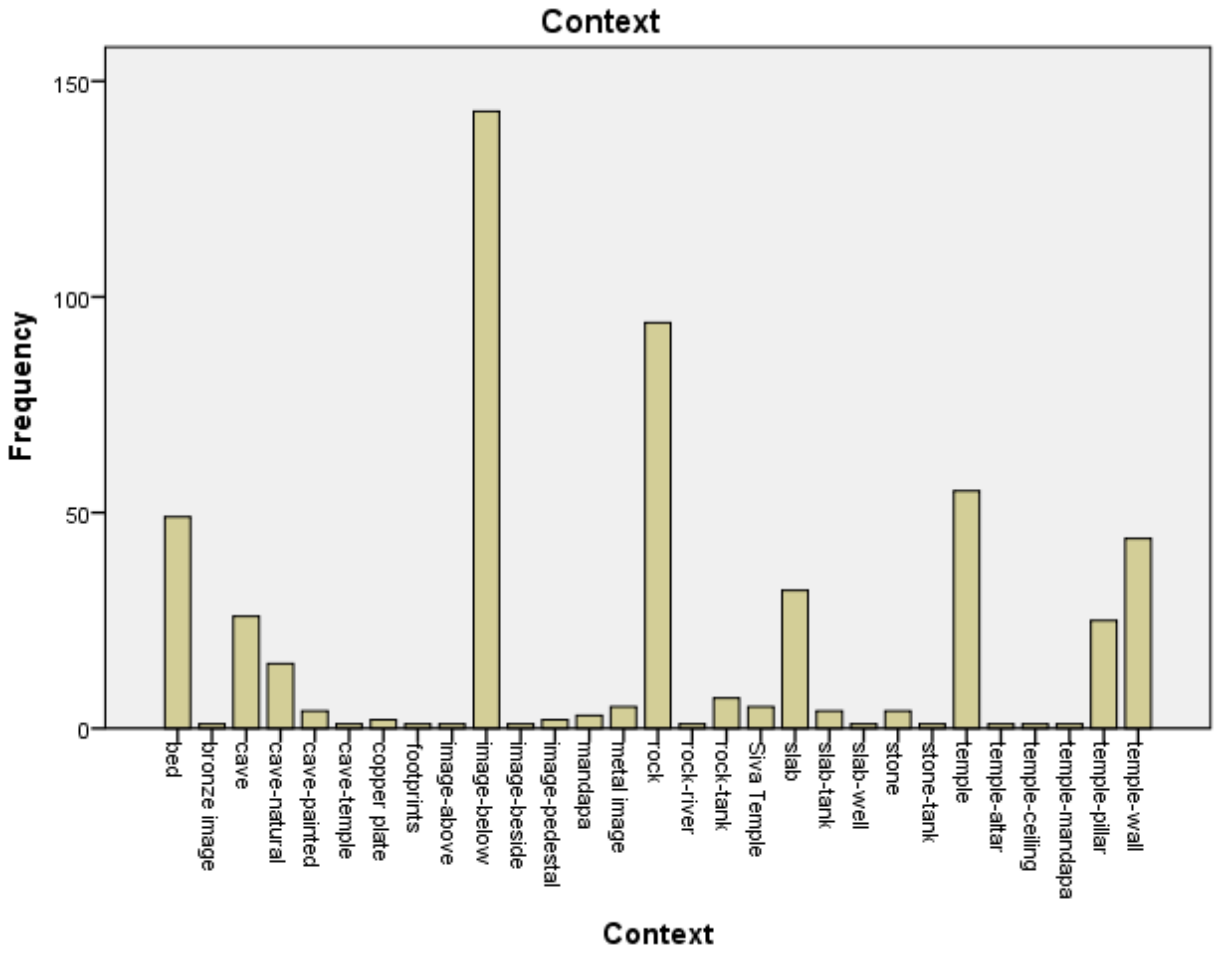


Figure B.4. Distribution of All Jain Inscriptions by Context

Table B.5 Distribution of All Jain Inscriptions by Context Type

ContextType

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
copper plate	2	.4	.4	.4
image	174	32.8	32.8	33.2
monastic	96	18.1	18.1	51.3
river	1	.2	.2	51.5
rock-unspecified	11	2.1	2.1	53.6
tank	11	2.1	2.1	55.7
temple	219	41.3	41.3	97.0
village	16	3.0	3.0	100.0
Total	530	100.0	100.0	

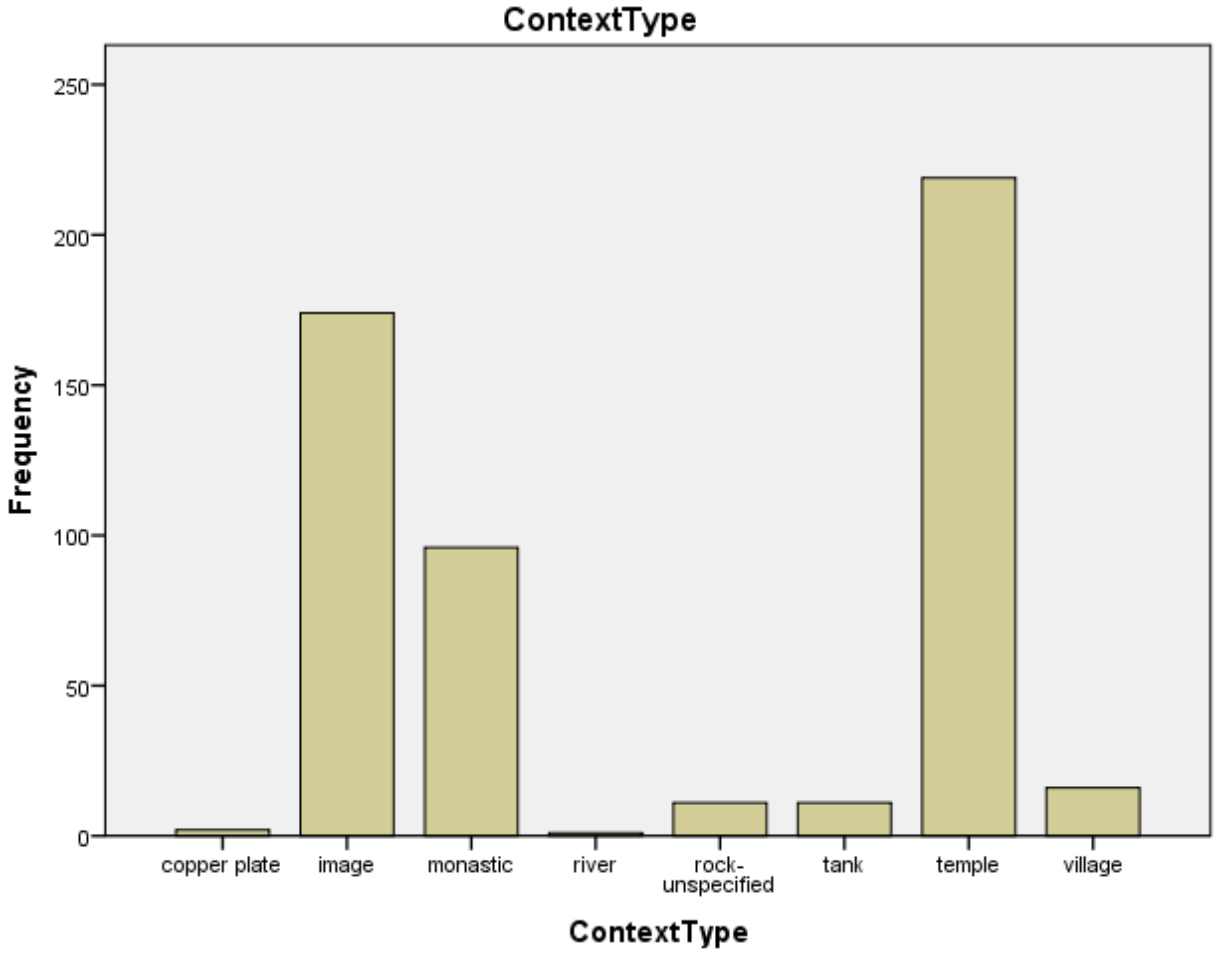


Figure B.5 Distribution of All Jain Inscriptions by Context Type

Table B.6 Affiliation of Jain Inscriptions by Dynasty

Dynasty		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	No Affiliation	311	58.7	58.7	58.7
	Atiyaman	2	.4	.4	59.1
	Ay	2	.4	.4	59.4
	Bana	1	.2	.2	59.6
	Chera	2	.4	.4	60.0
	Chola	87	16.4	16.4	76.4
	Ganga	1	.2	.2	76.6
	Hoysala	2	.4	.4	77.0
	Irukkuvel	1	.2	.2	77.2
	Kongu-Chola	2	.4	.4	77.5
	Nayak	2	.4	.4	77.9
	Nolamba-Pallava	4	.8	.8	78.7
	Pallava	22	4.2	4.2	82.8
	Pandya	53	10.0	10.0	92.8
	Rashtrakuta	4	.8	.8	93.6
	Sambhuvaraya	2	.4	.4	94.0
	Telugu-Chola	1	.2	.2	94.2
	Travancore Maharajas	8	1.5	1.5	95.7
	Vijayanagar	20	3.8	3.8	99.4
	Western Ganga	3	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	530	100.0	100.0	

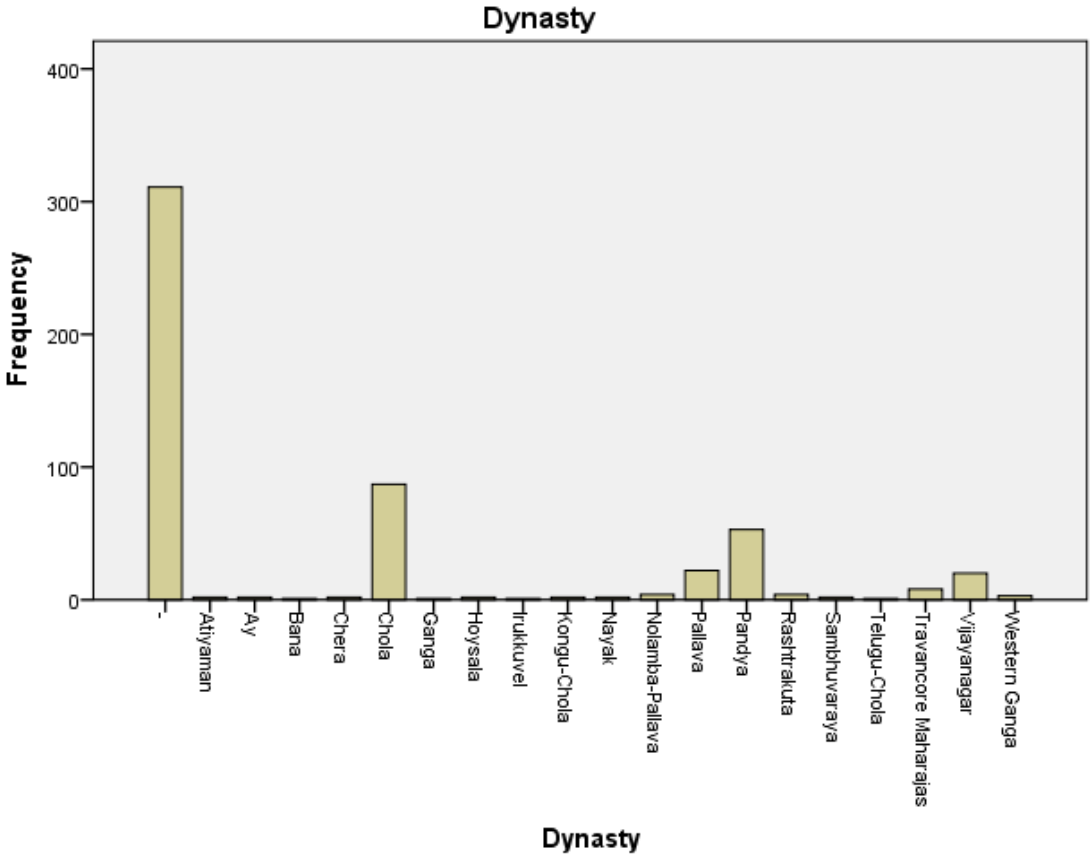


Figure B.6 Affiliation of Jain Inscriptions by Dynasty
(-) = No Affiliation

Table B.7 Distribution of All Jain Inscriptions by Date

		IndefDate			
Century		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	-2	40	7.5	8.4	8.4
	0	3	.6	.6	9.0
	1	5	.9	1.0	10.0
	3	18	3.4	3.8	13.8
	5	2	.4	.4	14.2
	6	1	.2	.2	14.4
	7	5	.9	1.0	15.4
	8	120	22.6	25.1	40.5
	9	90	17.0	18.8	59.3
	10	44	8.3	9.2	68.5
	11	23	4.3	4.8	73.3
	12	30	5.7	6.3	79.5
	13	40	7.5	8.4	87.9
	14	10	1.9	2.1	90.0
	15	9	1.7	1.9	91.9
	16	25	4.7	5.2	97.1
	17	6	1.1	1.3	98.3
	18	4	.8	.8	99.2
	19	2	.4	.4	99.6
	20	2	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	479	90.4	100.0	
Missing	No Date	51	9.6		
Total		530	100.0		

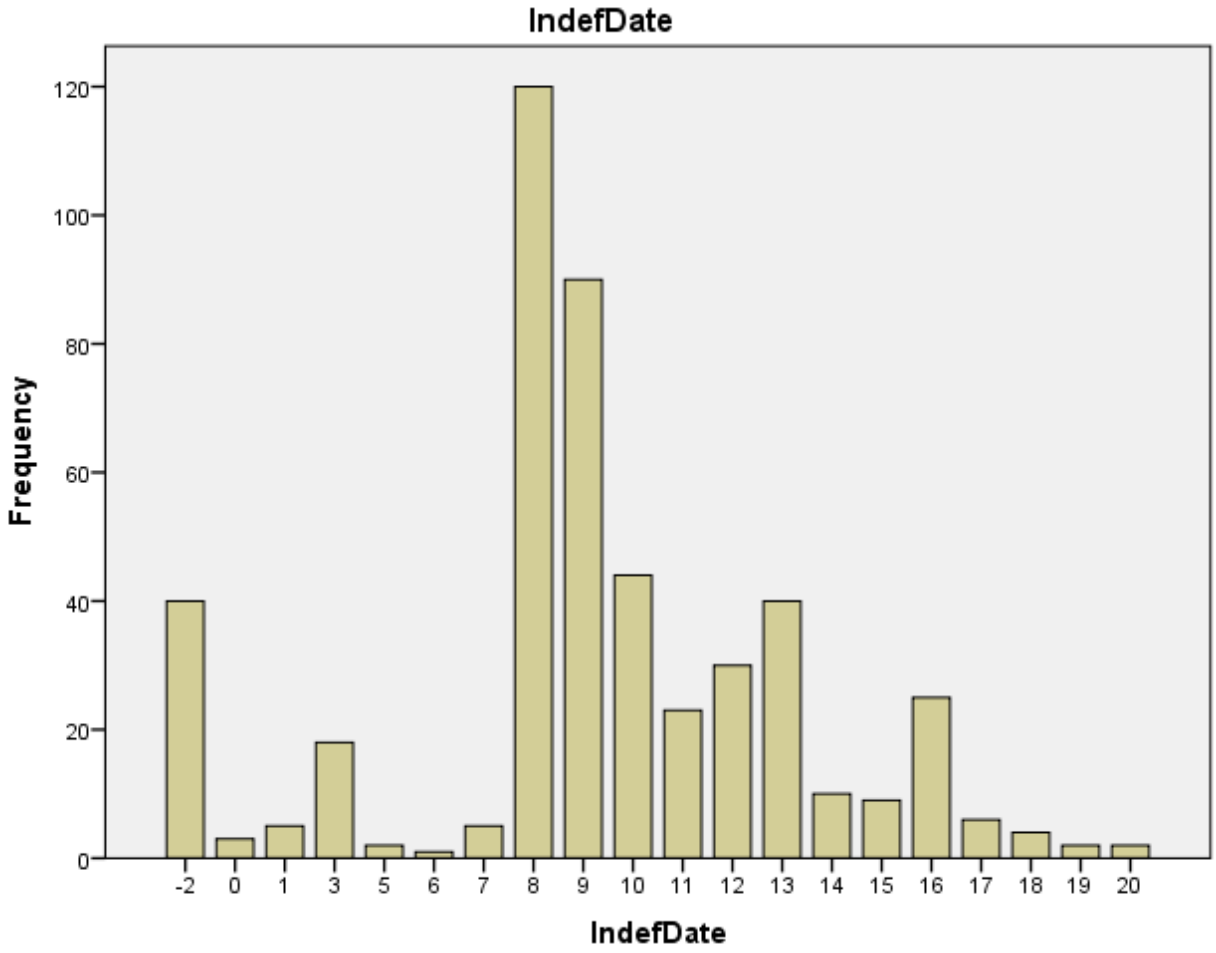


Figure B.7 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions by Date
(-2) = 2nd century BCE, (1) = 1st century CE

Table B.8 Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu by Language

Language	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Kanarese	8	1.5	1.5	1.5
Kannada	2	.4	.4	1.9
Sanskrit	19	3.6	3.6	5.5
Sanskrit-Tamil	2	.4	.4	5.8
Tamil	499	94.2	94.2	100.0
Total	530	100.0	100.0	

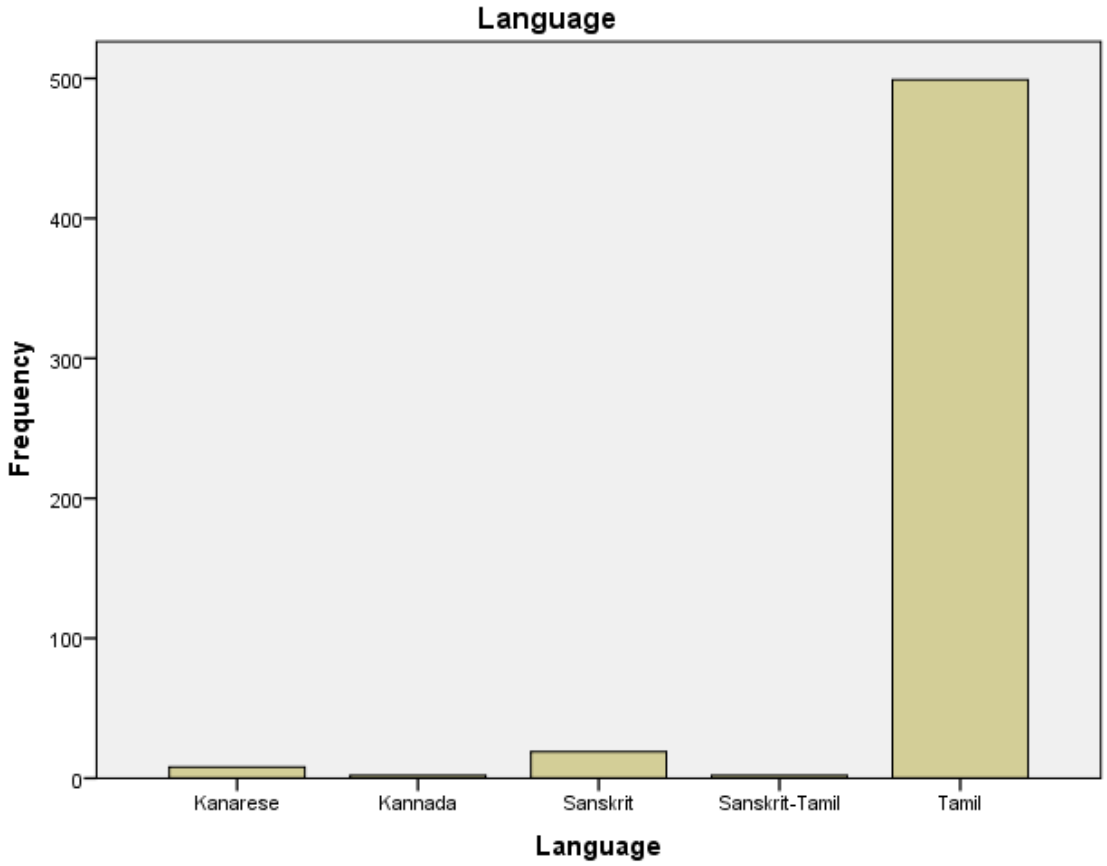


Figure B.8 Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu by Language

Table B.9 Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu by Script

Script

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Brahmi	67	12.6	12.6	12.6
	Devanagari	1	.2	.2	12.8
	Grantha	25	4.7	4.7	17.5
	Grantha-Tamil	1	.2	.2	17.7
	Grantha-Vatteluttu	1	.2	.2	17.9
	Kanarese	7	1.3	1.3	19.2
	Kannada	2	.4	.4	19.6
	Nagari	1	.2	.2	19.8
	Tamil	231	43.6	43.6	63.4
	Tamil-Grantha	23	4.3	4.3	67.7
	Telegu-Kannada	1	.2	.2	67.9
	Vatteluttu	170	32.1	32.1	100.0
	Total	530	100.0	100.0	

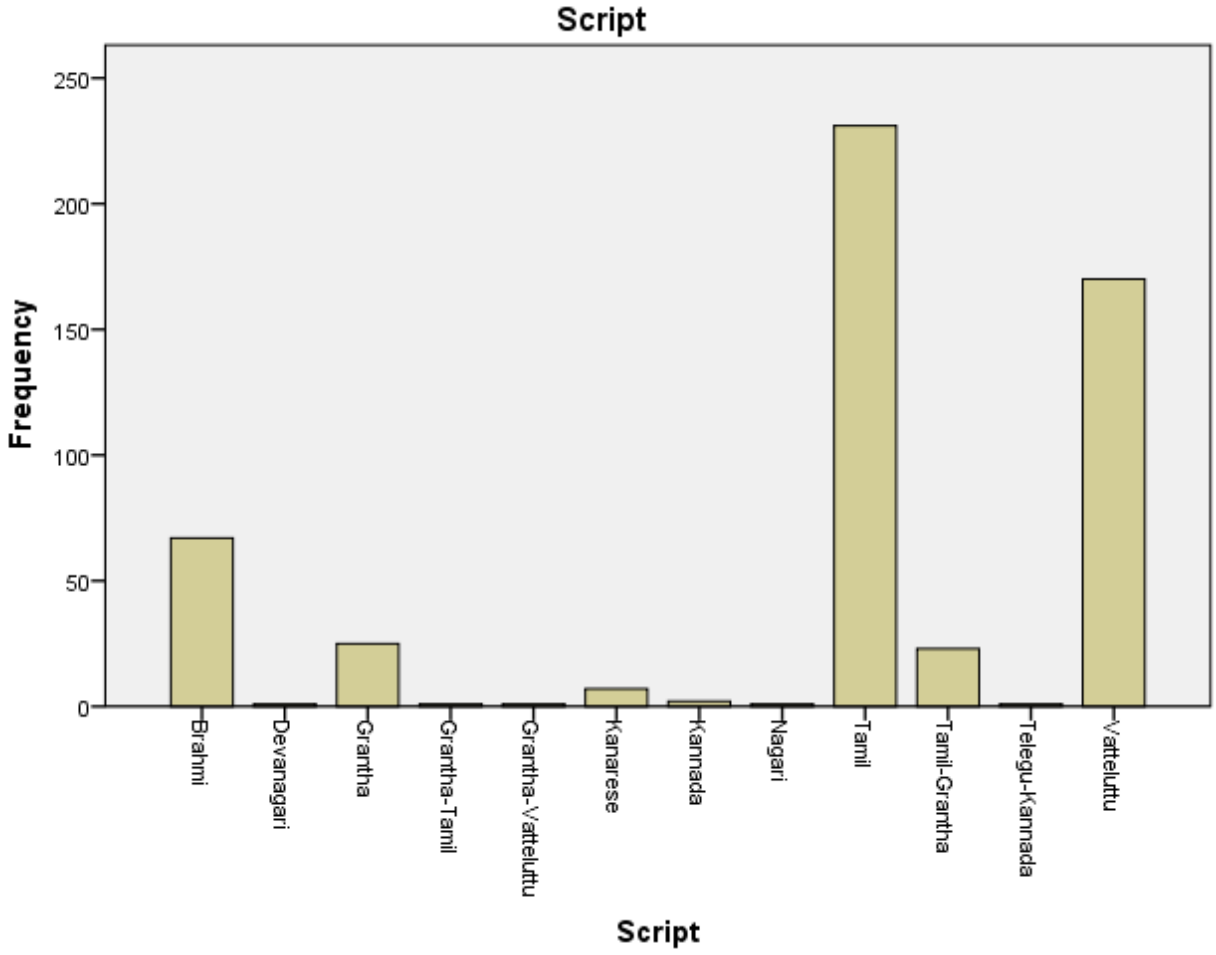


Figure B.9 Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu by Script

Table B.10 Frequency of Donations in Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu

Donation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	?	58	10.9	10.9	10.9
	N	65	12.3	12.3	23.2
	Y	407	76.8	76.8	100.0
	Total	530	100.0	100.0	

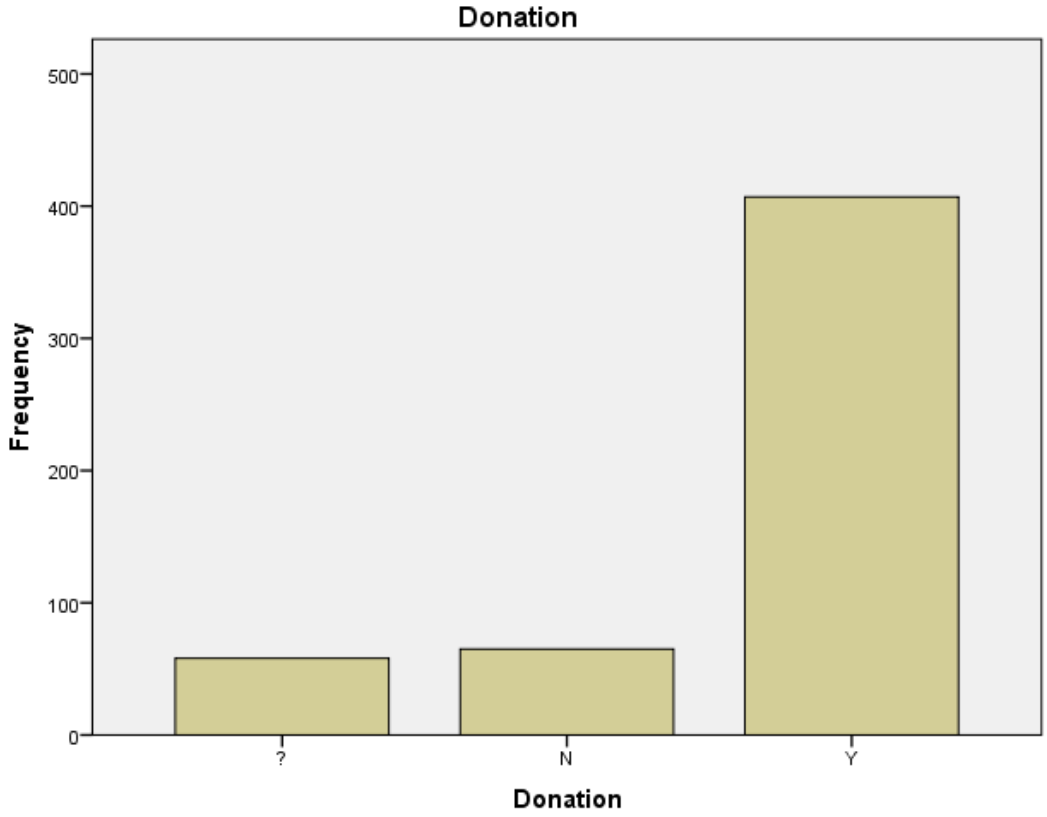


Figure B.10 Frequency of Donations in Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu
(?) = Unclear whether the inscription is donative or not, usually due to damage/incomplete

FREQUENCY TABLES AND BAR CHARTS FOR INDIVIDUAL COUNT (N=566)

Table B.11 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu

Dobject

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Not Donative	122	21.6	21.6	21.6
	altar	1	.2	.2	21.7
	arrangements	1	.2	.2	21.9
	bed	49	8.7	8.7	30.6
	canal	1	.2	.2	30.7
	canopy	3	.5	.5	31.3
	cave	7	1.2	1.2	32.5
	cloth	1	.2	.2	32.7
	copper images	1	.2	.2	32.9
	cows	3	.5	.5	33.4
	dancing girls	1	.2	.2	33.6
	door-post	1	.2	.2	33.7
	drip ledge	1	.2	.2	33.9
	endowment	5	.9	.9	34.8
	flowers	1	.2	.2	35.0
	footprints	1	.2	.2	35.2
	garden	1	.2	.2	35.3
	ghee	1	.2	.2	35.5
	gift	8	1.4	1.4	36.9
	gold	27	4.8	4.8	41.7
	gong	1	.2	.2	41.9
	gopura	4	.7	.7	42.6
	image	154	27.2	27.2	69.8
	lamp	4	.7	.7	70.5
	land	70	12.4	12.4	82.9
	lattice	1	.2	.2	83.0
	manasthamba	2	.4	.4	83.4
	mandapa	2	.4	.4	83.7
	monastery	5	.9	.9	84.6
	money	8	1.4	1.4	86.0
	paddy	8	1.4	1.4	87.5
	pavillion	1	.2	.2	87.6
	pillar	2	.4	.4	88.0
	prakaram	1	.2	.2	88.2
	provisions	1	.2	.2	88.3
	renovation	3	.5	.5	88.9
	restoration	1	.2	.2	89.0
	rice	1	.2	.2	89.2
	service	2	.4	.4	89.6
	sheep	14	2.5	2.5	92.0
	shrine	7	1.2	1.2	93.3
	sluice	5	.9	.9	94.2
	steps	2	.4	.4	94.5
	stone pillar	1	.2	.2	94.7

Table B.11 Continued

	tank	2	.4	.4	95.1
	taxes	1	.2	.2	95.2
	temple	11	1.9	1.9	97.2
	town	1	.2	.2	97.3
	vessels and ornaments	1	.2	.2	97.5
	village	8	1.4	1.4	98.9
	villages	1	.2	.2	99.1
	wall	1	.2	.2	99.3
	well	4	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	566	100.0	100.0	

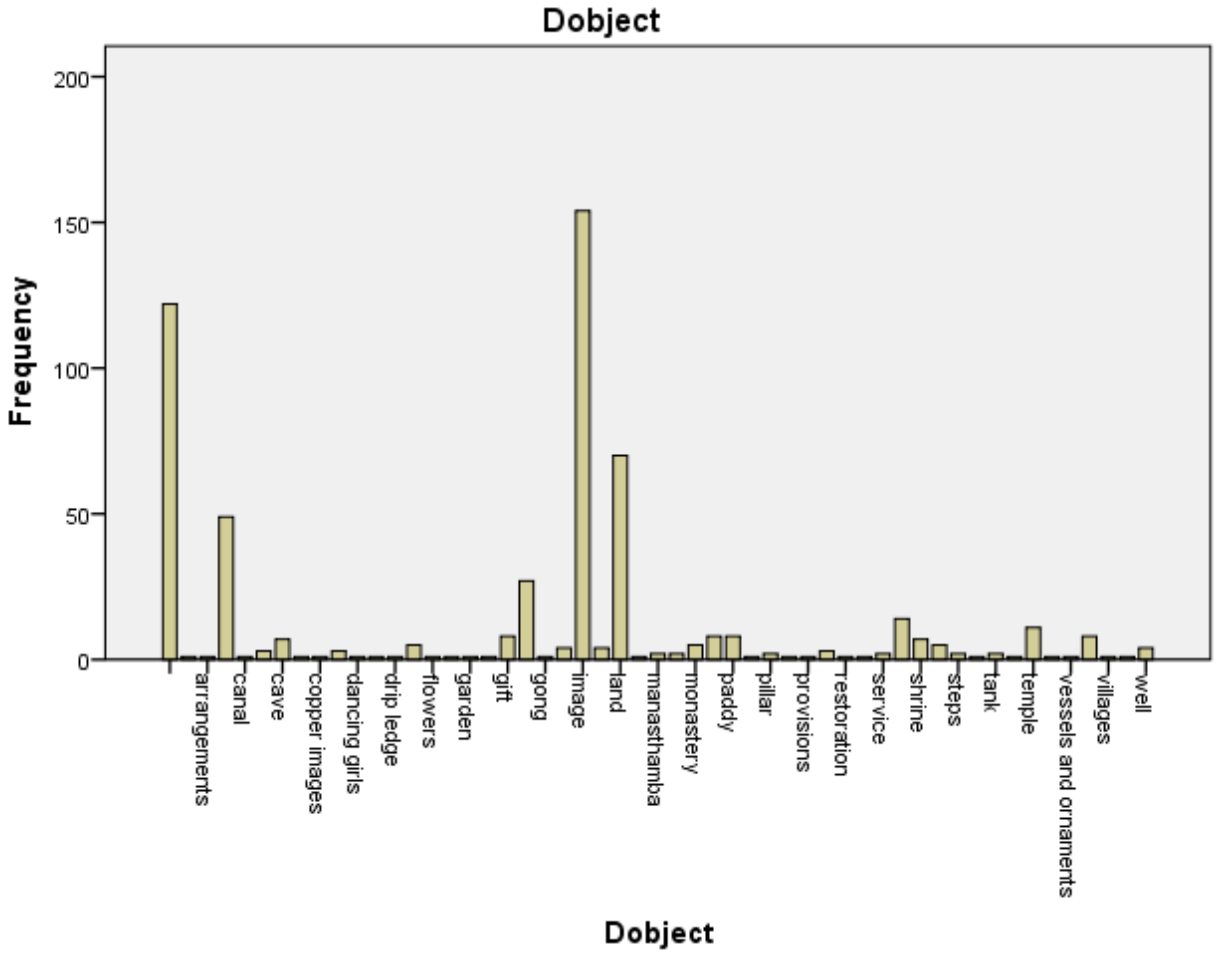


Figure B.11 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu
(-) = Inscriptions that are not donative

Table B.12 Purposes of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu

Dpurpose

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not donative	122	21.6	21.6	21.6
communal	13	2.3	2.3	23.9
monastic	80	14.1	14.1	38.0
temple	93	16.4	16.4	54.4
unclear	3	.5	.5	54.9
worship	254	44.9	44.9	99.8
worship-monastic	1	.2	.2	100.0
Total	566	100.0	100.0	

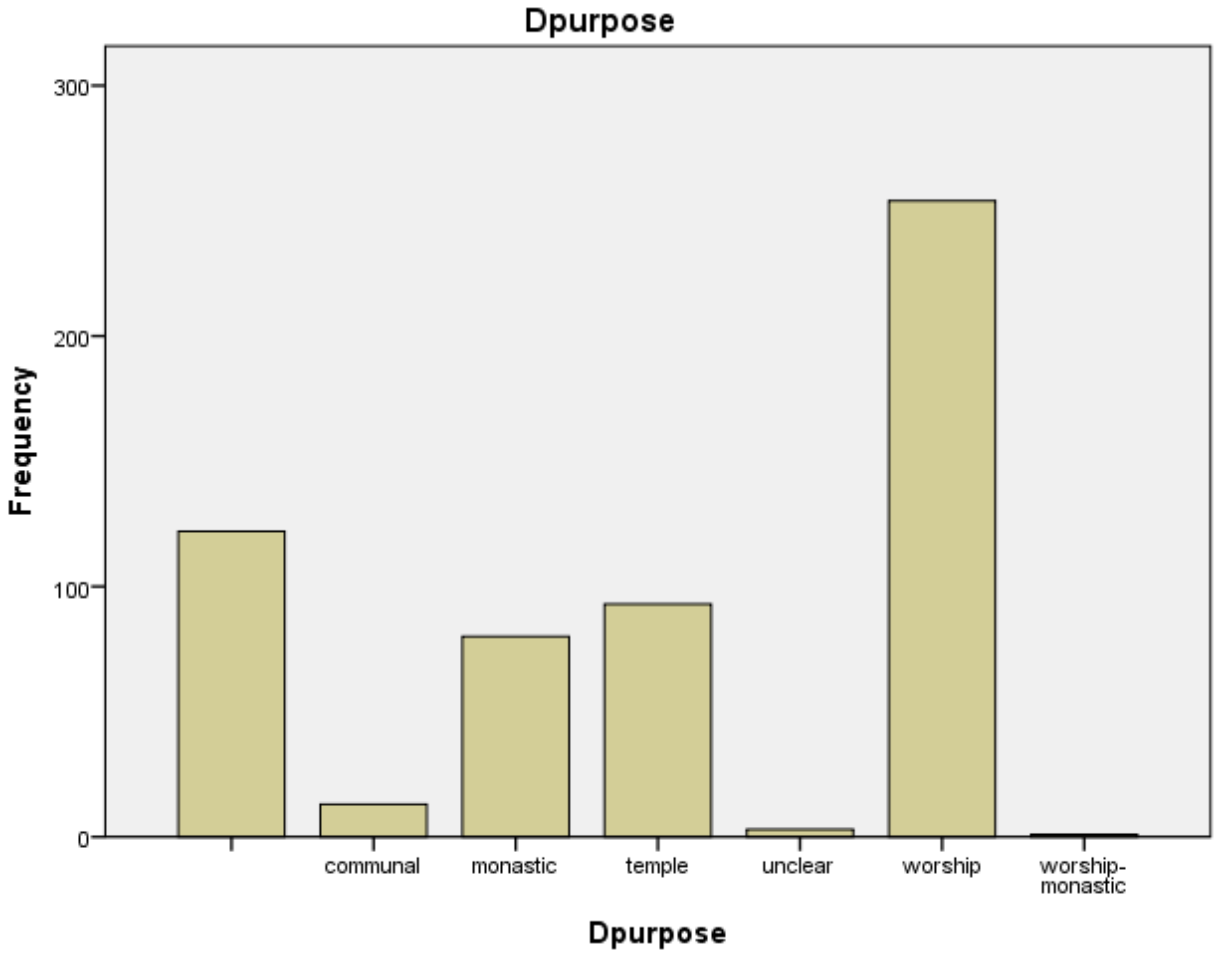


Figure B.12 Purposes of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu
(-) = Inscriptions that are not donative

Table B.13 Jain Donative Inscriptions by Category of Donor

DTypeCategory

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Donative	184	32.5	32.5	32.5
Corporate	17	3.0	3.0	35.5
Craftsman	7	1.2	1.2	36.7
Elite	85	15.0	15.0	51.8
Family	30	5.3	5.3	57.1
Merchant	14	2.5	2.5	59.5
Other	6	1.1	1.1	60.6
Religious	92	16.3	16.3	76.9
Unknown	131	23.1	23.1	100.0
Total	566	100.0	100.0	

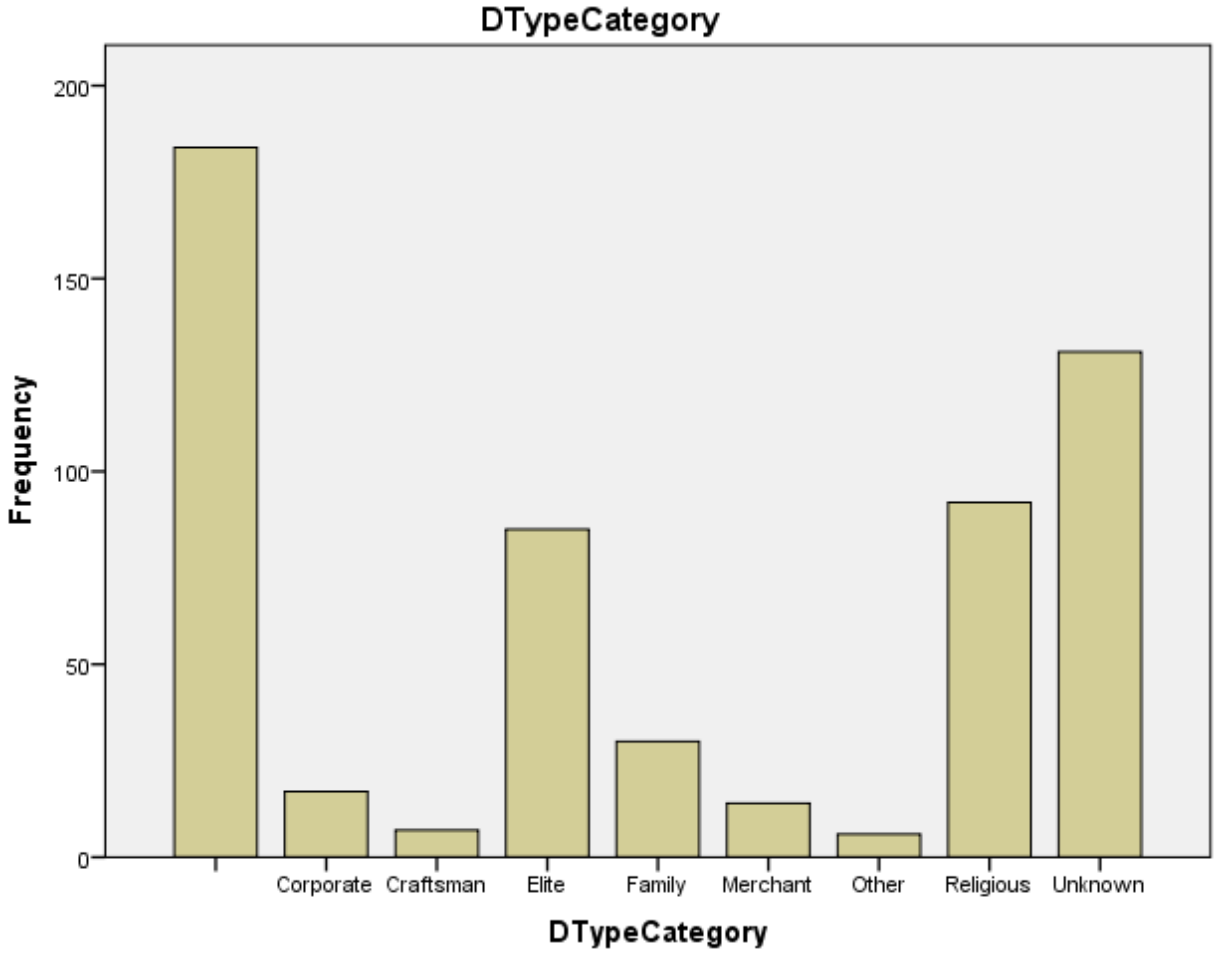


Figure B.13 Jain Donative Inscriptions by Category of Donor
(-) = No donor / not donative

Table B.14 Donors in Jain Inscriptions by Sex/Gender

DSex	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	180	31.8	31.8	31.8
F	57	10.1	10.1	41.9
M	310	54.8	54.8	96.6
U	19	3.4	3.4	100.0
Total	566	100.0	100.0	

0= No donor / Not donative; F= Female; M= Male; U= Unclear

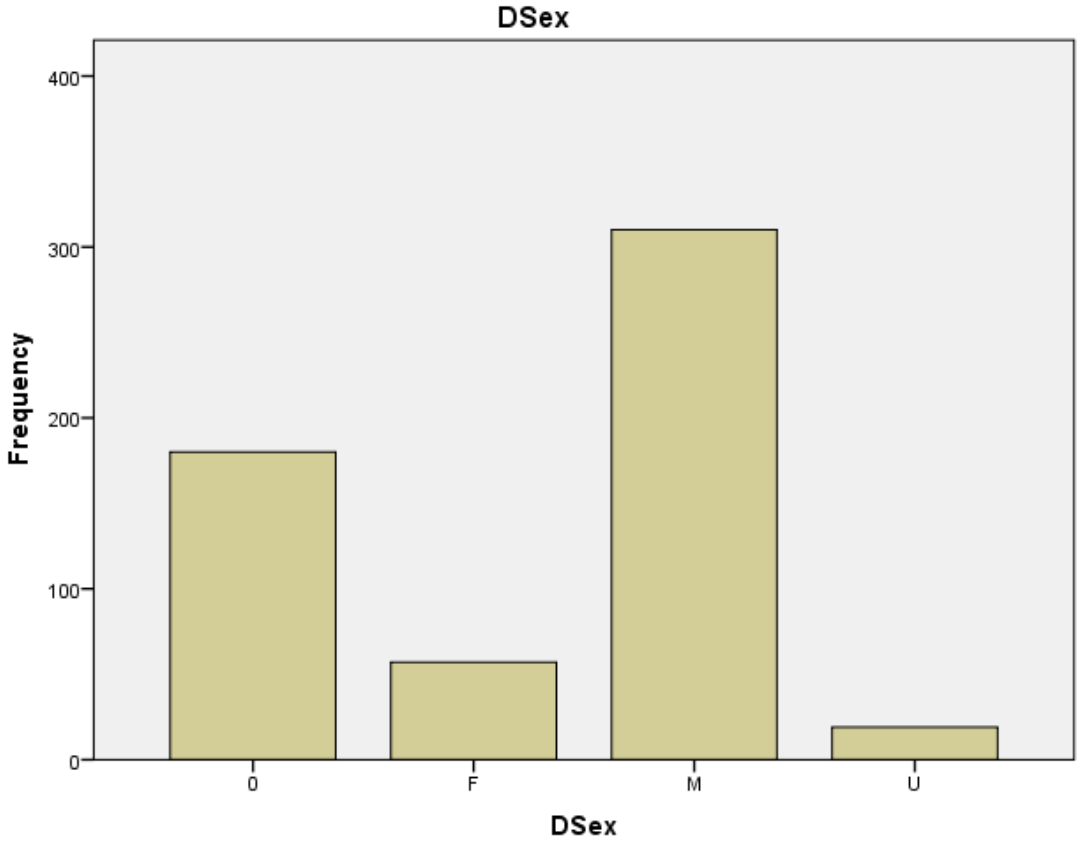


Figure B.14 Donors in Jain Inscriptions by Sex/Gender
0= No donor / Not donative; F= Female; M= Male; U= Unclear

Table B.15 Jain Donative Inscriptions by Type of Recipient

Rtype	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not donative	169	29.9	29.9	29.9
ascetic	3	.5	.5	30.4
cbd	18	3.2	3.2	33.6
devotee	2	.4	.4	33.9
god	16	2.8	2.8	36.7
god/ascetic	1	.2	.2	36.9
monastic	88	15.5	15.5	52.5
person	3	.5	.5	53.0
temple	261	46.1	46.1	99.1
temple/monastic	3	.5	.5	99.6
villagers	2	.4	.4	100.0
Total	566	100.0	100.0	

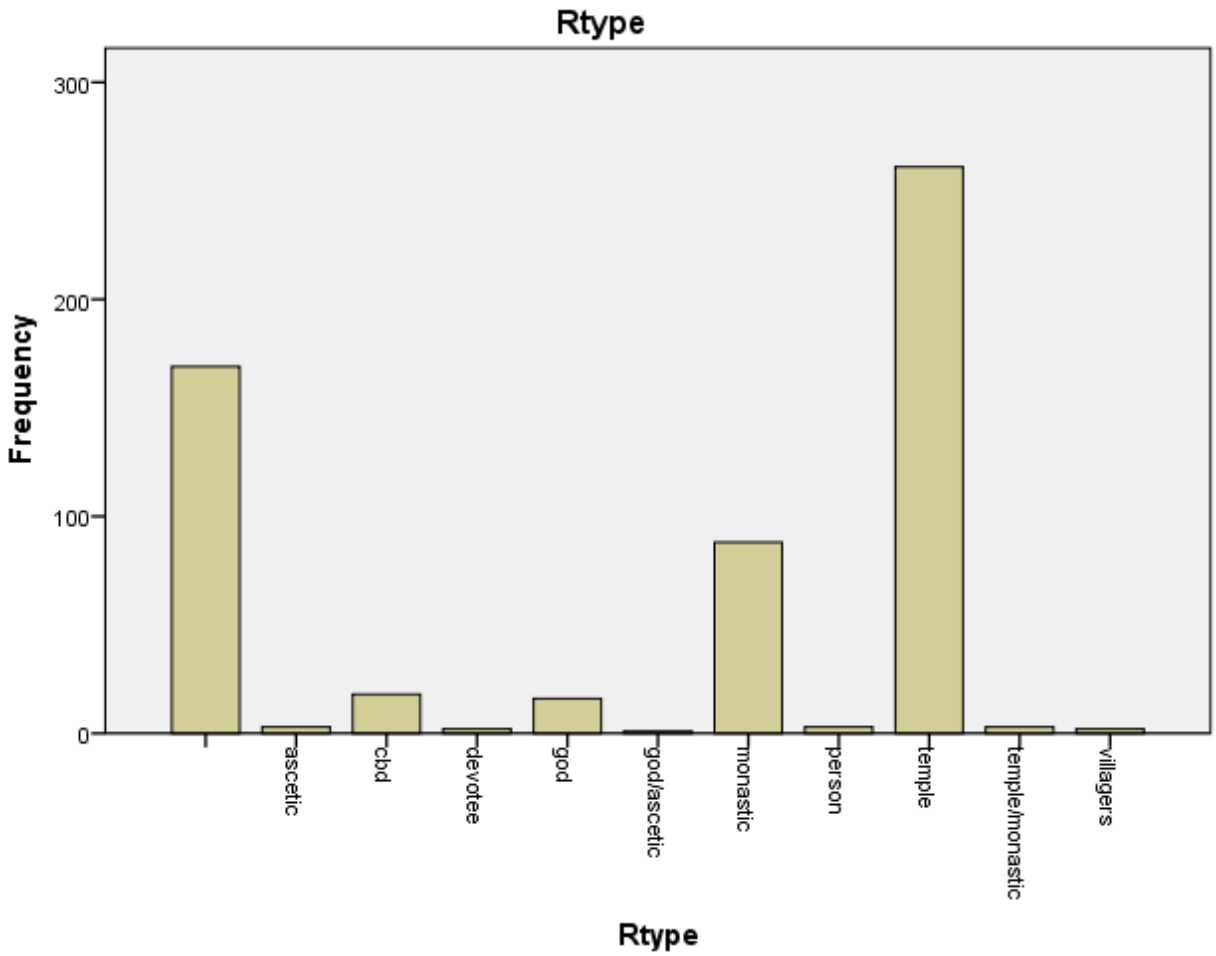


Figure B.15 Jain Donative Inscriptions by Type of Recipient

DISTRIBUTION OF INSCRIPTIONS OVER TIME
SINGLE COUNT (N=530)

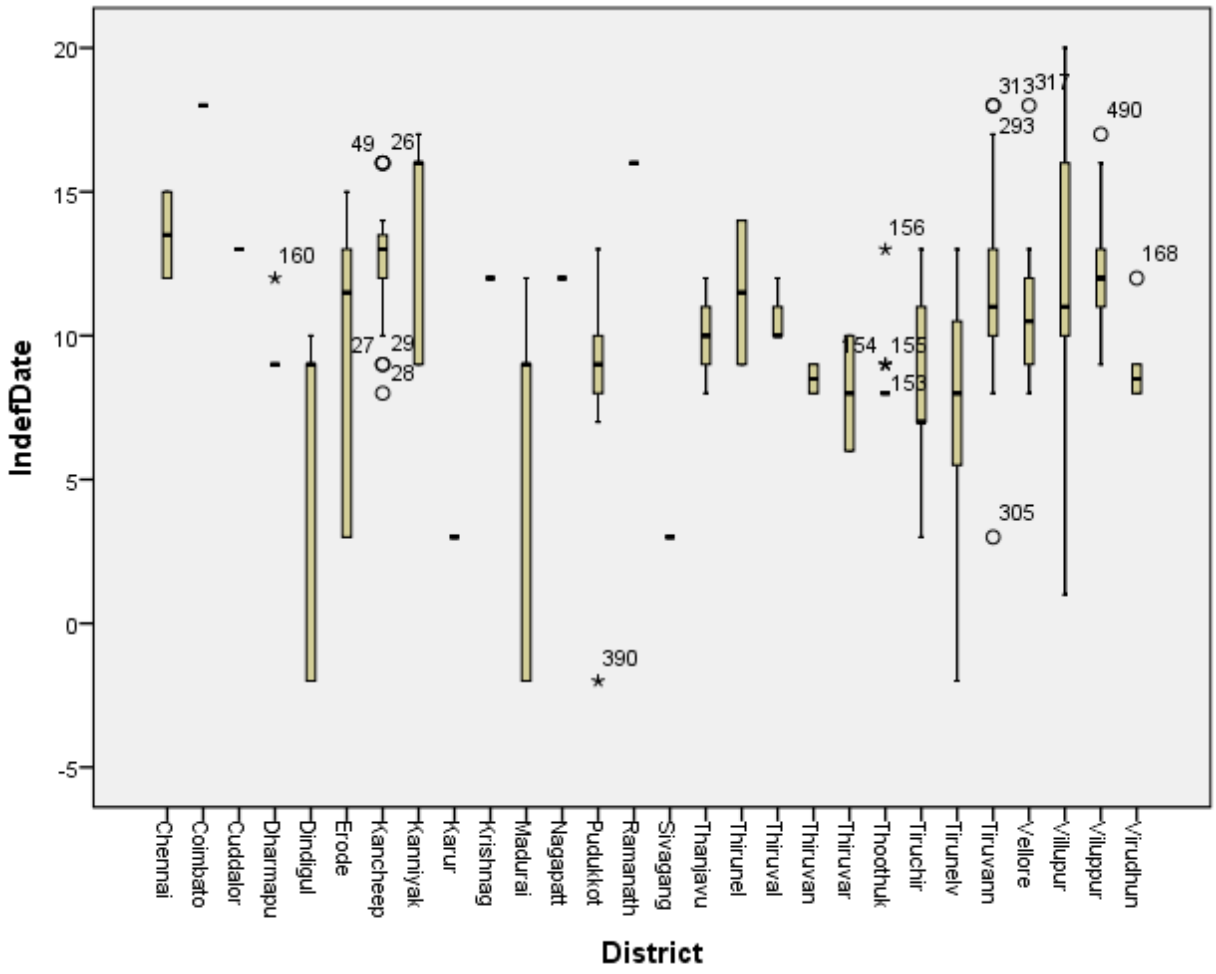


Figure B.16 Chronological Distribution of Jain Inscriptions by District

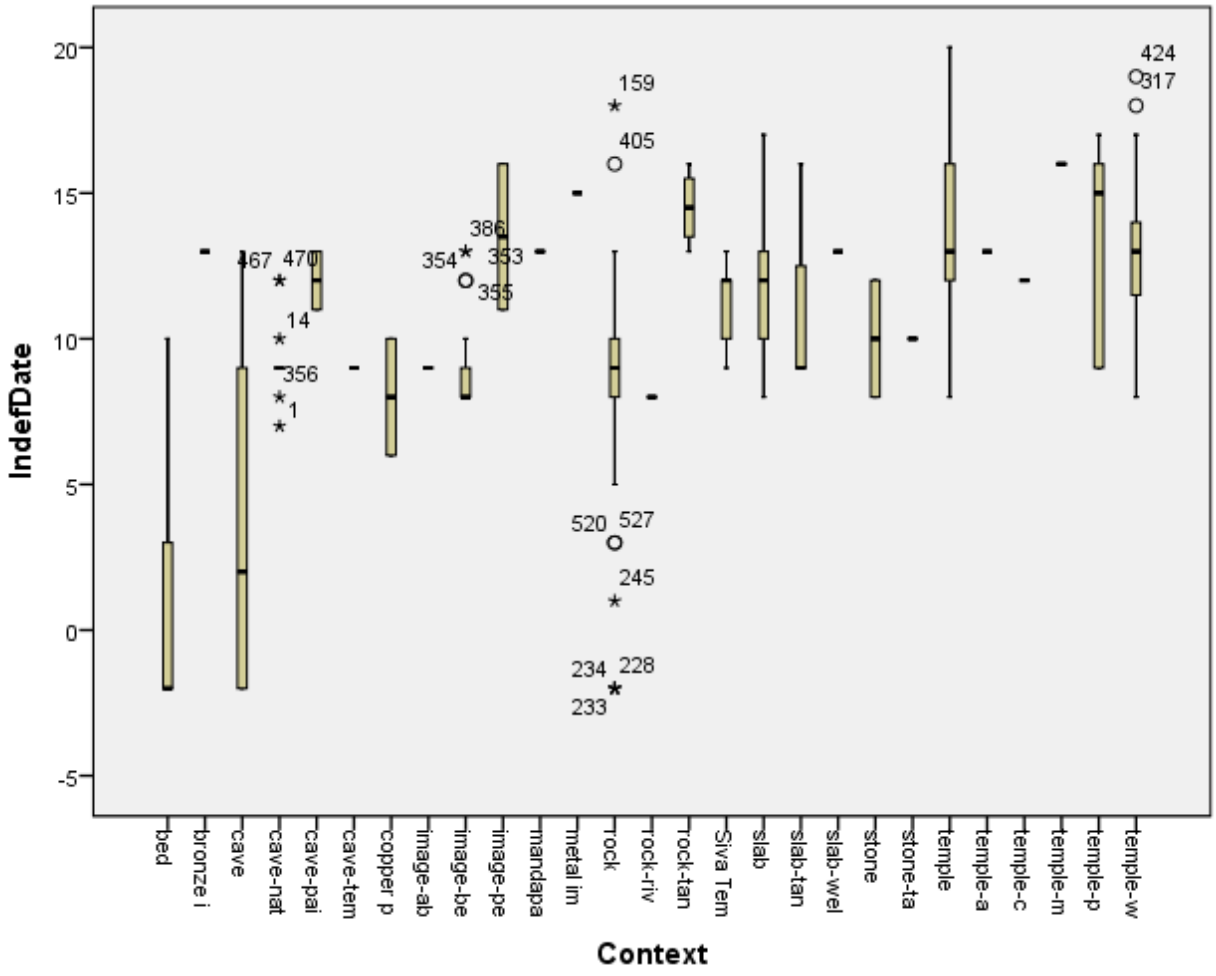


Figure B.17 Chronological Distribution of Jain Inscriptions by Context

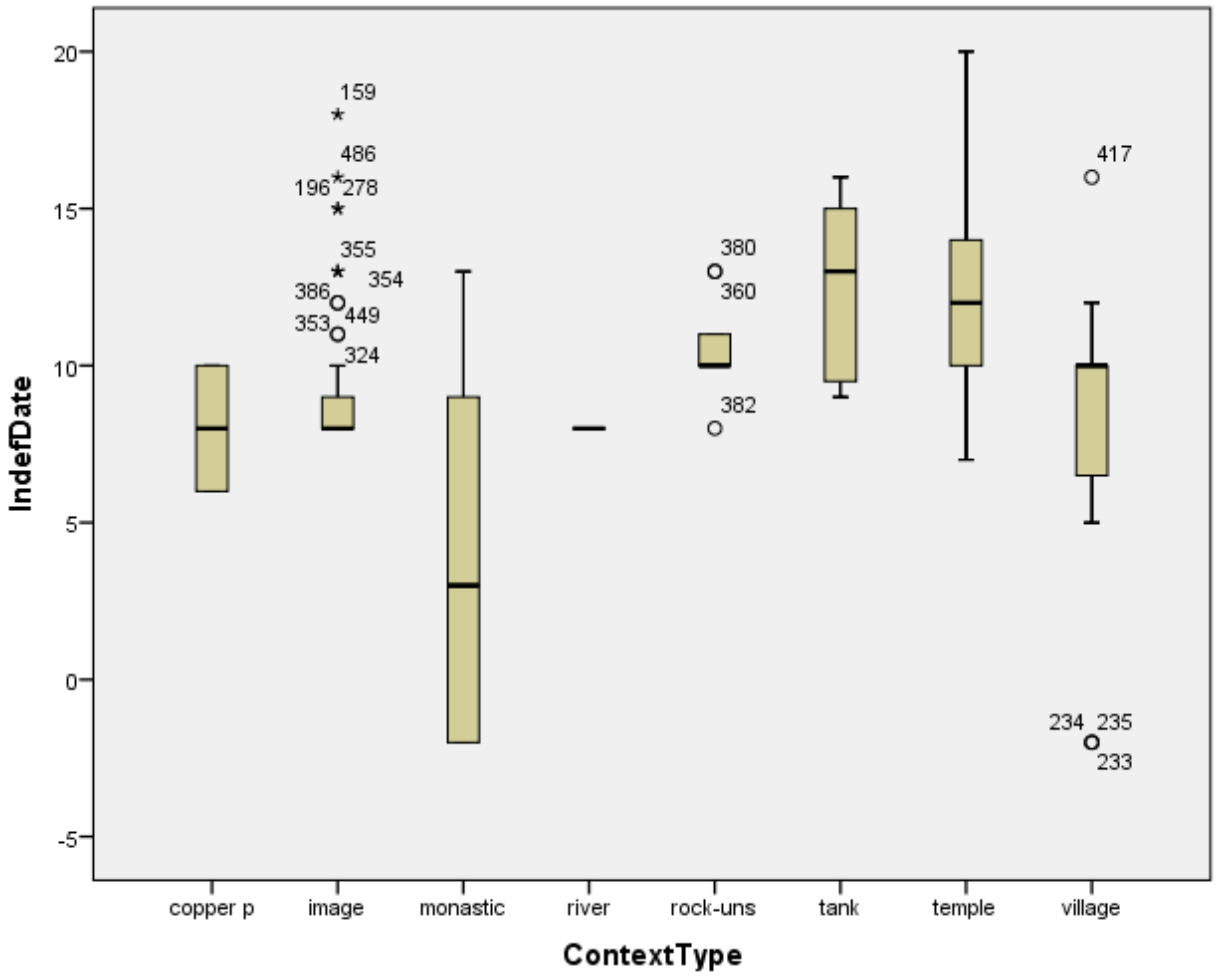


Figure B.18 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions by Context Type

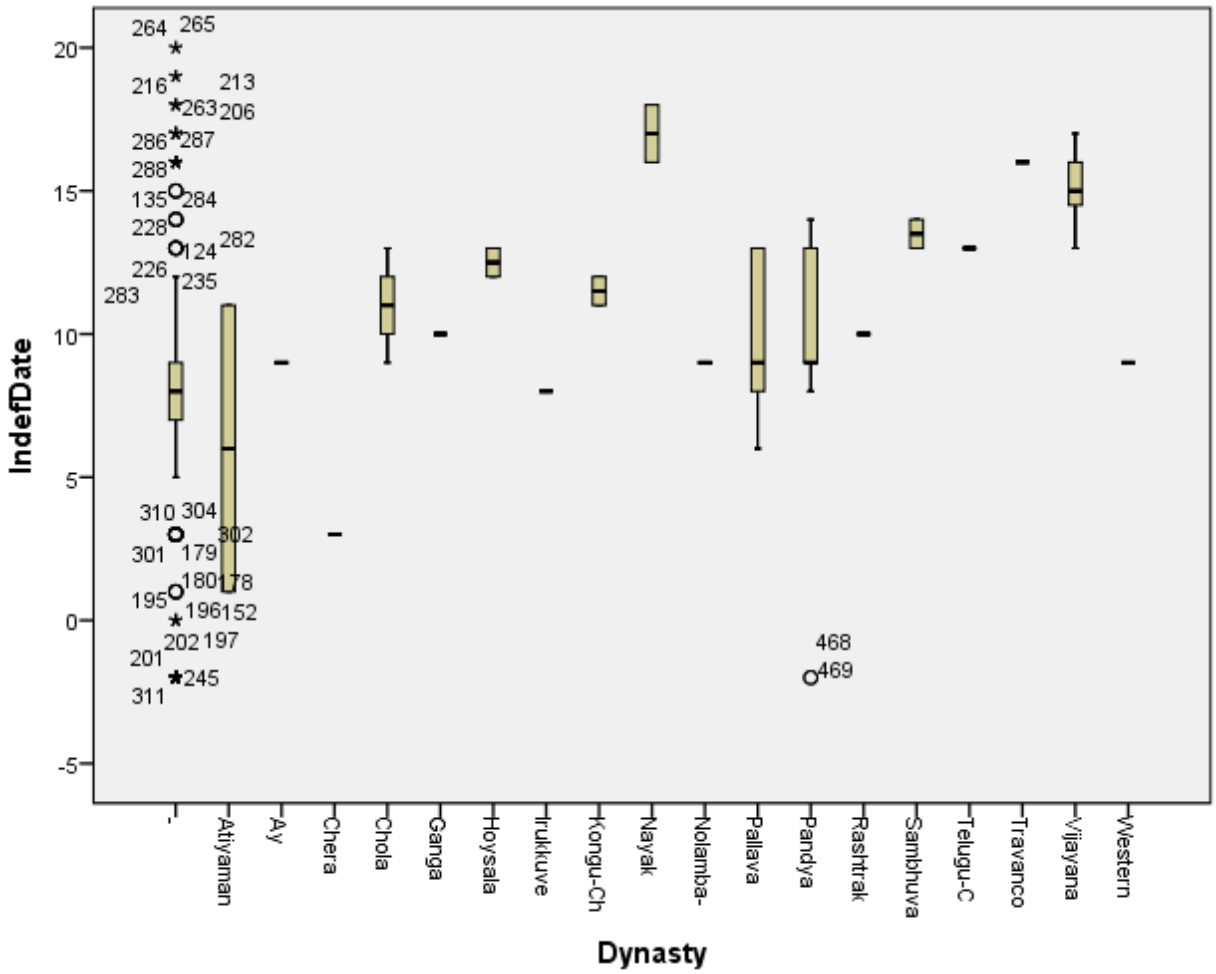


Figure B.19 Chronological Distribution of Jain Inscriptions by Dynasty
(-) = No dynastic affiliation

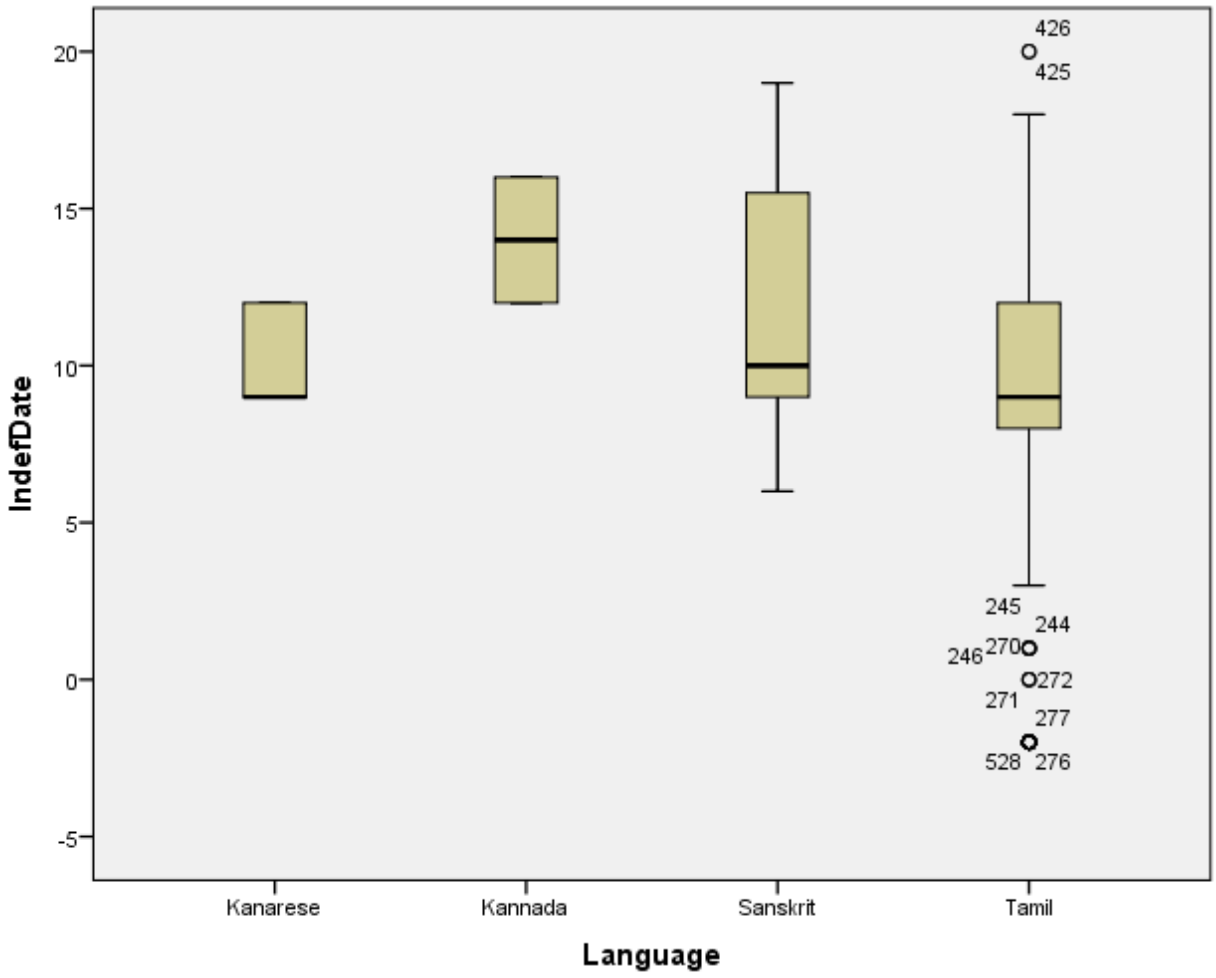


Figure B.20 Chronological Distribution of Jain Inscriptions by Language

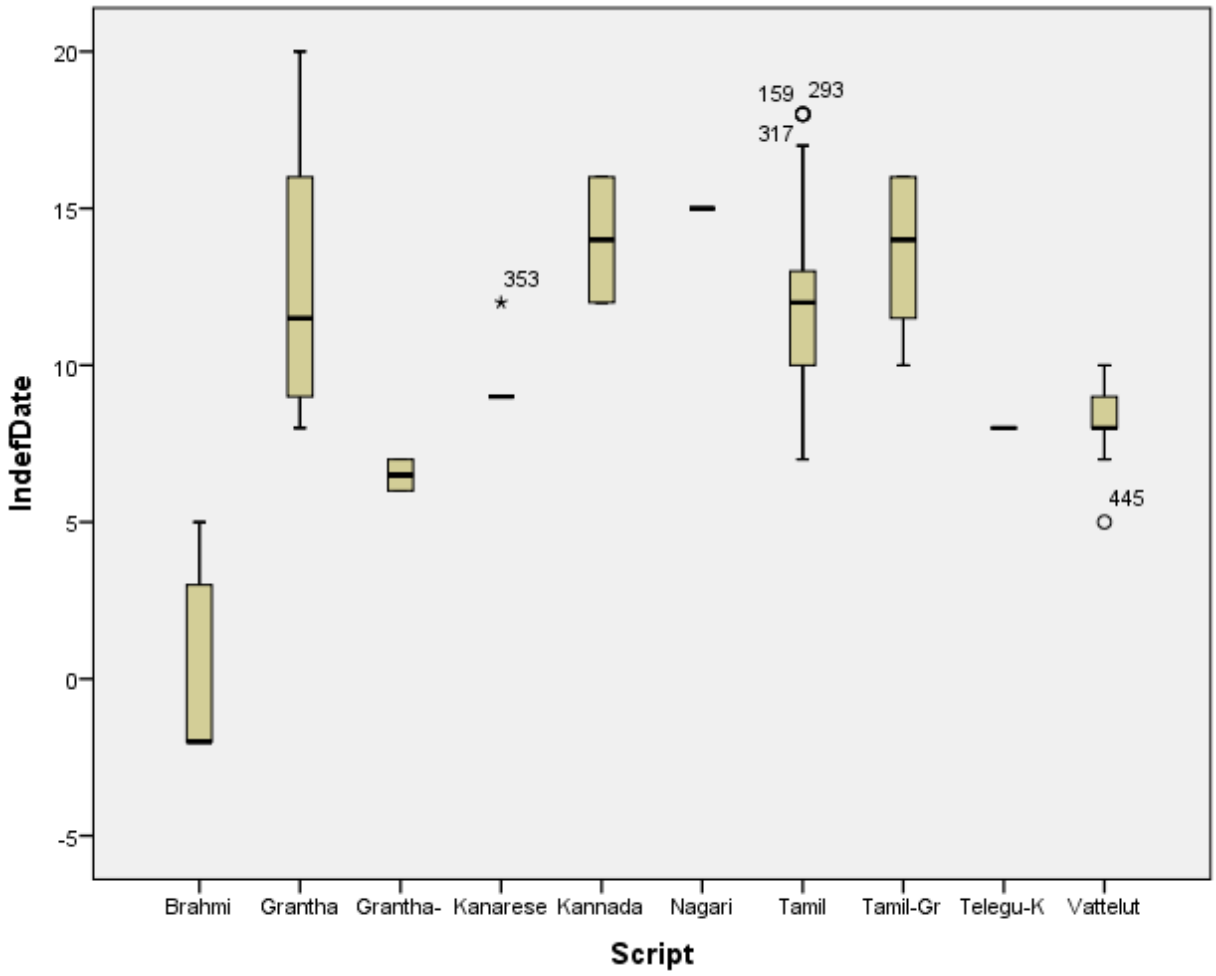


Figure B.21 Chronological Distribution of Jain Inscriptions by Script

DISTRIBUTION OF INSCRIPTIONS OVER TIME
INDIVIDUAL COUNT (N=566)

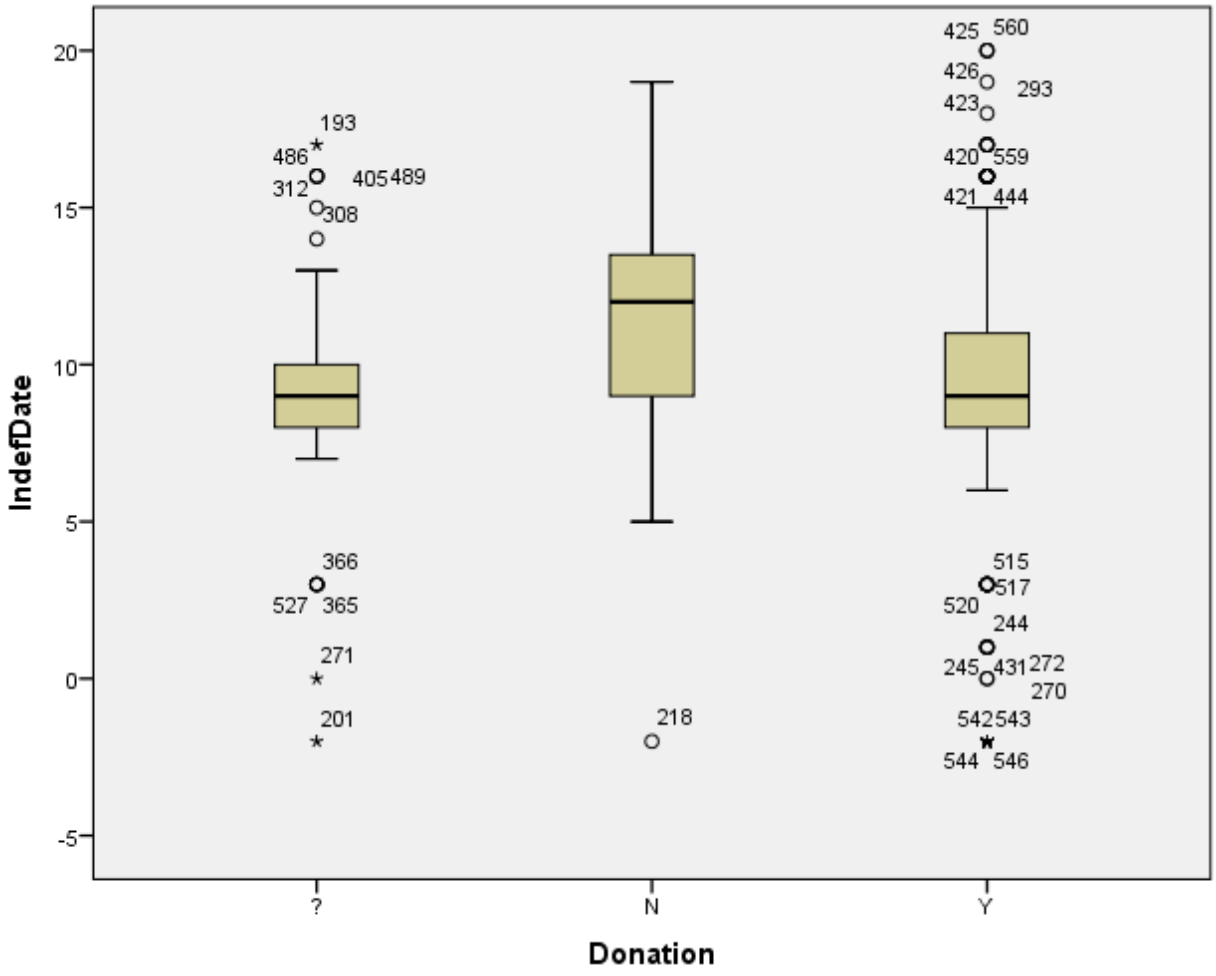


Figure B.22 Chronological Distribution of Donations Recorded in Jain Inscriptions
Y= Donative Inscription; N = Not donative; ? = Unclear if donative or not donative

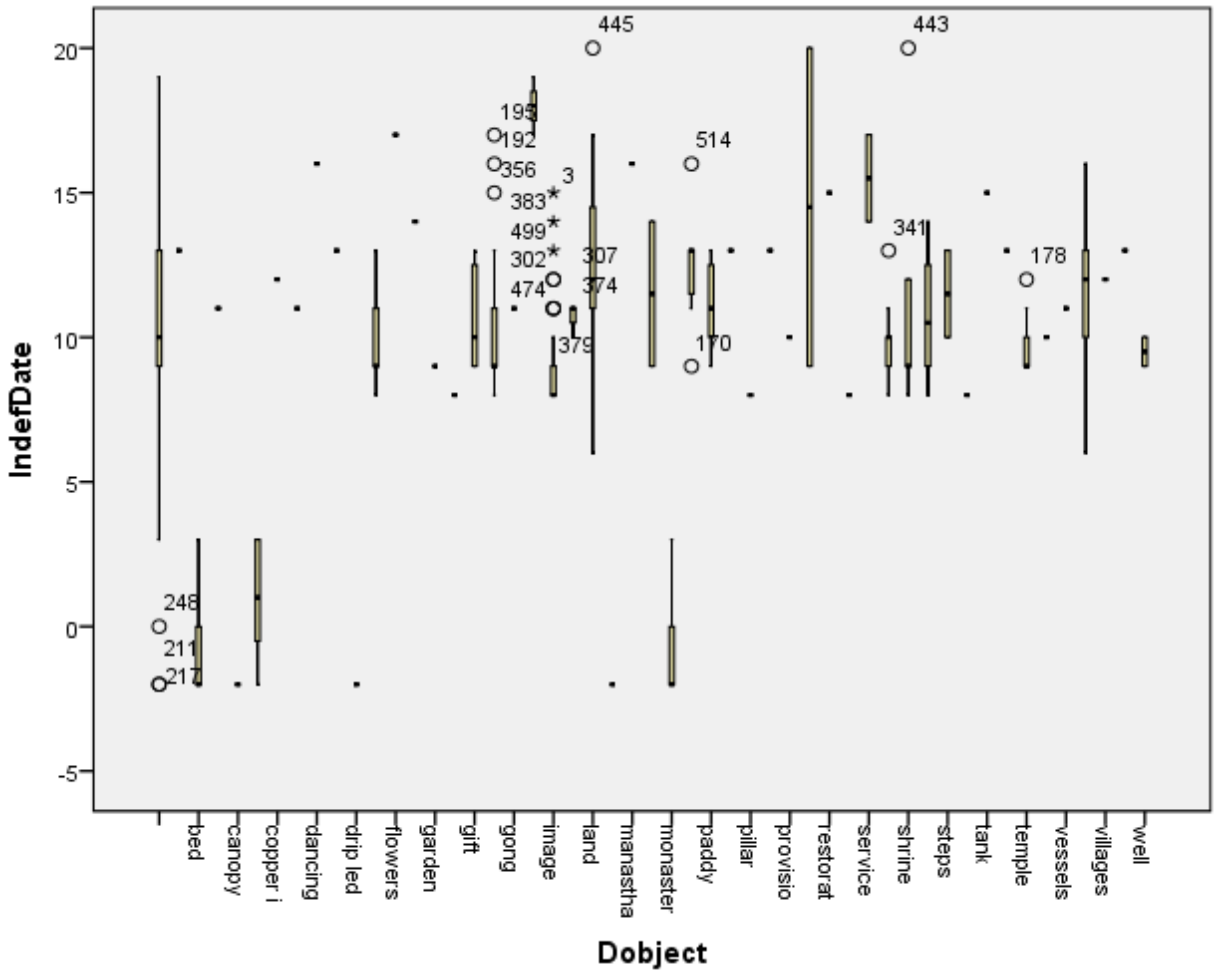


Figure B.23 Chronological Distribution of Donated Objects Recorded in Jain Inscriptions
(-) = Unclear or not donative

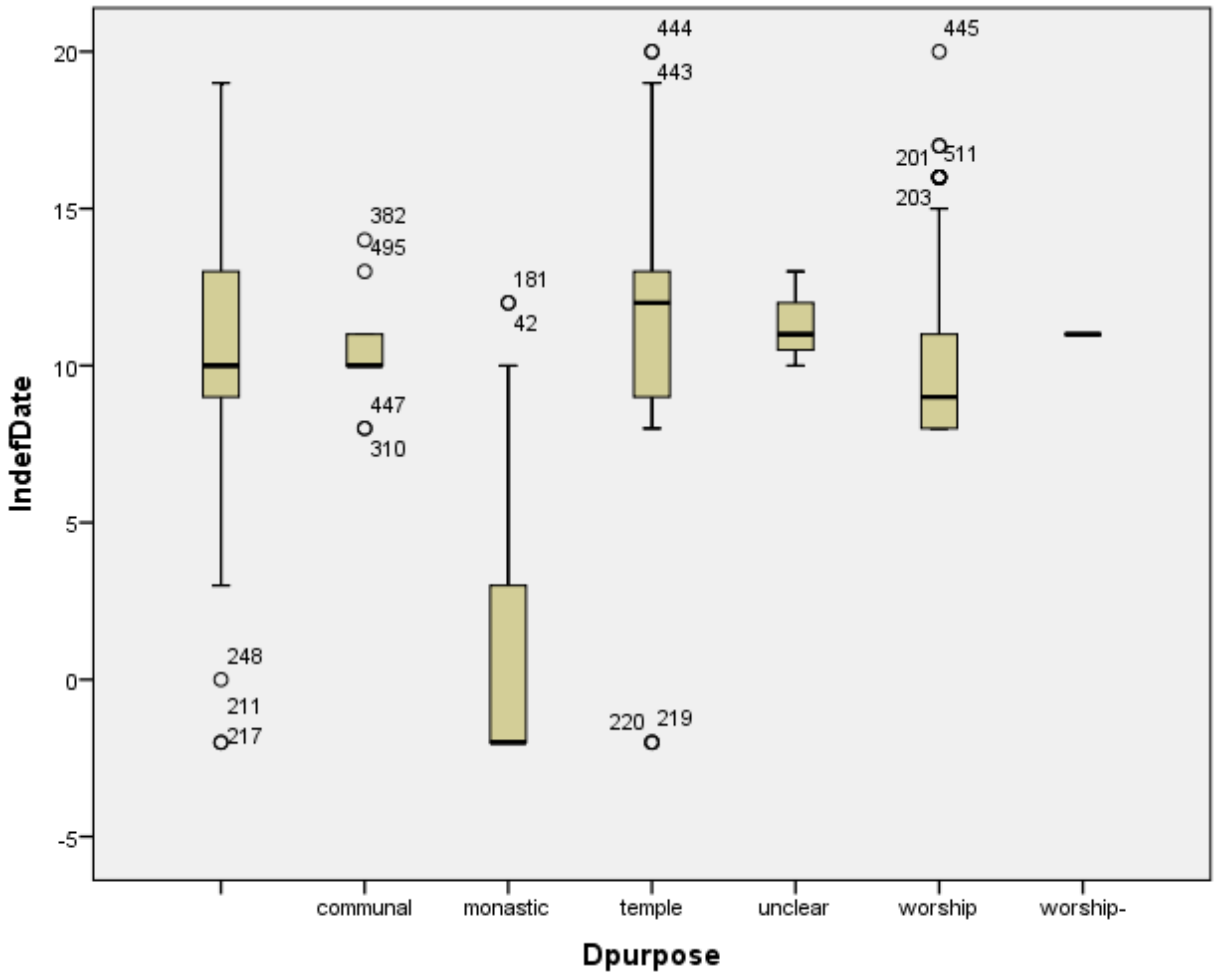


Figure B.24 Chronological Distribution of Purpose of Donated Objects Recorded in Jain Inscriptions
(-) = Unclear or not donative

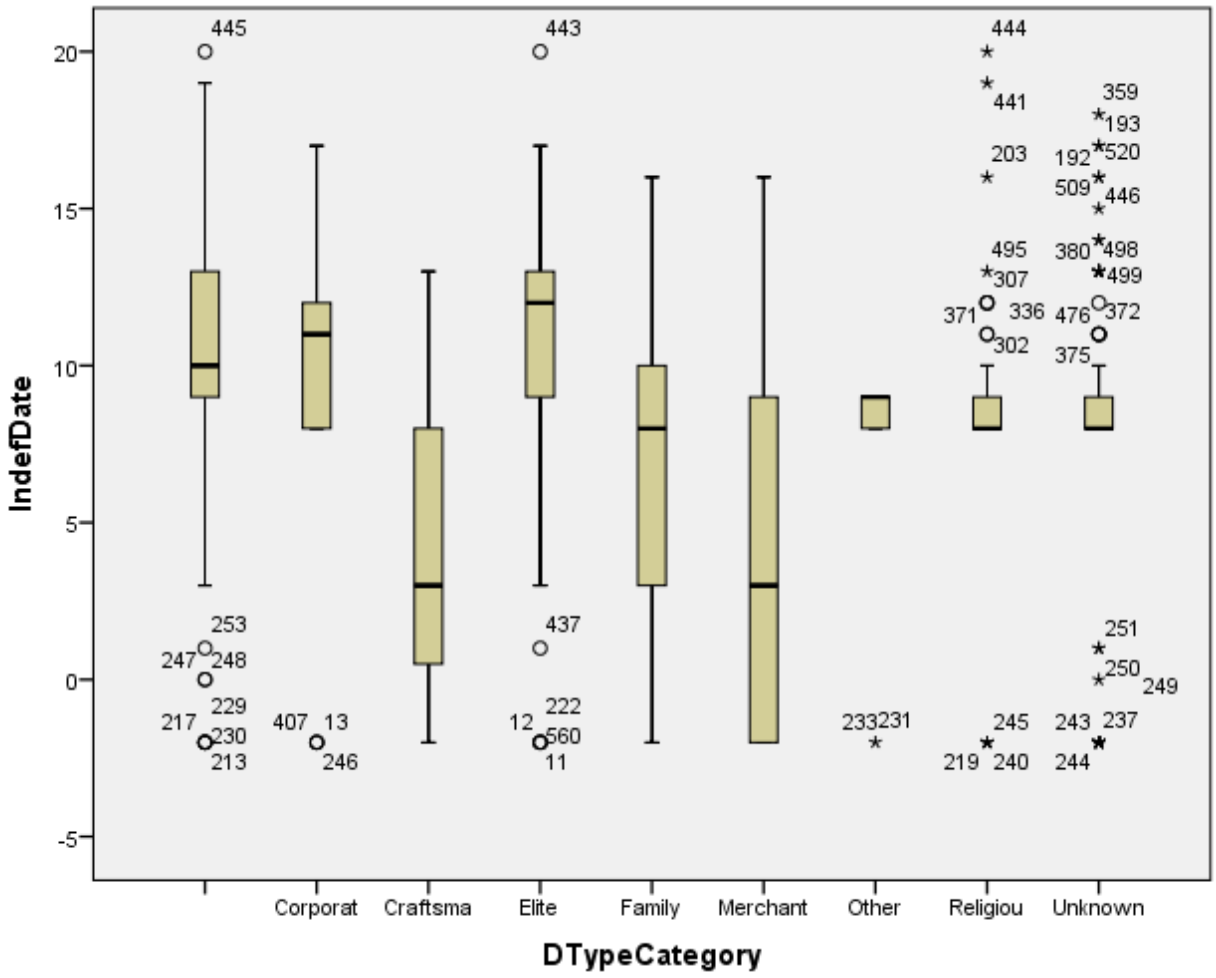


Figure B.25 Chronological Distribution of Type of Donor of Donated Objects Recorded in Jain Inscriptions
(-) = Unclear or not donative

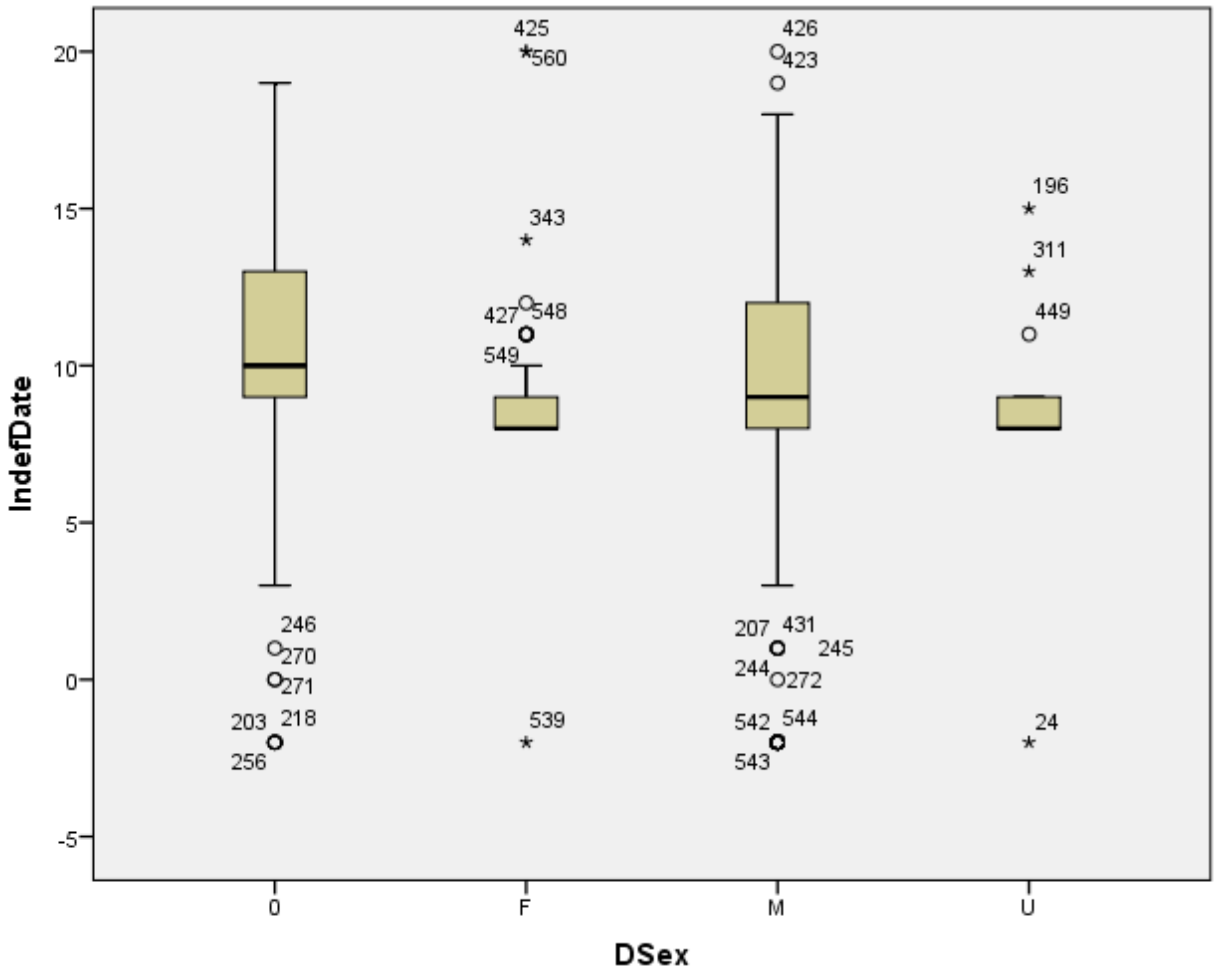


Figure B.26 Chronological Distribution of Sex of Donor of Donated Objects Recorded in Jain Inscriptions
0= No donor / Not donative; F= Female; M= Male; U= Unclear

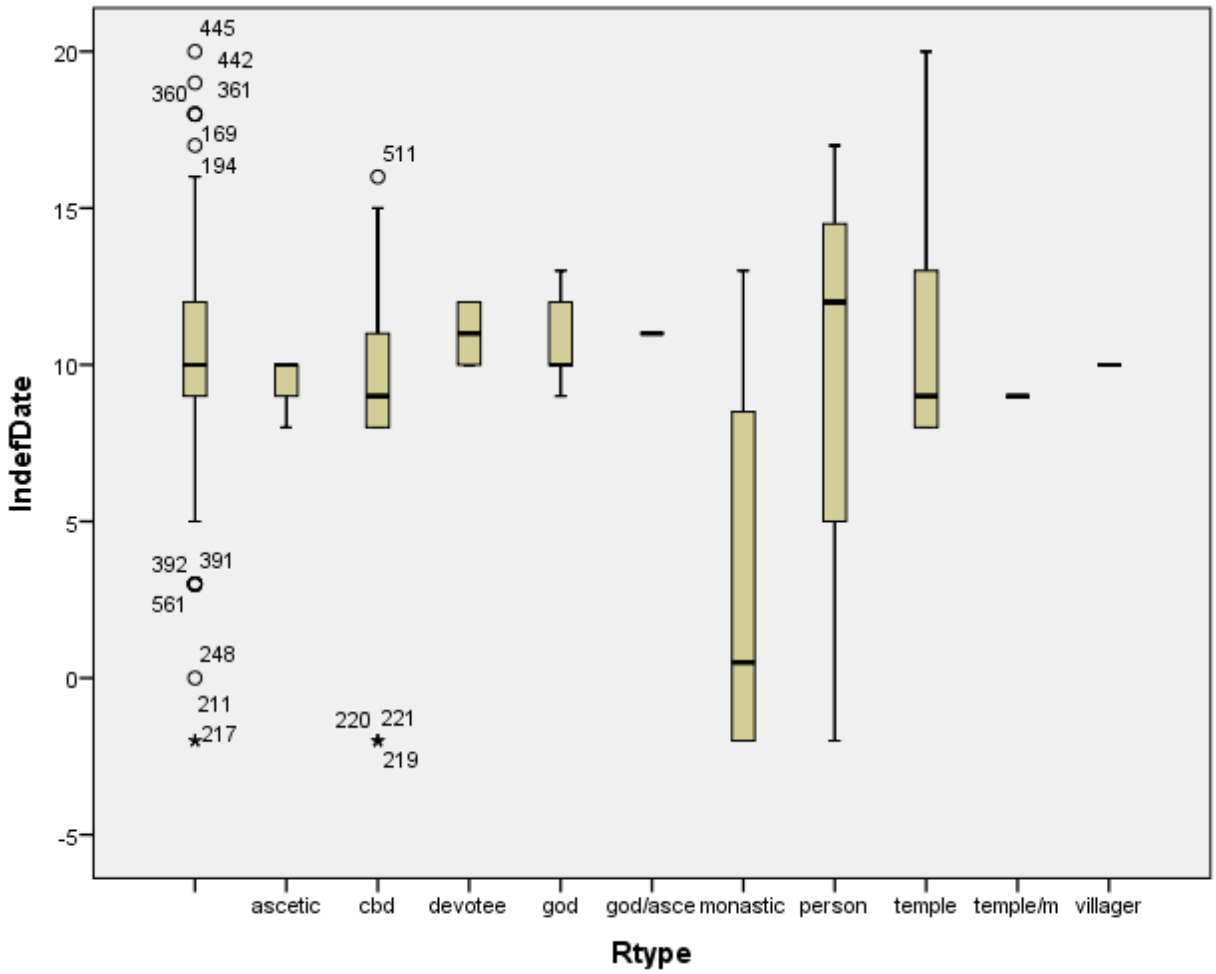


Figure B.27 Chronological Distribution of Type of Recipient of Donated Objects Recorded in Jain Inscriptions
(-) = Unclear or not donative

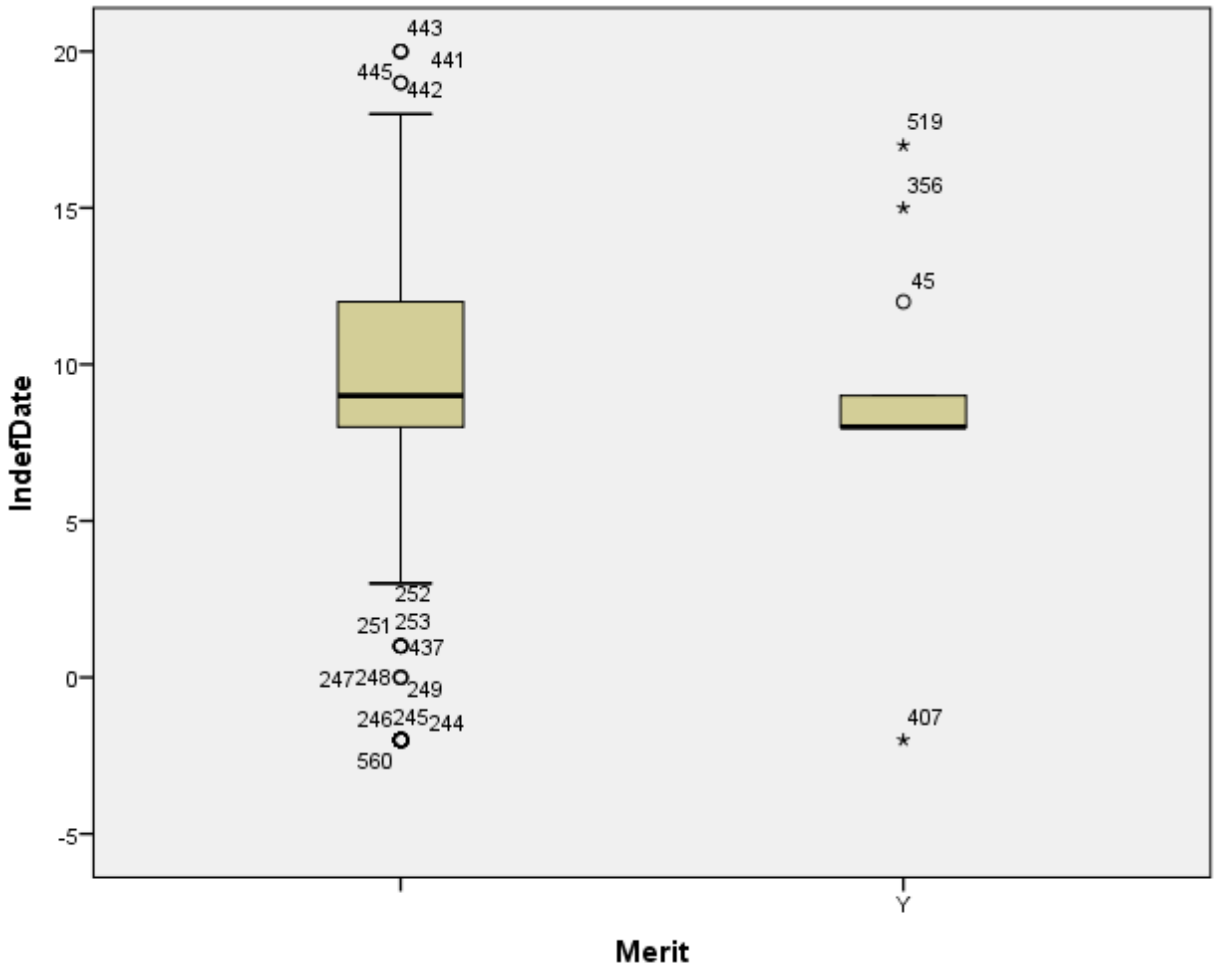


Figure B.28 Chronological Distribution of Jain Donative Inscriptions that Record Transfer of Merit (-) = Unclear or not donative

JAIN INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMIL-BRAHMI FROM MAHADEVAN *EARLY TAMIL EPIGRAPHY* (2003) (N=84)

Table B.16 Distribution of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by Village

Village

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Aiyarmalai	1	1.2	1.2	1.2
	Alagarmalai	13	15.5	15.5	16.7
	Anaimalai	1	1.2	1.2	17.9
	Arachalur	3	3.6	3.6	21.4
	Arittapatti	1	1.2	1.2	22.6
	Jambai	1	1.2	1.2	23.8
	Karungalakkudi	1	1.2	1.2	25.0
	Kilavalavu	1	1.2	1.2	26.2
	Kongarpuliyankulam	3	3.6	3.6	29.8
	Kudimiyamalai	1	1.2	1.2	31.0
	Kunnakkudi	2	2.4	2.4	33.3
	Mangulam	6	7.1	7.1	40.5
	Mannarkoil	2	2.4	2.4	42.9
	Marukaltalai	1	1.2	1.2	44.0
	Mettuppatti	10	11.9	11.9	56.0
	Mudalaikulam (Vikkiramangalam)	1	1.2	1.2	57.1
	Muttuppatti (Perumal Malai)	3	3.6	3.6	60.7
	Nekanurpatti	1	1.2	1.2	61.9
	Pugalur	12	14.3	14.3	76.2
	Sittannavasal	1	1.2	1.2	77.4
	Tiruchirapalli	1	1.2	1.2	78.6
	Tirumalai	2	2.4	2.4	81.0
	Tirupparankunram	4	4.8	4.8	85.7
	Tiruvadavur	2	2.4	2.4	88.1
	Tondur	1	1.2	1.2	89.3
	Varichiyur	3	3.6	3.6	92.9
	Vikkiramangalam	6	7.1	7.1	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

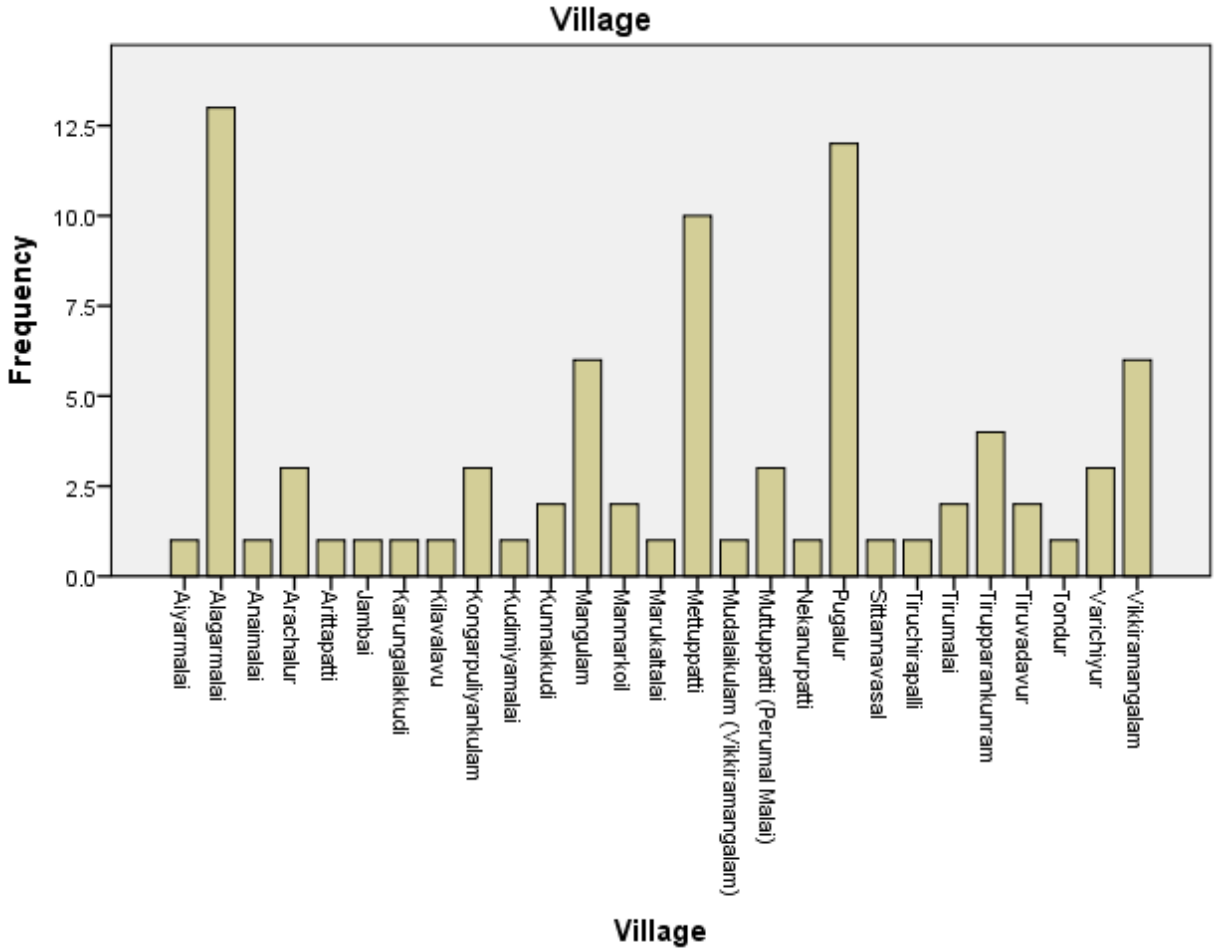


Figure B.29 Distribution of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by Village

Table B.17 Distribution of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by Taluk

	Taluk	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Ambasamudram	2	2.4	2.4	2.4
	Erode	3	3.6	3.6	6.0
	Iluppur	2	2.4	2.4	8.3
	Karur	12	14.3	14.3	22.6
	Kulittalai	1	1.2	1.2	23.8
	Madurai North	10	11.9	11.9	35.7
	Madurai South	7	8.3	8.3	44.0
	Melur	18	21.4	21.4	65.5
	Nilakkottai	10	11.9	11.9	77.4
	Senji (Ginjee)	2	2.4	2.4	79.8
	Sivaganga	2	2.4	2.4	82.1
	Tiruchirapalli	1	1.2	1.2	83.3
	Tirukkoyilur	1	1.2	1.2	84.5
	Tirumangalam	3	3.6	3.6	88.1
	Tirunelveli	1	1.2	1.2	89.3
	Tiruppattur	2	2.4	2.4	91.7
	Usilampatti	7	8.3	8.3	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

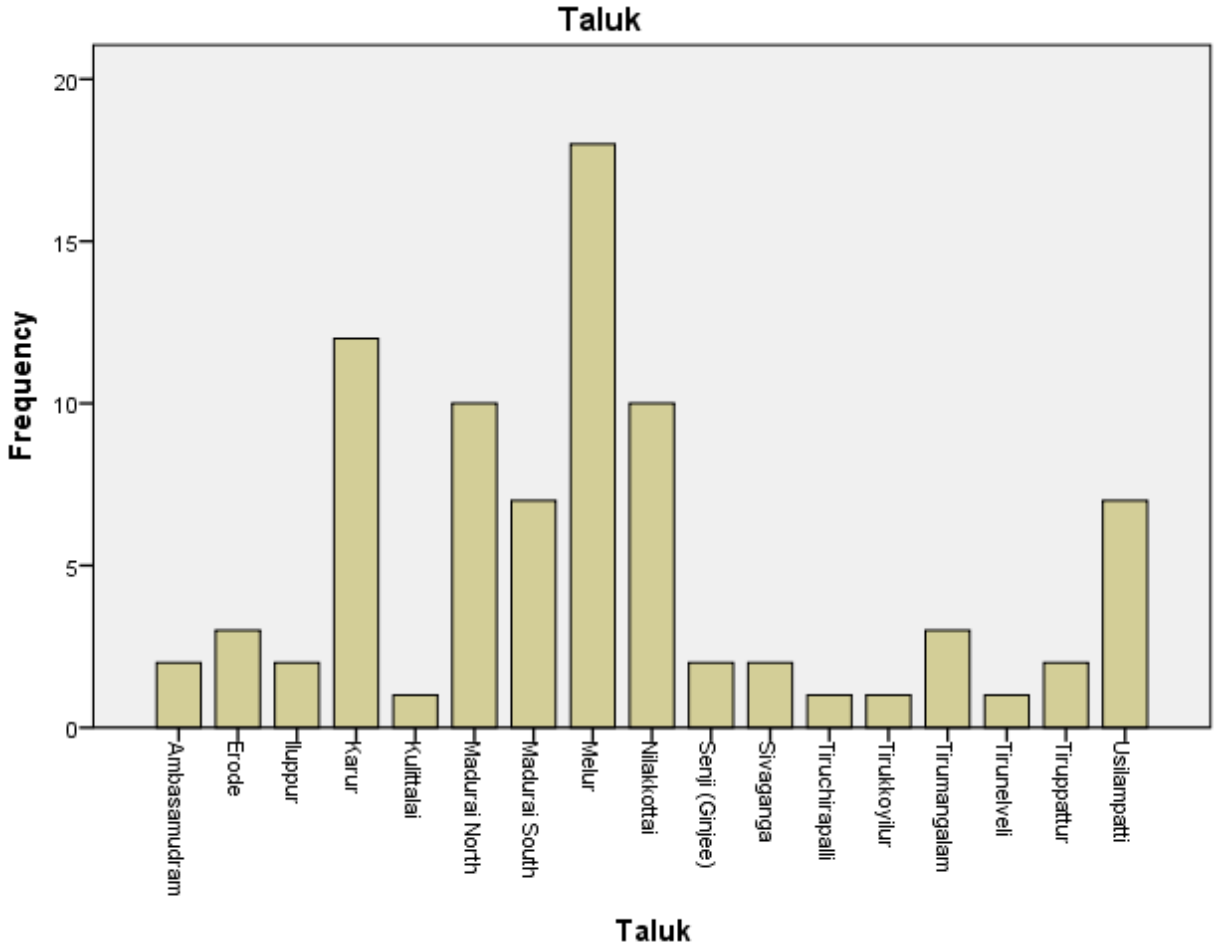


Figure B.30 Distribution of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by Taluk

Table B.18 Distribution of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by District

District

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		1	1.2	1.2	1.2
	Dindigul	10	11.9	11.9	13.1
	Erode	3	3.6	3.6	16.7
	Karur	13	15.5	15.5	32.1
	Madurai	43	51.2	51.2	83.3
	Melur	2	2.4	2.4	85.7
	Pudukkottai	2	2.4	2.4	88.1
	Sivaganga	3	3.6	3.6	91.7
	Tiruchirapalli	1	1.2	1.2	92.9
	Tirunelveli	3	3.6	3.6	96.4
	Viluppuram	3	3.6	3.6	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

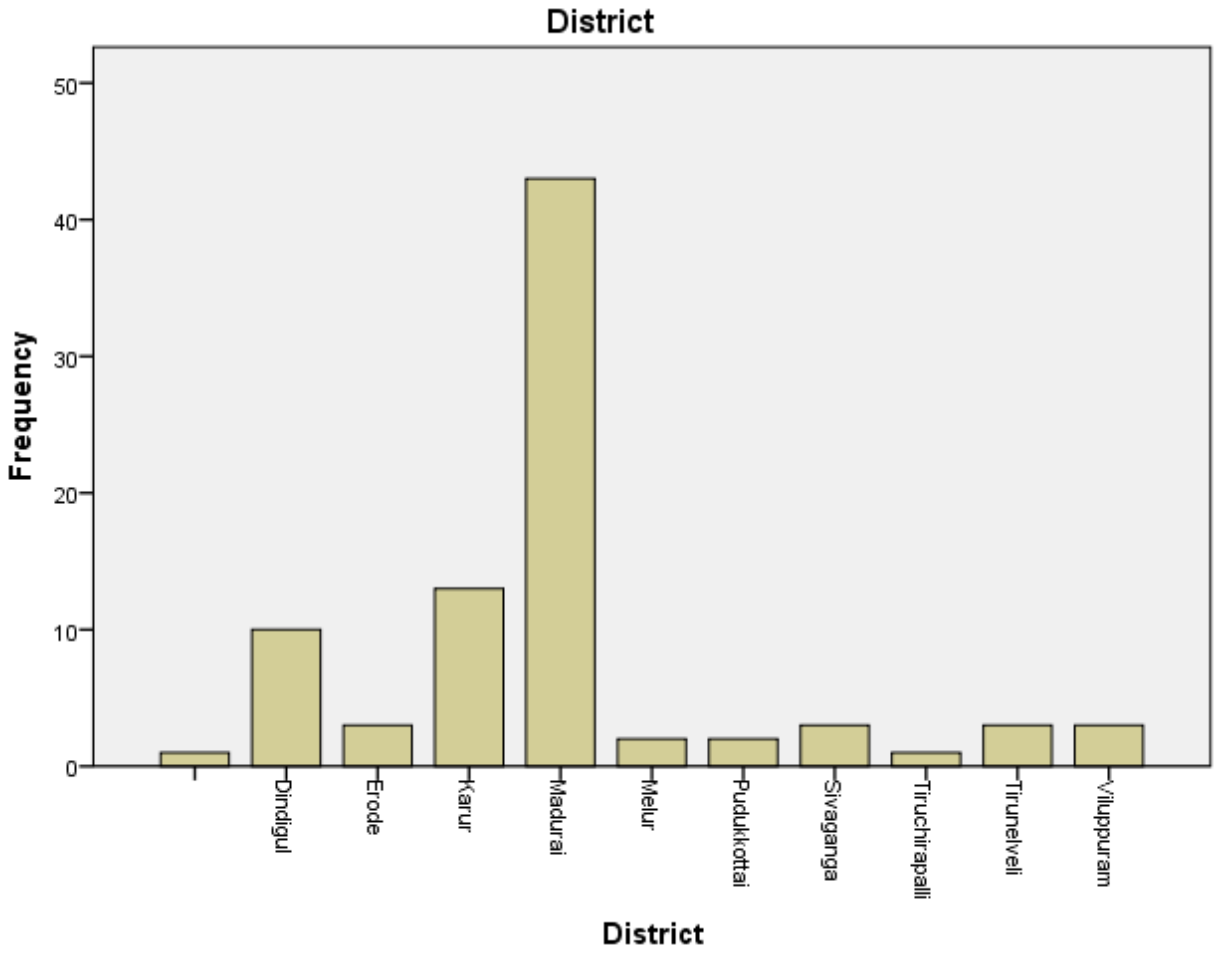


Figure B.31 Distribution of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by District

Table B.19 Length of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

Letters

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	3	2	2.4	2.4	2.4
	4	1	1.2	1.2	3.6
	5	3	3.6	3.6	7.1
	6	5	6.0	6.0	13.1
	7	6	7.1	7.1	20.2
	9	3	3.6	3.6	23.8
	10	2	2.4	2.4	26.2
	11	10	11.9	11.9	38.1
	12	4	4.8	4.8	42.9
	13	5	6.0	6.0	48.8
	14	1	1.2	1.2	50.0
	15	6	7.1	7.1	57.1
	16	3	3.6	3.6	60.7
	17	4	4.8	4.8	65.5
	18	6	7.1	7.1	72.6
	19	3	3.6	3.6	76.2
	20	1	1.2	1.2	77.4
	21	3	3.6	3.6	81.0
	24	1	1.2	1.2	82.1
	25	2	2.4	2.4	84.5
	26	3	3.6	3.6	88.1
	27	1	1.2	1.2	89.3
	30	1	1.2	1.2	90.5
	34	1	1.2	1.2	91.7
	36	1	1.2	1.2	92.9
	39	1	1.2	1.2	94.0
	43	1	1.2	1.2	95.2
	49	1	1.2	1.2	96.4
	56	1	1.2	1.2	97.6
	62	2	2.4	2.4	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

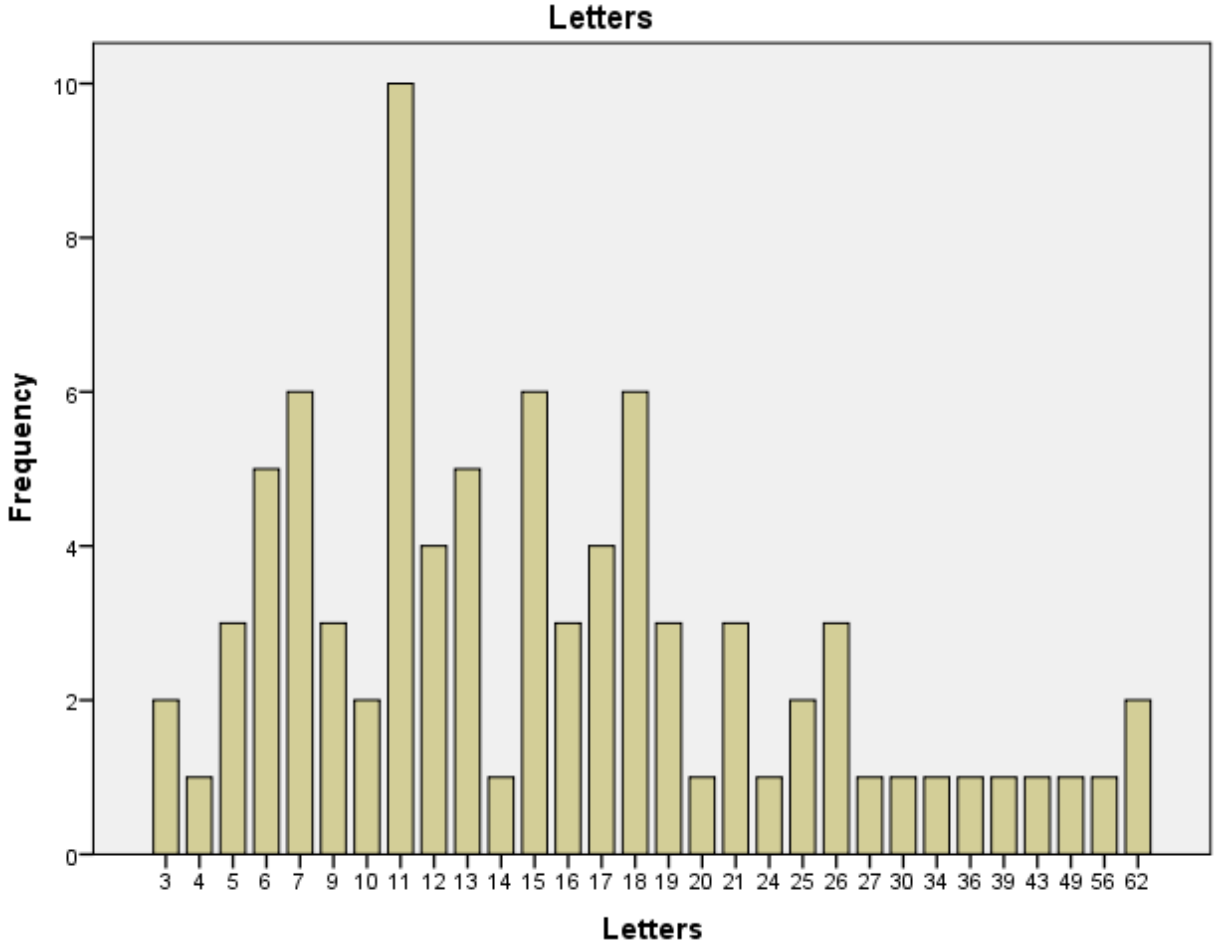


Figure B.32 Length of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

Table B.20 Number of Ashokan-Brahmi Characters in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

ABLetters

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	73	86.9	86.9	86.9
	1	8	9.5	9.5	96.4
	2	2	2.4	2.4	98.8
	3	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

Table B.21 Context of Ashokan-Brahmi Characters in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

ABContext

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		74	88.1	88.1	88.1
	name (Nanta Sri), dhamma	1	1.2	1.2	89.3
	name (Aritan)	1	1.2	1.2	90.5
	name (Kassapan)	1	1.2	1.2	91.7
	name (Nanta Sri), dhamma	1	1.2	1.2	92.9
	name (Paracu)	1	1.2	1.2	94.0
	name (Sappamitta)	1	1.2	1.2	95.2
	name (Venkasipan)	1	1.2	1.2	96.4
	name (Vissuvan)	1	1.2	1.2	97.6
	names (Nanta Sri, Assutan)	1	1.2	1.2	98.8
	place (Matirai)	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

Table B.22 Frequency of Symbols in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

Symbols

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	7	8.3	70.0	70.0
	2	3	3.6	30.0	100.0
	Total	10	11.9	100.0	
Missing	System	74	88.1		
Total		84	100.0		

Table B.23 Distribution of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by Context

Context

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	bed	36	42.9	42.9	42.9
	cave-brow	40	47.6	47.6	90.5
	cave-ceiling	2	2.4	2.4	92.9
	cave-floor	1	1.2	1.2	94.0
	cave-side	2	2.4	2.4	96.4
	cave-wall	2	2.4	2.4	98.8
	rock	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

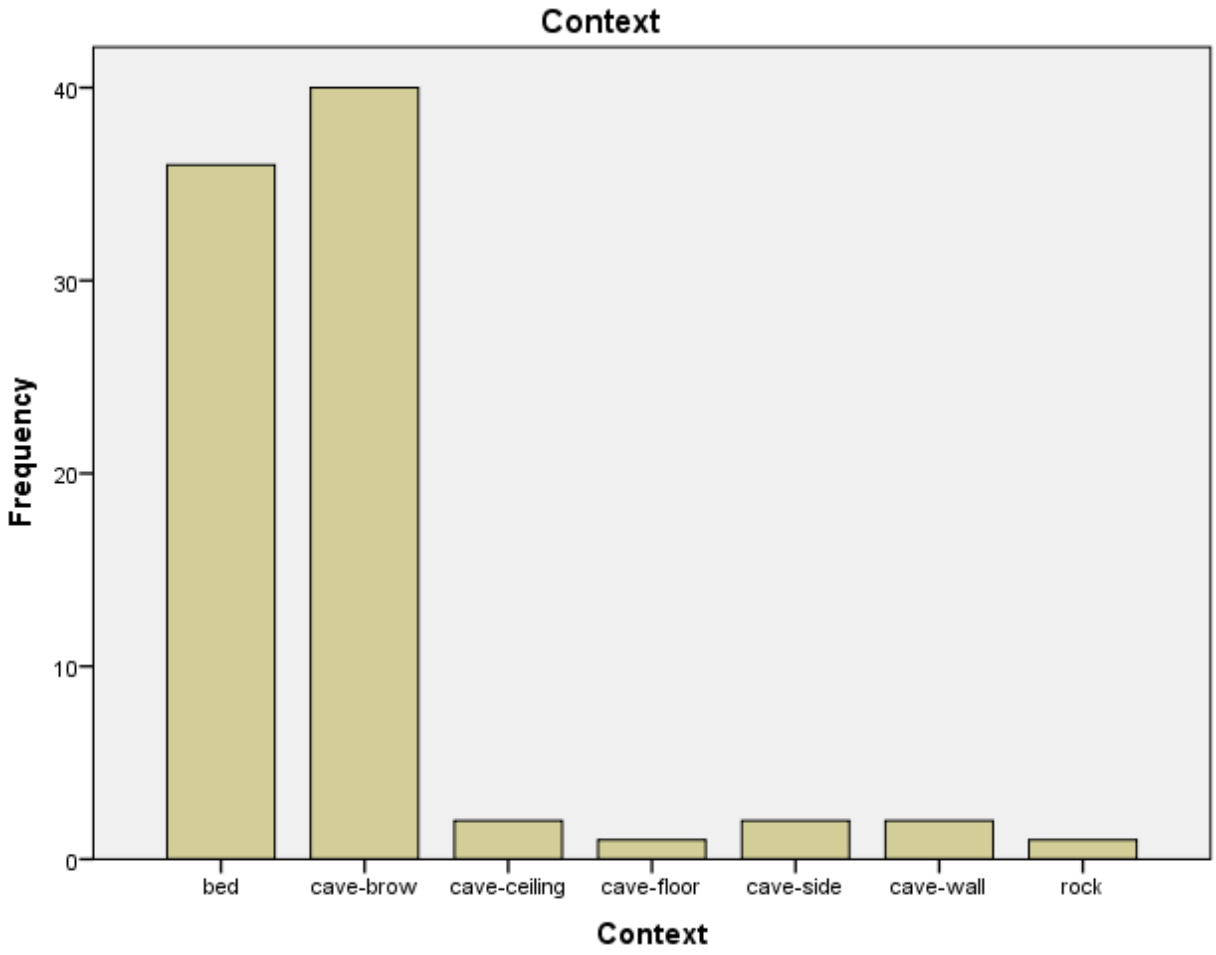


Figure B.33 Distribution of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by Context

Table B.24 Chronological Distribution of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

Date		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1st cen BCE	22	26.2	26.2	26.2
	1st cen CE	3	3.6	3.6	29.8
	2nd cen BCE	35	41.7	41.7	71.4
	2nd cen CE	9	10.7	10.7	82.1
	3rd cen CE	11	13.1	13.1	95.2
	4th cen CE	4	4.8	4.8	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

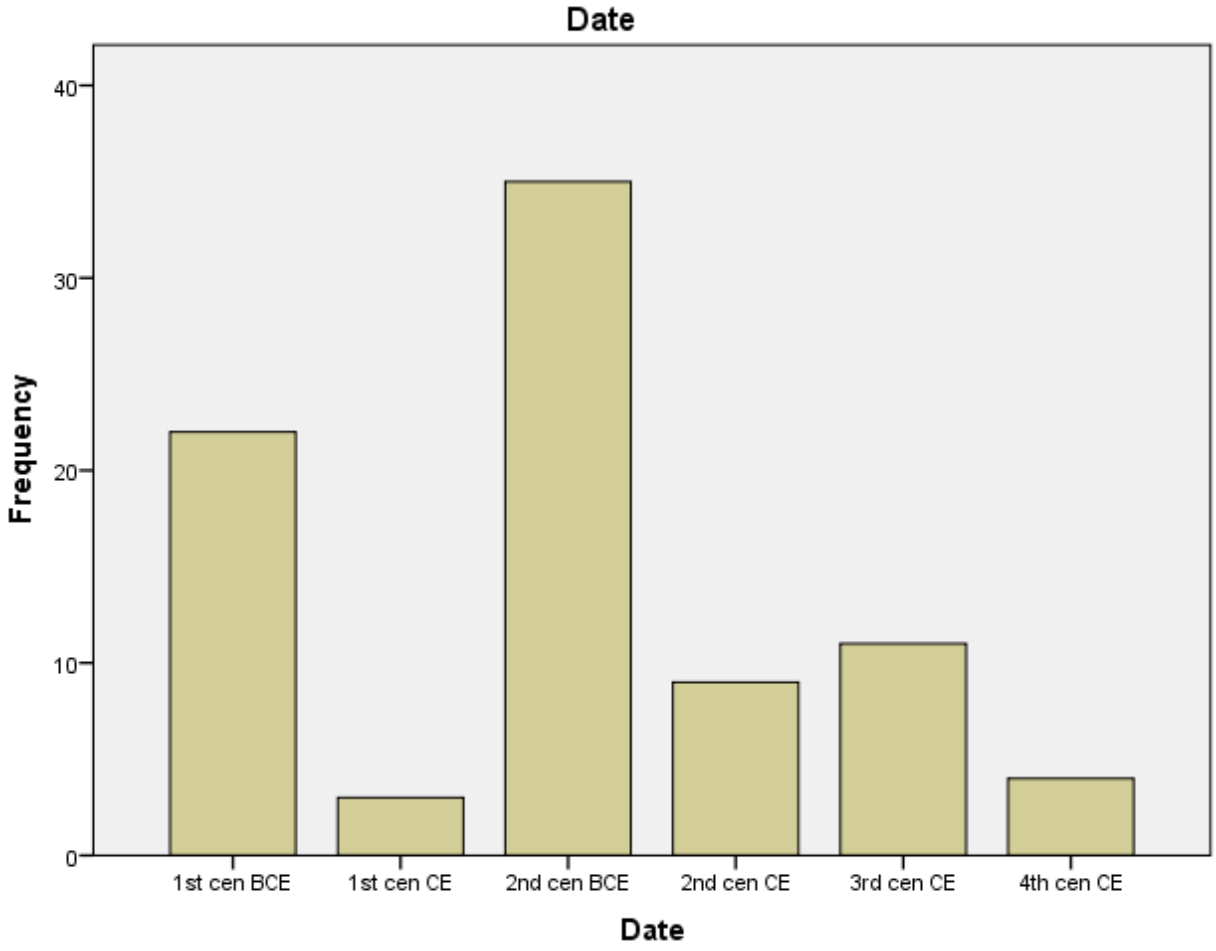


Figure B.34 Chronological Distribution of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

Table B.25 Classification of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by Script Type

Mscript

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Early	60	71.4	71.4	71.4
	Late	24	28.6	28.6	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

Table B.26 Frequency of Donations in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

Donation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	?	4	4.8	4.8	4.8
	N	4	4.8	4.8	9.5
	Y	76	90.5	90.5	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

Table B.27 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

Dobject

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No object identified	24	28.6	28.6	28.6
bed	25	29.8	29.8	58.3
beds	3	3.6	3.6	61.9
cave	23	27.4	27.4	89.3
drip ledge	3	3.6	3.6	92.9
forecourt	1	1.2	1.2	94.0
music	1	1.2	1.2	95.2
paddy	1	1.2	1.2	96.4
pool	1	1.2	1.2	97.6
spring	1	1.2	1.2	98.8
tank	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total	84	100.0	100.0	

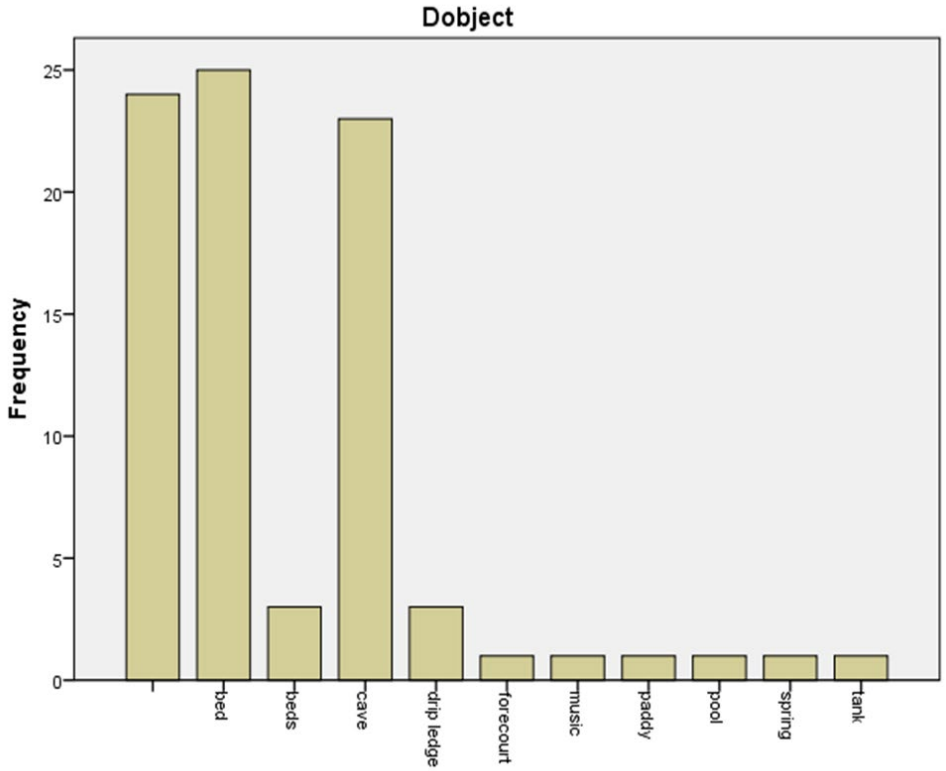


Figure B.35 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions
(-) = Not donative or no object identified

Table B.28 Purposes of Donated Objects in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscription

Dpurpose

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Other	8	9.5	9.5	9.5
monastic	76	90.5	90.5	100.0
Total	84	100.0	100.0	

Table B.29 Donors Named in Donative Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscription

Donor	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
N/A	12	14.3	14.3	14.3
[missing?] of Matirai	1	1.2	1.2	15.5
Akalur (village), Moci (stonemason)	1	1.2	1.2	16.7
Antai Ariyti	1	1.2	1.2	17.9
Antai Assutan	1	1.2	1.2	19.0
Antai Centan	1	1.2	1.2	20.2
Antai Iravatan	1	1.2	1.2	21.4
Antai of Nakaperur [and] Kotan, [and?] Elamakan from Muciri	1	1.2	1.2	22.6
Antai of Patinur	1	1.2	1.2	23.8
Antai Vissuvan of Matirai	1	1.2	1.2	25.0
Antuvan	1	1.2	1.2	26.2
Aritan of Pankatu	1	1.2	1.2	27.4
Ariti of Elaiyur	1	1.2	1.2	28.6
Ariytan of Eyil	1	1.2	1.2	29.8
Atan Atan	1	1.2	1.2	31.0
Atan Atan of Matirai	1	1.2	1.2	32.1
Atan Cattan of Kappi-ur	1	1.2	1.2	33.3
Atiyan Netuman Anci	1	1.2	1.2	34.5
Ayccayyan Netucattan	1	1.2	1.2	35.7
Caiyalan of Vintai-ur	1	1.2	1.2	36.9
Cantantai Cantan	1	1.2	1.2	38.1
Cantaritan	1	1.2	1.2	39.3
Catikan	1	1.2	1.2	40.5
Cekkanti-anni	1	1.2	1.2	41.7
Cenkuviran	1	1.2	1.2	42.9
Ceratan	1	1.2	1.2	44.0
Cilivan	1	1.2	1.2	45.2
Cilivan Atinnan Veliyan of Nelveli	1	1.2	1.2	46.4
Ela-a Attan of Venpalli	1	1.2	1.2	47.6
Elacantan	1	1.2	1.2	48.8
Ilanatan	1	1.2	1.2	50.0
Ilankatunko	1	1.2	1.2	51.2
Ilanko of Kuna	1	1.2	1.2	52.4
Ilayar of Tenku Cirupocil	1	1.2	1.2	53.6
Kalumara Natan	1	1.2	1.2	54.8
Kani Natti	1	1.2	1.2	56.0
Katalan Valuti	1	1.2	1.2	57.1
Kattan of Titti	1	1.2	1.2	58.3
Katunkon Ilankatunko	1	1.2	1.2	59.5
kaviti of Erukkattu-uru	1	1.2	1.2	60.7

Table B.29 Continued

	Kiran Korri	2	2.4	2.4	63.1
	Korrantai Ilavan	1	1.2	1.2	64.3
	Korrantai of Nalal	1	1.2	1.2	65.5
	Kuvira-antai	1	1.2	1.2	66.7
	Kuvira-antai Vel	1	1.2	1.2	67.9
	Kuviran	1	1.2	1.2	69.0
	Kuviran of Pettalai	1	1.2	1.2	70.2
	marayam	1	1.2	1.2	71.4
	merchant guild of Vellarai	1	1.2	1.2	72.6
	Nakan	1	1.2	1.2	73.8
	Natti of Karu-ur	1	1.2	1.2	75.0
	Netumallan	1	1.2	1.2	76.2
	Peratan Pittan of Pakanur	1	1.2	1.2	77.4
	Perunkiran	1	1.2	1.2	78.6
	Perunkurran	1	1.2	1.2	79.8
	Pinnan Kurran of Tavanur	1	1.2	1.2	81.0
	Polalayan of Erukkattur	1	1.2	1.2	82.1
	Sappamitta	1	1.2	1.2	83.3
	Tanman [and] Kassapan	1	1.2	1.2	84.5
	Tevan Cattan	1	1.2	1.2	85.7
	Titti-il (place)	1	1.2	1.2	86.9
	Tiyan Cantan	1	1.2	1.2	88.1
	Upacan Ilavon of Tonti	1	1.2	1.2	89.3
	Upacan Paracu	1	1.2	1.2	90.5
	Upacan Upparuvan	1	1.2	1.2	91.7
	Utayanan	1	1.2	1.2	92.9
	Vempirrur (place)	1	1.2	1.2	94.0
	Ven	1	1.2	1.2	95.2
	Venkasipan	1	1.2	1.2	96.4
	Venni Atan	1	1.2	1.2	97.6
	Vessan of Panaiturai	1	1.2	1.2	98.8
	Viyakan	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

Table B.30 Types of Donors in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscription

Dtype	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
N/A	38	45.2	45.2	45.2
antai	7	8.3	8.3	53.6
antai-vel	1	1.2	1.2	54.8
chieftan (kon)	1	1.2	1.2	56.0
cloth merchant	1	1.2	1.2	57.1
daughter	2	2.4	2.4	59.5
father	1	1.2	1.2	60.7
gold merchant	1	1.2	1.2	61.9
goldsmith	1	1.2	1.2	63.1
gur merchant	1	1.2	1.2	64.3
ila-householder	1	1.2	1.2	65.5
ilayar	1	1.2	1.2	66.7
kani	1	1.2	1.2	67.9
kaviti	2	2.4	2.4	70.2
korran antai	1	1.2	1.2	71.4
Malai-vannakkan	1	1.2	1.2	72.6
marayam	1	1.2	1.2	73.8
merchant guild	1	1.2	1.2	75.0
mother	1	1.2	1.2	76.2
natan	1	1.2	1.2	77.4
oil merchant	1	1.2	1.2	78.6
pamitti	1	1.2	1.2	79.8
prince	3	3.6	3.6	83.3
salt merchant	1	1.2	1.2	84.5
Satiyaputto	1	1.2	1.2	85.7
servant	1	1.2	1.2	86.9
son of Antai Pikkan	1	1.2	1.2	88.1
son of chief?	1	1.2	1.2	89.3
son of Nakan	1	1.2	1.2	90.5
son/ accountant, chief of scribes	1	1.2	1.2	91.7
trader in ploughshares	1	1.2	1.2	92.9
upacan	3	3.6	3.6	96.4
vel	1	1.2	1.2	97.6
village	2	2.4	2.4	100.0
Total	84	100.0	100.0	

Table B.31 Category of Donors in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscription

DTypeCategory

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		13	15.5	15.5	15.5
	corporate	2	2.4	2.4	17.9
	corporate/craftsman	1	1.2	1.2	19.0
	elite	9	10.7	10.7	29.8
	family	6	7.1	7.1	36.9
	merchant	18	21.4	21.4	58.3
	merchant/craftsman	2	2.4	2.4	60.7
	merchant/elite	2	2.4	2.4	63.1
	religious	6	7.1	7.1	70.2
	unknown	25	29.8	29.8	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

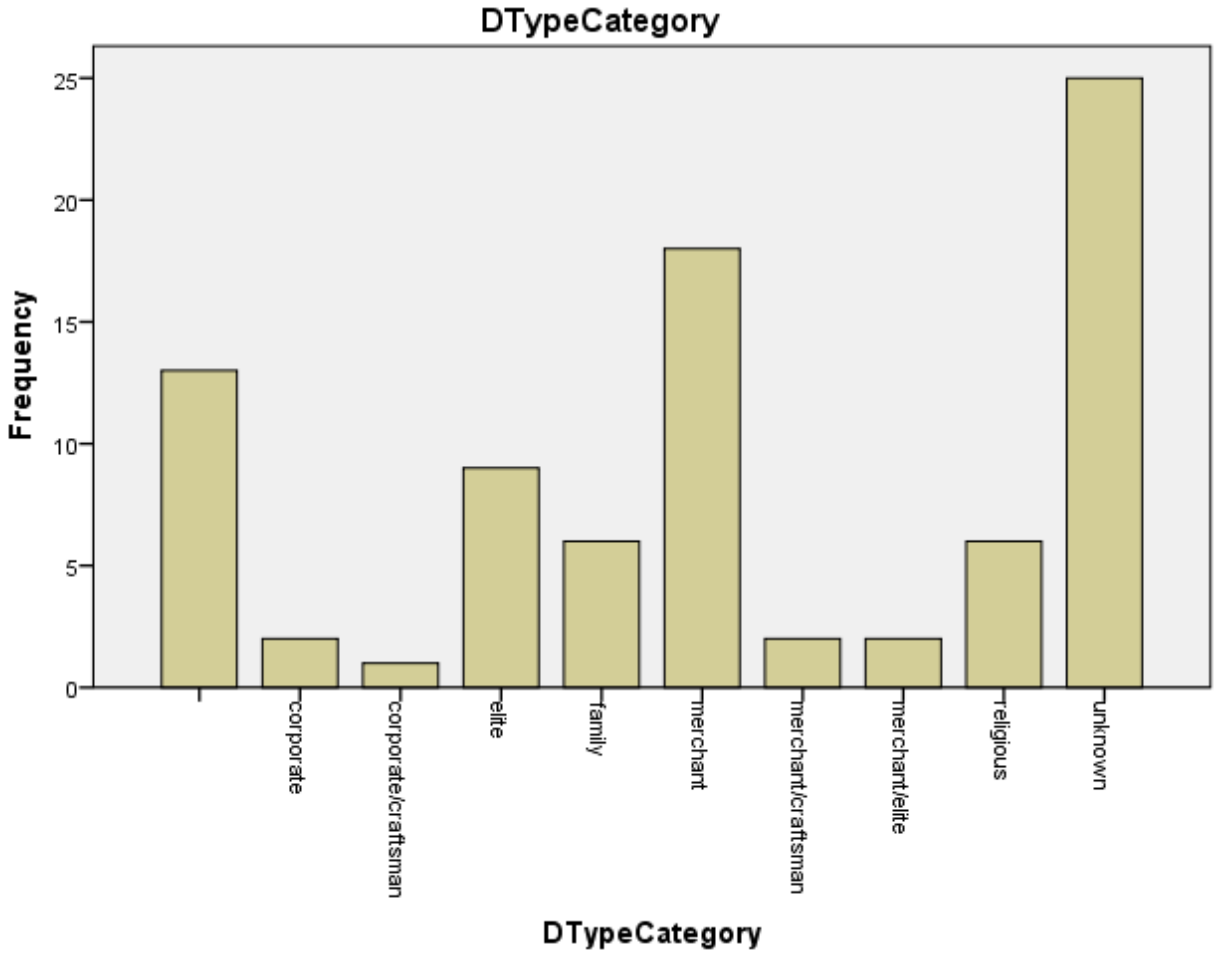


Figure B.36 Frequency of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by Category of Donor
(-) = No donor, N/A

Table B.32 Frequency of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by Sex/Gender of Donor

DSex	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
N/A	13	15.5	15.5	15.5
C	5	6.0	6.0	21.4
F	4	4.8	4.8	26.2
M	62	73.8	73.8	100.0
Total	84	100.0	100.0	

N/A: Not applicable, no donor; C: Corporate (more than one person, or group); F: Female; M: Male

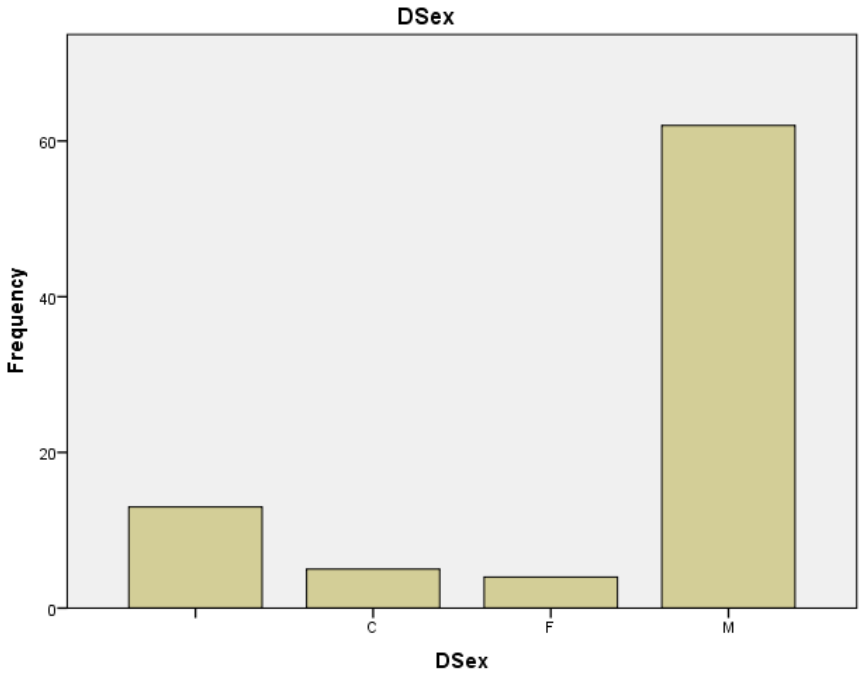


Figure B.37 Frequency of Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions by Sex/Gender of Donor

(-): Not applicable, no donor; C: Corporate (more than one person, or group); F: Female; M: Male

Table B.33 Recipients named in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

Recipient

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	N/A	73	86.9	86.9	86.9
	Attiran of Matirai	1	1.2	1.2	88.1
	Cenkayapan of Yarrur	2	2.4	2.4	90.5
	Ilankayipan	1	1.2	1.2	91.7
	Kani Nakan [and] Kani Natan	1	1.2	1.2	92.9
	Kani Nanta Sri Kuvan	3	3.6	3.6	96.4
	Kani Natti	1	1.2	1.2	97.6
	Kavuti of Kumulur in Eruminatu	1	1.2	1.2	98.8
	Yarru Cenkayapan	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

Table B.34 Types of Recipients named in Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

Rtype

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		3	3.6	3.6	3.6
	monastic	81	96.4	96.4	100.0
	Total	84	100.0	100.0	

Table B.35 Frequency of Incomplete Jain Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Complete	70	83.3	83.3	83.3
Incomplete	14	16.7	16.7	100.0
Total	84	100.0	100.0	

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF DONOR AND OBJECT DONATED

INCLUDING DUAL CATEGORIES (E.G. MERCHANT/CRAFTSMAN)

Table B.36 Crosstabulation of Donated Object and Type of Donor

			DTypeCategory										
				corporate	corporate/craftsman	elite	family	merchant	merchant/craftsman	merchant/elite	religious	unknown	Total
Dobject		Count	8_{a}	$0_{a, b, c}$	$0_{a, b, c}$	0_{c}	$0_{b, c}$	$7_{a, b}$	$0_{a, b, c}$	$0_{a, b, c}$	$2_{a, b, c}$	$7_{b, c}$	24
		Expected Count	3.7	.6	.3	2.6	1.7	5.1	.6	.6	1.7	7.1	24.0
		% within Dobject	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	29.2%	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%	29.2%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	61.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	38.9%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	28.0%	28.6%
		Residual	4.3	-.6	-.3	-2.6	-1.7	1.9	-.6	-.6	.3	-.1	
	bed	Count	2_{a}	$1_{a, b}$	$0_{a, b}$	1_{a}	$2_{a, b}$	10_{b}	$0_{a, b}$	$1_{a, b}$	0_{a}	$8_{a, b}$	25
		Expected Count	3.9	.6	.3	2.7	1.8	5.4	.6	.6	1.8	7.4	25.0
		% within Dobject	8.0%	4.0%	0.0%	4.0%	8.0%	40.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	32.0%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	15.4%	50.0%	0.0%	11.1%	33.3%	55.6%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	32.0%	29.8%

Table B.36 Continued

		Residual	-1.9	.4	-.3	-1.7	.2	4.6	-.6	.4	-1.8	.6	
	beds	Count	0_{a}	$0_{a, b}$	1_{b}	0_{a}	$1_{a, b}$	0_{a}	$0_{a, b}$	$0_{a, b}$	0_{a}	1_{a}	3
		Expected Count	.5	.1	.0	.3	.2	.6	.1	.1	.2	.9	3.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	33.3 %	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3 %	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	16.7 %	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	3.6%
		Residual	-.5	-.1	1.0	-.3	.8	-.6	-.1	-.1	-.2	.1	
	cave	Count	$1_{a, b}$	$0_{a, b, c, d}$	$0_{a, b, c, d}$	8_{e}	$3_{d, e}$	1_{b}	$1_{a, c, d, e}$	$1_{a, c, d, e}$	$3_{c, d, e}$	$5_{a, b, c, d}$	23
		Expected Count	3.6	.5	.3	2.5	1.6	4.9	.5	.5	1.6	6.8	23.0
		% within Dobject	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	34.8 %	13.0 %	4.3%	4.3%	4.3%	13.0 %	21.7 %	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	88.9 %	50.0 %	5.6%	50.0%	50.0%	50.0 %	20.0 %	27.4 %
		Residual	-2.6	-.5	-.3	5.5	1.4	-3.9	.5	.5	1.4	-1.8	
	drip ledge	Count	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	1_{a}	2_{a}	3
		Expected Count	.5	.1	.0	.3	.2	.6	.1	.1	.2	.9	3.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3 %	66.7 %	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7 %	8.0%	3.6%
		Residual	-.5	-.1	.0	-.3	-.2	-.6	-.1	-.1	.8	1.1	

Table B.36 Continued

	forecourt	Count	0[a]	0[a, b]	0[a, b]	0[a]	0[a, b]	0[a]	1[b]	0[a, b]	0[a, b]	0[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.0	.1	.1	.2	.0	.0	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
		Residual	-.2	.0	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	1.0	.0	-.1	-.3	
	music	Count	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	1[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.0	.1	.1	.2	.0	.0	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	1.2%
		Residual	-.2	.0	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	.0	.0	-.1	.7	
	paddy	Count	1[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.0	.1	.1	.2	.0	.0	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
		Residual	.8	.0	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	.0	.0	-.1	-.3	

Table B.36 Continued

	pool	Count	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	1[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.0	.1	.1	.2	.0	.0	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	1.2%
		Residual	-.2	.0	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	.0	.0	-.1	.7	
	spring	Count	1[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.0	.1	.1	.2	.0	.0	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
		Residual	.8	.0	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	.0	.0	-.1	-.3	
	tank	Count	0[a]	1[b]	0[a, b]	0[a]	0[a, b]	0[a]	0[a, b]	0[a, b]	0[a, b]	0[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.0	.1	.1	.2	.0	.0	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
		Residual	-.2	1.0	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	.0	.0	-.1	-.3	

Table B.36 Continued

Total	Count	13	2	1	9	6	18	2	2	6	25	84
	Expected Count	13.0	2.0	1.0	9.0	6.0	18.0	2.0	2.0	6.0	25.0	84.0
	% within Dobject	15.5%	2.4%	1.2%	10.7%	7.1%	21.4%	2.4%	2.4%	7.1%	29.8%	100.0%
	% within DTypeCategory	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of DTypeCategory categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Table B.36a Chi-Square Tests of Statistical Significance for relationship between Donated Object and Type of Donor

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	177.519[a]	90	.000
Likelihood Ratio	91.633	90	.432
N of Valid Cases	84		

a. 105 cells (95.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

Table B.36b Symmetric Measures of Statistical Significance for relationship between Donated Object and Type of Donor

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	1.454	.000
	Cramer's V	.485	.000
N of Valid Cases		84	

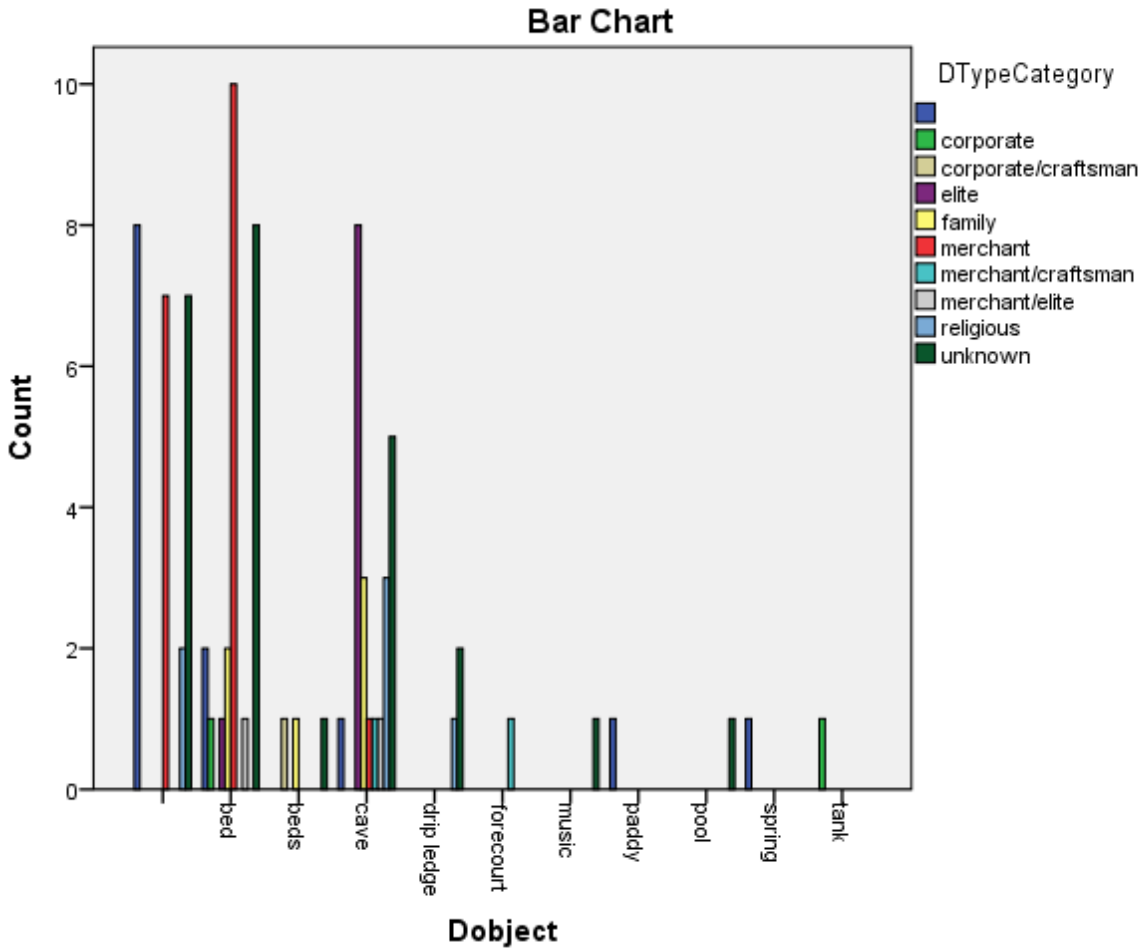


Figure B.38 Frequency of Donated Objects by Type of Donor

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF DONOR AND OBJECT DONATED

REDUCING CATEGORIES OF DONOR TO THE HIGHEST SOCIAL VALUE

In cases where the donor was placed in a dual category (e.g. merchant/elite) the individual was re-coded as the higher social category (i.e. elite).

Table B.37 Crosstabulation of Donated Object by Category of Donor (Reduced)

			DTypeCategory2						
			corporate	elite	family	merchant	religious	unknown	Total
Dobject		Count	8_{a}	$0_{a, b, c}$	0_{c}	$0_{b, c}$	$7_{a, b}$	$2_{a, b}$	$7_{b, c}$	24
		Expected Count	3.7	.9	3.1	1.7	5.7	1.7	7.1	24.0
		% within Dobject	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	29.2%	8.3%	29.2%	100.0 %
		% within DTypeCategory2	61.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	35.0%	33.3%	28.0%	28.6%
		Residual	4.3	-.9	-3.1	-1.7	1.3	.3	-.1	
	bed	Count	2_{a}	$1_{a, b}$	$2_{a, b}$	$2_{a, b}$	10_{b}	0_{a}	$8_{a, b}$	25
		Expected Count	3.9	.9	3.3	1.8	6.0	1.8	7.4	25.0
		% within Dobject	8.0%	4.0%	8.0%	8.0%	40.0%	0.0%	32.0%	100.0 %
		% within DTypeCategory2	15.4%	33.3%	18.2%	33.3%	50.0%	0.0%	32.0%	29.8%
		Residual	-1.9	.1	-1.3	.2	4.0	-1.8	.6	

Table B.37 Continued

	beds	Count	0_{a}	1_{b}	0_{a}	$1_{a, b}$	0_{a}	$0_{a, b}$	$1_{a, b}$	3
		Expected Count	.5	.1	.4	.2	.7	.2	.9	3.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	100.0 %
		% within DTypeCategory2	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	3.6%
		Residual	-.5	.9	-.4	.8	-.7	-.2	.1	
	cave	Count	1_{a}	$0_{a, b, c}$	9_{d}	$3_{c, d}$	2_{a}	$3_{b, c, d}$	$5_{a, b, c}$	23
		Expected Count	3.6	.8	3.0	1.6	5.5	1.6	6.8	23.0
		% within Dobject	4.3%	0.0%	39.1%	13.0%	8.7%	13.0%	21.7%	100.0 %
		% within DTypeCategory2	7.7%	0.0%	81.8%	50.0%	10.0%	50.0%	20.0%	27.4%
		Residual	-2.6	-.8	6.0	1.4	-3.5	1.4	-1.8	
	drip ledge	Count	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	1_{a}	2_{a}	3
		Expected Count	.5	.1	.4	.2	.7	.2	.9	3.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	66.7%	100.0 %
		% within DTypeCategory2	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	8.0%	3.6%
		Residual	-.5	-.1	-.4	-.2	-.7	.8	1.1	

Table B.37 Continued

	forecourt	Count	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	1[a]	0[a]	0[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory2	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
		Residual	-.2	.0	-.1	-.1	.8	-.1	-.3	
	music	Count	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	1[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory2	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	1.2%
		Residual	-.2	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	-.1	.7	
	paddy	Count	1[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within DTypeCategory2	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
		Residual	.8	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	-.1	-.3	

Table B.37 Continued

	pool	Count	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	1[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0 %
		% within DTypeCategory2	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	1.2%
		Residual	-.2	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	-.1	.7	
	spring	Count	1[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	100.0 %	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %
		% within DTypeCategory2	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
		Residual	.8	.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	-.1	-.3	
	tank	Count	0[a]	1[b]	0[a]	0[a, b]	0[a]	0[a, b]	0[a]	1
		Expected Count	.2	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	1.0
		% within Dobject	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %
		% within DTypeCategory2	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
		Residual	-.2	1.0	-.1	-.1	-.2	-.1	-.3	

Table B.37 Continued

Total	Count	13	3	11	6	20	6	25	84
	Expected Count	13.0	3.0	11.0	6.0	20.0	6.0	25.0	84.0
	% within Dobject	15.5%	3.6%	13.1%	7.1%	23.8%	7.1%	29.8%	100.0 %
	% within DTypeCategory2	100.0 %	100.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0%	100.0 %	100.0%	100.0 %

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of DTypeCategory2 categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Table B.37a Chi-Square Tests of Statistical Significance for relationship between Donated Object and Type of Donor

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	100.639[a]	60	.001
Likelihood Ratio	76.204	60	.077
N of Valid Cases	84		

a. 71 cells (92.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .04.

Table B.37b Symmetrical Measures of Statistical Significance for relationship between Donated Object and Type of Donor

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	1.095	.001
	Cramer's V	.447	.001
N of Valid Cases		84	

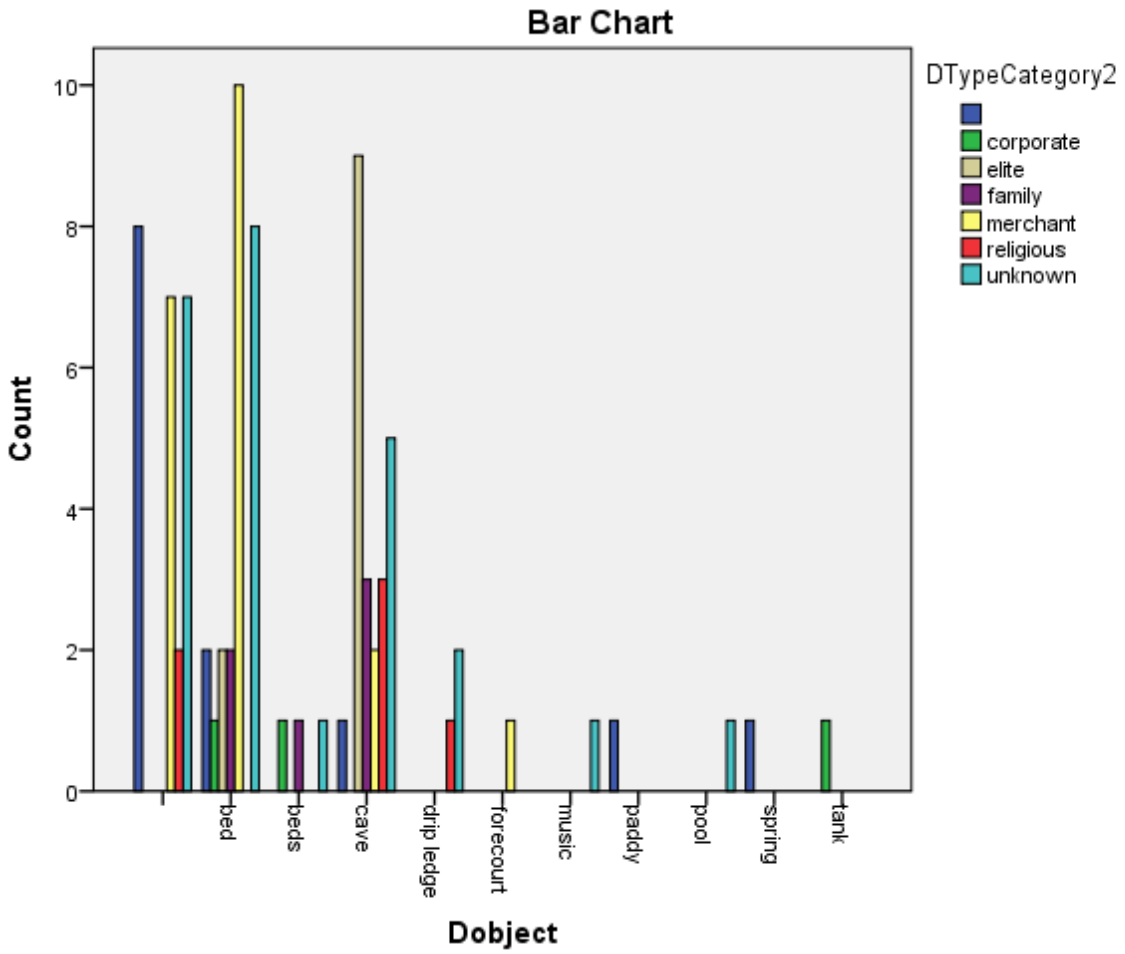


Figure B.39 Frequency of Type of Donor by Donated Object

DONATION PRACTICES IN TAMIL NADU C. 5TH CENTURY TO 9TH CENTURY CE

EKAMBARANATHAN AND SIVAPRAKASAM *JAINA INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMILNADU* (1987)

WITH KAḶUGUMALAI (N=222)

Table B.38 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th to 9th century CE by Village

	Village	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agalur	2	.9	.9	.9
	Aiyyampalayam	14	6.3	6.3	7.2
	Alagarmalai	1	.5	.5	7.7
	Anaimalai	8	3.6	3.6	11.3
	Arittapatti	1	.5	.5	11.7
	Bommaimalai	1	.5	.5	12.2
	Chitaral	6	2.7	2.7	14.9
	Chittamur	2	.9	.9	15.8
	Devattur	1	.5	.5	16.2
	Dharmapuri	4	1.8	1.8	18.0
	Erukkankudi	1	.5	.5	18.5
	Eruvadi	3	1.4	1.4	19.8
	Kalugumalai	101	45.5	45.5	65.3
	Kanchipuram	1	.5	.5	65.8
	Karantai	2	.9	.9	66.7
	Karungalakkudi	2	.9	.9	67.6
	Karuppankunru	1	.5	.5	68.0
	Kilakkudi	4	1.8	1.8	69.8
	Kilakuyilkudi	2	.9	.9	70.7
	Kilavalavu	2	.9	.9	71.6
	Kilsattamangalam	4	1.8	1.8	73.4
	Kirappakkam	1	.5	.5	73.9
	Konkarpuliyankulam	1	.5	.5	74.3
	Kuppalanattam	1	.5	.5	74.8
	Muttuppatti	2	.9	.9	75.7
	Narttamalai	1	.5	.5	76.1
	Olakkur	1	.5	.5	76.6
	Pallankoil	1	.5	.5	77.0
	Pallimadam	4	1.8	1.8	78.8
	Panchapandavamalai	1	.5	.5	79.3
	Paraiyanpattu	1	.5	.5	79.7
	Pechchipallam	6	2.7	2.7	82.4
	Perumandur	1	.5	.5	82.9
	Ponvilaintanpatti	1	.5	.5	83.3
	Sittannavasal	10	4.5	4.5	87.8
	Siyamangalam	1	.5	.5	88.3

Table B.38 Continued

	Tavalam	1	.5	.5	88.7
	Tenimalai	1	.5	.5	89.2
	Tiruchirappalli	2	.9	.9	90.1
	Tirumalai	2	.9	.9	91.0
	Tirunagesvaram	1	.5	.5	91.4
	Tirunarungondai	3	1.4	1.4	92.8
	Tirunatharkunru (Singavaram)	1	.5	.5	93.2
	Turunarungondai	1	.5	.5	93.7
	Uttamapalayam	9	4.1	4.1	97.7
	Vallimalai	2	.9	.9	98.6
	Vedal	2	.9	.9	99.5
	Virasikhamani	1	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

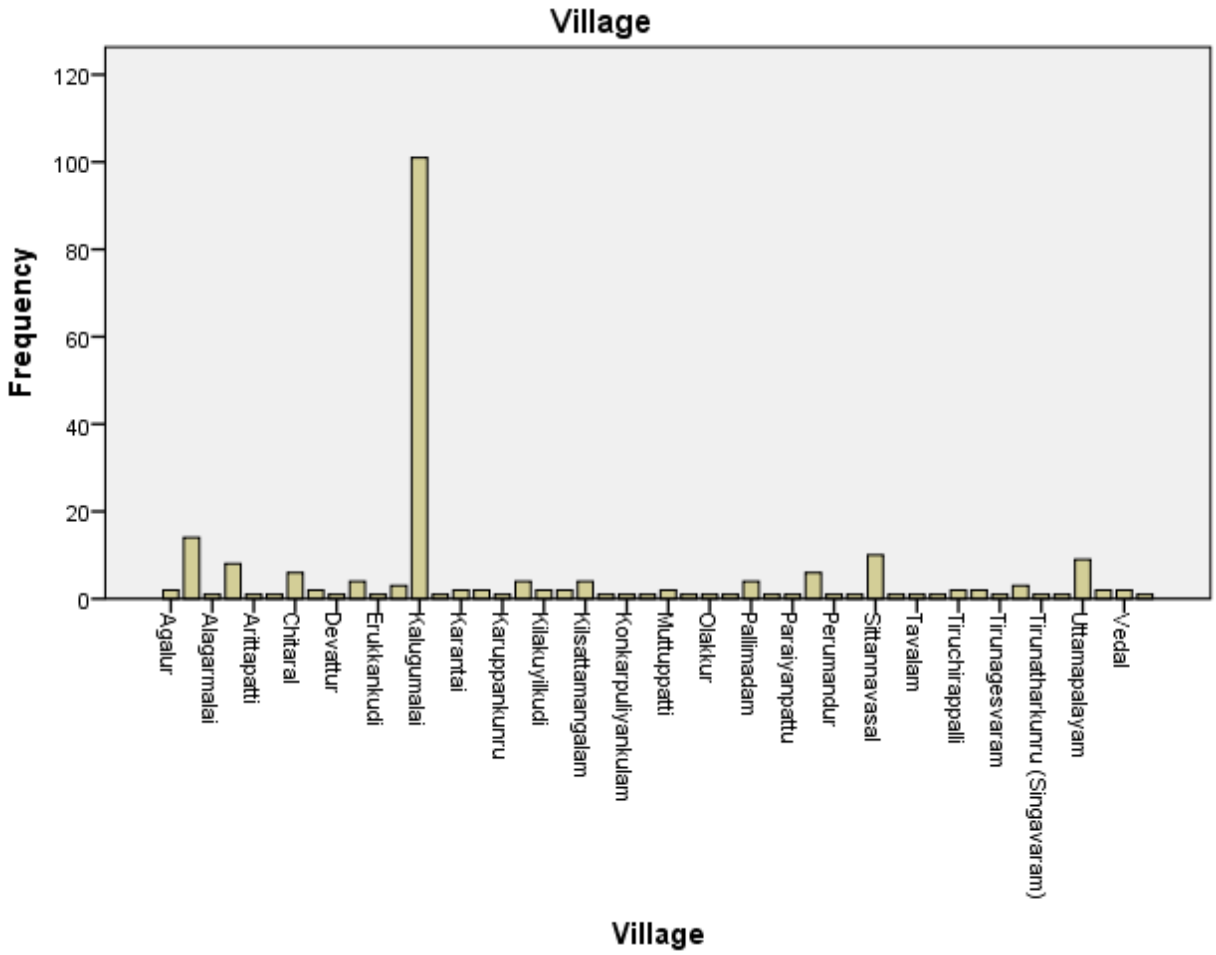


Figure B.40 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th to 9th century CE by Village

Table B.39 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE by Taluk

	Taluk	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Aruppukkottai	4	1.8	1.8	1.8
	Attur	14	6.3	6.3	8.1
	Chengalpattu	1	.5	.5	8.6
	Cheyyar	2	.9	.9	9.5
	Dharmapuri	4	1.8	1.8	11.3
	Gingee	6	2.7	2.7	14.0
	Gudiyattam	2	.9	.9	14.9
	Kanchipuram	1	.5	.5	15.3
	Katpadi	1	.5	.5	15.8
	Kovilpatti	101	45.5	45.5	61.3
	Kulathur	12	5.4	5.4	66.7
	Kumbakonam	1	.5	.5	67.1
	Madurai	22	9.9	9.9	77.0
	Melur	6	2.7	2.7	79.7
	Nanguneri	3	1.4	1.4	81.1
	Oddanchatram	1	.5	.5	81.5
	Peraiyur	1	.5	.5	82.0
	Periyakulam	9	4.1	4.1	86.0
	Polur	2	.9	.9	86.9
	Ponnamaravathi	1	.5	.5	87.4
	Sattur	1	.5	.5	87.8
	Thirumangalam	1	.5	.5	88.3
	Thiruporur	1	.5	.5	88.7
	Thiruthuraipoondi	1	.5	.5	89.2
	Thiruvaiyaru	1	.5	.5	89.6
	Tindivanam	2	.9	.9	90.5
	Tiruchirappalli	2	.9	.9	91.4
	Ulundurpettai	4	1.8	1.8	93.2
	Vandavasi	8	3.6	3.6	96.8
	Veerasigamani	1	.5	.5	97.3
	Vilavancode	6	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

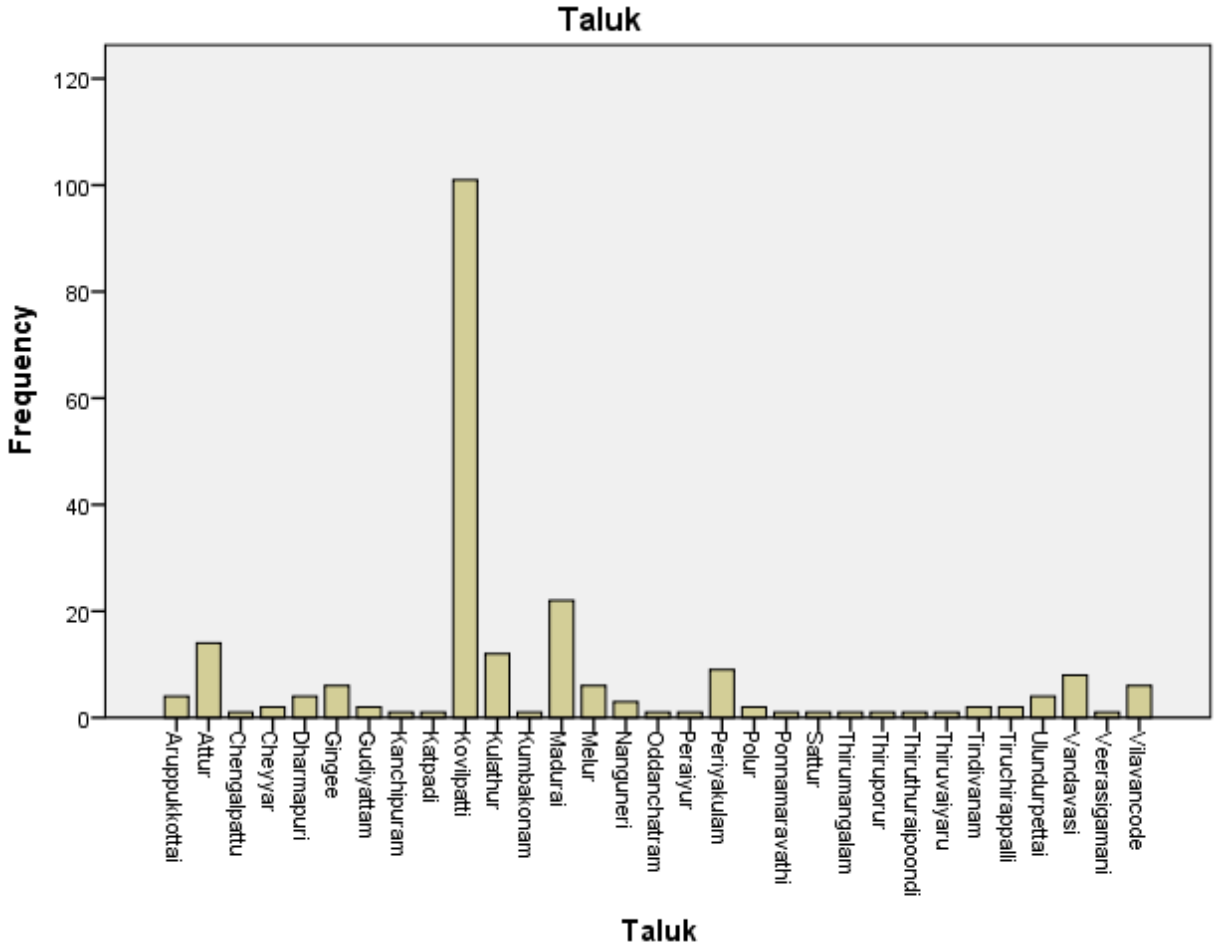


Figure B.41 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th to 9th century CE by Taluk

Table B.40 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE by District

	District	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Dharmapuri	4	1.8	1.8	1.8
	Dindigul	15	6.8	6.8	8.6
	Kancheepuram	3	1.4	1.4	9.9
	Kanniyakumari	6	2.7	2.7	12.6
	Madurai	39	17.6	17.6	30.2
	Pudukkottai	13	5.9	5.9	36.0
	Sankarankoil	1	.5	.5	36.5
	Thanjavur	2	.9	.9	37.4
	Thiruvannamalai	2	.9	.9	38.3
	Thiruvarur	1	.5	.5	38.7
	Thoothukkudi	101	45.5	45.5	84.2
	Tiruchirappalli	2	.9	.9	85.1
	Tirunelveli	3	1.4	1.4	86.5
	Tiruvannamalai	10	4.5	4.5	91.0
	Vellore	3	1.4	1.4	92.3
	Villupuram	8	3.6	3.6	95.9
	Viluppuram	4	1.8	1.8	97.7
	Virudhunagar	5	2.3	2.3	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

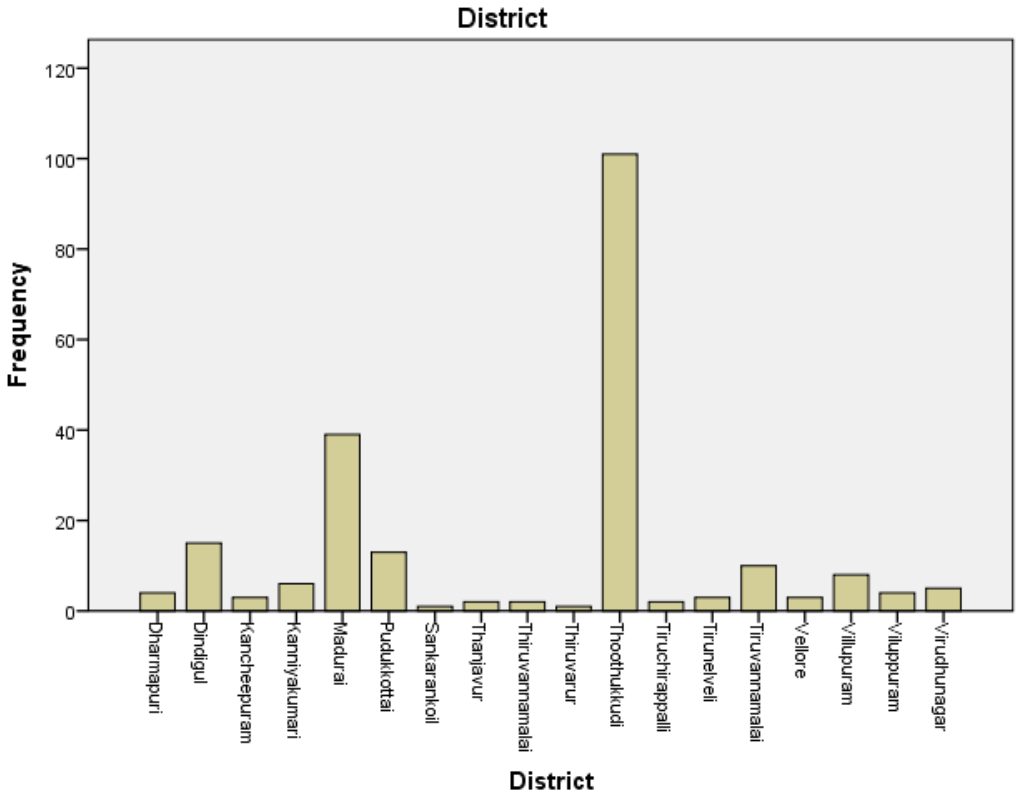


Figure B.42 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th to 9th century CE by District

Table B.41 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE by Context

Context

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	bed	4	1.8	1.8	1.8
	cave	2	.9	.9	2.7
	cave-natural	12	5.4	5.4	8.1
	cave-temple	1	.5	.5	8.6
	copper plate	1	.5	.5	9.0
	image-above	1	.5	.5	9.5
	image-below	138	62.2	62.2	71.6
	rock	40	18.0	18.0	89.6
	rock-river	1	.5	.5	90.1
	Siva Temple	1	.5	.5	90.5
	slab	4	1.8	1.8	92.3
	slab-tank	2	.9	.9	93.2
	stone	1	.5	.5	93.7
	temple	4	1.8	1.8	95.5
	temple-pillar	6	2.7	2.7	98.2
	temple-wall	4	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

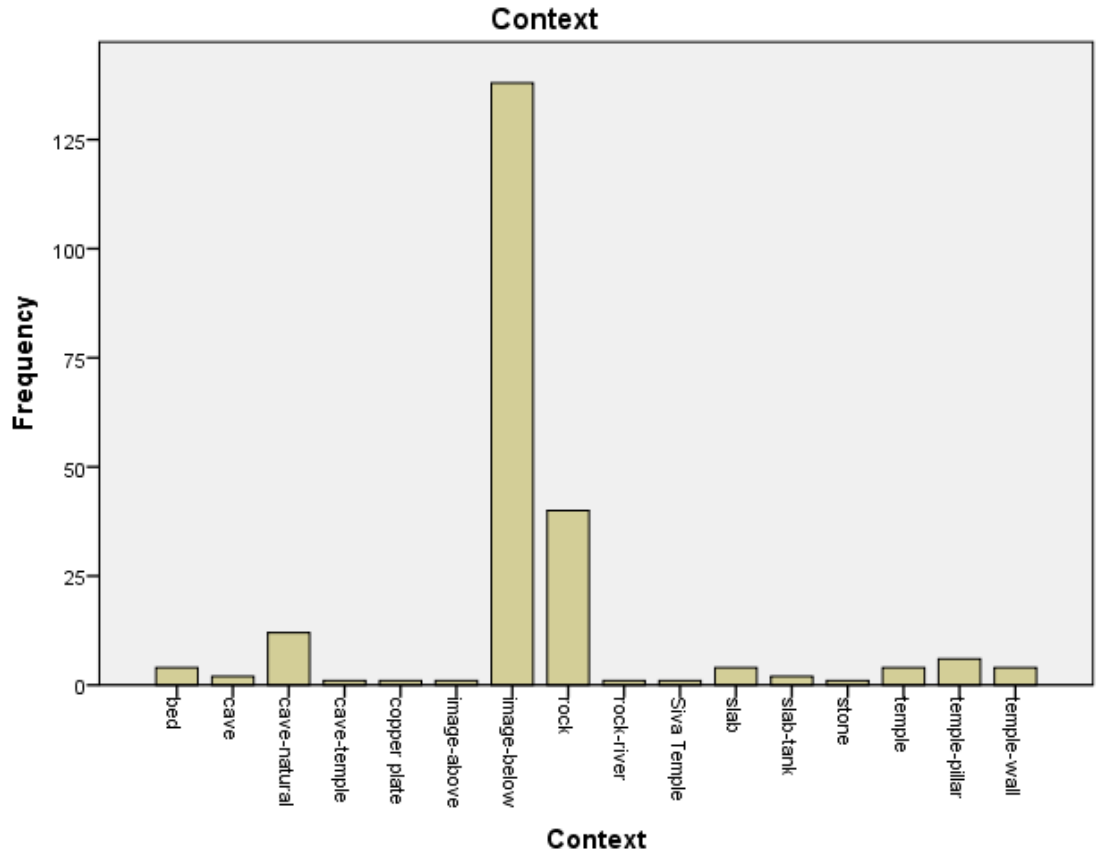


Figure B.43 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th to 9th century CE by Context

Table B.42 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE by Context Type

ContextType

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	copper plate	1	.5	.5	.5
	image	151	68.0	68.0	68.5
	monastic	19	8.6	8.6	77.0
	river	1	.5	.5	77.5
	rock-unspecified	1	.5	.5	77.9
	tank	2	.9	.9	78.8
	temple	43	19.4	19.4	98.2
	village	4	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

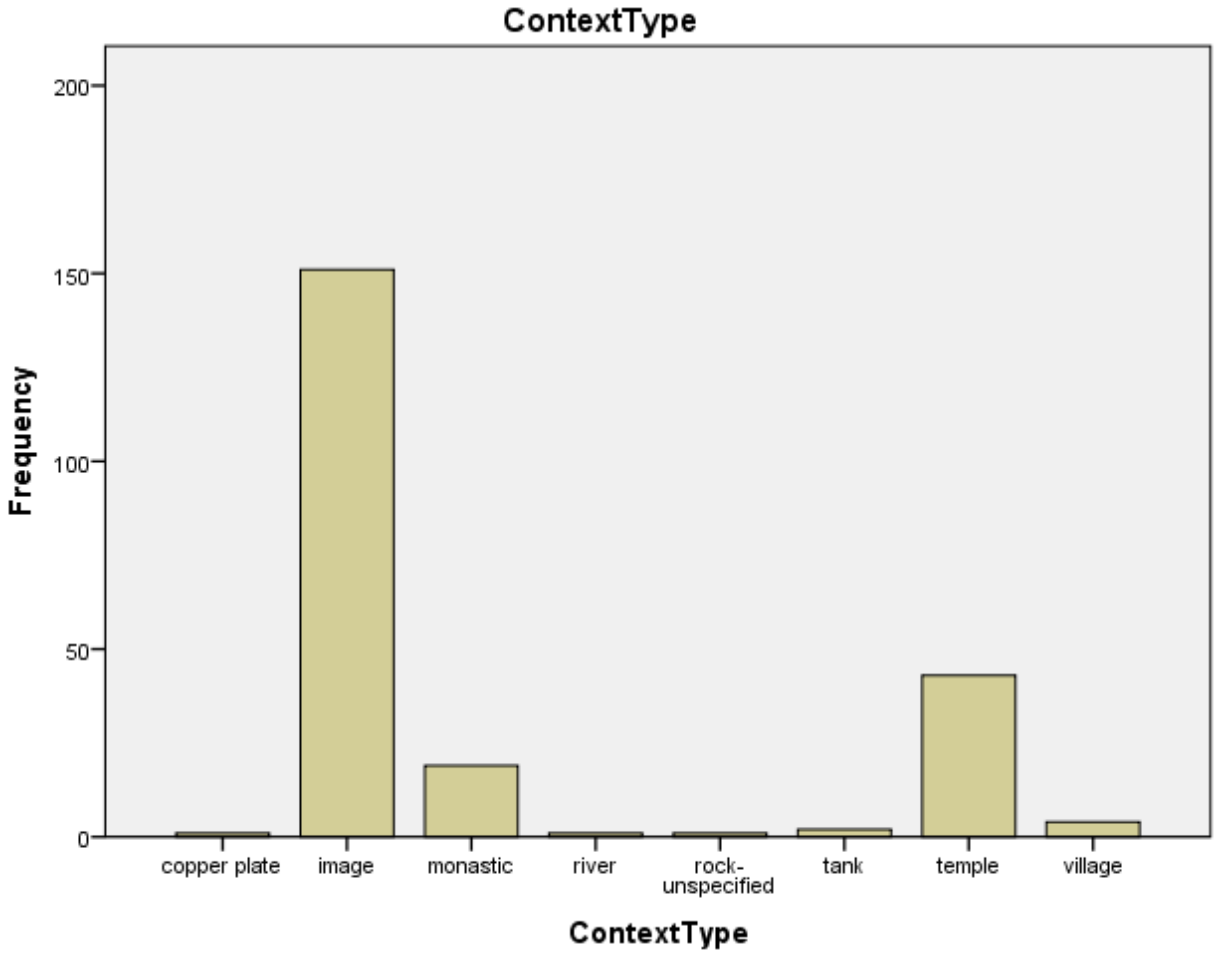


Figure B.44 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th to 9th century CE by Context Type

Table B.43 Dynastic Affiliations of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

Dynasty

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	-	155	69.8	69.8	69.8
	Ay	2	.9	.9	70.7
	Chola	5	2.3	2.3	73.0
	Irukkuvel	1	.5	.5	73.4
	Nolamba-Pallava	4	1.8	1.8	75.2
	Pallava	15	6.8	6.8	82.0
	Pandya	37	16.7	16.7	98.6
	Western Ganga	3	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

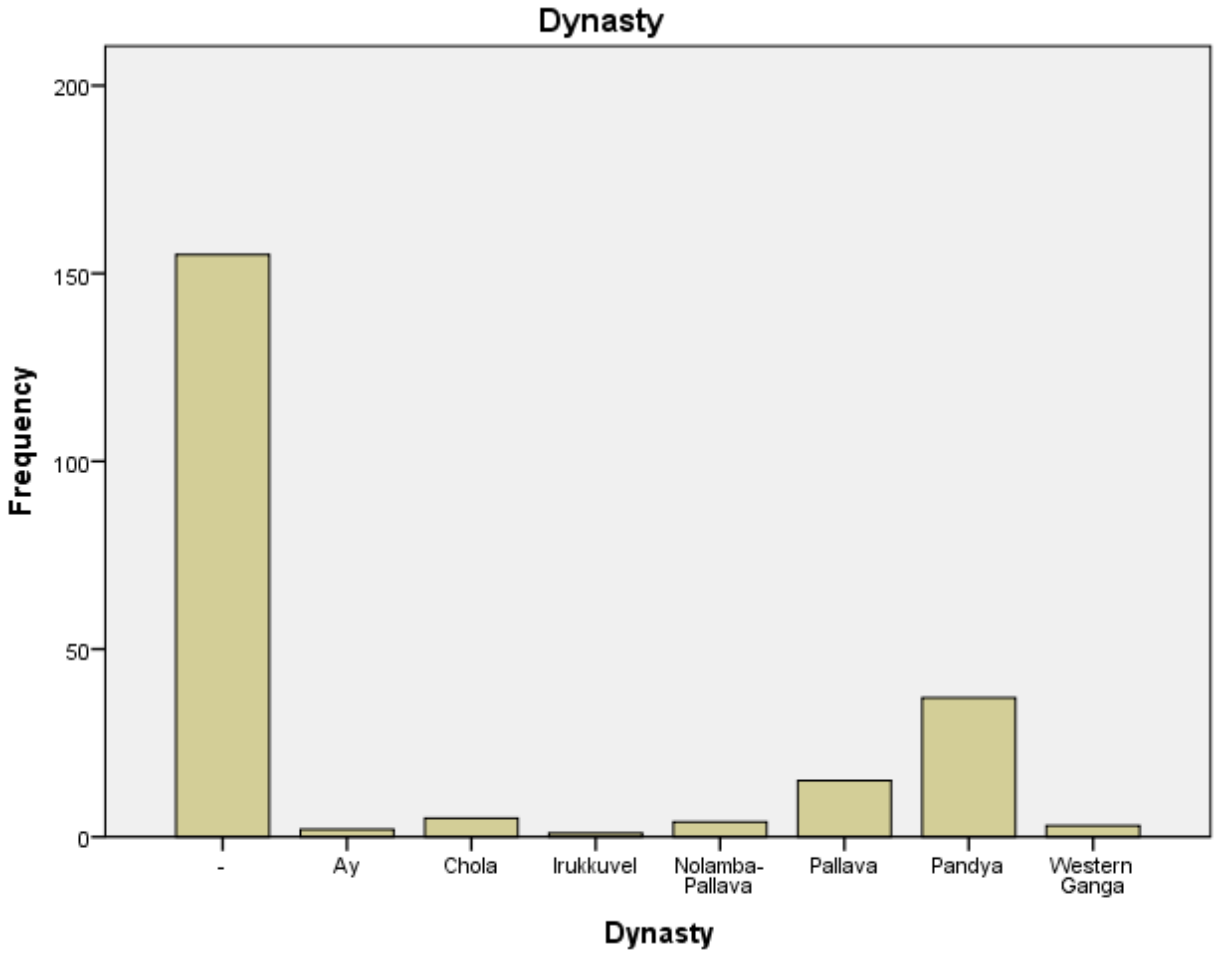


Figure B.45 Dynastic Affiliations of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

Table B.44 Named Kings in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

King		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	-	186	83.8	83.8	83.8
	Aditya I	1	.5	.5	84.2
	Avanipasekhara Srivallabha	1	.5	.5	84.7
	Kampavarman	1	.5	.5	85.1
	Ko Maranjadaiyan	2	.9	.9	86.0
	Mahendradhiraja	2	.9	.9	86.9
	Mahendraraja	2	.9	.9	87.8
	Maranjadaiyan	3	1.4	1.4	89.2
	Nandipottarasar	1	.5	.5	89.6
	Nandivarman II	6	2.7	2.7	92.3
	Nandivarman III	3	1.4	1.4	93.7
	Narasingapottaraiyar	1	.5	.5	94.1
	Queen Kadavarkonpavai	1	.5	.5	94.6
	Rajakesarivarman	2	.9	.9	95.5
	Rajamalla II	3	1.4	1.4	96.8
	Sadaiyamaran Srivallabha	2	.9	.9	97.7
	Simhvarman	1	.5	.5	98.2
	Tribhuvanachakravarti Konerinmaikondan	1	.5	.5	98.6
	Varagnua II	1	.5	.5	99.1
	Vikramaditya Varuguna	2	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Table B.45 Chronological Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

IndefDate		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Century	5	2	.9	.9	.9
	6	1	.5	.5	1.4
	7	5	2.3	2.3	3.6
	8	120	54.1	54.1	57.7
	9	90	40.5	40.5	98.2
	10	4	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

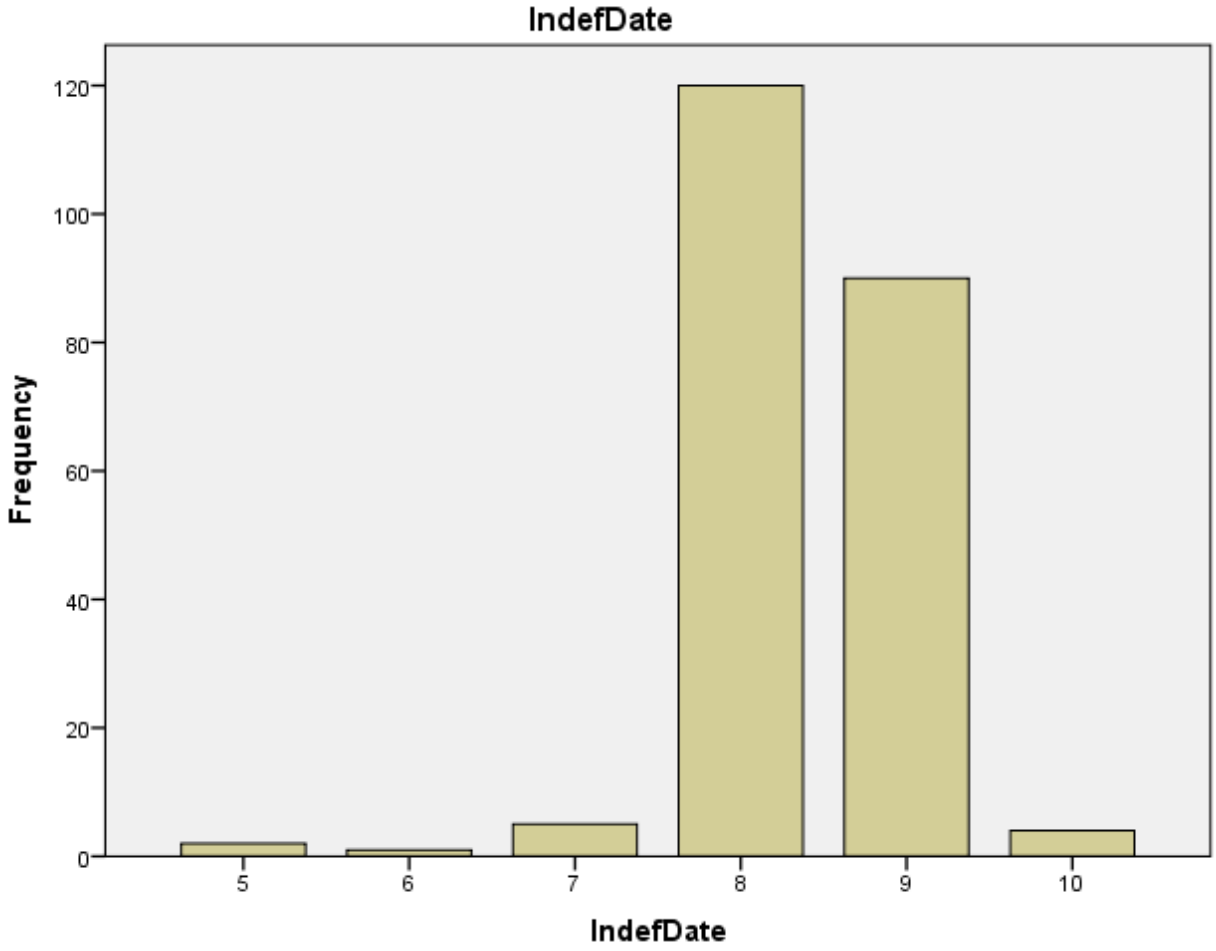


Figure B.46 Chronological Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

Table B.46 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE by Language

	Language	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Kanarese	4	1.8	1.8	1.8
	Sanskrit	6	2.7	2.7	4.5
	Tamil	212	95.5	95.5	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Table B.47 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE by Script

Script

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Brahmi	1	.5	.5	.5
	Grantha	7	3.2	3.2	3.6
	Grantha-Vatteluttu	1	.5	.5	4.1
	Kanarese	4	1.8	1.8	5.9
	Tamil	38	17.1	17.1	23.0
	Telegu-Kannada	1	.5	.5	23.4
	Vatteluttu	170	76.6	76.6	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

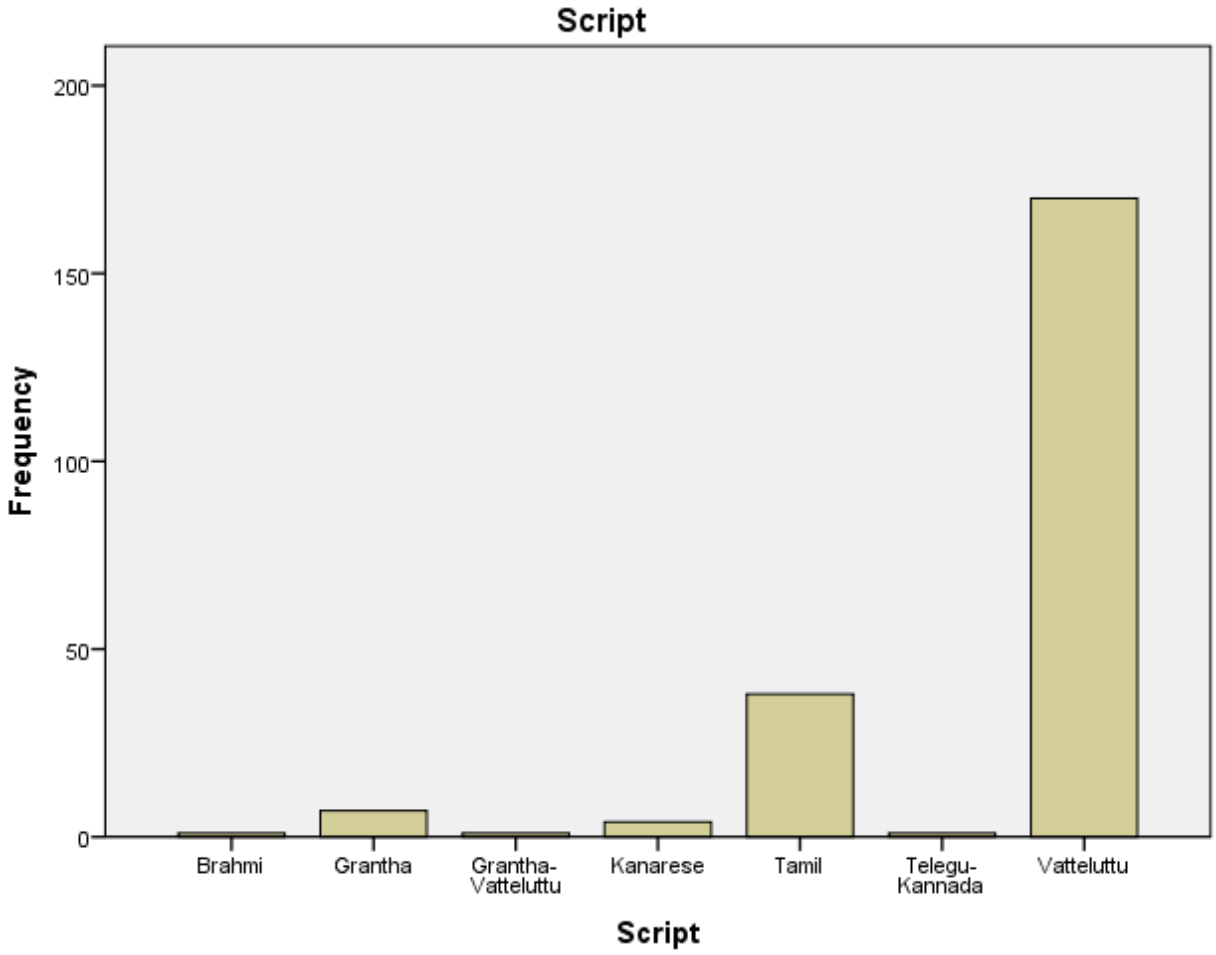


Figure B.47 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE by Script

Table B.48 Frequency of Donations in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

Donation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	?	24	10.8	10.8	10.8
	N	14	6.3	6.3	17.1
	Y	184	82.9	82.9	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Table B.49 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

Dobject

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		38	17.1	17.1	17.1
	endowment	3	1.4	1.4	18.5
	gift	4	1.8	1.8	20.3
	gold	10	4.5	4.5	24.8
	image	138	62.2	62.2	86.9
	land	6	2.7	2.7	89.6
	mandapa	1	.5	.5	90.1
	money	1	.5	.5	90.5
	paddy	1	.5	.5	91.0
	renovation	1	.5	.5	91.4
	sheep	5	2.3	2.3	93.7
	shrine	4	1.8	1.8	95.5
	sluice	1	.5	.5	95.9
	stone pillar	1	.5	.5	96.4
	temple	6	2.7	2.7	99.1
	village	1	.5	.5	99.5
	well	1	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

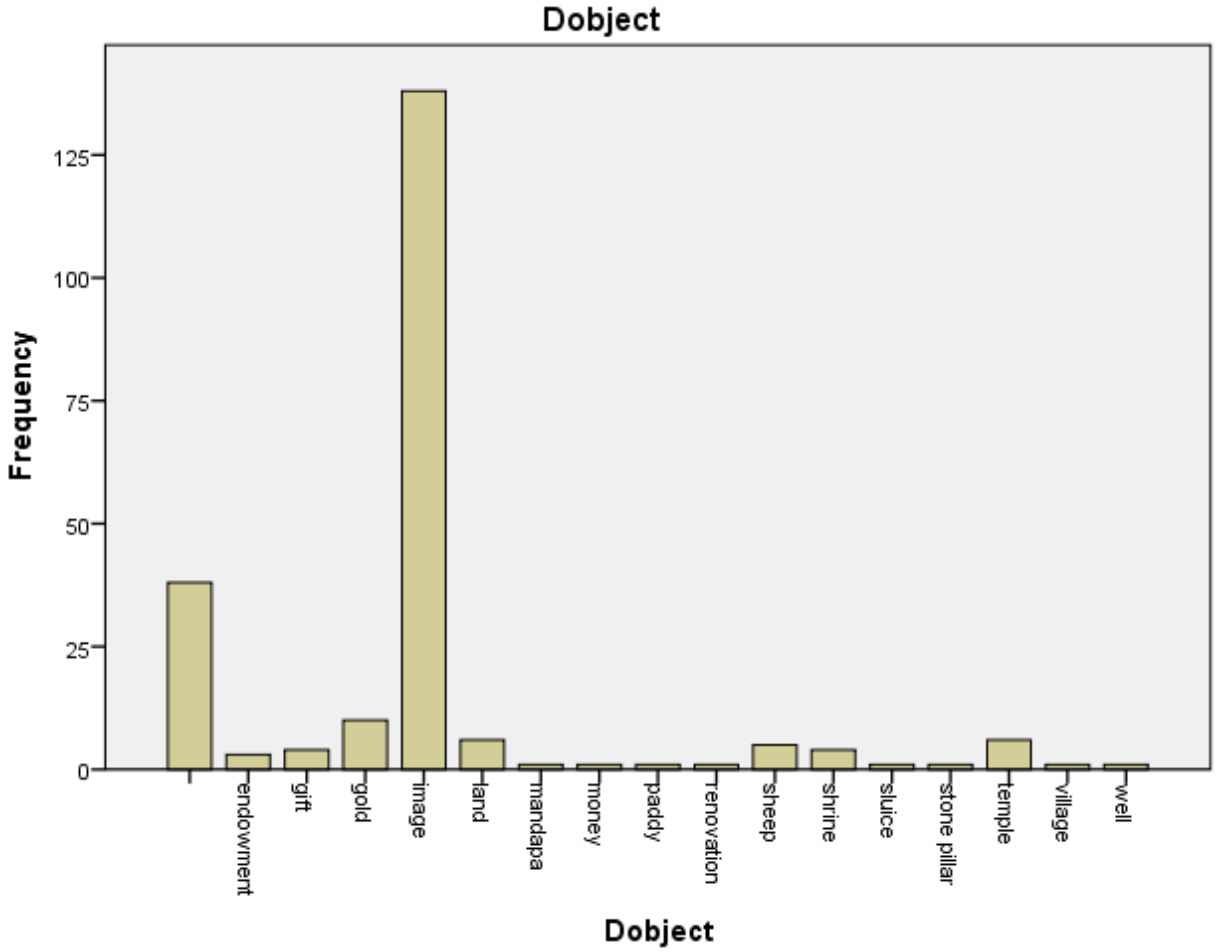


Figure B.48 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

Table B.50 Purposes of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

Dpurpose

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		38	17.1	17.1	17.1
	communal	2	.9	.9	18.0
	monastic	8	3.6	3.6	21.6
	temple	19	8.6	8.6	30.2
	worship	155	69.8	69.8	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

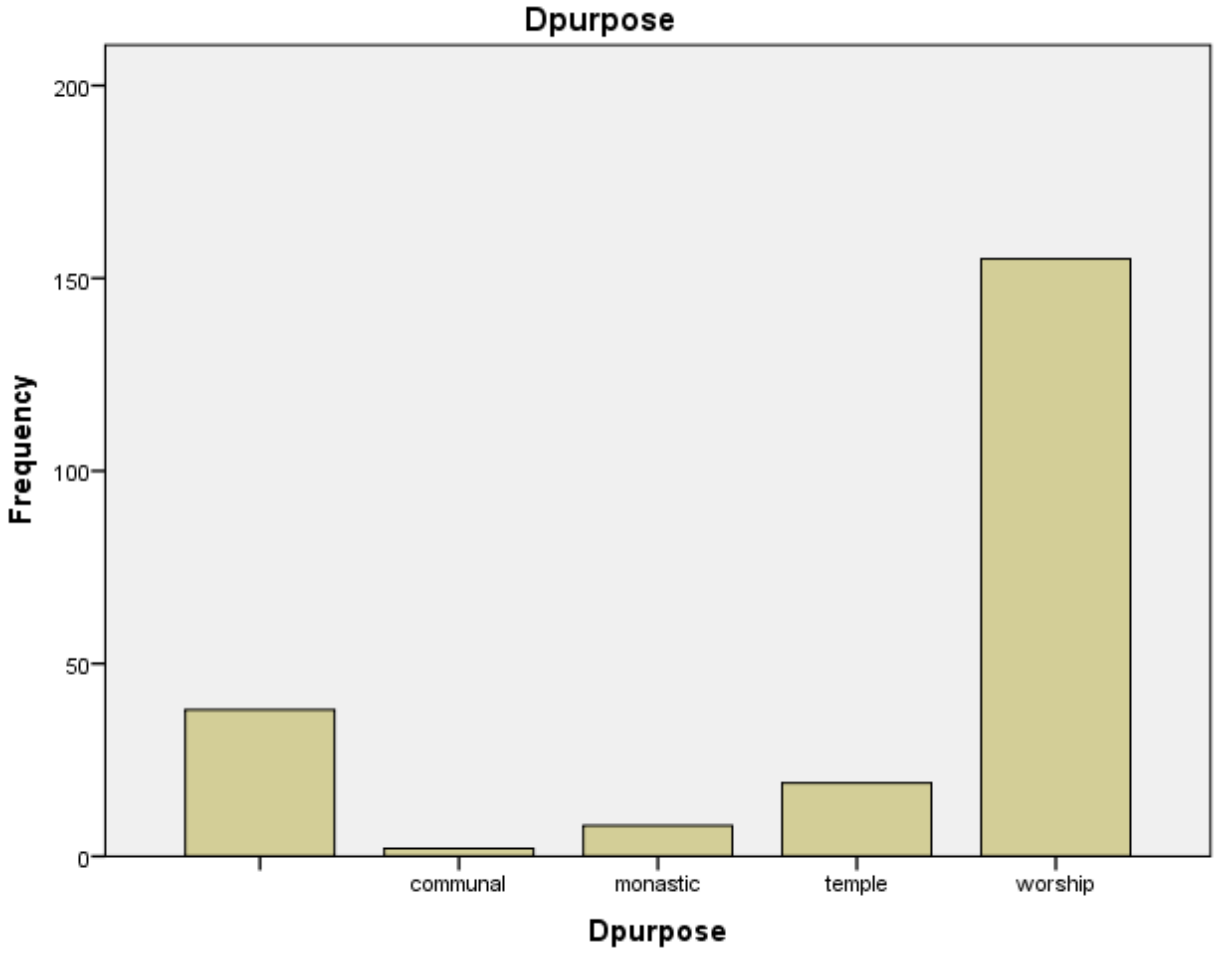


Figure B.49 Purposes of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

Table B.51 Named Donors in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th centuries CE

Donor

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		54	24.3	24.3	24.3
	…sara	1	.5	.5	24.8
	…tuṅka Pallavaraiyar	1	.5	.5	25.2
	Abinandan-bhatara	1	.5	.5	25.7
	Adittabhatara	1	.5	.5	26.1
	Aiyankal	1	.5	.5	26.6
	Ajjanandi	5	2.3	2.3	28.8
	Ajjananti	1	.5	.5	29.3
	Amaramudalguru, disciple of Mahāvīraguru of Yāpaniya Śaṅgha and the Kumiḻi-gaṇa	1	.5	.5	29.7
	Anantaviraadigal	1	.5	.5	30.2
	Araiyangavadi	1	.5	.5	30.6
	Arattanemikurattigal	1	.5	.5	31.1
	Arishtanemiperiyar	1	.5	.5	31.5
	Avvanantikkurattiyār, disciple of Paṭṭinikkurattiyār of Perumbattiyūr	1	.5	.5	32.0
	Bhattarigal	1	.5	.5	32.4
	Cheduliya-pandi	1	.5	.5	32.9
	Dayapalapperiyar	1	.5	.5	33.3
	Devan Sendan	1	.5	.5	33.8
	Devasendan	1	.5	.5	34.2
	disciple	1	.5	.5	34.7
	Enadi Kuttanan Satti	1	.5	.5	35.1
	Enadi Maganakkuratti	1	.5	.5	35.6
	Enadi Nadi	1	.5	.5	36.0
	Ettisattan	1	.5	.5	36.5
	Eviyampudi	1	.5	.5	36.9
	Gunamatiyar	1	.5	.5	37.4
	Gunantangi-Kurattikal	1	.5	.5	37.8
	Gunantangiyar	1	.5	.5	38.3
	Gunasenapperiyadigal	1	.5	.5	38.7
	Ilangautaman - aka Madiraiasiriyan	1	.5	.5	39.2
	Ilayarppanandi	1	.5	.5	39.6
	Indraśēna	1	.5	.5	40.1
	Irambattuvelan-Sattan	1	.5	.5	40.5
	Irukkuvel	1	.5	.5	41.0
	Kadavarkonpavai	1	.5	.5	41.4
	Kaliyanaraivan	1	.5	.5	41.9
	Kamansirunambi	1	.5	.5	42.3
	Kampaiyanar	1	.5	.5	42.8
	Kanagavira-adigal	1	.5	.5	43.2
	Kanakanandipperiyar	2	.9	.9	44.1

Table B.51 Continued

	Kanakavira Periyadigal	1	.5	.5	44.6
	Kandanporpattan	1	.5	.5	45.0
	Kannansattan	1	.5	.5	45.5
	Kanni	1	.5	.5	45.9
	Karan…nidhi	1	.5	.5	46.4
	Kari	1	.5	.5	46.8
	Kavidi	1	.5	.5	47.3
	Kichchiyar	1	.5	.5	47.7
	Kodiyankanna… Korrankodiyan	1	.5	.5	48.2
	Korrankudiyan	1	.5	.5	48.6
	Koyyan	1	.5	.5	49.1
	Kuman	1	.5	.5	49.5
	Kumanalaman	1	.5	.5	50.0
	Kunnur-yogiyar	1	.5	.5	50.5
	Kuratti	1	.5	.5	50.9
	Kurattigal	3	1.4	1.4	52.3
	Kurattiyar	2	.9	.9	53.2
	kutimanappi	1	.5	.5	53.6
	Kutti..van	1	.5	.5	54.1
	Kuttinili	1	.5	.5	54.5
	Lokayya via Ayyapadeva	1	.5	.5	55.0
	Maganandi	1	.5	.5	55.4
	Mahadevan	1	.5	.5	55.9
	Malliśēnapperiyār of Perumaṭai, from the Vīraśaṅgha	1	.5	.5	56.3
	Mandavi	1	.5	.5	56.8
	Maninangai	1	.5	.5	57.2
	Manni	1	.5	.5	57.7
	Marampulli	1	.5	.5	58.1
	Maransattan	1	.5	.5	58.6
	Matiyan Arintigai	1	.5	.5	59.0
	Mayindan Velan	1	.5	.5	59.5
	Menachchinattiya-sattan	1	.5	.5	59.9
	Milaurkurattigal	1	.5	.5	60.4
	Muttuvala Narayanakurattiyar	1	.5	.5	60.8
	Mūvēndan of Nālkūr in Veṇbunāṭu	1	.5	.5	61.3
	Naganandi	1	.5	.5	61.7
	Nahankalan	1	.5	.5	62.2
	Nakkankari	1	.5	.5	62.6
	Nalkurkurattigal	1	.5	.5	63.1
	Narananmuvan	2	.9	.9	64.0
	Nattankuratti	1	.5	.5	64.4
	Nattigabhatarar	1	.5	.5	64.9

Table B.51 Continued

	Nidhiyanna dn Chandiyanna	1	.5	.5	65.3
	Nikuntamachchadaiyan	1	.5	.5	65.8
	Nilankurakkunayinan	1	.5	.5	66.2
	Padamulattan Aranganmaran	1	.5	.5	66.7
	Paramansattan	1	.5	.5	67.1
	Pātamūlattān Āri of Tiruvarambam	1	.5	.5	67.6
	Pavanandi-bhatara	1	.5	.5	68.0
	Peranandibhatarar	1	.5	.5	68.5
	Periyadigal	1	.5	.5	68.9
	Perunagarattar	1	.5	.5	69.4
	Perungadi…devar	1	.5	.5	69.8
	Pichchai Kuratti	1	.5	.5	70.3
	Poruttunai	1	.5	.5	70.7
	Pundi Muppavai	1	.5	.5	71.2
	Pungudinattukkon	1	.5	.5	71.6
	Puravuvarinayakan	1	.5	.5	72.1
	Purnachandran	1	.5	.5	72.5
	Pushpanandi	1	.5	.5	73.0
	Puvanavan	1	.5	.5	73.4
	Queen Lōkamahādēvi	1	.5	.5	73.9
	Rajamalla	3	1.4	1.4	75.2
	Sadaiyan	1	.5	.5	75.7
	Sankaran Srivallavan	1	.5	.5	76.1
	Santi Sena-adigal	1	.5	.5	76.6
	Santisena-adigal	1	.5	.5	77.0
	Santisenapperiyar	1	.5	.5	77.5
	Śāntivīrakkuravar, disciple of Guṇavīrakkuravaṭikaḷ	1	.5	.5	77.9
	Satan Gunatan	1	.5	.5	78.4
	Sattam-baladevan	1	.5	.5	78.8
	Sattan	2	.9	.9	79.7
	Sattandevan	1	.5	.5	80.2
	Sattangari	1	.5	.5	80.6
	Sattankali	1	.5	.5	81.1
	Sattanvelan	1	.5	.5	81.5
	Sendan	1	.5	.5	82.0
	Sendankurusur	1	.5	.5	82.4
	Sendanseri	1	.5	.5	82.9
	Sentankariyar	1	.5	.5	83.3
	Sentankuratti	1	.5	.5	83.8
	Siddha…	1	.5	.5	84.2
	Siddhan	1	.5	.5	84.7
	Silankavidiyan-Tennavan	1	.5	.5	85.1
	Simhavarman aka Simhavisnu	1	.5	.5	85.6
	Singanar Periya-Vaduganar	1	.5	.5	86.0

Table B.51 Continued

	Sirubhattara	1	.5	.5	86.5
	Sirupolankatti Nakkan	1	.5	.5	86.9
	Sri Achchanandi	1	.5	.5	87.4
	Sri Ajjanandi	1	.5	.5	87.8
	Sri Dhadi	1	.5	.5	88.3
	Sri Kurattiyar	1	.5	.5	88.7
	Sri Lokabhanubhatara	1	.5	.5	89.2
	Sri Nandi	1	.5	.5	89.6
	Sri Vijayakkurattiyar	2	.9	.9	90.5
	Sundaran	1	.5	.5	91.0
	Sungan…	1	.5	.5	91.4
	Tangi	1	.5	.5	91.9
	Tiruchcharanattu-kurattigal	1	.5	.5	92.3
	Tiruchcharanattuk-kurattigal	1	.5	.5	92.8
	Tottantarukki	1	.5	.5	93.2
	urar of Sattamangalam	1	.5	.5	93.7
	Uttanandiadigal	1	.5	.5	94.1
	Valavar Sattan Marattan	1	.5	.5	94.6
	Varagunan	1	.5	.5	95.0
	Varatapāṇi of Vaṭapaḷḷi-āramvicci	1	.5	.5	95.5
	Vāśudēva Siddhānta Bhaṭāra	1	.5	.5	95.9
	Vaṭṭamvaṭuki of Kuvaṇañcēri	1	.5	.5	96.4
	Venpurai Saradan Ampiraiyan	1	.5	.5	96.8
	Vilakkan-Vengai… ram	1	.5	.5	97.3
	Vilankaneri	1	.5	.5	97.7
	Viranan Pavanandi	1	.5	.5	98.2
	Viranandiadigal	1	.5	.5	98.6
	Visaiyanallulan Kumaran-Devan	1	.5	.5	99.1
	Vrichchi Nākan of Kēḻavam in Veṇbu(nāṭu)	1	.5	.5	99.5
	Yakkankadi	1	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Table B.52 Jain Donative Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE by Category of Donor

DTypeCategory

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		49	22.1	22.1	22.1
	Corporate	1	.5	.5	22.5
	Craftsman	2	.9	.9	23.4
	Elite	15	6.8	6.8	30.2
	Family	12	5.4	5.4	35.6
	Merchant	2	.9	.9	36.5
	Other	4	1.8	1.8	38.3
	Religious	67	30.2	30.2	68.5
	Unknown	70	31.5	31.5	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

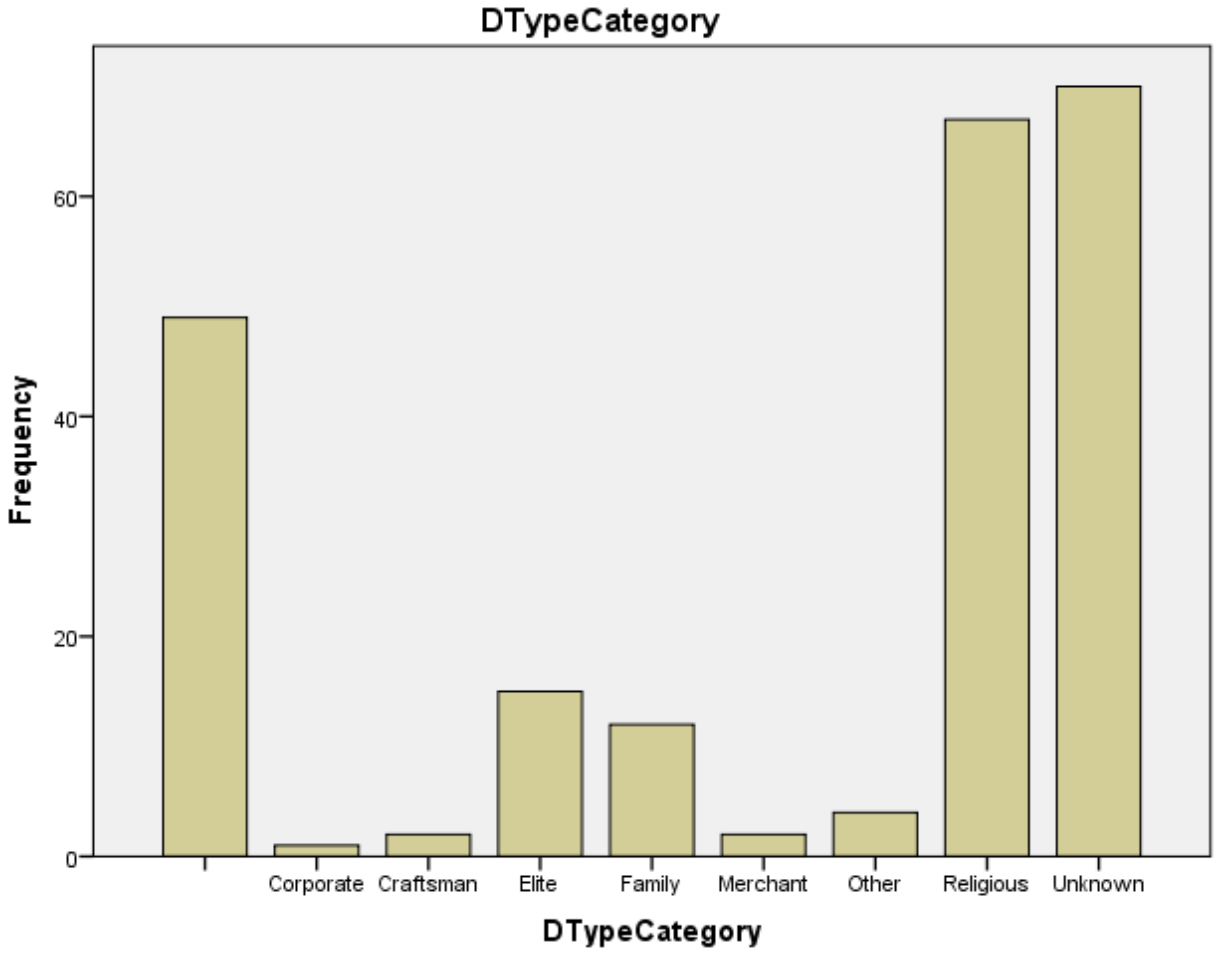


Figure B.50 Jain Donative Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE by Category of Donor

Table B.53 Jain Donative Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE by Sex/Gender

DSex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	49	22.1	22.1	22.1
	F	42	18.9	18.9	41.0
	M	122	55.0	55.0	95.9
	U	9	4.1	4.1	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

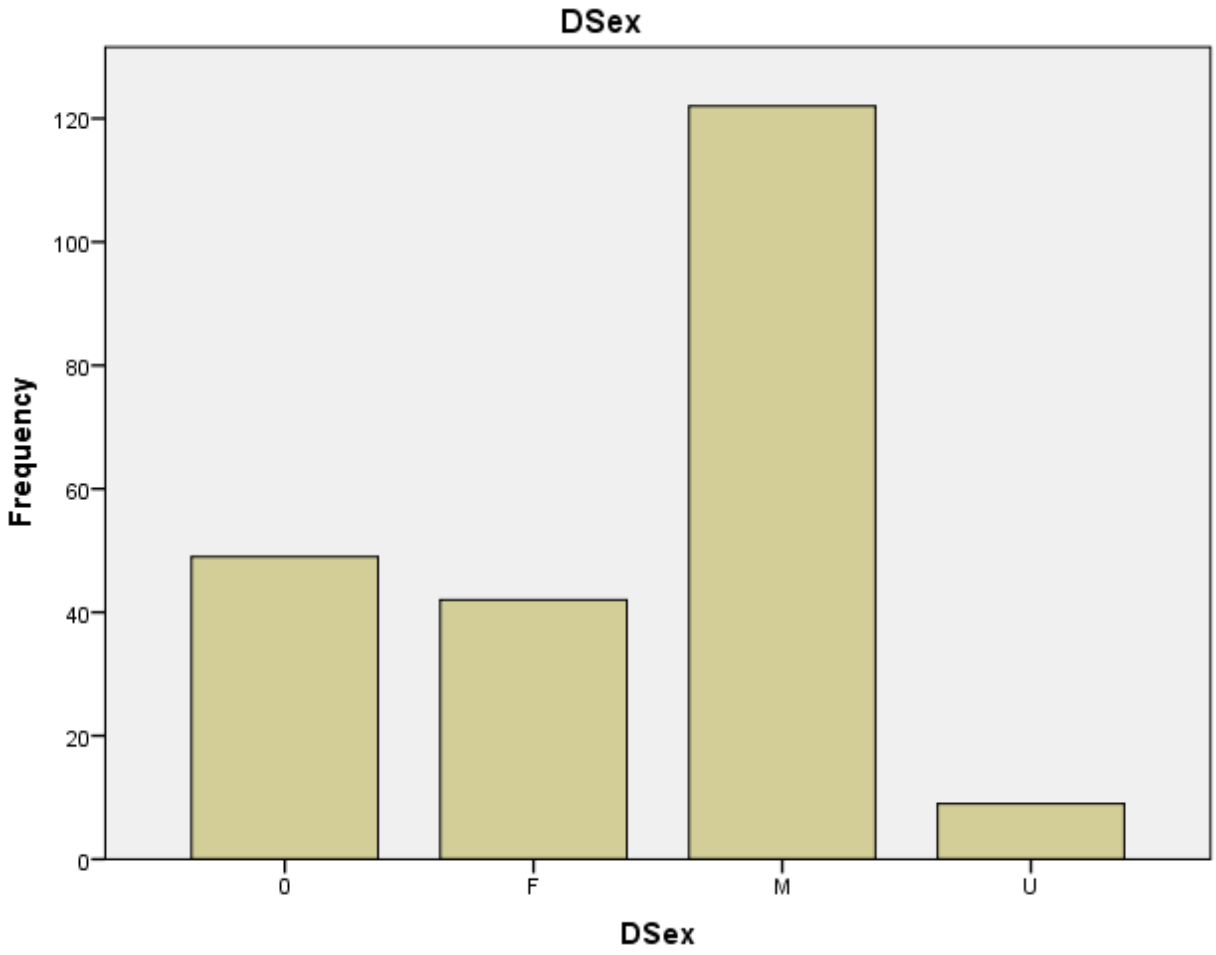


Figure B.51 Jain Donative Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE by Sex/Gender

Table B.54 Named Recipients in Jain Donative Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE

Recipient

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		202	91.0	91.0	91.0
	10 Bhatarar, Vairagiyar (monks) in Tirumalai temple	1	.5	.5	91.4
	5 Vairagiyar and Bhatarar	1	.5	.5	91.9
	Achchan-Sripalan	1	.5	.5	92.3
	Aruvalattu Bhataraka	1	.5	.5	92.8
	Ayiraimalaitēvar	1	.5	.5	93.2
	Chaturmugattirukkoyil of Kilappalli	1	.5	.5	93.7
	deity	1	.5	.5	94.1
	Dēśavallabha Jinālaya	1	.5	.5	94.6
	god at Tiruvayirai, ascetic	1	.5	.5	95.0
	Kattampalli	1	.5	.5	95.5
	Mahiḻampaḷḷi	1	.5	.5	95.9
	Malainatha temple	1	.5	.5	96.4
	Malayadhvaja	1	.5	.5	96.8
	Miladudaiyarpalli	1	.5	.5	97.3
	Pārśvanātha and yakshis at Tiruvayirai, ascetic	1	.5	.5	97.7
	Perumpalli	1	.5	.5	98.2
	shrine	1	.5	.5	98.6
	Sittannavasal	1	.5	.5	99.1
	Vajranandi	1	.5	.5	99.5
	Velan Sadaiyan	1	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Table B.55 Jain Donative Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE by Type of Recipient

Rtype

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		61	27.5	27.5	27.5
	ascetic	1	.5	.5	27.9
	cbd	5	2.3	2.3	30.2
	god	3	1.4	1.4	31.5
	monastic	19	8.6	8.6	40.1
	temple	131	59.0	59.0	99.1
	temple/monastic	2	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

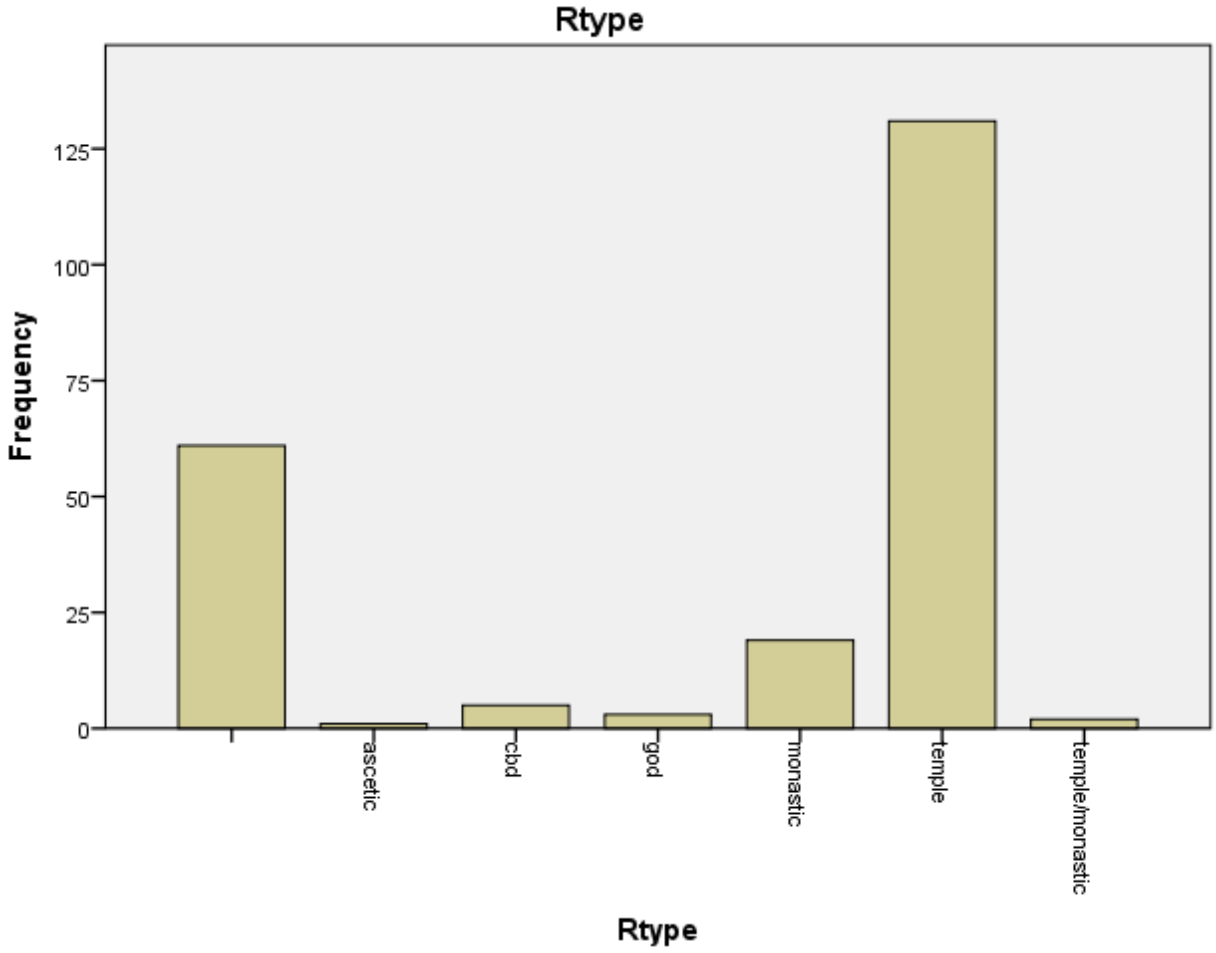


Figure B.52 Jain Donative Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE by Type of Recipient

Table B.56 Transfer of Merit in Jain Donative Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE

Merit

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	197	88.7	88.7	88.7
	Yes	25	11.3	11.3	100.0
	Total	222	100.0	100.0	

WITH KAḶUGUMALAI INDIVIDUAL COUNT
(SEPARATE COUNT FOR MULTIPLE DONORS OR OBJECTS)
(N=233)

Table B.57 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (with Kalugumalai, individual count)

Dobject

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		38	16.3	16.3	16.3
	endowment	3	1.3	1.3	17.6
	garden	1	.4	.4	18.0
	ghee	1	.4	.4	18.5
	gift	4	1.7	1.7	20.2
	gold	12	5.2	5.2	25.3
	image	138	59.2	59.2	84.5
	land	9	3.9	3.9	88.4
	mandapa	1	.4	.4	88.8
	money	1	.4	.4	89.3
	paddy	2	.9	.9	90.1
	pillar	1	.4	.4	90.6
	renovation	1	.4	.4	91.0
	rice	1	.4	.4	91.4
	sheep	6	2.6	2.6	94.0
	shrine	4	1.7	1.7	95.7
	sluice	1	.4	.4	96.1
	stone pillar	1	.4	.4	96.6
	temple	6	2.6	2.6	99.1
	village	1	.4	.4	99.6
	well	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	233	100.0	100.0	

Table B.58 Purpose of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (with Kalugumalai, individual count)

Dpurpose

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		38	16.3	16.3	16.3
	communal	2	.9	.9	17.2
	monastic	11	4.7	4.7	21.9
	temple	21	9.0	9.0	30.9
	worship	161	69.1	69.1	100.0
	Total	233	100.0	100.0	

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES OVER TIME, C. 5TH TO 9TH CENTURY CE (N=233)

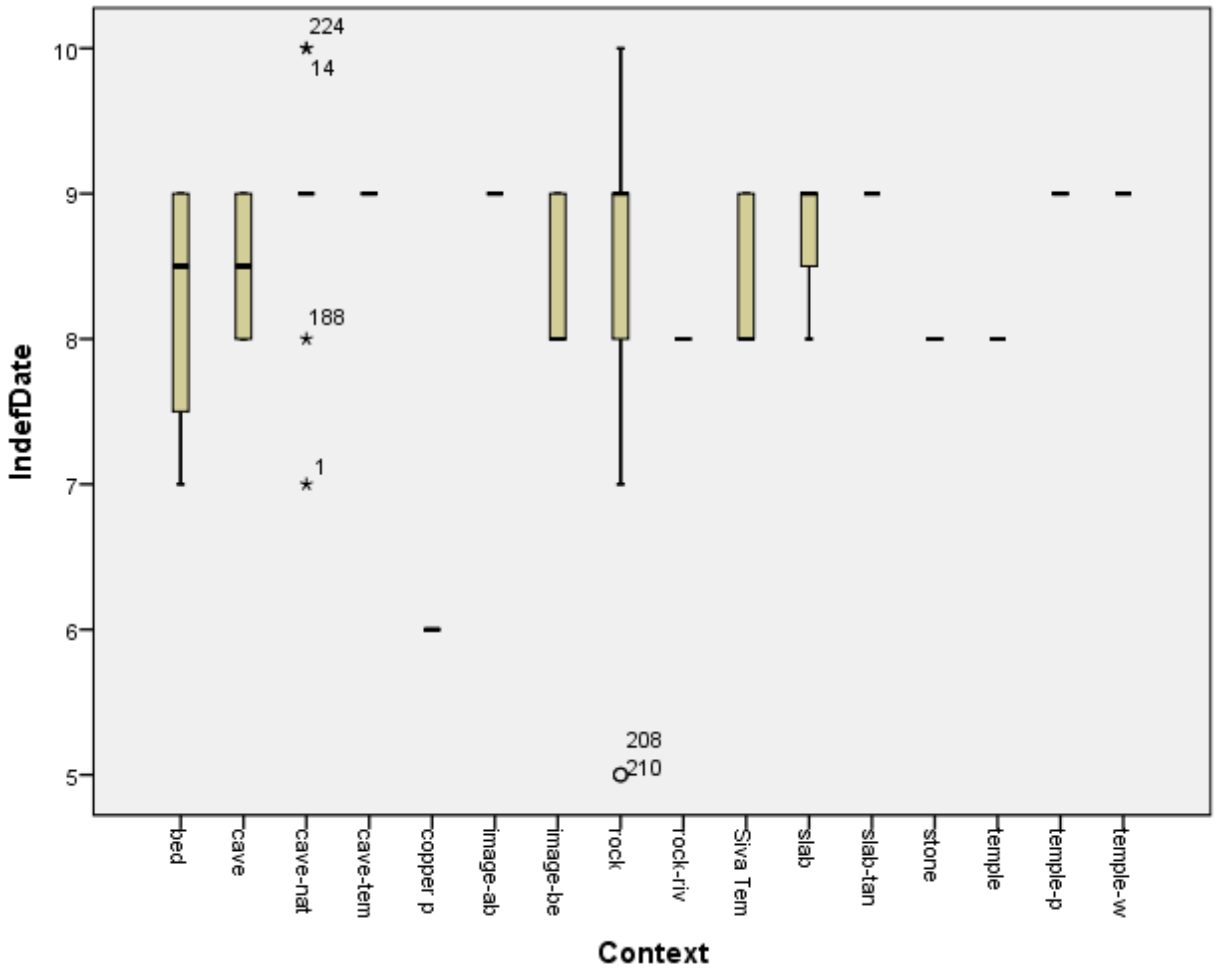


Figure B.53 Chronological Distribution of Contexts in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE

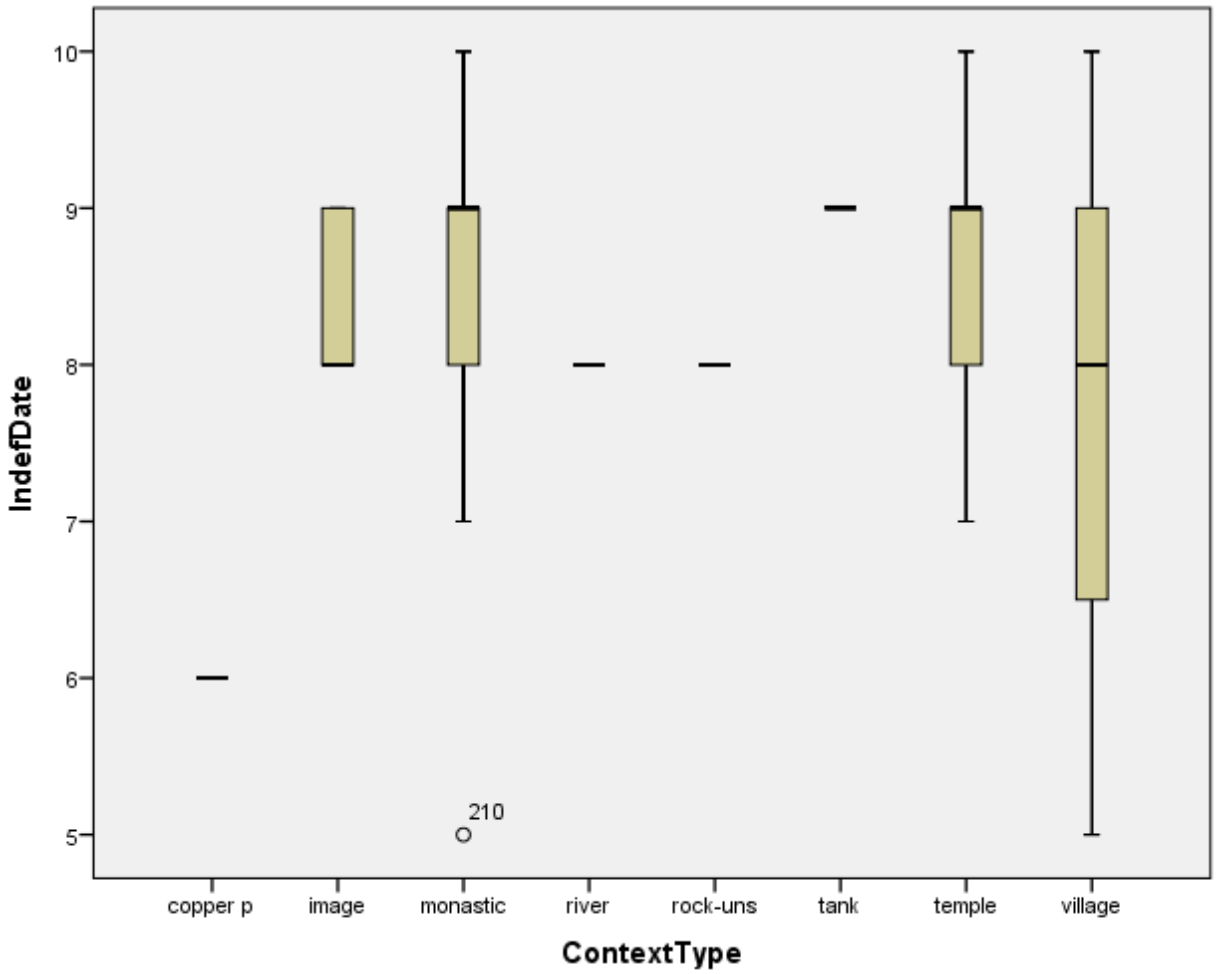


Figure B.54 Chronological Distribution of Context Type in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE

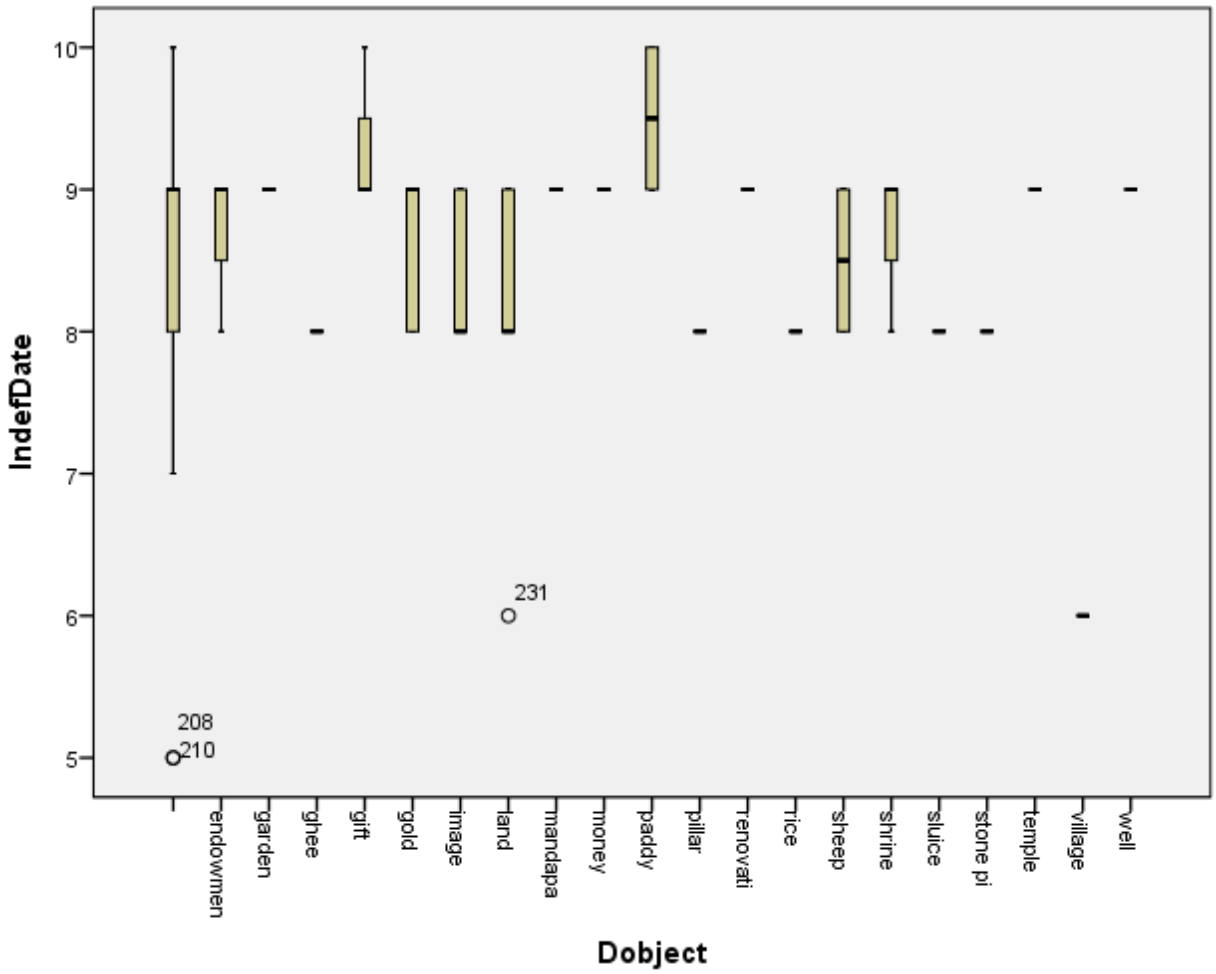


Figure B.55 Chronological Distribution of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE

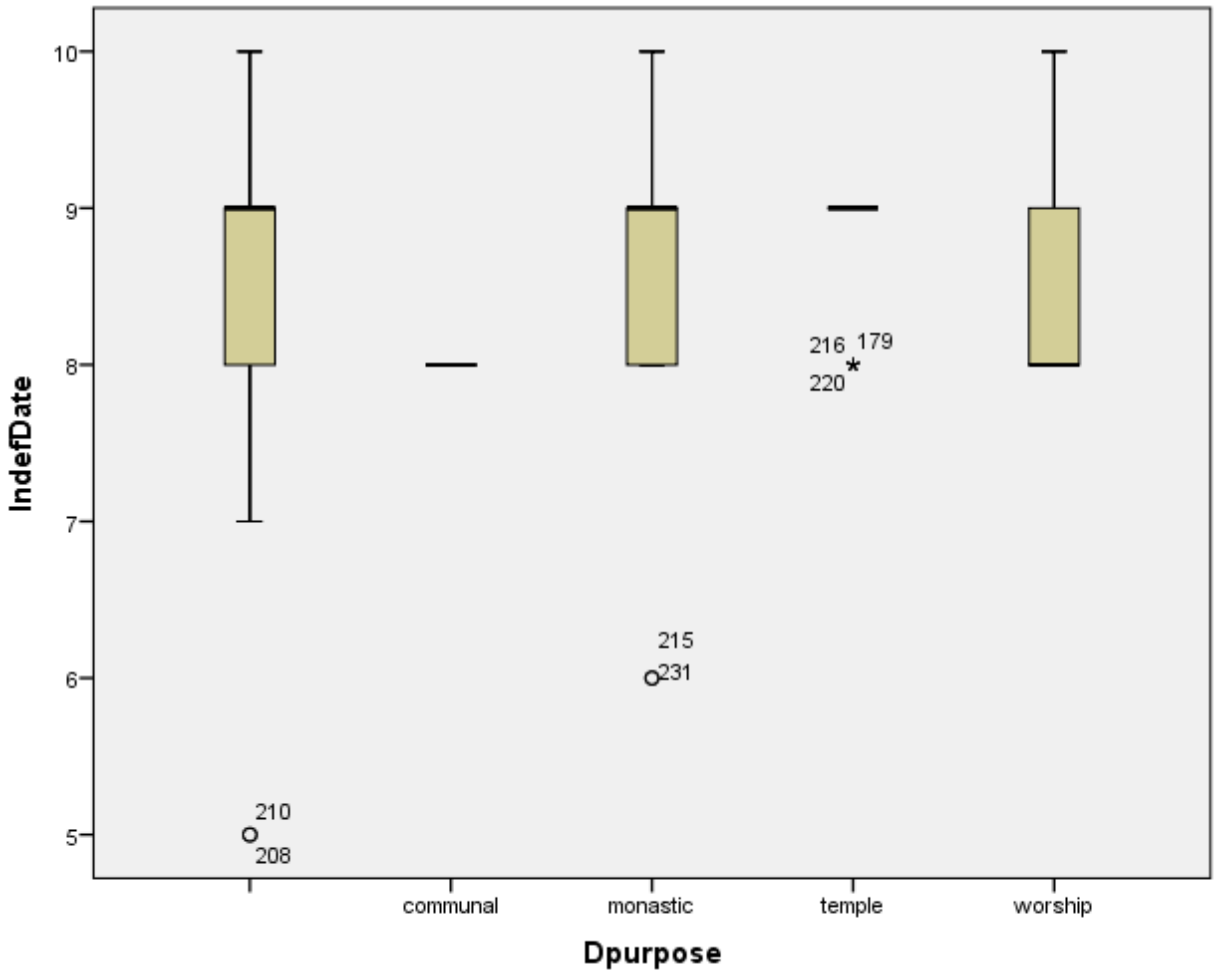


Figure B.56 Chronological Distribution of Purpose of Donations in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE

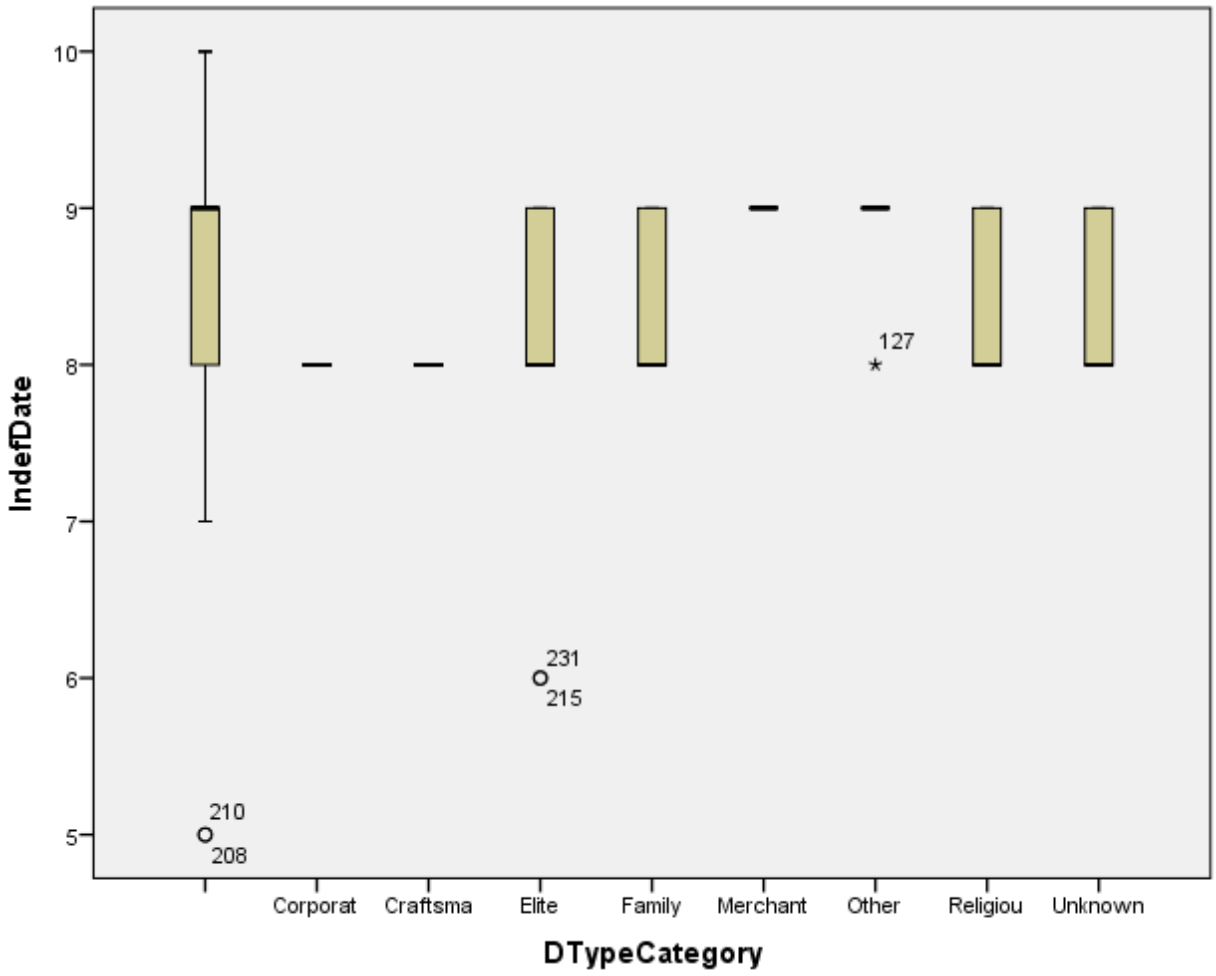


Figure B.57 Chronological Distribution of Donor Type in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE

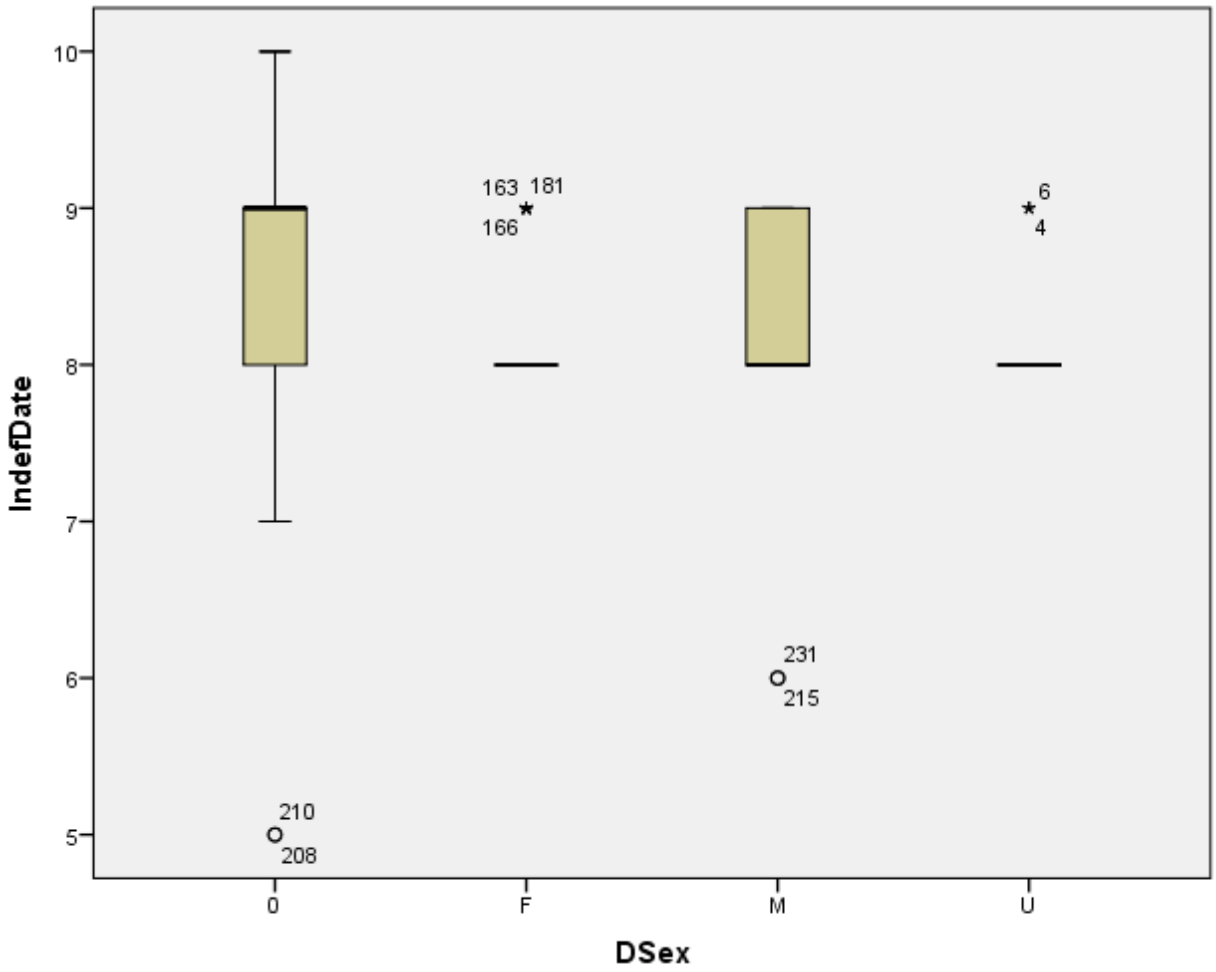


Figure B.58 Chronological Distribution of Donors in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE by Sex/Gender

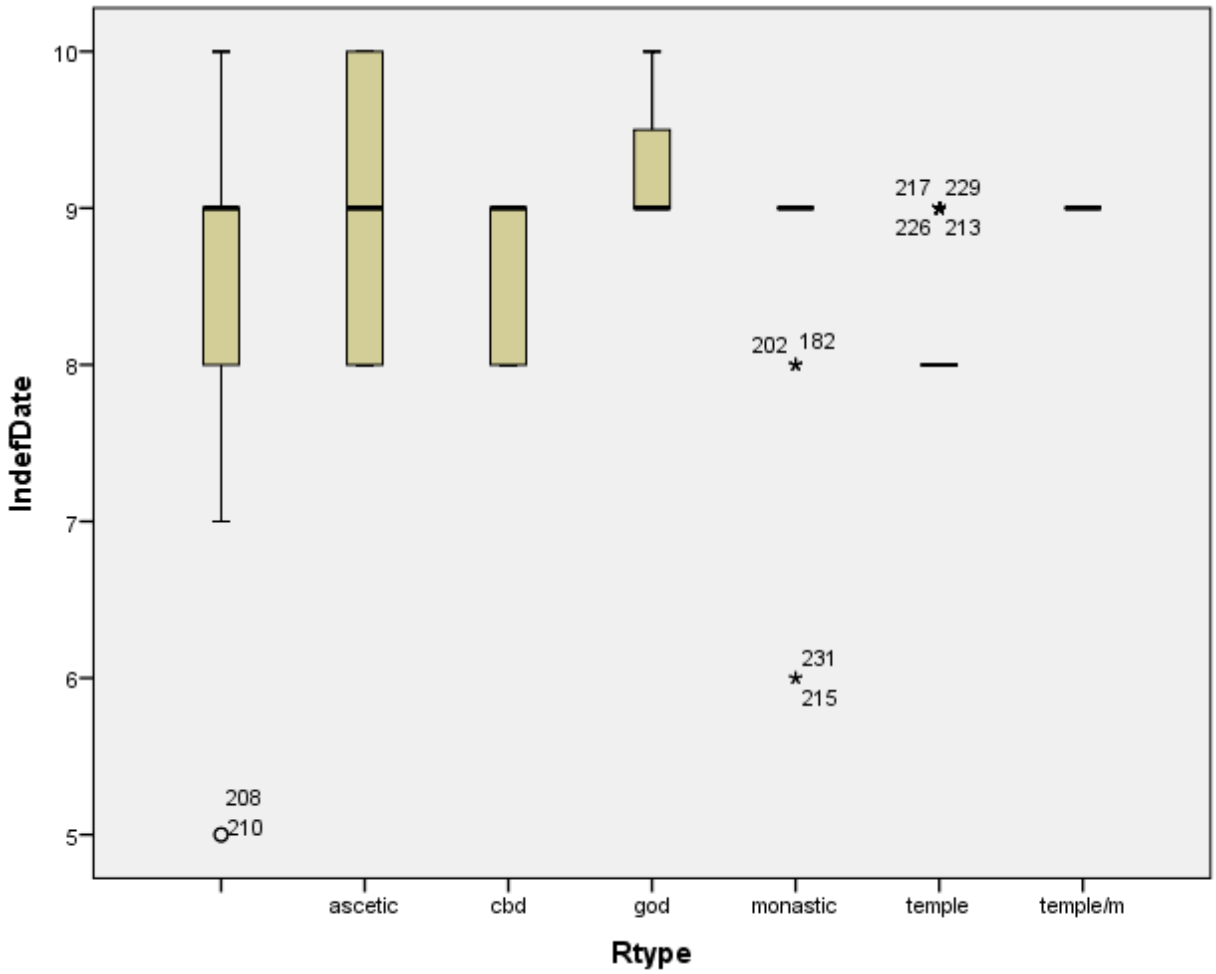


Figure B.59 Chronological Distribution of Types of Recipients in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE

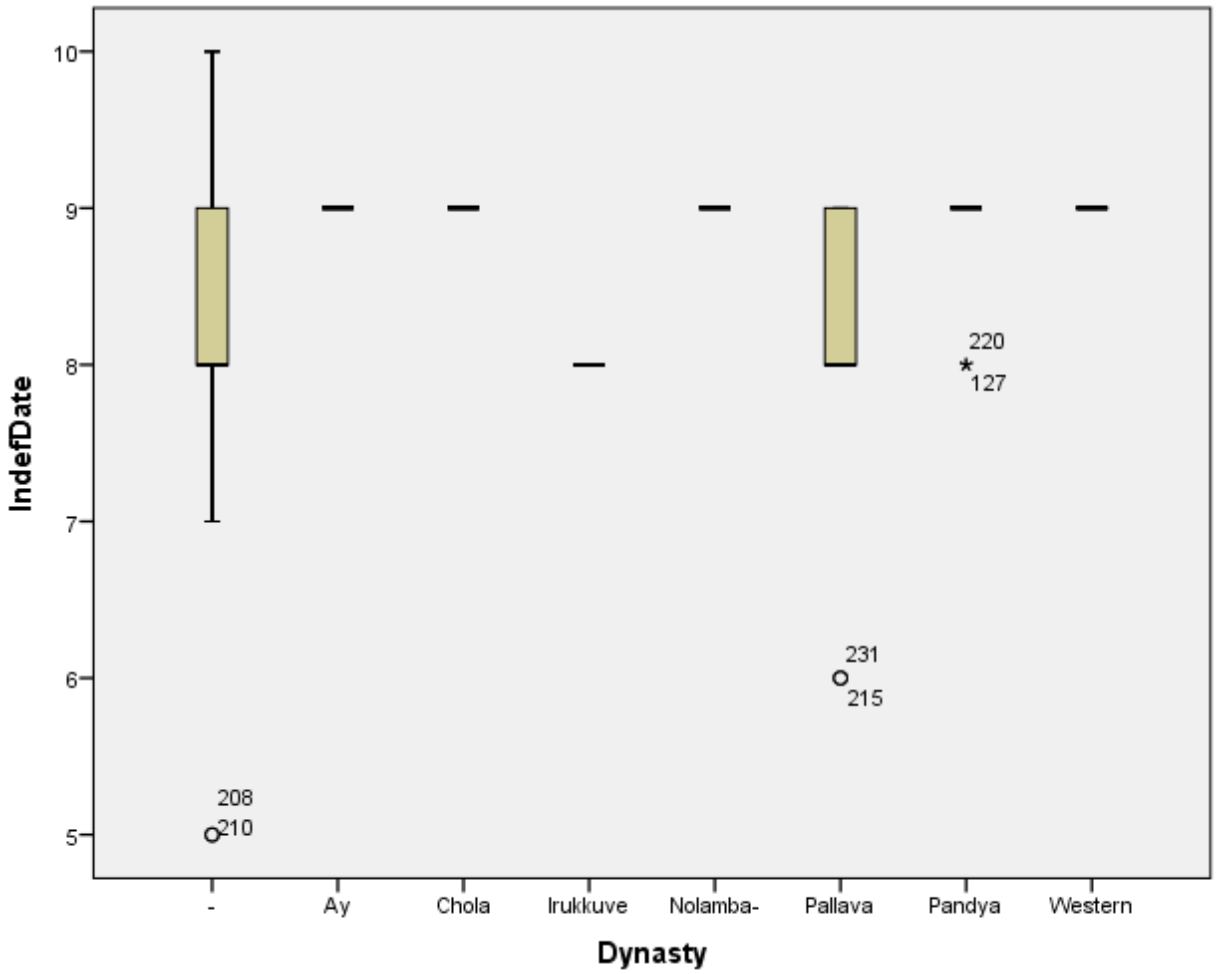


Figure B.60 Chronological Distribution of Dynastic Affiliations in Jain Inscriptions c. 5th-9th century CE

INDIVIDUAL COUNT WITHOUT KAḶUGUMALAI (N=128)

Table B.59 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Village

	Village	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agalur	3	2.3	2.3	2.3
	Aiyyampalayam	16	12.5	12.5	14.8
	Alagarmalai	1	.8	.8	15.6
	Anaimalai	8	6.3	6.3	21.9
	Arittapatti	1	.8	.8	22.7
	Bommaimalai	1	.8	.8	23.4
	Chitaral	6	4.7	4.7	28.1
	Chittamur	2	1.6	1.6	29.7
	Devattur	1	.8	.8	30.5
	Dharmapuri	5	3.9	3.9	34.4
	Erukkankudi	1	.8	.8	35.2
	Eruvadi	3	2.3	2.3	37.5
	Kanchipuram	1	.8	.8	38.3
	Karantai	2	1.6	1.6	39.8
	Karungalakkudi	2	1.6	1.6	41.4
	Karuppankunru	1	.8	.8	42.2
	Kilakkudi	4	3.1	3.1	45.3
	Kilakuyilkudi	2	1.6	1.6	46.9
	Kilavalavu	3	2.3	2.3	49.2
	Kilsattamangalam	4	3.1	3.1	52.3
	Kirappakkam	1	.8	.8	53.1
	Konkarpuliyankulam	1	.8	.8	53.9
	Kuppalanattam	1	.8	.8	54.7
	Muttuppatti	2	1.6	1.6	56.3
	Narttamalai	1	.8	.8	57.0
	Olakkur	1	.8	.8	57.8
	Pallankoil	2	1.6	1.6	59.4
	Pallimadam	4	3.1	3.1	62.5
	Panchapandavamalai	1	.8	.8	63.3
	Paraiyanpattu	1	.8	.8	64.1
	Pechchipallam	6	4.7	4.7	68.8
	Perumandur	1	.8	.8	69.5
	Ponvilaintanpatti	1	.8	.8	70.3
	Sittannavasal	11	8.6	8.6	78.9
	Siyamangalam	1	.8	.8	79.7
	Tavalam	1	.8	.8	80.5
	Tenimalai	1	.8	.8	81.3
	Tiruchirappalli	2	1.6	1.6	82.8
	Tirumalai	2	1.6	1.6	84.4
	Tirunagesvaram	1	.8	.8	85.2

Table B.59 Continued

	Tirunarungondai	3	2.3	2.3	87.5
	Tirunatharkunru (Singavaram)	1	.8	.8	88.3
	Turunarungondai	1	.8	.8	89.1
	Uttamapalayam	9	7.0	7.0	96.1
	Vallimalai	2	1.6	1.6	97.7
	Vedal	2	1.6	1.6	99.2
	Virasikhamani	1	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

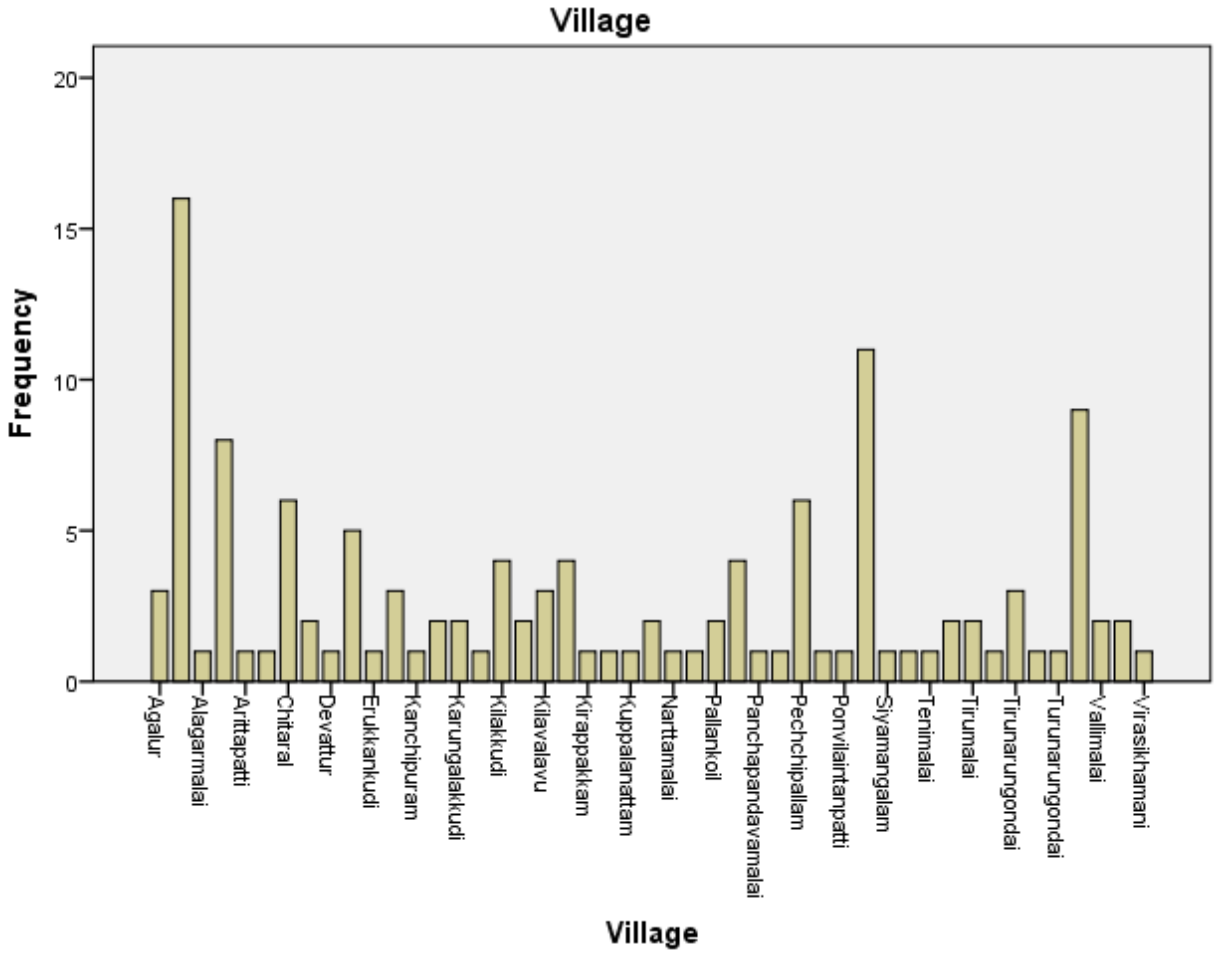


Figure B.61 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Village

Table B.60 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Taluk

	Taluk	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Aruppukkottai	4	3.1	3.1	3.1
	Attur	16	12.5	12.5	15.6
	Chengalpattu	1	.8	.8	16.4
	Cheyyar	2	1.6	1.6	18.0
	Dharmapuri	5	3.9	3.9	21.9
	Gingee	7	5.5	5.5	27.3
	Gudiyattam	2	1.6	1.6	28.9
	Kanchipuram	1	.8	.8	29.7
	Katpadi	1	.8	.8	30.5
	Kulathur	13	10.2	10.2	40.6
	Kumbakonam	1	.8	.8	41.4
	Madurai	22	17.2	17.2	58.6
	Melur	7	5.5	5.5	64.1
	Nanguneri	3	2.3	2.3	66.4
	Oddanchatram	1	.8	.8	67.2
	Peraiyur	1	.8	.8	68.0
	Periyakulam	9	7.0	7.0	75.0
	Polur	2	1.6	1.6	76.6
	Ponnamaravathi	1	.8	.8	77.3
	Sattur	1	.8	.8	78.1
	Thirumangalam	1	.8	.8	78.9
	Thiruporur	1	.8	.8	79.7
	Thiruthuraipoondi	2	1.6	1.6	81.3
	Thiruvaiyaru	1	.8	.8	82.0
	Tindivanam	2	1.6	1.6	83.6
	Tiruchirappalli	2	1.6	1.6	85.2
	Ulundurpettai	4	3.1	3.1	88.3
	Vandavasi	8	6.3	6.3	94.5
	Veerasigamani	1	.8	.8	95.3
	Vilavancode	6	4.7	4.7	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

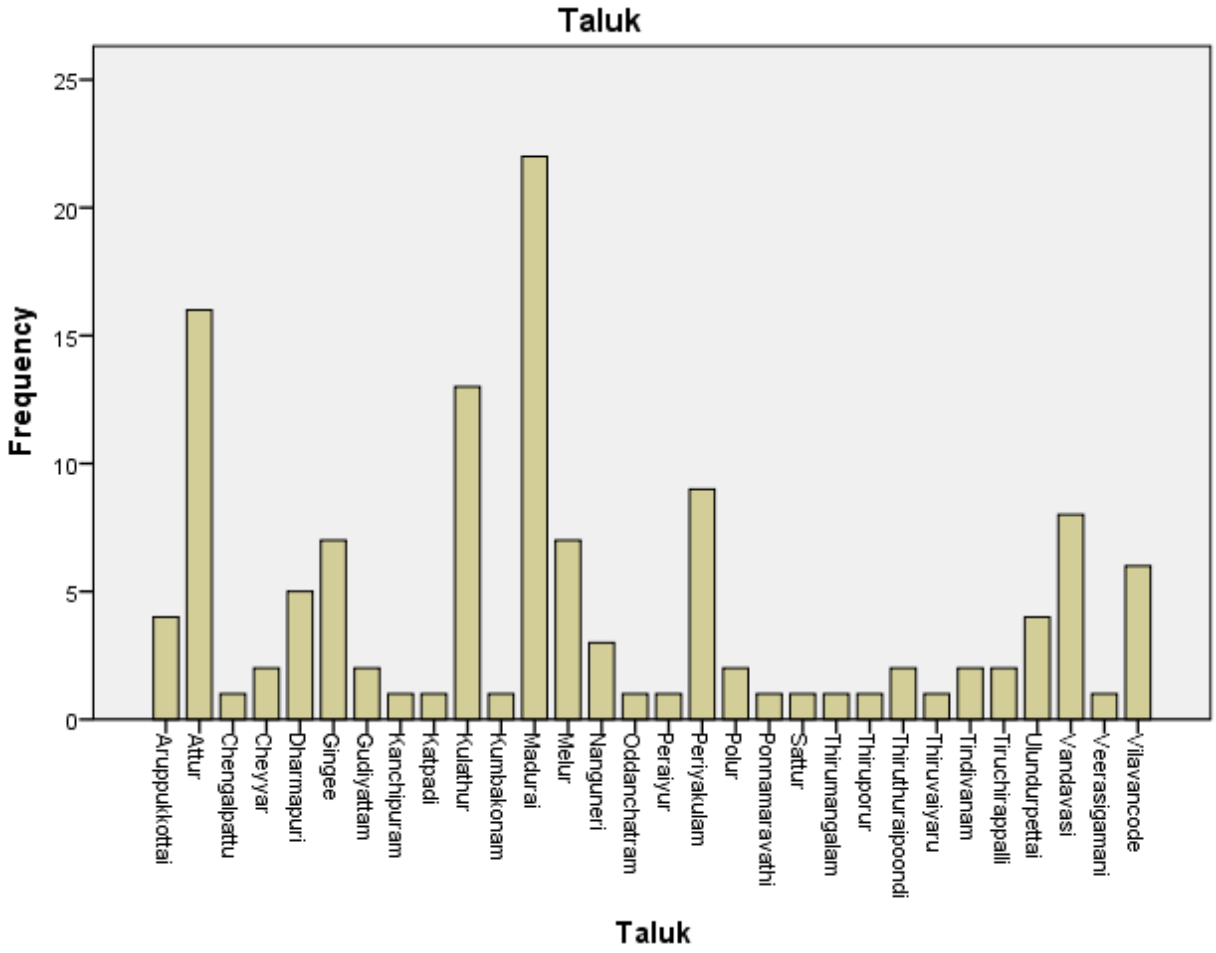


Figure B.62 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Taluk

Table B.61 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by District

District

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Dharmapuri	5	3.9	3.9	3.9
	Dindigul	17	13.3	13.3	17.2
	Kancheepuram	3	2.3	2.3	19.5
	Kanniyakumari	6	4.7	4.7	24.2
	Madurai	40	31.3	31.3	55.5
	Pudukkottai	14	10.9	10.9	66.4
	Sankarankoil	1	.8	.8	67.2
	Thanjavur	2	1.6	1.6	68.8
	Thiruvannamalai	2	1.6	1.6	70.3
	Thiruvarur	2	1.6	1.6	71.9
	Tiruchirappalli	2	1.6	1.6	73.4
	Tirunelveli	3	2.3	2.3	75.8
	Tiruvannamalai	10	7.8	7.8	83.6
	Vellore	3	2.3	2.3	85.9
	Villupuram	9	7.0	7.0	93.0
	Viluppuram	4	3.1	3.1	96.1
	Virudhunagar	5	3.9	3.9	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

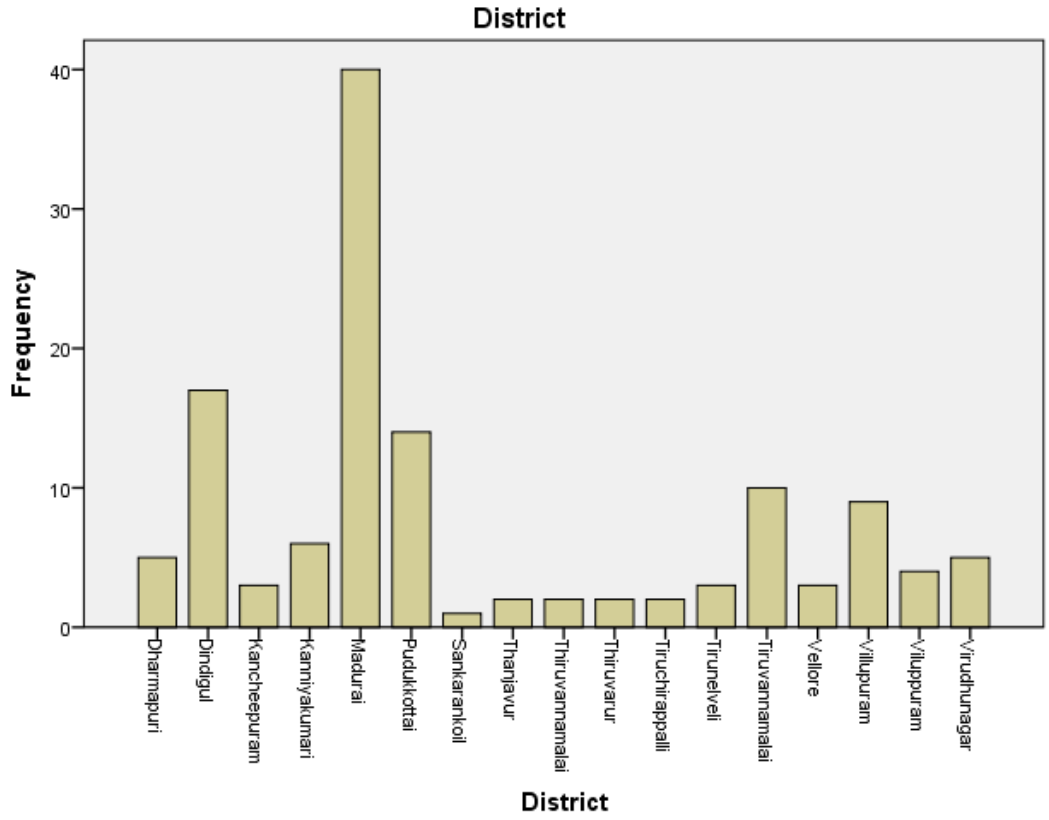


Figure B.63 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by District

Table B.62 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Context

Context

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	bed	4	3.1	3.1	3.1
	cave	2	1.6	1.6	4.7
	cave-natural	14	10.9	10.9	15.6
	cave-temple	1	.8	.8	16.4
	copper plate	2	1.6	1.6	18.0
	image-above	1	.8	.8	18.8
	image-below	42	32.8	32.8	51.6
	rock	38	29.7	29.7	81.3
	rock-river	1	.8	.8	82.0
	Siva Temple	1	.8	.8	82.8
	slab	4	3.1	3.1	85.9
	slab-tank	2	1.6	1.6	87.5
	stone	1	.8	.8	88.3
	temple	4	3.1	3.1	91.4
	temple-pillar	7	5.5	5.5	96.9
	temple-wall	4	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

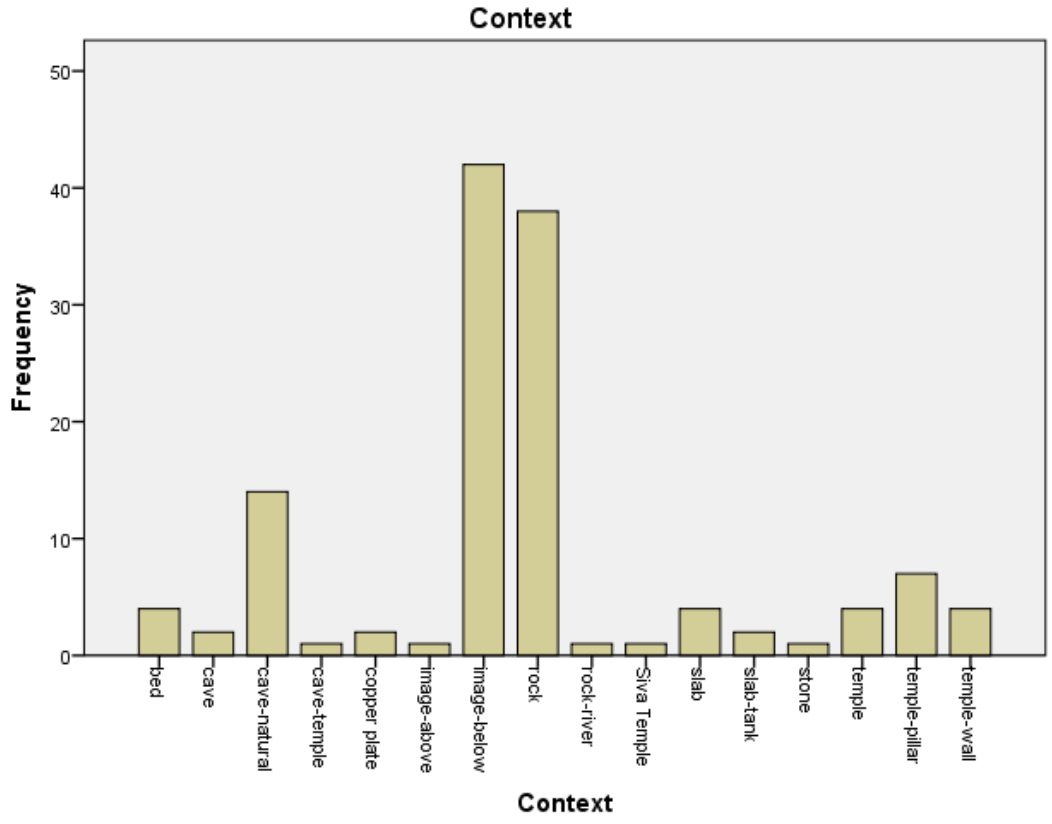


Figure B.64 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Context

Table B.63 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Context Type

ContextType

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	copper plate	2	1.6	1.6	1.6
	image	56	43.8	43.8	45.3
	monastic	21	16.4	16.4	61.7
	river	1	.8	.8	62.5
	rock-unspecified	1	.8	.8	63.3
	tank	2	1.6	1.6	64.8
	temple	41	32.0	32.0	96.9
	village	4	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

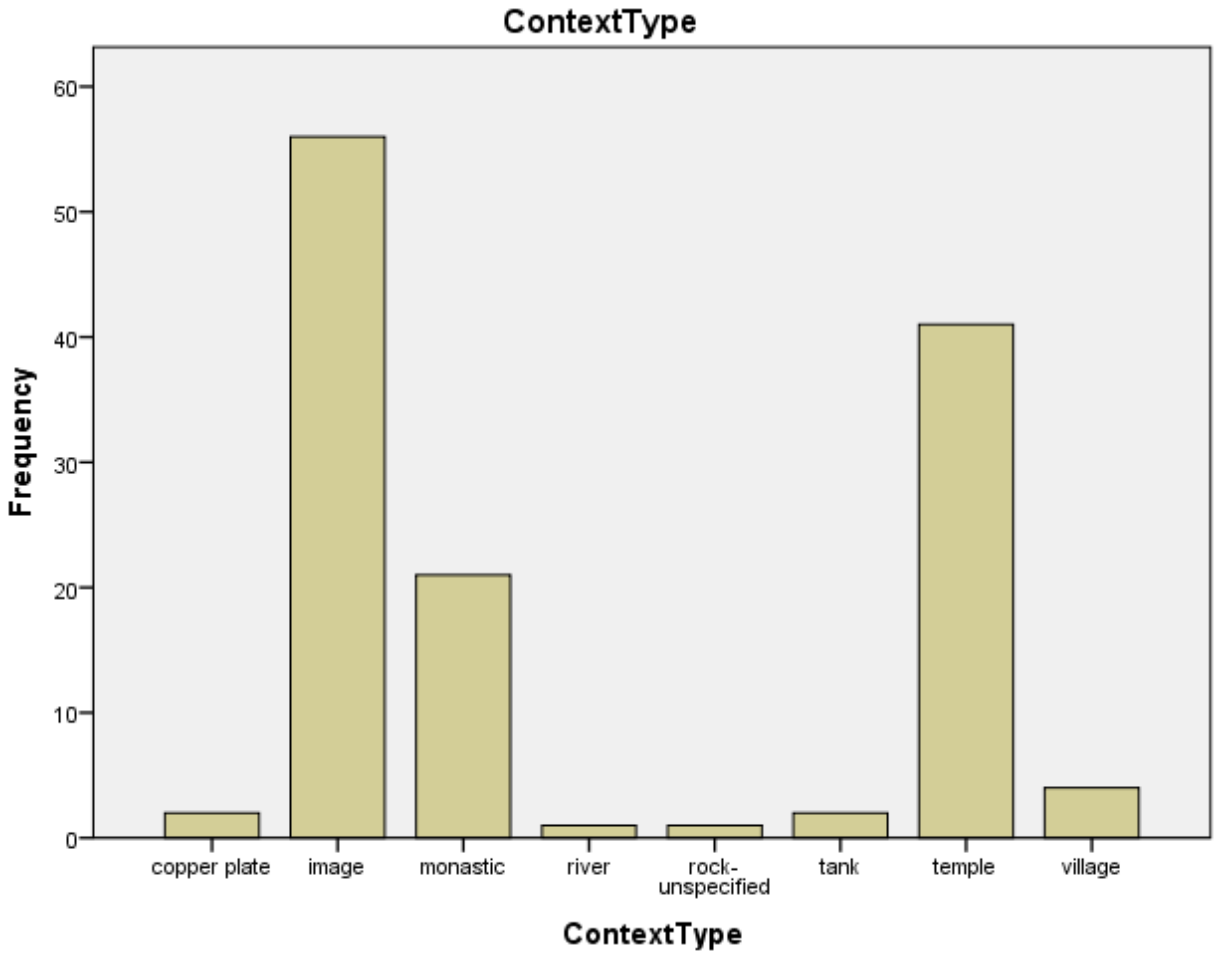


Figure B.65 Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Context Type

Table B.64 Dynastic Affiliations Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Dynasty

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	-	58	45.3	45.3	45.3
	Ay	2	1.6	1.6	46.9
	Chola	5	3.9	3.9	50.8
	Irukkuvel	1	.8	.8	51.6
	Nolamba-Pallava	5	3.9	3.9	55.5
	Pallava	17	13.3	13.3	68.8
	Pandya	37	28.9	28.9	97.7
	Western Ganga	3	2.3	2.3	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

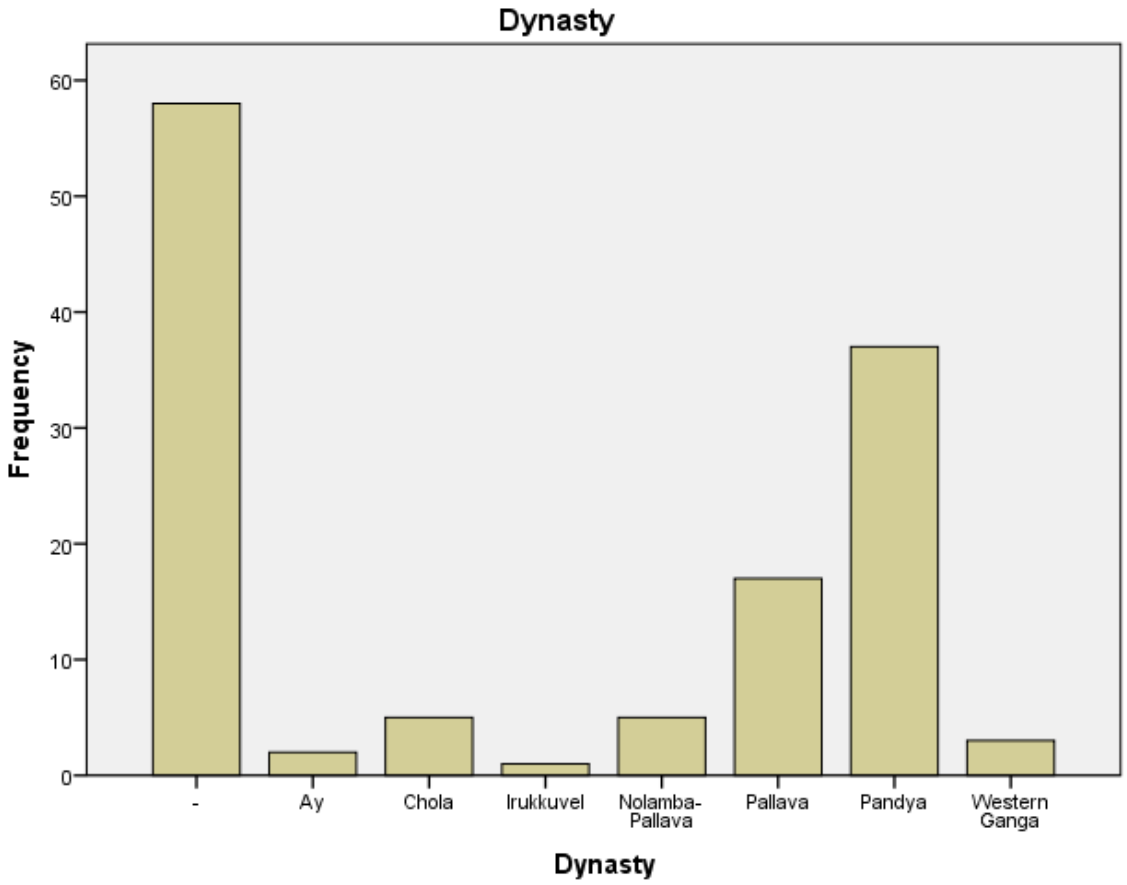


Figure B.66 Dynastic Affiliations Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Table B.65 Named Kings in Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

King		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Name	-	89	69.5	69.5	69.5
	Aditya I	1	.8	.8	70.3
	Avanipasekhara Srivallabha	2	1.6	1.6	71.9
	Kampavarman	1	.8	.8	72.7
	Mahendradhiraja	3	2.3	2.3	75.0
	Mahendraraja	2	1.6	1.6	76.6
	Maranjadaiyan	3	2.3	2.3	78.9
	Nandipottarasar	1	.8	.8	79.7
	Nandivarman II	7	5.5	5.5	85.2
	Nandivarman III	3	2.3	2.3	87.5
	Narasingapottaraiyar	1	.8	.8	88.3
	Queen Kadavarkonpavai	1	.8	.8	89.1
	Rajakesarivarman	2	1.6	1.6	90.6
	Rajamalla II	3	2.3	2.3	93.0
	Sadaiyamaran Srivallabha	2	1.6	1.6	94.5
	Simhvarman	2	1.6	1.6	96.1
	Tribhuvanachakravarti Konerinmaikondan	1	.8	.8	96.9
	Varagnua II	2	1.6	1.6	98.4
	Vikramaditya Varuguna	2	1.6	1.6	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

Table B.66 Chronological Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

IndefDate		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Century	5	2	1.6	1.6	1.6
	6	2	1.6	1.6	3.1
	7	5	3.9	3.9	7.0
	8	23	18.0	18.0	25.0
	9	91	71.1	71.1	96.1
	10	5	3.9	3.9	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

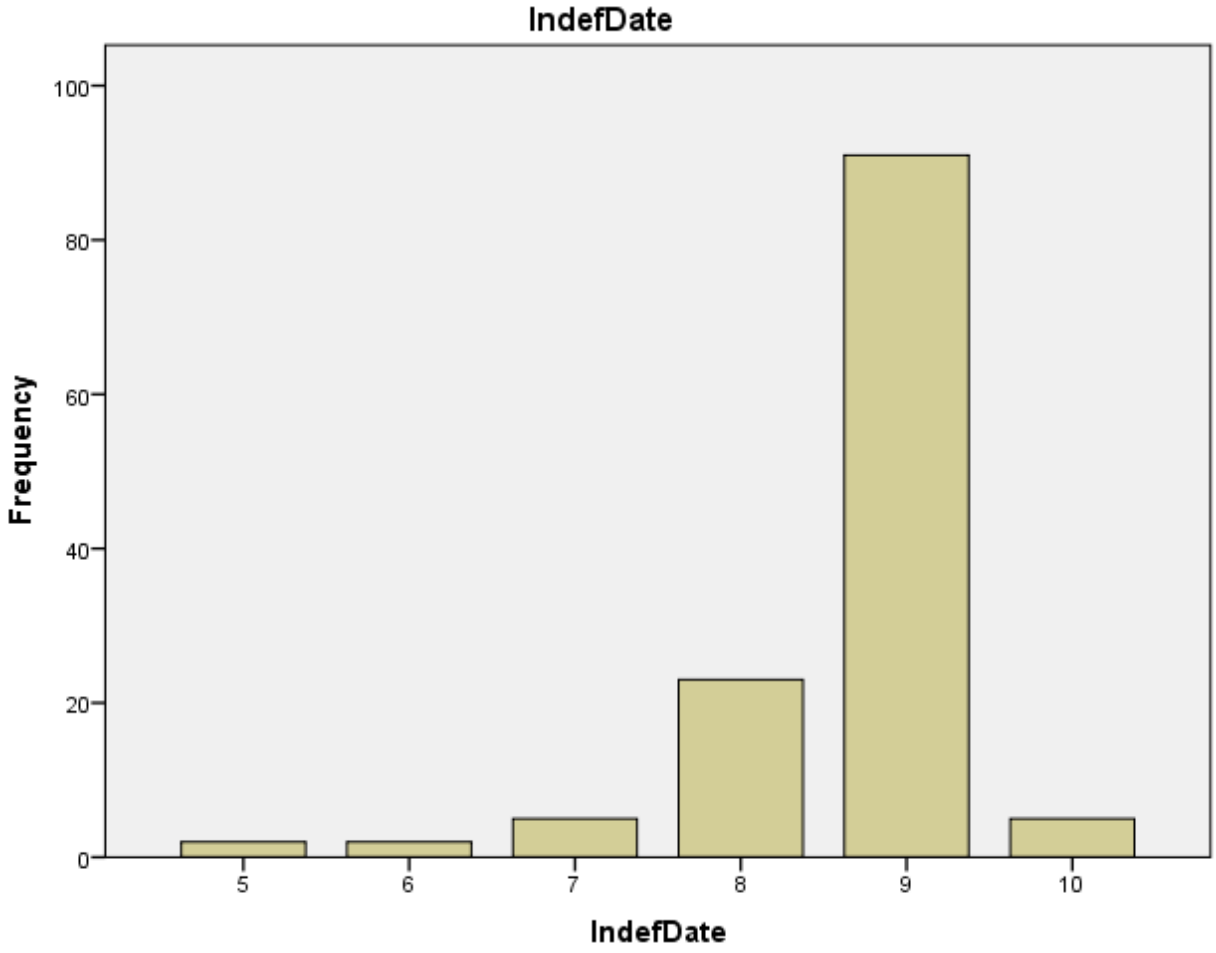


Figure B.67 Chronological Distribution of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Table B.67 Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Language

		Language			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Language	Kanarese	4	3.1	3.1	3.1
	Sanskrit	7	5.5	5.5	8.6
	Tamil	117	91.4	91.4	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

Table B.68 Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Script

Script

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Script	Brahmi	1	.8	.8	.8
	Grantha	7	5.5	5.5	6.3
	Grantha-Vatteluttu	1	.8	.8	7.0
	Kanarese	5	3.9	3.9	10.9
	Tamil	41	32.0	32.0	43.0
	Telegu-Kannada	1	.8	.8	43.8
	Vatteluttu	72	56.3	56.3	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

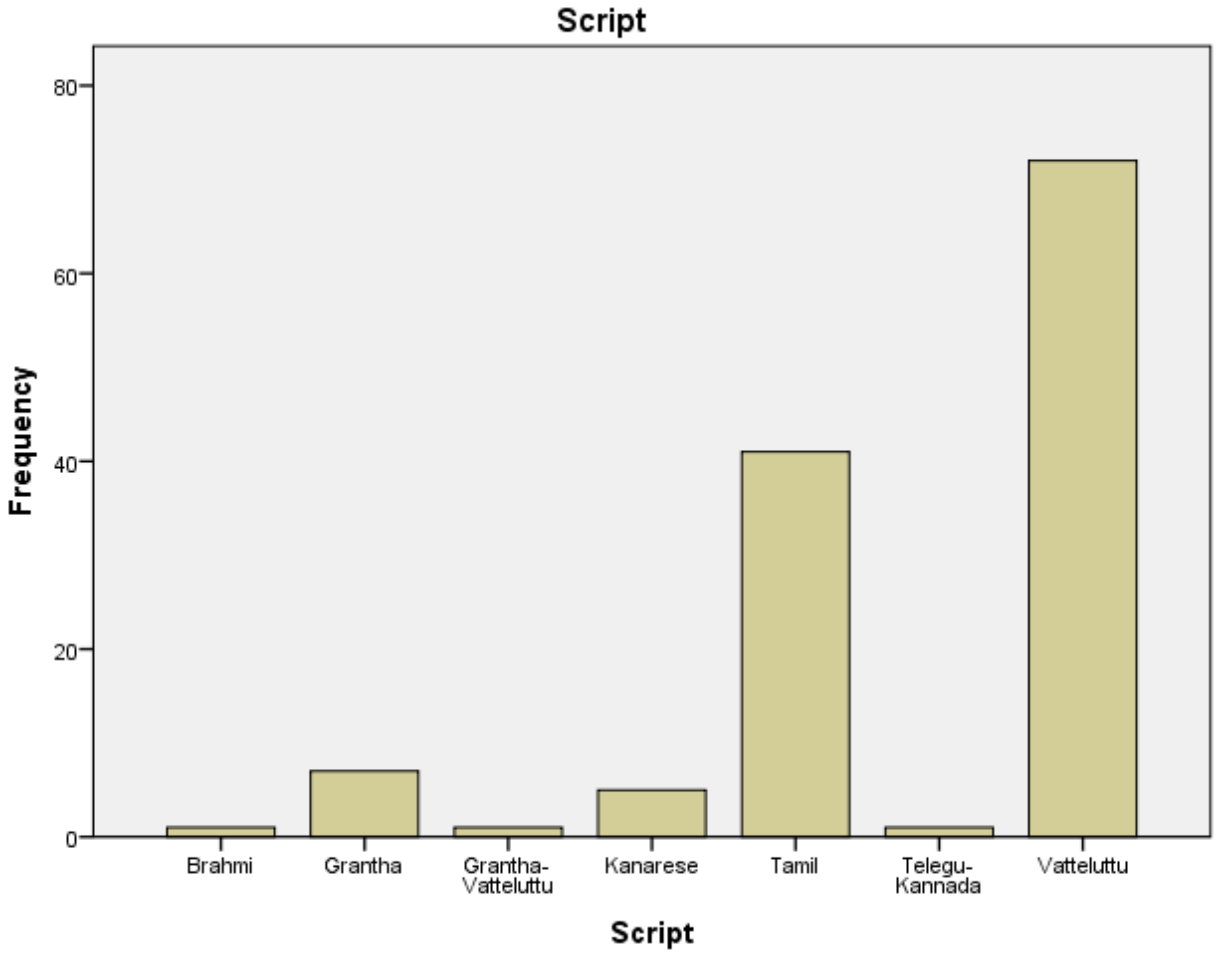


Figure B.68 Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Script

Table B.69 Frequency of Donations in Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Donation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	?	23	18.0	18.0	18.0
	N	14	10.9	10.9	28.9
	Y	91	71.1	71.1	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

Table B.70 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Dobject

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		37	28.9	28.9	28.9
	endowment	1	.8	.8	29.7
	garden	1	.8	.8	30.5
	gift	4	3.1	3.1	33.6
	gold	11	8.6	8.6	42.2
	image	43	33.6	33.6	75.8
	land	8	6.3	6.3	82.0
	mandapa	1	.8	.8	82.8
	money	1	.8	.8	83.6
	paddy	2	1.6	1.6	85.2
	renovation	1	.8	.8	85.9
	rice	1	.8	.8	86.7
	sheep	5	3.9	3.9	90.6
	shrine	4	3.1	3.1	93.8
	sluice	1	.8	.8	94.5
	temple	6	4.7	4.7	99.2
	village	1	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

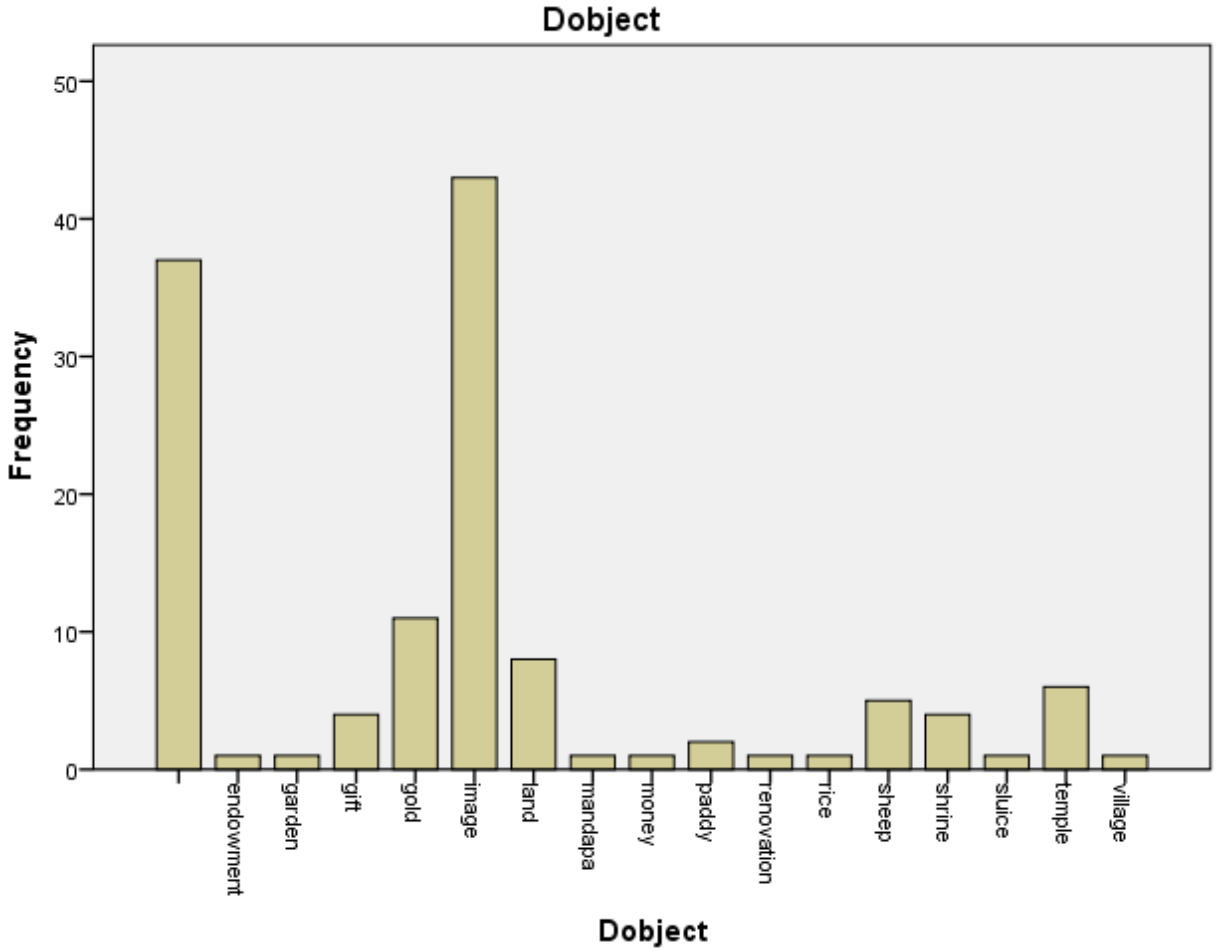


Figure B.69 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Table B.71 Purposed of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Dpurpose

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		37	28.9	28.9	28.9
	communal	2	1.6	1.6	30.5
	monastic	8	6.3	6.3	36.7
	temple	21	16.4	16.4	53.1
	worship	60	46.9	46.9	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

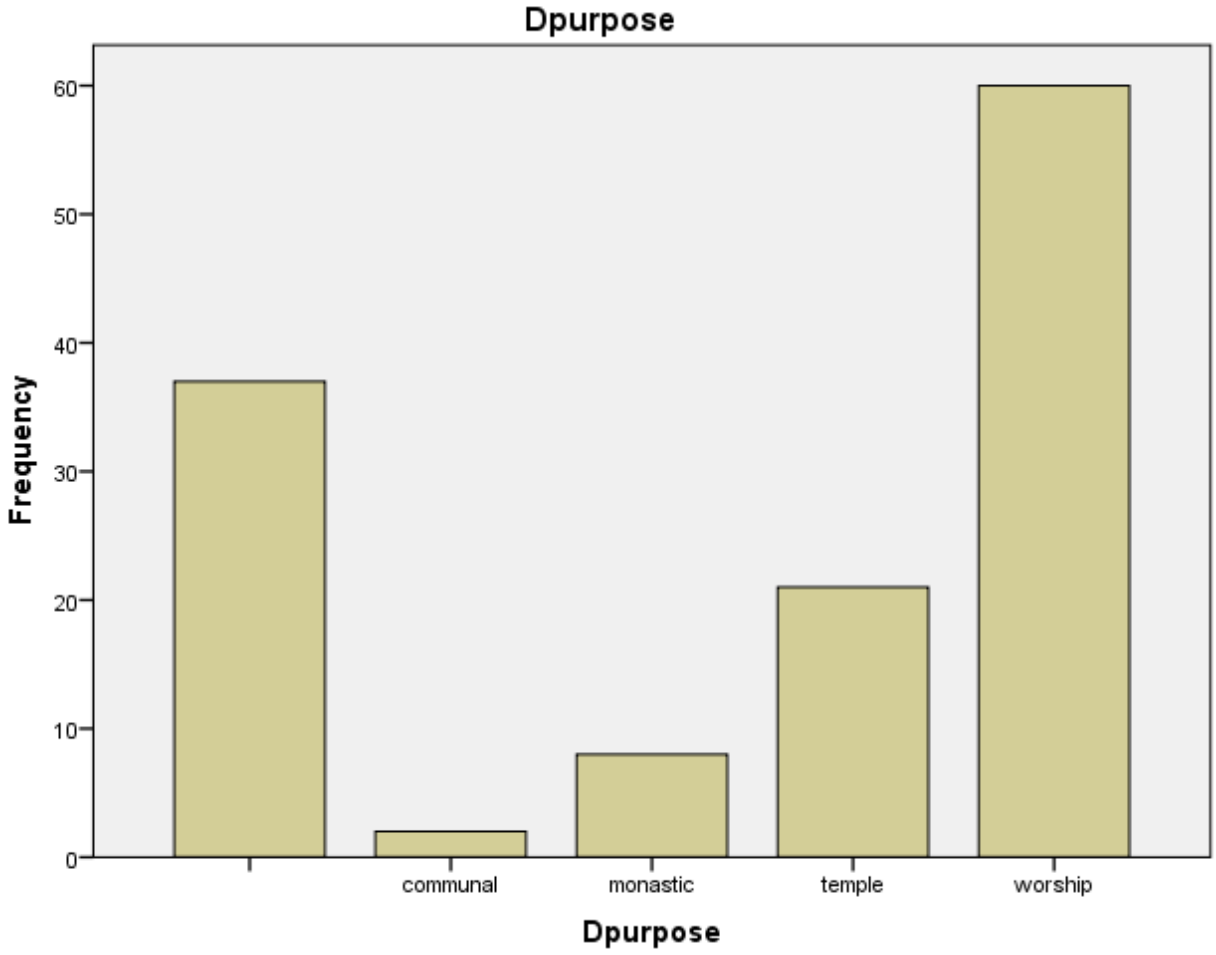


Figure B.70 Purposed of Donated Objects in Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Table B.72 Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Category of Donor

DTypeCategory

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		49	38.3	38.3	38.3
	Corporate	2	1.6	1.6	39.8
	Elite	11	8.6	8.6	48.4
	Family	8	6.3	6.3	54.7
	Merchant	2	1.6	1.6	56.3
	Other	2	1.6	1.6	57.8
	Religious	25	19.5	19.5	77.3
	Unknown	29	22.7	22.7	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

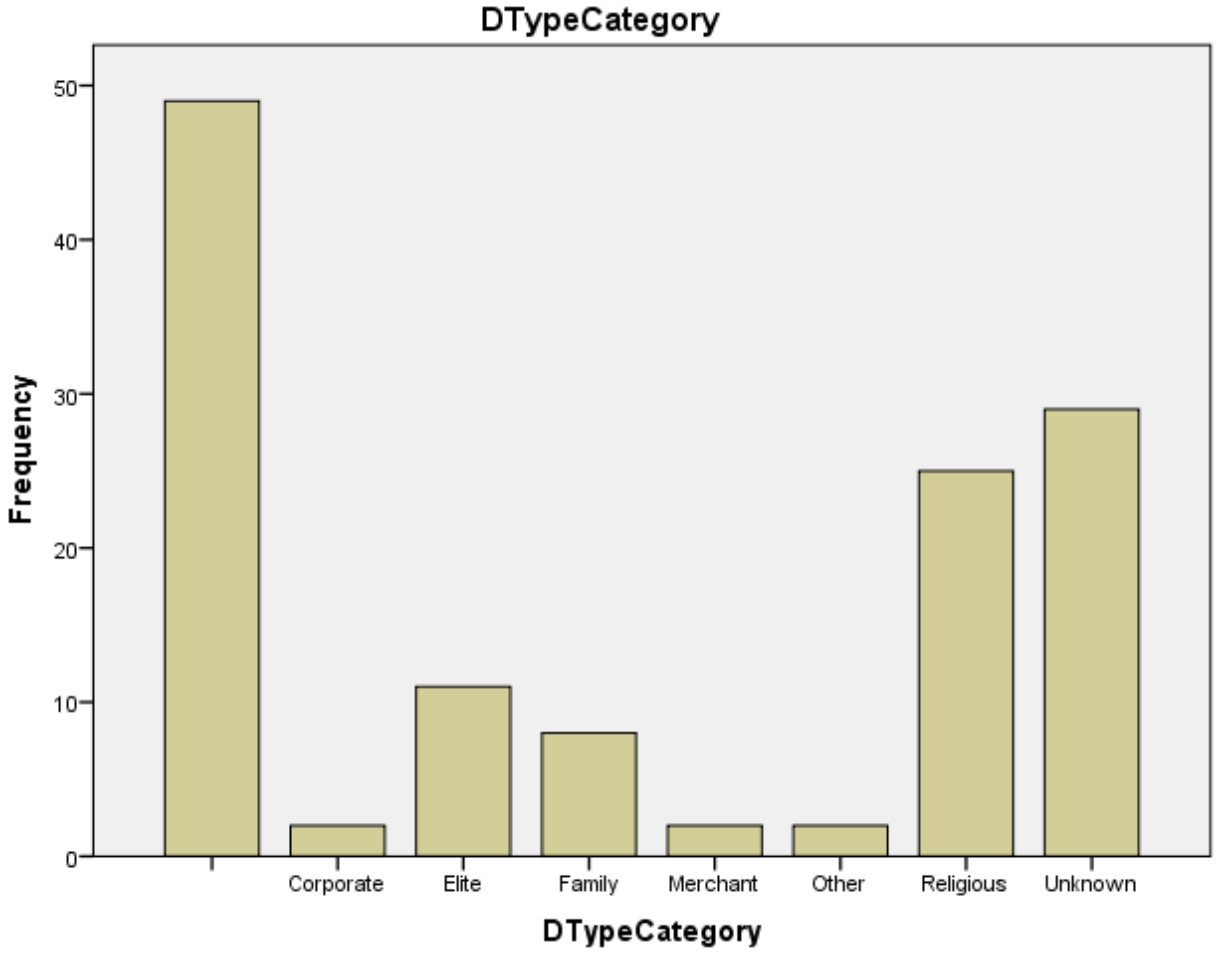


Figure B.71 Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Category of Donor

Table B.73 Frequency of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Sex/Gender

DSex

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	49	38.3	38.3	38.3
F	12	9.4	9.4	47.7
M	63	49.2	49.2	96.9
U	4	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	128	100.0	100.0	

0= incomplete or no donor; F= female, M=male, U=name but uncertain gender

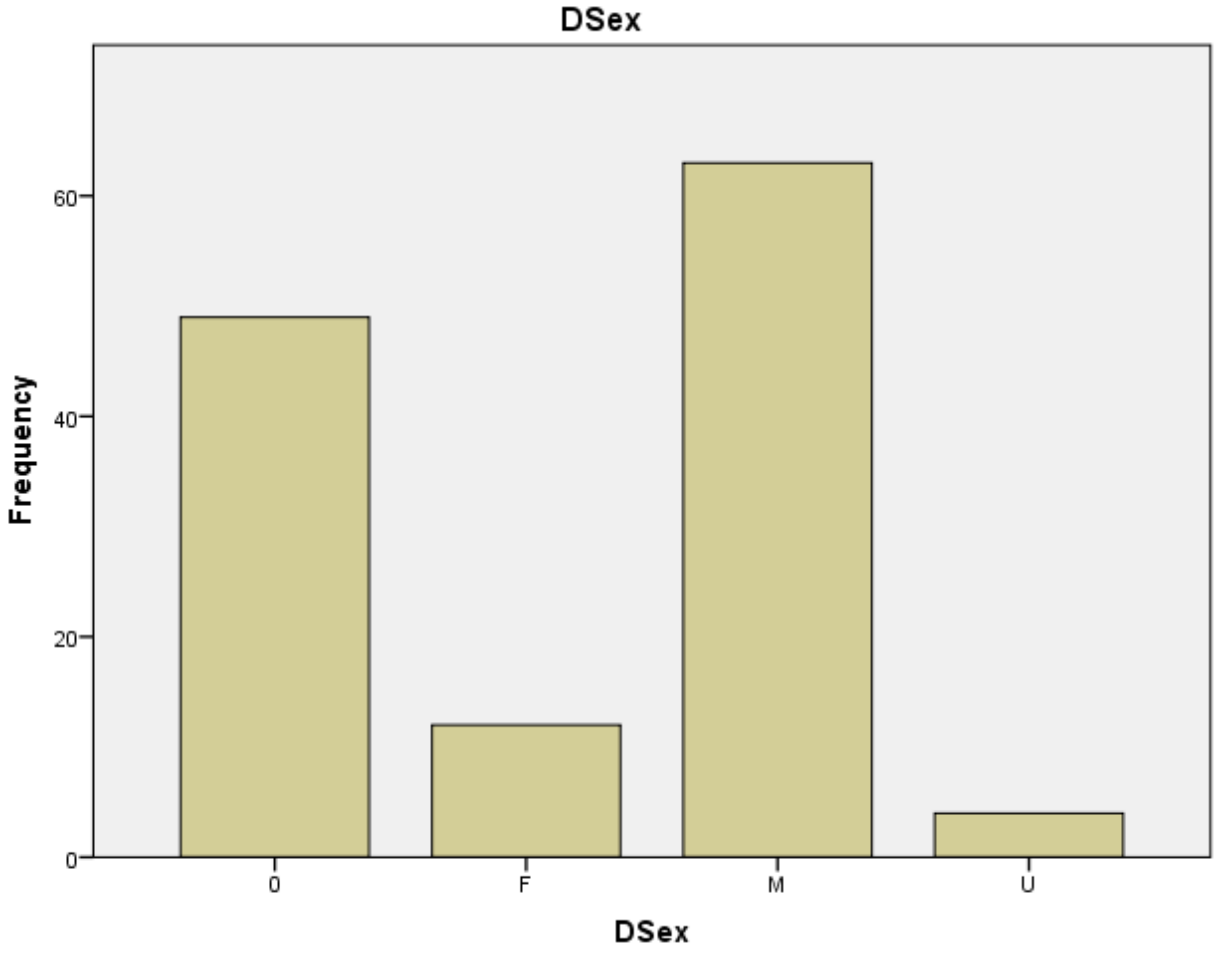


Figure B.72 Frequency of Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Sex/Gender

Table B.74 Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Type of Recipient

Rtype

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		61	47.7	47.7	47.7
	ascetic	2	1.6	1.6	49.2
	cbd	5	3.9	3.9	53.1
	god	3	2.3	2.3	55.5
	monastic	21	16.4	16.4	71.9
	temple	35	27.3	27.3	99.2
	temple/monastic	1	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

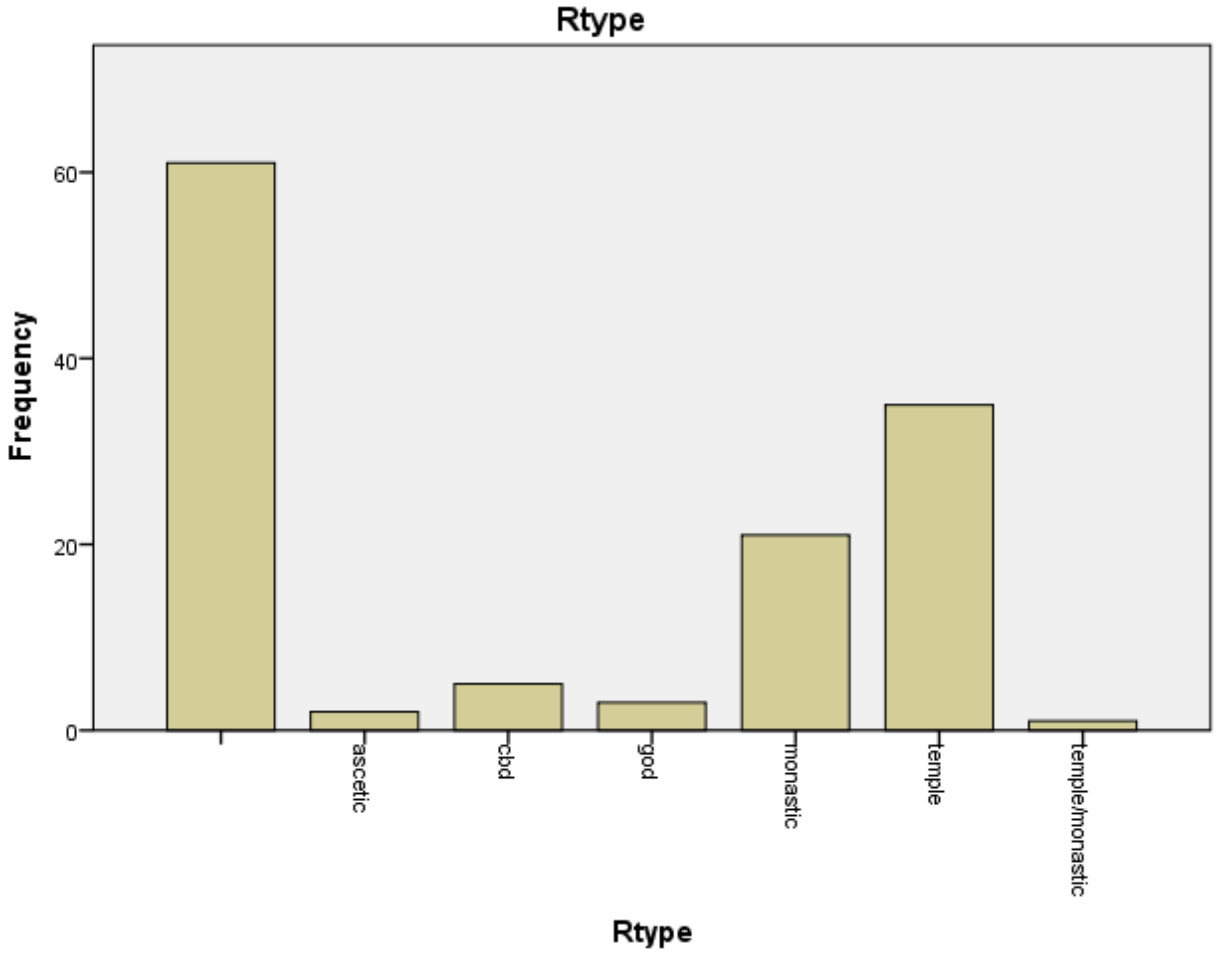


Figure B.73 Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Type of Recipient

Table B.75 Transfer of Merit in Jain Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

		Merit			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Merit	N	121	94.5	94.5	94.5
	Y	7	5.5	5.5	100.0
	Total	128	100.0	100.0	

VAṬṬEḻUTTU INSCRIPTIONS EXCLUDING KAḻUGUMALAI
INDIVIDUAL COUNT (N=72)

Table B.76 Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Village

		Village			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Aiyyampalayam	16	22.2	22.2	22.2
	Alagarmalai	1	1.4	1.4	23.6
	Anaimalai	8	11.1	11.1	34.7
	Arittapatti	1	1.4	1.4	36.1
	Chitaral	5	6.9	6.9	43.1
	Devattur	1	1.4	1.4	44.4
	Erukkankudi	1	1.4	1.4	45.8
	Eruvadi	3	4.2	4.2	50.0
	Karungalakkudi	2	2.8	2.8	52.8
	Kilakkudi	4	5.6	5.6	58.3
	Kilakuyilkudi	2	2.8	2.8	61.1
	Kilavalavu	3	4.2	4.2	65.3
	Konkarpuliyankulam	1	1.4	1.4	66.7
	Kuppalanattam	1	1.4	1.4	68.1
	Muttuppatti	2	2.8	2.8	70.8
	Pallimadam	4	5.6	5.6	76.4
	Paraiyanpattu	1	1.4	1.4	77.8
	Pechchipallam	6	8.3	8.3	86.1
	Uttamapalayam	9	12.5	12.5	98.6
	Virasikhamani	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

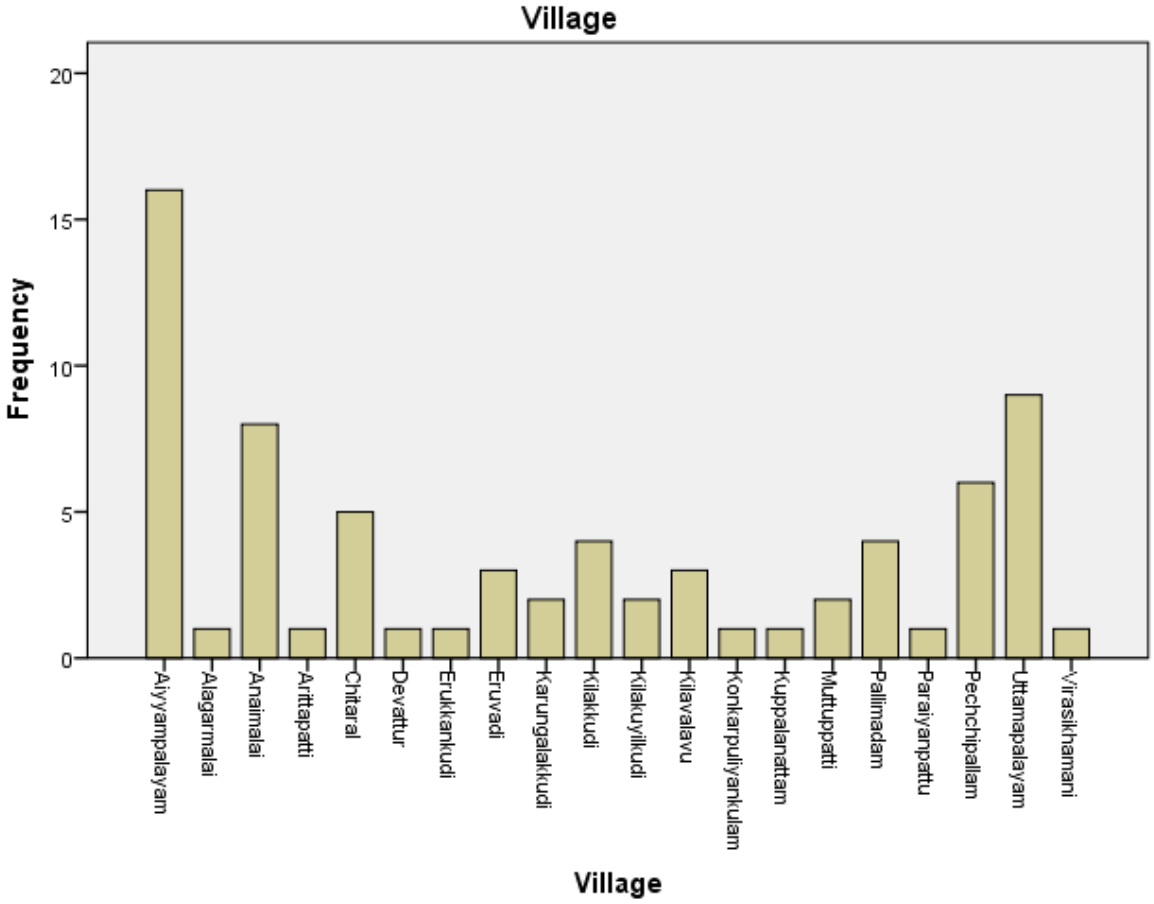


Figure B.74 Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Village

Table B.77 Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Taluk

	Taluk	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Aruppukkottai	4	5.6	5.6	5.6
	Attur	16	22.2	22.2	27.8
	Gingee	1	1.4	1.4	29.2
	Madurai	22	30.6	30.6	59.7
	Melur	7	9.7	9.7	69.4
	Nanguneri	3	4.2	4.2	73.6
	Oddanchatram	1	1.4	1.4	75.0
	Peraiyur	1	1.4	1.4	76.4
	Periyakulam	9	12.5	12.5	88.9
	Sattur	1	1.4	1.4	90.3
	Thirumangalam	1	1.4	1.4	91.7
	Veerasigamani	1	1.4	1.4	93.1
	Vilavancode	5	6.9	6.9	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

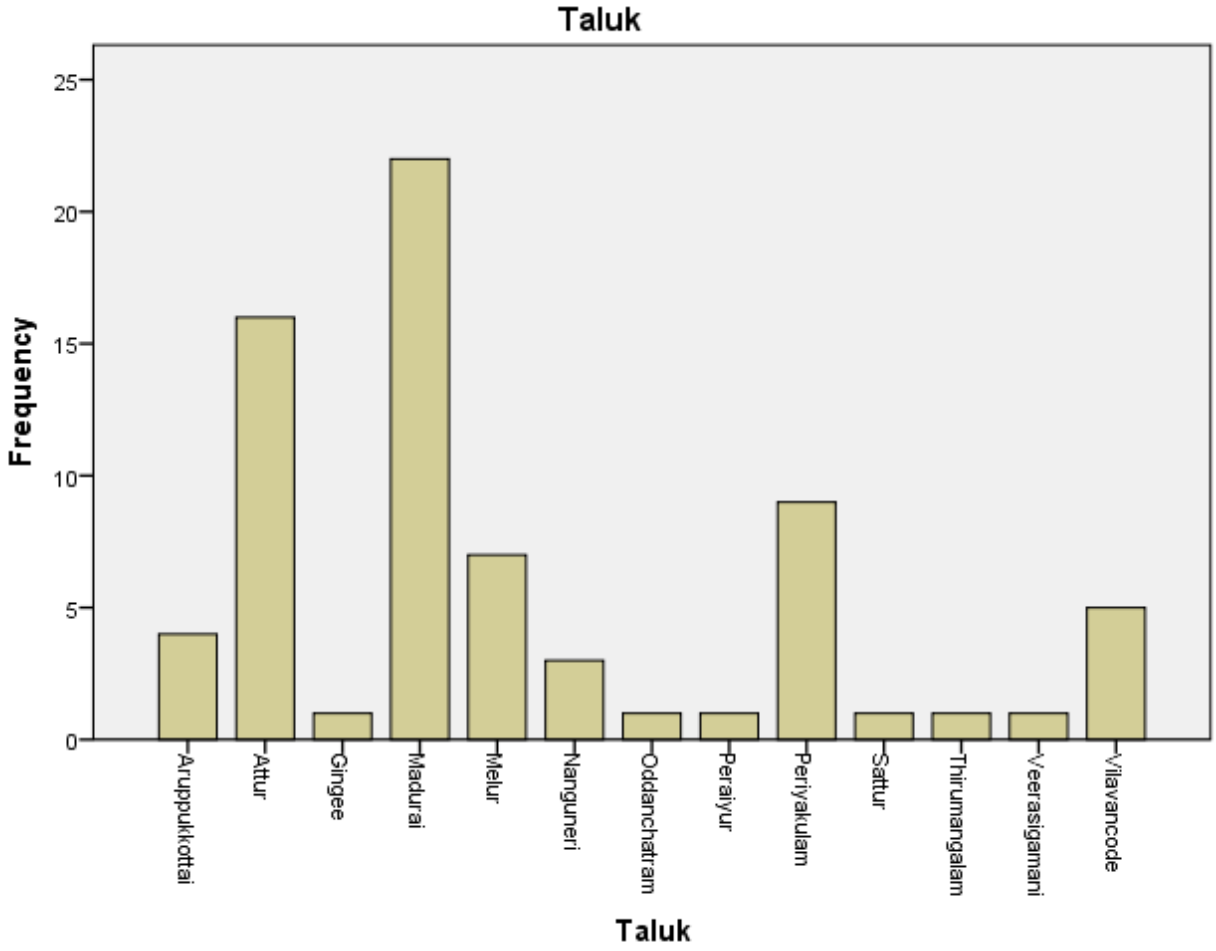


Figure B.75 Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Taluk

Table B.78 Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by District

	District	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Dindigul	17	23.6	23.6	23.6
	Kanniyakumari	5	6.9	6.9	30.6
	Madurai	40	55.6	55.6	86.1
	Sankarankoil	1	1.4	1.4	87.5
	Tirunelveli	3	4.2	4.2	91.7
	Villupuram	1	1.4	1.4	93.1
	Virudhunagar	5	6.9	6.9	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

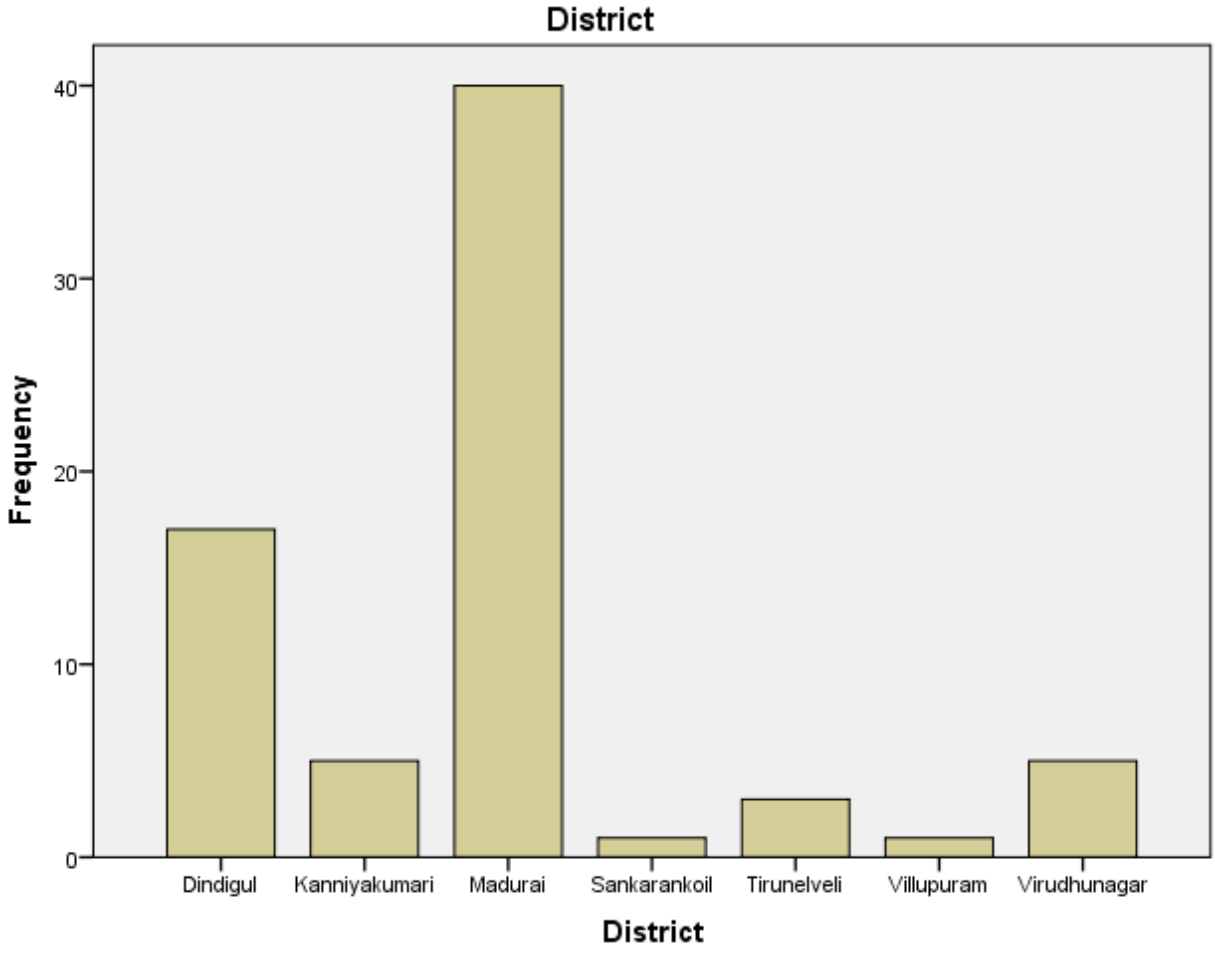


Figure B.76 Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by District

Table B.79 Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Context

Context

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	bed	2	2.8	2.8	2.8
	cave-natural	8	11.1	11.1	13.9
	image-above	1	1.4	1.4	15.3
	image-below	41	56.9	56.9	72.2
	rock	15	20.8	20.8	93.1
	slab-tank	1	1.4	1.4	94.4
	temple	3	4.2	4.2	98.6
	temple-wall	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

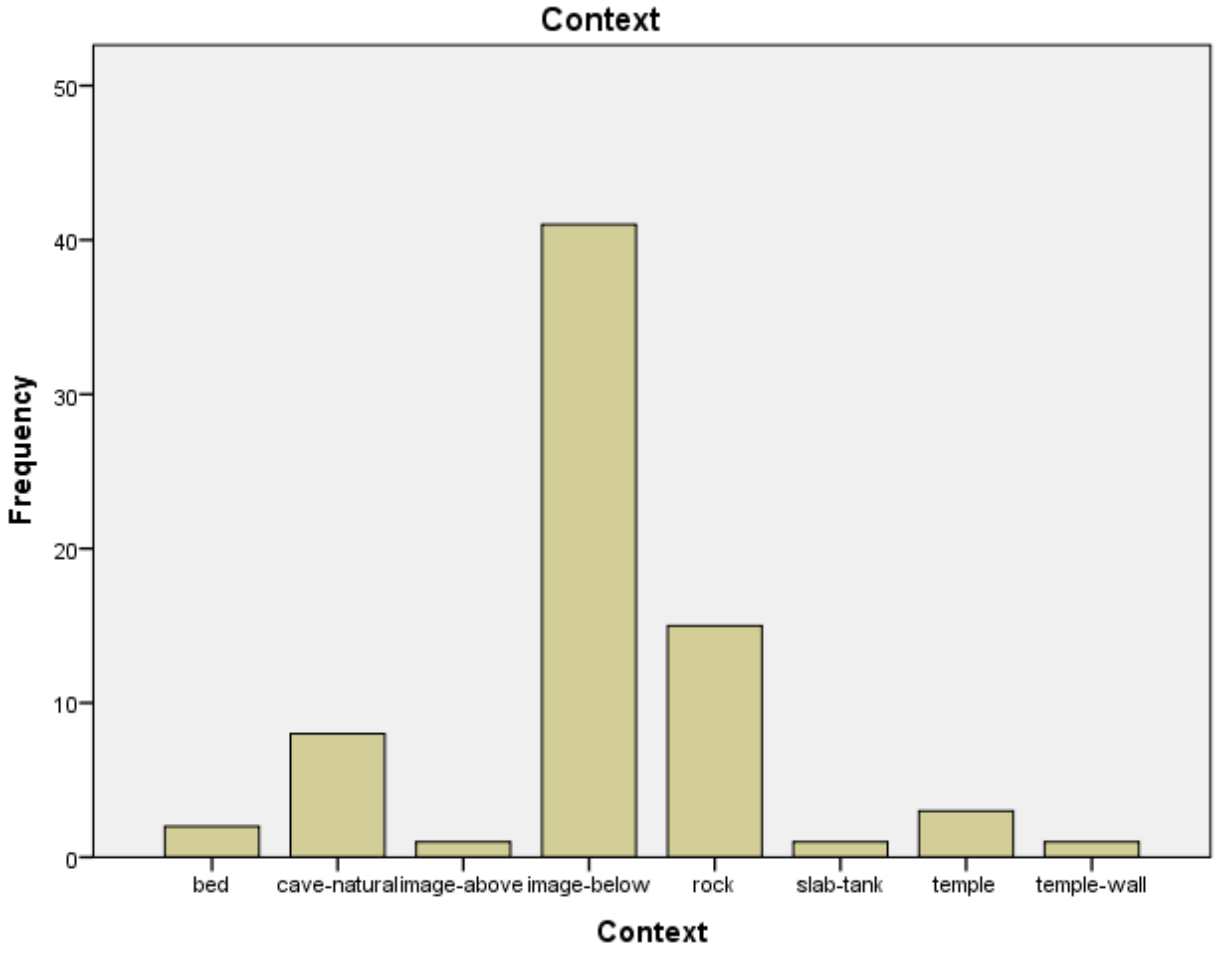


Figure B.77 Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Context

Table B.80 Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Context Type

ContextType

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	image	52	72.2	72.2	72.2
	monastic	10	13.9	13.9	86.1
	tank	1	1.4	1.4	87.5
	temple	7	9.7	9.7	97.2
	village	2	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

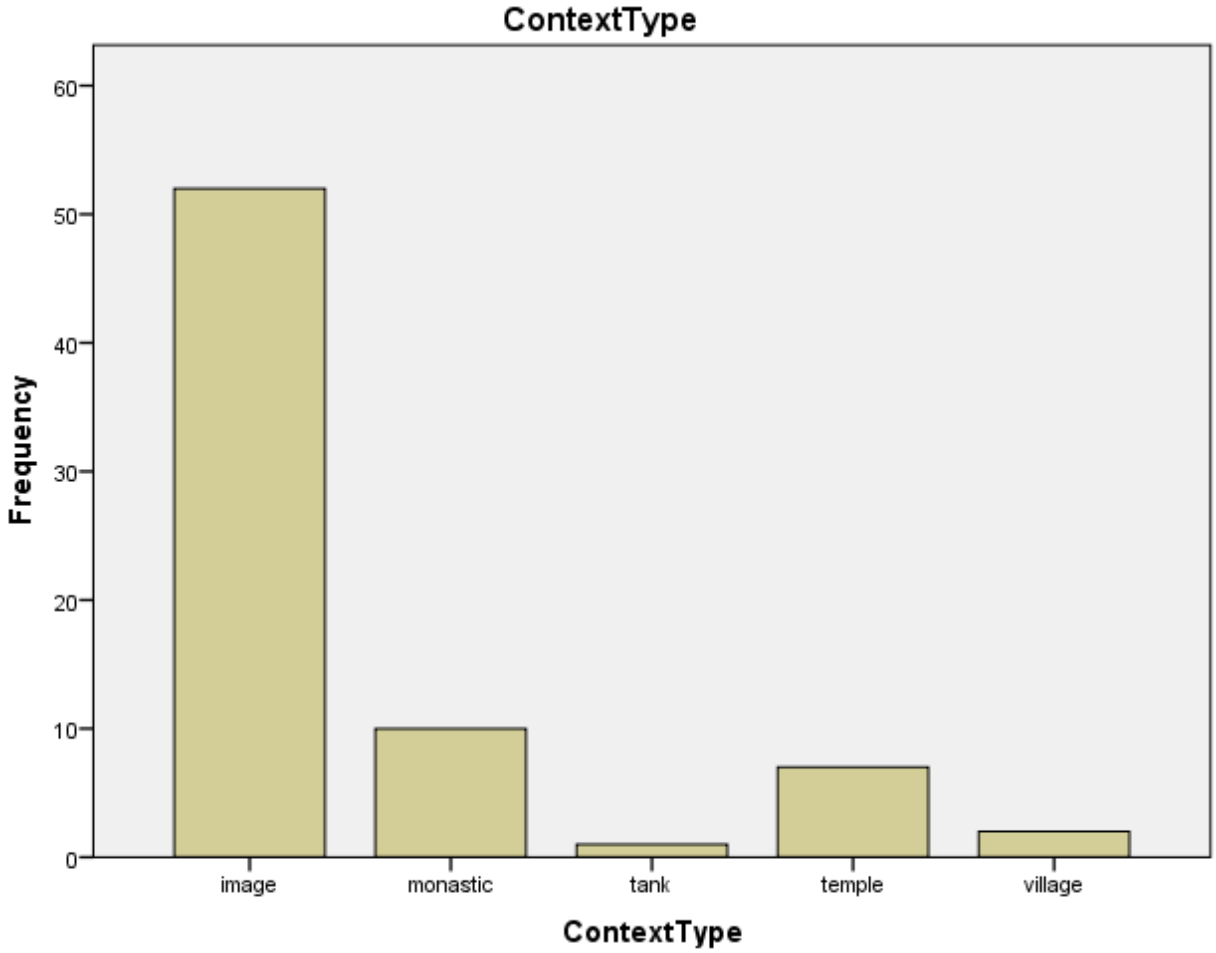


Figure B.78 Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeluttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Context Type

Table B.81 Dynastic Affiliations of Jain Vaṭṭeluttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

	Dynasty	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	-	36	50.0	50.0	50.0
	Ay	1	1.4	1.4	51.4
	Pandya	35	48.6	48.6	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

Table B.82 Named Kings in Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

King		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	-	64	88.9	88.9	88.9
	Maranjadaiyan	3	4.2	4.2	93.1
	Sadaiyamaran Srivallabha	2	2.8	2.8	95.8
	Varagnua II	2	2.8	2.8	98.6
	Vikramaditya Varuguna	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

Table B.83 Chronological Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

IndefDate		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	5	1	1.4	1.4	1.4
	7	1	1.4	1.4	2.8
	8	6	8.3	8.3	11.1
	9	59	81.9	81.9	93.1
	10	5	6.9	6.9	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

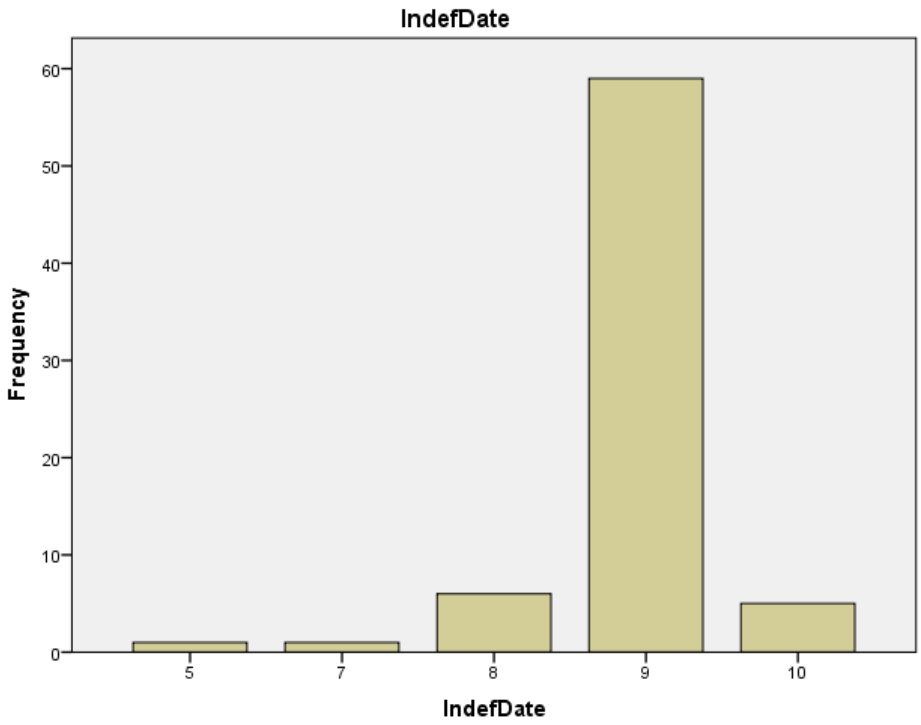


Figure B.79 Chronological Distribution of Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Table B.84 Frequency of Donations in Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Donation		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Donation	?	10	13.9	13.9	13.9
	N	6	8.3	8.3	22.2
	Y	56	77.8	77.8	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

Table B.85 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Dobject		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		16	22.2	22.2	22.2
	gift	1	1.4	1.4	23.6
	gold	6	8.3	8.3	31.9
	image	41	56.9	56.9	88.9
	land	1	1.4	1.4	90.3
	paddy	1	1.4	1.4	91.7
	sheep	5	6.9	6.9	98.6
	temple	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

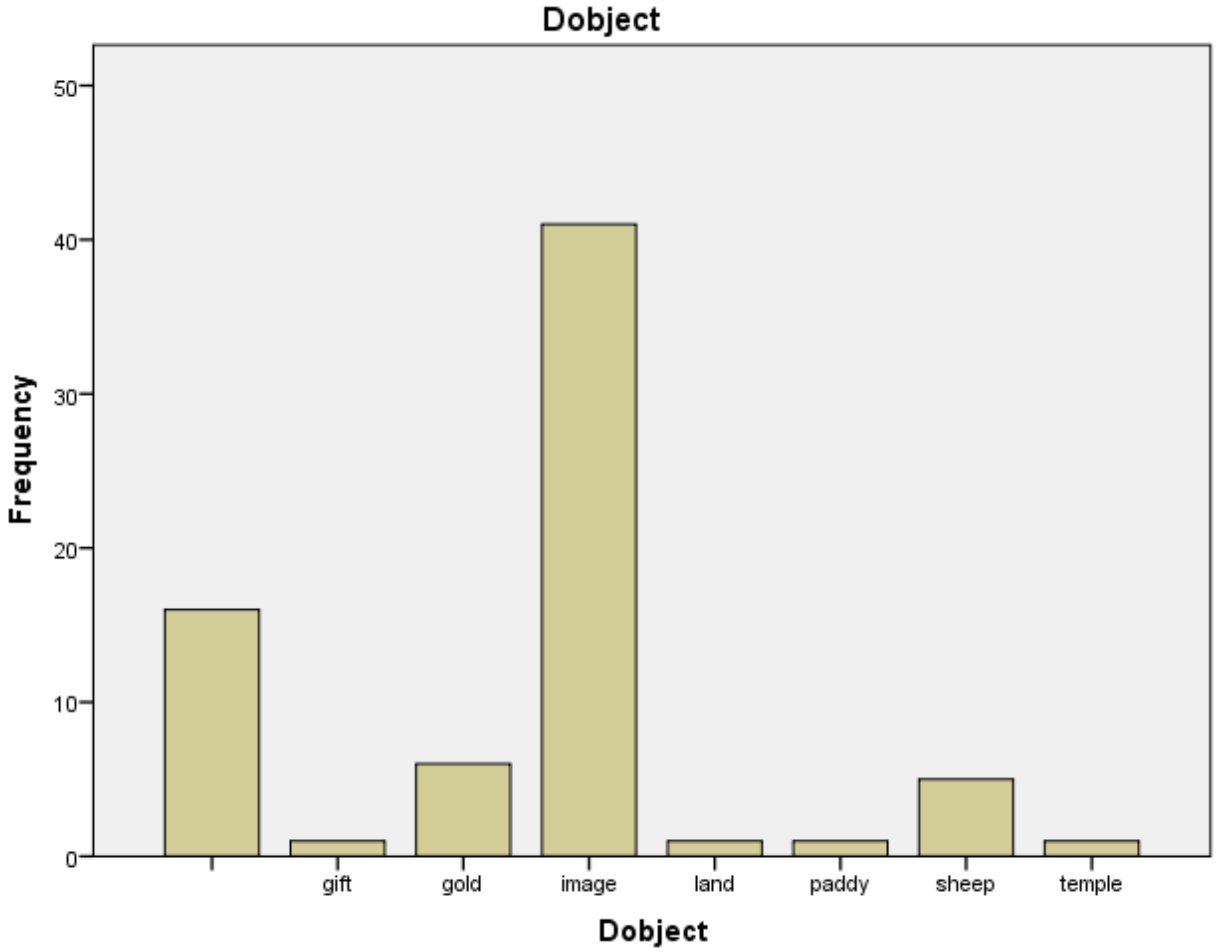


Figure B.80 Frequency of Donated Objects in Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Table B.86 Purposes of Donated Objects in Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Dpurpose

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		16	22.2	22.2	22.2
	monastic	2	2.8	2.8	25.0
	temple	2	2.8	2.8	27.8
	worship	52	72.2	72.2	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

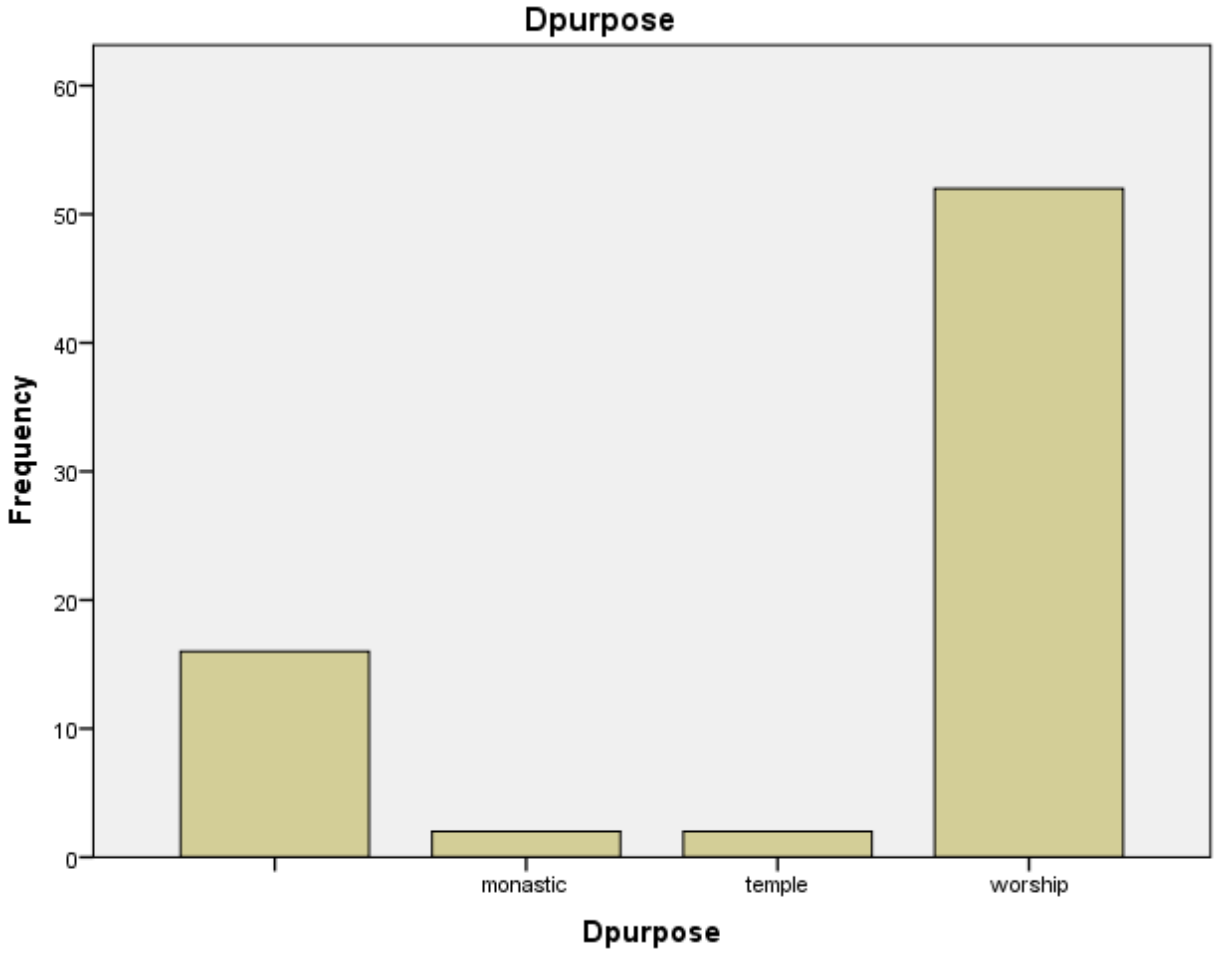


Figure B.81 Purposes of Donated Objects in Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Table B.87 Named Donors in Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Donor		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		23	31.9	31.9	31.9
	…tuṅka Pallavaraiyar	1	1.4	1.4	33.3
	Abinandan-bhatara	1	1.4	1.4	34.7
	Ajjanandi	5	6.9	6.9	41.7
	Ajjananti	1	1.4	1.4	43.1
	Anantaviraadigal	1	1.4	1.4	44.4
	Araiyangavadi	1	1.4	1.4	45.8
	Arishtanemiperiyar	1	1.4	1.4	47.2
	Avvanantikkurattiyār, disciple of Paṭṭinikkurattiyār of Perumbattiyūr	1	1.4	1.4	48.6
	Cheduliya-pandi	1	1.4	1.4	50.0
	disciple	1	1.4	1.4	51.4
	Enadi Nadi	1	1.4	1.4	52.8
	Ettisattan	1	1.4	1.4	54.2
	Eviyampudi	1	1.4	1.4	55.6
	Gunamatiyar	1	1.4	1.4	56.9
	Gunantangi-Kurattikal	1	1.4	1.4	58.3
	Gunasenapperiyadigal	1	1.4	1.4	59.7
	Indraśēna	1	1.4	1.4	61.1
	Irambattuvelan-Sattan	1	1.4	1.4	62.5
	Kanakanandipperiyar	1	1.4	1.4	63.9
	Kanakavira Periyadigal	1	1.4	1.4	65.3
	Kandanporpattan	1	1.4	1.4	66.7
	Kichchiyar	1	1.4	1.4	68.1
	Koyyan	1	1.4	1.4	69.4
	Maganandi	1	1.4	1.4	70.8
	Malliśēnapperiyār of Perumaṭai, from the Vīraśaṅgha	1	1.4	1.4	72.2
	Mūvēndan of Nālkūr in Veṇbunāṭu	1	1.4	1.4	73.6
	Pātamūlattān Āri of Tiruvarambam	1	1.4	1.4	75.0
	Puvanavan	1	1.4	1.4	76.4
	Sankaran Srivallavan	2	2.8	2.8	79.2
	Śāntivīrakkuravar, disciple of Guṇavīrakkuravaṭikaḷ	2	2.8	2.8	81.9
	Satan Gunatan	1	1.4	1.4	83.3
	Sattangari	1	1.4	1.4	84.7
	Siddha…	1	1.4	1.4	86.1
	Sri Achchanandi	1	1.4	1.4	87.5
	Sri Ajjanandi	1	1.4	1.4	88.9
	Sri Lokabhanubhatara	1	1.4	1.4	90.3

Table B.87 Continued

	Uttanandiadigal	1	1.4	1.4	91.7
	Varagunan	1	1.4	1.4	93.1
	Varatapāṇi of Vaṭapaḷḷi-āramvicci	1	1.4	1.4	94.4
	Vaṭṭamvaṭuki of Kuvaṇañcēri	1	1.4	1.4	95.8
	Venpurai Saradan Ampiraiyan	1	1.4	1.4	97.2
	Viranandiadigal	1	1.4	1.4	98.6
	Vrichchi Nākan of Kēḻavam in Veṇbu(nāṭu)	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

Table B.88 Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Category of Donor

DTypeCategory

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		22	30.6	30.6	30.6
	Elite	2	2.8	2.8	33.3
	Family	3	4.2	4.2	37.5
	Other	2	2.8	2.8	40.3
	Religious	21	29.2	29.2	69.4
	Unknown	22	30.6	30.6	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

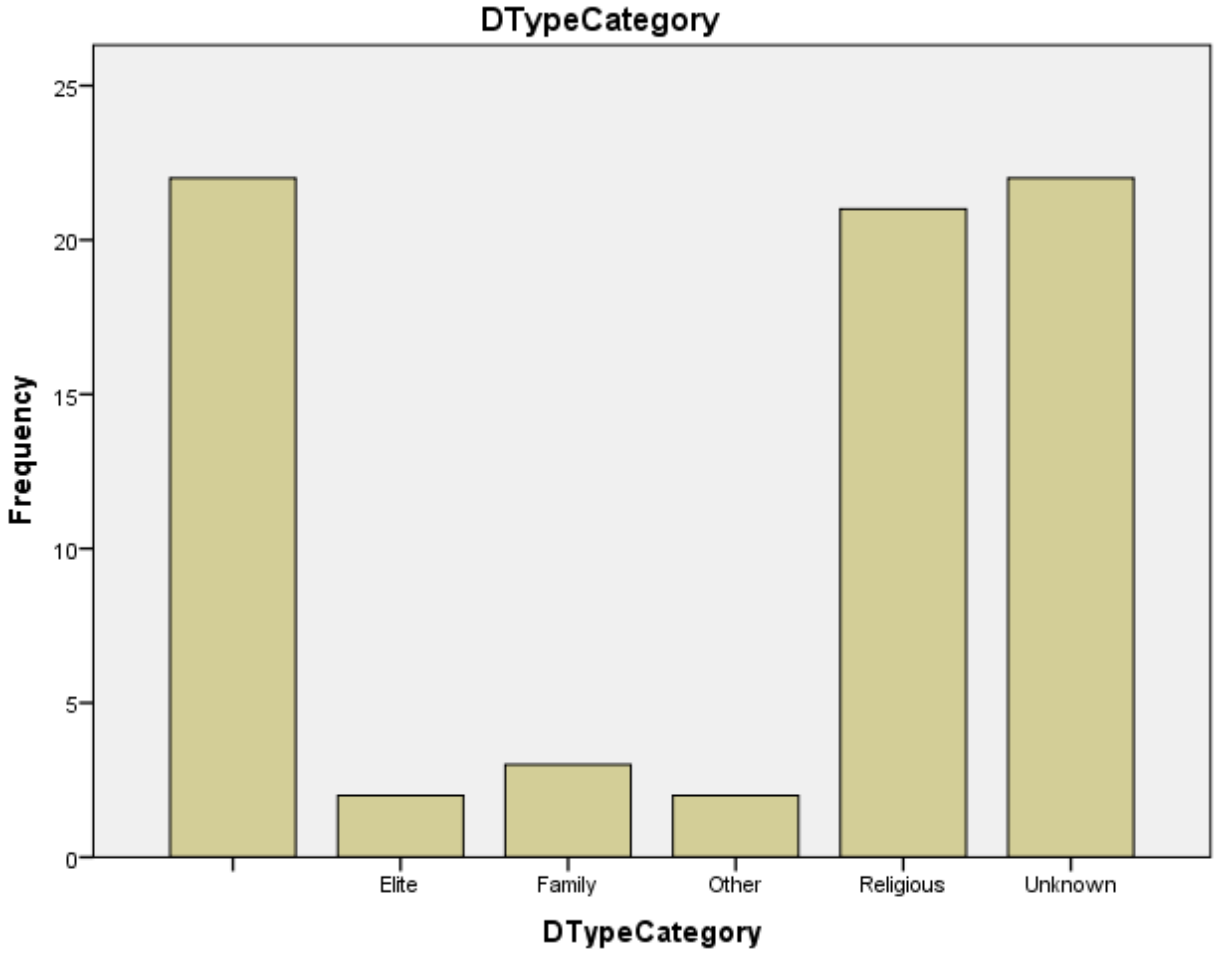


Figure B.82 Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Category of Donor

Table B.89 Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Sex/Gender

DSex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	22	30.6	30.6	30.6
	F	6	8.3	8.3	38.9
	M	42	58.3	58.3	97.2
	U	2	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

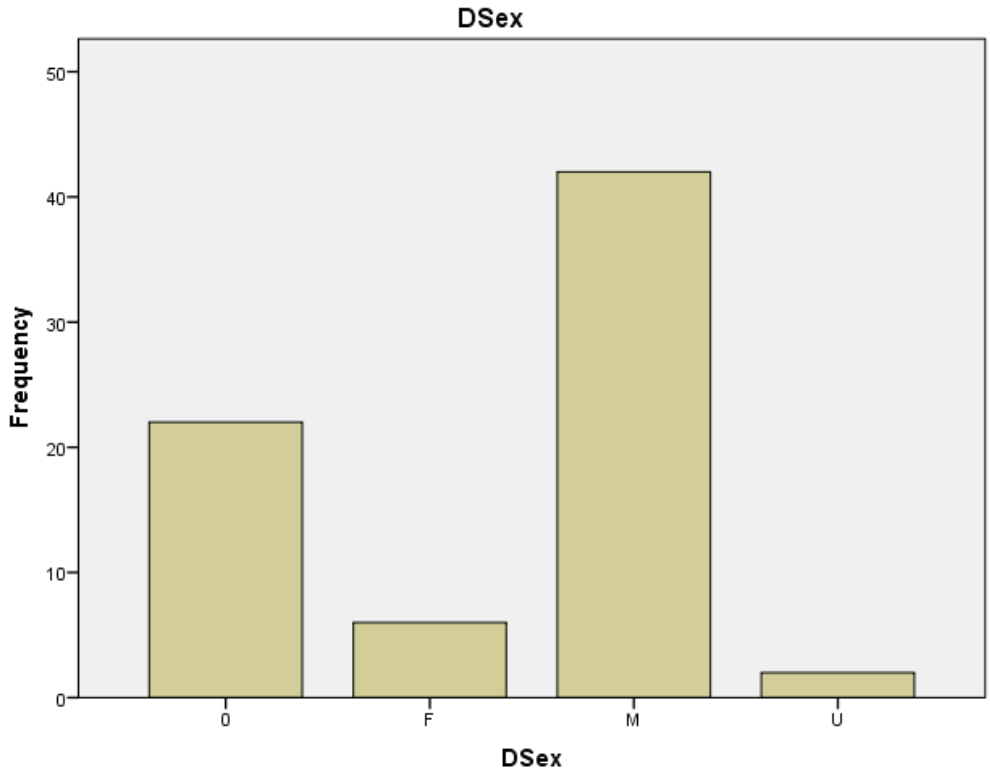


Figure B.83 Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Sex/Gender

Table B.90 Named Recipients in Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Recipient

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		63	87.5	87.5	87.5
	Achchan-Sripalan	1	1.4	1.4	88.9
	Aruvalattu Bhataraka	1	1.4	1.4	90.3
	ascetic	2	2.8	2.8	93.1
	Ayiraimalaitēvar	1	1.4	1.4	94.4
	deity	1	1.4	1.4	95.8
	god at Tiruvayirai, ascetic	1	1.4	1.4	97.2
	Pārśvanātha and yakshis at Tiruvayirai, ascetic	1	1.4	1.4	98.6
	Velan Sadaiyan	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

Table B.91 Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Type of Recipient

Rtype

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		38	52.8	52.8	52.8
	ascetic	1	1.4	1.4	54.2
	cbd	2	2.8	2.8	56.9
	god	3	4.2	4.2	61.1
	monastic	16	22.2	22.2	83.3
	temple	12	16.7	16.7	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

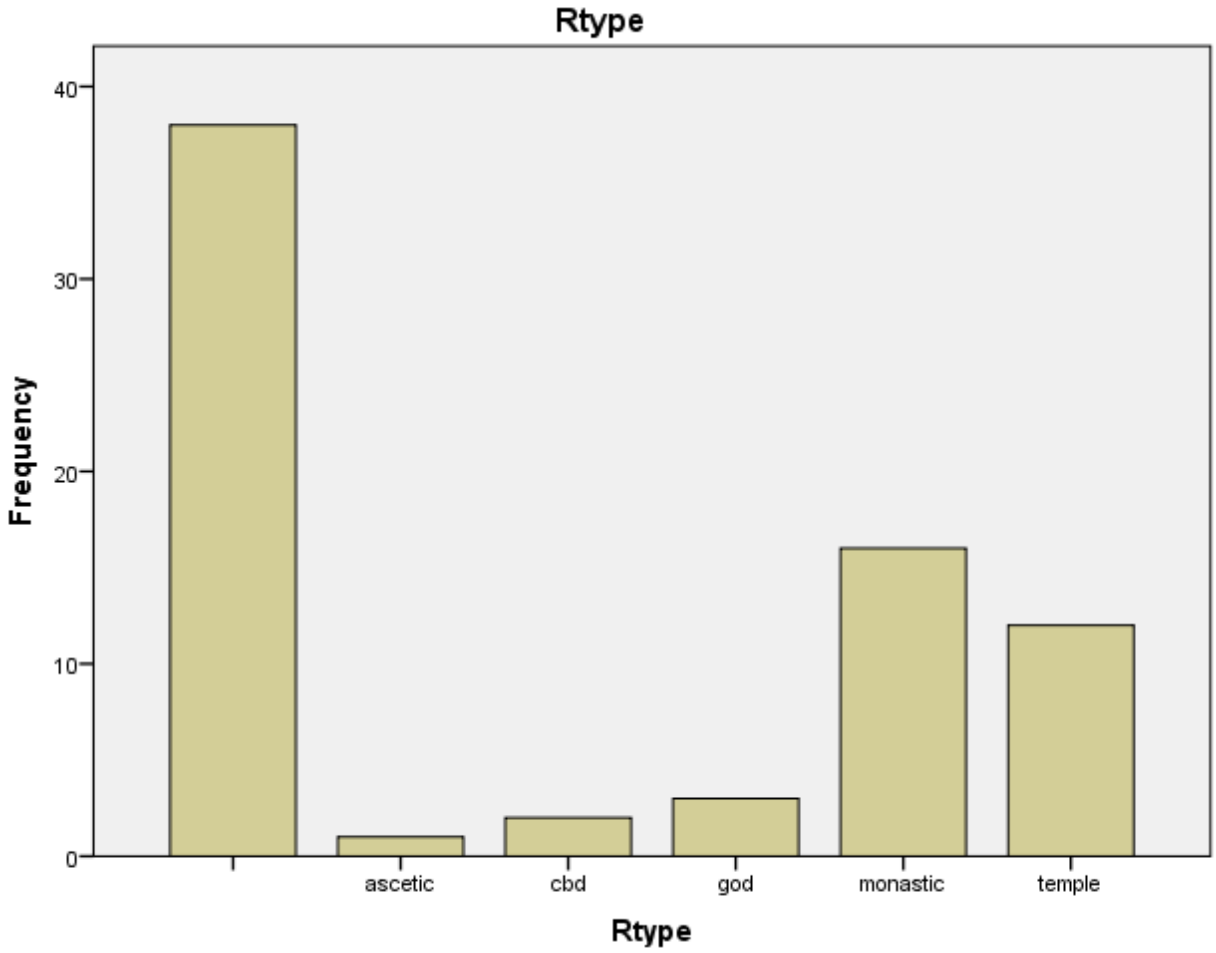


Figure B.84 Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai) by Type of Recipient

Table B.92 Transfer of Merit in Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions 5th-9th century CE (without Kalugumalai)

Merit

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Merit	N	67	93.1	93.1	93.1
	Y	5	6.9	6.9	100.0
	Total	72	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX C

PYTHON PROGRAM TO GEOCODE VILLAGES IN TAMIL NADU

Geocoding Methodology:

I first went to the Google Maps APIs Geocoding API page (https://developers.google.com/maps/documentation/geocoding/start#sample-request), and retrieved an API key. However, the examples using this key in Python were address specific, or reverse geocoding with given lat/long in decimal degrees: https://developers.google.com/maps/web-services/client-library#usage_Python . This kind of geocoding requires you to code within their JSON schema. Instead, Python has its own geocoder library that simplifies this process: https://pypi.Python.org/pypi/geocoder#downloads . From this page I downloaded the geocoder library.

To create the Python code to get lat/long coordinates for the villages where the Tamil inscriptions are located, I used a modified version of a Python script written by Todd Schuble of the University of Chicago to geocode village locations in the northeastern state of Assam, India. His code took village and state information from a csv file and put the geocoded output into a txt file with the format [lat, long]. My edited version of Todd's "working.py" code was renamed "Hanlon-Geocoder-Villages.py" and is shown below:

```
# ----------------------------------------------------------------------------
# Hanlon-Geocoder-Villages.py
# Created on: 2016-05-29
# Description: Creates a txt file with lat/long in decimal degrees from a csv
file containing village name and state in India.
# This code is a modified version of one created by Todd Schuble of
University of Chicago.
# ----------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
import geocoder, csv, time

ifile =
open("C:\\Users\\Jules\\Documents\\UChicago\\Dissertation\\GeoSpatialAnalysis
\\Villages-TamilNadu.csv", "rb")
reader = csv.reader(ifile)
recordnumber = 1
for x in reader:
  print "geocoding entry: [" + str(recordnumber) + "] " + str(x)
# print counter
  x = str(x)[1:-1]
  g = geocoder.google(x)
  location = g.latlng
# print location
  location = str(location)+ "\n"
  with
open("C:\\Users\\Jules\\Documents\\UChicago\\Dissertation\\GeoSpatialAnalysis
\\Villages-TamilNadu_output.txt", "a") as myfile:
    myfile.write(location)
  recordnumber = recordnumber + 1
  if recordnumber % 10 == 1:
    time.sleep(2)
```

In the new code it opens the csv file with the list of villages in Tamil Nadu. It names the first record it encounters as 1. For each record in the csv file it prints the lat/long in a txt file named Villages-TamilNadu_output.txt. If 10% of the record number equals 1 (i.e. when it gets to record number 10) it will sleep for 2 seconds using the **SLEEP** function. The next record it encounters is then identified as record number 1 and it does the same loop. It continues doing this until it runs out of records. This sleep function is a requirement of drawing data from Google Maps, which limits the number of records you can download at any one time.

What I was then going to do is create a new script that would clean the txt file, read it, and then insert it into a new feature class in ArcGIS using a cursor function. This new feature class would then be joined to my existing database of inscriptions that lacked the coordinate data. However, this method had some drawbacks. First, it was perhaps overly complicated – why clean a txt file? Why not just put the data in the format I want it? Second, why the intermediate files? Essentially, what I really wanted to do was to provide coordinate data for my inscriptions

database, so that I could map them in ArcGIS and run various spatial and statistical analyses on them. So I decided to just edit the table directly. This resulted in a new script called "Hanlon_Geocode_Villages_Table.py" shown below:

```
# ---------------------------------------------------------------------------
# Hanlon-Geocoder-Villages2.py
# Created on: 2016-05-29
# Description: Geocodes villages by name and state information from a csv
file and puts them into a geodatabase table in the latitude and longitude
fields.
# ---------------------------------------------------------------------------

import geocoder, csv, time, arcpy

from arcpy import env
env.Workspace =
"C:\\Users\\Jules\\Documents\\ArcGIS\\IndiaProject\\TamilNadu.gdb\\"

ifile = open("C:\\Users\\Jules\\Documents\\ArcGIS\\IndiaProject\\Villages-
TamilNadu.csv", "rb")
reader = csv.reader(ifile)
recordnumber = 1
fc =
"C:\\Users\\Jules\\Documents\\ArcGIS\\IndiaProject\\TamilNadu.gdb\\ES_Tamil_I
nscriptions"
fields = ["Latitude", "Longitude"]
cursor = arcpy.da.UpdateCursor(fc, fields)


for x in reader:
  print "geocoding entry: [" + str(recordnumber) + "] " + str(x)

  x = str(x)[1:-1]
  g = geocoder.google(x)
  location = g.latlng

  row = cursor.next()
  if not location:
    print "Location Not Found"
    row[0] = 0
    row[1] = 0
  else:
    print "Latitude: " + str(location[0]) + " Longitude: " + str(location[1])
    # set the value of Latitude and Longitude into the fc
    row[0] = location[0]
    row[1] = location[1]

  cursor.updateRow(row)

  # increment the record number
  recordnumber = recordnumber + 1
```

```
  # need to sleep every 10
  if recordnumber % 10 == 1:
    time.sleep(2)

del row
del cursor
```

The way the code works is it first imports all of the necessary libraries/packages. It then sets the workspace for ArcGIS. It then opens the csv file and starts **READING** it. In this space I also define the feature class, fields, and **UPDATE CURSOR** function that I will be using to insert the coordinate data into my geodatabase table. In the **FOR LOOP**, it begins by printing what record it is geocoding. It gets the geocoding information from Google. I found that I ran into errors in the cases where there was no data. This wasn't a problem in the earlier script using a txt file (where the output row was simply []), but it was a problem in terms of trying to get the cursor to insert empty data into two columns. So I created an **IF/ELSE** statement. If there was no location data, I would be alerted in the Python shell, and it would enter 0 in the latitude and longitude fields. In all other cases, it would print the values for the latitude and longitude in the Python Shell, and insert those values into the two fields. Because I had defined the two fields being used in the beginning, I could define the columns as simply 0 and 1 (because Python lists are indexed starting at 0).[1] So for the row, at position 0, it prints the first part of the coordinate (the latitude) and at position 1, it prints the second part (the longitude) in the Python Shell. Having set the values for the two columns, it then updates that row in those two fields in the geodatabase table (dbf). It then starts on the next record in the csv file. The script also includes a counter via the variable "recordnumber". This was important not only for keeping up with the number of records in the Python shell, but also because Google only lets you download 10 geocodes at any one time. The **SLEEP** function works the same way it did in the earlier script,

[1] See Paul A. Zandbergen, *Python Scripting for Arcgis* (New York: ESRI Press, 2013), 74.

pausing for 2 seconds after every 10 entries. Finally, when it completes the **FOR LOOP**, it stops, then unlocks the file. Whenever you start editing a file with a cursor, it creates an exclusive lock. According to Paul A. Zandbergen in Python Scripting for ArcGIS:

> …the lock persists until the script releases the lock. This is accomplished using the del statement to delete the cursor objcet creating the lock. Wihtout this statement, a lock could needlessly block other applications or scripts from accessing a dataset. A typical script that creates and insert or update cursor should therefore include two del statements - one to delete the row object, such as del row, and one to delete the cursor object, such as del cursor.[2]

So I included these **DELETE** statements at the end of my script. Below is the output from the Python Shell for the first 5 entries:

```
Python 2.7.8 (default, Jun 30 2014, 16:03:49) [MSC v.1500 32 bit (Intel)] on win32
Type "copyright", "credits" or "license()" for more information.
>>> ================================ RESTART ================================
>>>
geocoding entry: [1] ['Aiyyampalayam', 'Tamil Nadu ']
Latitude: 10.2247582 Longitude: 77.7466387
geocoding entry: [2] ['Aiyyampalayam', 'Tamil Nadu ']
Latitude: 10.2247582 Longitude: 77.7466387
geocoding entry: [3] ['Aiyyampalayam', 'Tamil Nadu ']
Latitude: 10.2247582 Longitude: 77.7466387
geocoding entry: [4] ['Aiyyampalayam', 'Tamil Nadu ']
Latitude: 10.2247582 Longitude: 77.7466387
geocoding entry: [5] ['Aiyyampalayam', 'Tamil Nadu ']
Latitude: 10.2247582 Longitude: 77.7466387
```

Of the 565 records, 113 were missing coordinate data. Therefore, I had to go back to my original database and carefully go over the location data again (i.e. village, taluk, district) and make sure that the villages were spelled in such a way that Google could identify them, and that the taluk and district names were correct. Because the names of some villages may be repeated elsewhere in the state, it is not accurate enough to simply geocode by name and state. Once the data was

[2] Ibid., 144.

cleaned up, I re-ran the script. Luckily, because the range is simply from beginning to end of the row [1 (with the number row in excel being the 0) : (to) -1 (last item in the row)], I didn't have to modify the script.[3]

[3] In addition to the Zandbergen text, I also utilized many online resources, such as http://gis.stackexchange.com/ , http://stackoverflow.com/ , and http://pro.arcgis.com/en/pro-app/arcpy/main/arcgis-pro-arcpy-reference.htm

APPENDIX D

SURVEY FORMS

JAIN CAVES OF MADURAI DISTRICT TAMIL NADU
Transect Form - Unsystematic

Name of Site: _____ Closest Village: _____

Transect #_____ Date: _____ Recorder: _____

Location in relation to Previous Transect:

GPS Beginning: N _____ E _____ WP: _____ Elevation: _____
Location Description:

GPS End: N _____ E _____ WP: _____ Elevation: _____
Location Description:

Photographs:

General direction of Transect:

DESCRIPTION OF TERRAIN
Topography (circle all that apply)

1. **Hill-top**
2. **Hill terrace**
3. **Tallus slope**
4. **Pediment slope**
5. **Flat**
6. **Other (describe)**

Rocks, soil:

Vegetation	**Trees _____**	**Thorny Scrub _____**	**Grass _____**	**Cactus _____**	**Other _____**
	Fields _____		**Crops (if known):**		

Groundcover	**Low 0-25%**	**Medium 25-50%**	**High 50-100%**

Slope	**Flat 0-2 º**	**Gentle 3-10 º**	**Moderate 10-20 º**	**Steep 20-30 º**	**Very Steep 30 º +**

DISTURBANCE

Quarrying: **None _____** **Light _____** **Medium _____** **Heavy _____**

Other type of disturbance:
None _____ **Light _____** **Medium _____** **Heavy _____**

PRESENT FEATURES

Village _____ **House _____** **Quarry _____** **Road _____** **Field _____**
Temple _____ **Shrine _____** **Outdoor Shrine _____** **Other _____**
Comments:

WATER SOURCES

Description, Proximity, Location:

CAVE SITES

Caves observed? Y/N
Type(s) and Number: Erosional Cave ___ Boulder/Talus Cave ____ Boulder Over-Hang ___
Rock-cut Cave ___ Other (describe):

Height: Near top of hill _____ Middle of hill _____ Bottom of hill _____
Explored? Y/N
Beds? Y/N

MATERIAL CULTURE

Observed Density (items/m²)	**None**	**Sparse**	**Moderate**	**Heavy**	**Very Heavy**
	0	**1-5**	**5-20**	**20-50**	**>50**

Observed Artifact Types:

Pottery _____ **Lithics _____** **Metal/Slag _____**
Other _____ **Describe:**

Other Observed Sites and Artifacts:

Habitation mound		**Pre-modern quarry marks**	
Megalith(s)		**Post-hole**	
Rock wall		**Artifact scatter**	
Stone alignment		**Shrine/temple**	
Cave		**Well**	
Inscription		**Tank**	
Natural rock pool		**Foundation walls / structure**	
Modified rock pool		**Other:**	

Sample Collections? Y / N **Number:**
Collection Units? Y/N **Number:**
Sites Recorded? Y/N **Number:**

EXTENDED DESCRIPTION AND INFERENCES

Write a brief prose description of the terrain and observations made while walking the transect. Include plans for future research.

JAIN CAVES OF MADURAI DISTRICT TAMIL NADU
Transect Form - Systematic

Name of Site: _____ Closest Village: _____

Transect #_____ Date: _____ Recorder: _____

Location in relation to Previous Transect:

GPS Beginning: N _____ E _____ WP: _____ Elevation: _____
Location Description:

GPS End: N _____ E _____ WP: _____ Elevation: _____
Location Description:

Photographs:

General direction of Transect:

DESCRIPTION OF TERRAIN
Topography (circle all that apply)

1. **Hill-top**
2. **Hill terrace**
3. **Tallus slope**
4. **Pediment slope**
5. **Flat**
6. **Other (describe)**

Rocks, soil:

Vegetation	**Trees _____**	**Thorny Scrub _____**	**Grass _____**	**Cactus _____**	**Other _____**
	Fields _____		**Crops (if known):**		

Groundcover	**Low** **0-25%**	**Medium** **25-50%**	**High** **50-100%**

Slope	**Flat** **0-2 º**	**Gentle** **3-10 º**	**Moderate** **10-20 º**	**Steep** **20-30 º**	**Very Steep** **30 º +**

DISTURBANCE

Quarrying: **None _____** **Light _____** **Medium _____** **Heavy _____**

Other type of disturbance:
None _____ **Light _____** **Medium _____** **Heavy _____**

PRESENT FEATURES

Village _____ **House _____** **Quarry _____** **Road _____** **Field _____**
Temple _____ **Shrine _____** **Outdoor Shrine _____** **Other _____**
Comments:

WATER SOURCES

Description, Proximity, Location:

MATERIAL CULTURE

Description of artifacts, approx. per meter², and sites observed

Meters	Pottery Scatter	Approx. Density	Lithics Scatter	Approx. Density	Metal/ Ore	Cave Total	Structure Total	Other
0-50								
50-100								
100-150								
150-200								
200-250								
250-300								
300-350								
350-400								
400-450								
450-500								

Comments:

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Overall Artifact Density (items/m²)	None	Sparse	Moderate	Heavy	Very Heavy
	0	1-5	5-20	20-50	>50

Observed Artifact Types:
Pottery _____ **Lithics _____** **Metal/Slag _____**
Other _____ **Describe:**

	Observed Y/N	Number	Comment
Habitation mound			
Megalith(s)			
Rock wall			
Stone alignment			
Cave			
Inscription			
Natural rock pool			
Modified rock pool			
Pre-modern quarry marks			
Post-hole			
Artifact scatter			
Shrine/temple			
Well			
Tank			
Foundation / structure			
Other:			

Sample Collections? Y / N
Sample Number(s):
General description and total number of bags collected:

Collection Units? Y/N
Number of units:

Site Forms? Y/N
Number of recorded sites:

EXTENDED DESCRIPTION AND INFERENCES

Write a brief prose description of the terrain and observations made while walking the transect. Include plans for future research.

JAIN CAVES OF MADURAI DISTRICT TAMIL NADU
Collection Form

Name of Site: _____ Date: _____ Recorder: _____

Collection Number: _____ Transect Number: _____ Formal Designation: _____

Type of Collection: Sample _____ Collection unit _____

Collection Unit Dimensions: N-S _____ E-W _____

GPS: N _____ E _____ WP: _____ Elevation: _____

Location of GPS point relative to collection:

Description of collection location:

Photographs:

Associated forms: Transect(s): _____ Site _____

Slope:	**Flat**	**Gentle**	**Moderate**	**Steep**	**Very Steep**
	0-2 º	**3-10 º**	**10-20 º**	**20-30 º**	**30 º +**

Artifact Density:	**Sparse**	**Moderate**	**Heavy**	**Very Heavy**
(items/m2)	**1-5**	**5-20**	**20-50**	**>50**

Artifact Types:

Pottery	**Y/N**	**Approx. #**	
Lithics	**Y/N**	**Approx. #**	
Metal/Slag	**Y/N**	**Approx. #**	
Other	**Y/N**	**Approx. #**	**Description:**

Number of Bags Collected: _____

Antiquities? Y/N
If yes, official Antiquity Register Number and Description:

JAIN CAVES OF MADURAI DISTRICT TAMIL NADU
Site Form

Name of Site: _____ Site Type: _____ Recorder: _____

Date: _____ GPS1: N _____ E _____ WP: _____

Photographs: GPS2: N _____ E _____ WP: _____

Other forms: Transect _____ Collection _____ Map/drawing: Y/N

Associated WayPoints:
Associated Sites/Features:

Nearby landmarks:

HOW LOCATED

A. **Previously known (details):**

B. **Newly found (details):**

Site size: N-S_____ E-W_____
(metric) Length _____ Width_____ Height_____

POSSIBLE TIME PERIOD **Chronological Reasoning:**
Pre-Iron Age _____
Iron Age (c. 1000-500 BC) _____
Early Historic (c. 500 BCE - 500 CE) _____
Pallavas & Pandyas (6th-9th centuries) _____
Cholas (10th-12th centuries) _____
Madurai Sultanate (c. 1335-1378) _____
Vijayanagara/Nayaka (c. 1371-1736) _____
GENERAL TIME PERIODS
Early Medieval _____
Late Medieval _____
Modern _____

LOCATION DESCRIPTION

TOPOGRAPHY

7. **Hill-top**
8. **Hill terrace**
9. **Tallus slope**
10. **Pediment slope**
11. **Flat**
12. **Other (describe)**

SOIL
Munsell/color:
Texture:

DISTURBANCE
Undisturbed _____ Light _____ Medium _____ Heavy _____
Quarrying _____ Animal _____ Trees/Plants _____ Soil removal _____ Other _____

Comments:

WATER SOURCES
Description, Proximity, Location:

PRESENT DAY USE/OCCUPATION OF THE SITE
Vegetation: trees _____ thorny scrub _____ grasses _____ cactus _____
crops (specify) _____
Village _____ House _____ Quarry _____ Road _____ Field _____
Temple (large) _____ Shrine (small) _____ Local shrine (outside) _____
Other modern cultural features:

General description of site and surrounding area:

MATERIAL CULTURE

Density	None	Sparse	Moderate	Heavy	Very Heavy
(items/m2)	0	1-5	5-20	20-50	>50

Sample Collections? Y / N
Description and number of bags collected:

Collection Units? Y/N
Number of units:
Number of forms:

Summary of work done at the site:

ARTIFACTS FOUND (PRELIMINARY IMPRESSIONS) **Comments:**

	Not Present	Low Density	Medium Density	High Density
Pottery				
BRW				
RCPW				
Rouletted				
NBPW				
Red slipped				
Red ware				
Grey ware				
Medieval				
Modern				
Other				

	Not Present	Low Density	Medium Density	High Density
Lithics				
Bead wasters				
Cores				
Blades				
Other				

Other	Not Present	Low Density	Medium Density	High Density
Slag				
Metal				
Beads				
Antiquities				

Number and Name and Description of any Antiquities:

Other Comments:

EXTENDED DESCRIPTION AND INFERENCES

Write a brief prose description of the site. Describe architecture and construction, including material, layout and preservation. Include general setting and possible associations with other sites. Discuss possible temporal affiliation and site function.

APPENDIX E
PHOTOS FROM CHAPTER 6

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF JAIN CAVES IN MADURAI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU



Photo 6.1 View of the eastern side of Nagamalai hill range

Tirupparankundram

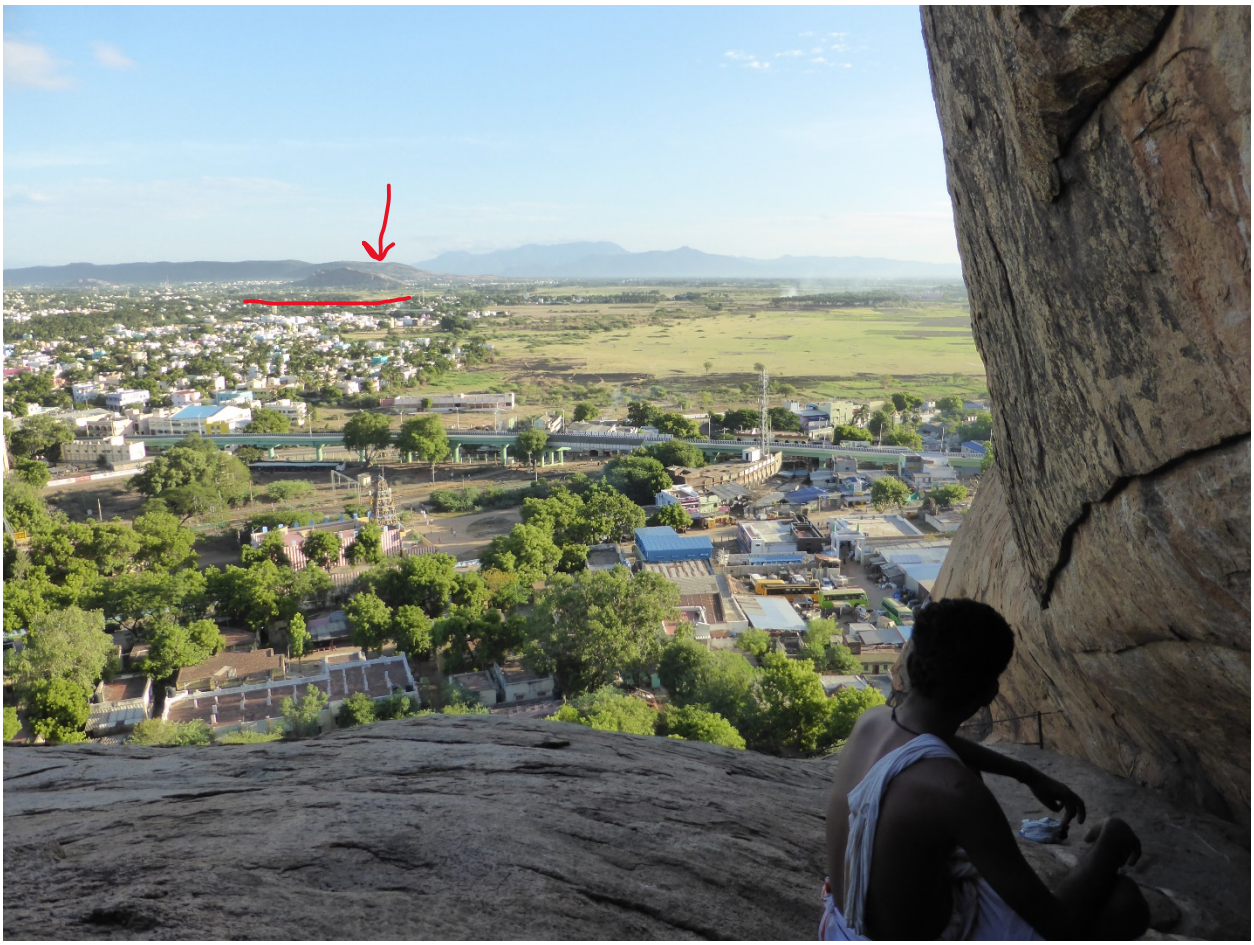


Photo 6.2 View of Samanar Malai from Tirupparankundram Jain Caves



Photo 6.3 Rock cut pool with stairs and drip ledge on Tirupparankundram hill



Photo 6.4 Natural spring inside rock-cut cave down slope from the Jain beds at Tirupparankundram



Photo 6.5 Tamil-Brahmi inscription over lower beds and bench with visible line in the middle



Photo 6.6 Row of 6 beds in upper part of the cave with view of hollowed-out water collection area

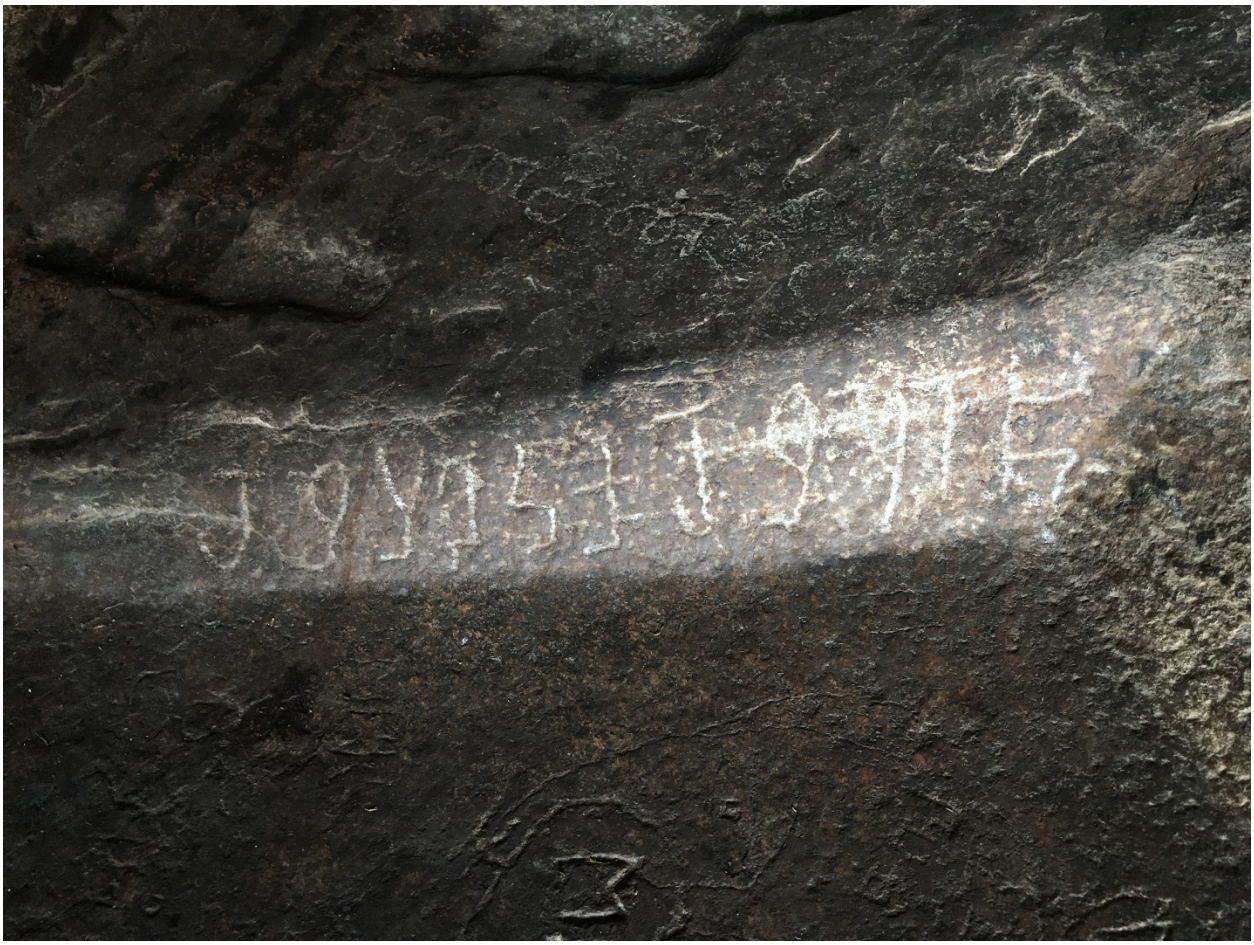


Photo 6.7 Upside-down Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions



Photo 6.8 View of 3 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

L-R: (upside down) Anantuvan, ka-ya (rightside up), marayatu (upside down)



Photo 6.9. View of hollowed-out cave with outlines of two rock-cut beds.

Water channel visible on upper right.



Photo 6.10 Medieval Jain images and Vatteluttu inscriptions at the base of Tirupparankundram



Photo 6.11. Rock-cut water tank next to Jain images at the base of Tirupparankundram



Photo 6.12 Medieval Jain images above modified rock pool on upper terrace of Tirupparankundram

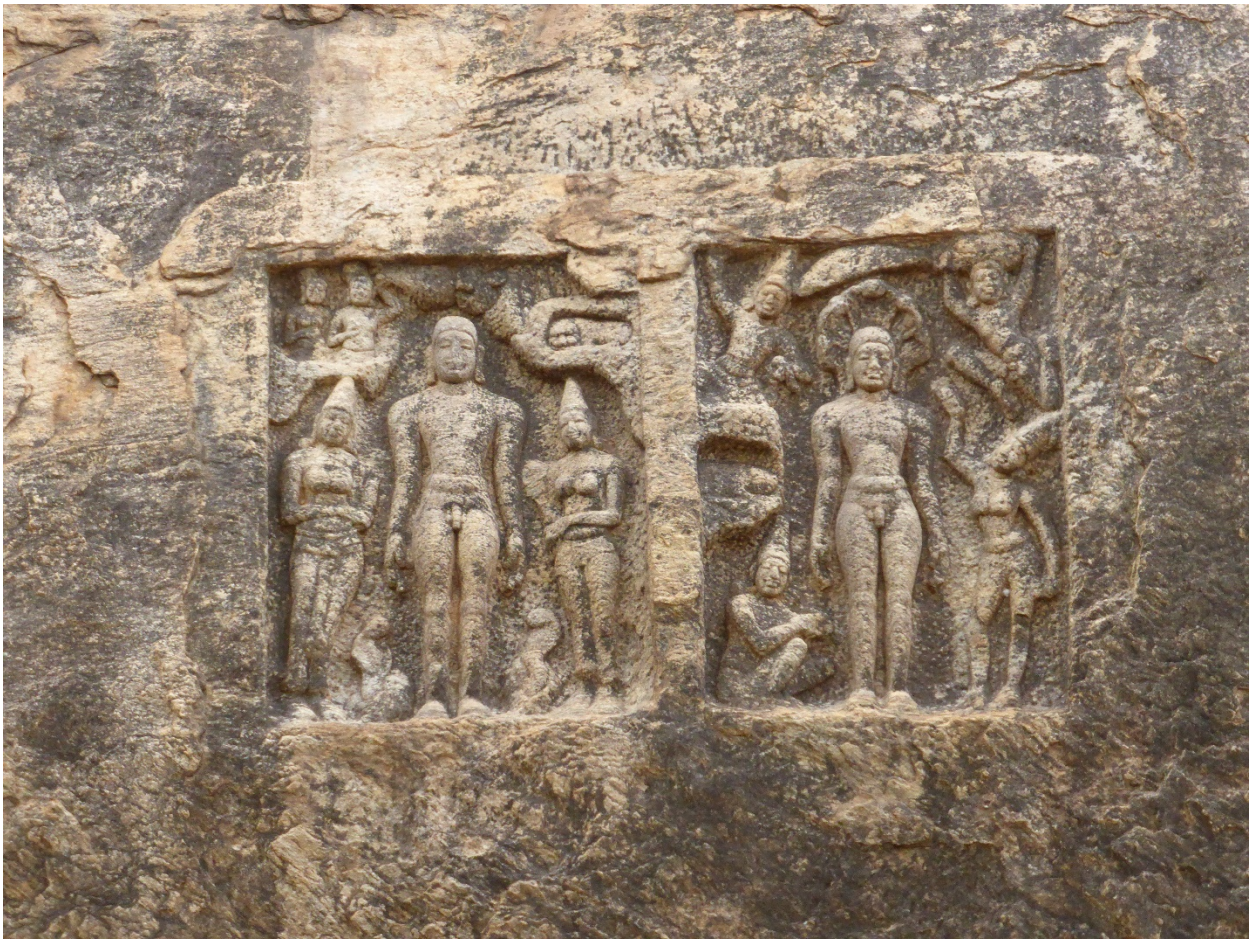


Photo 6.13 Close up of Medieval Jain images on upper terrace of Tirupparankundram

Left: Bahubali (aka Gomateshvara) with sisters, Brahmi and Sundari

Right: 23rd Tirthankara Lord Parshvanath



Photo 6.14 Multiple sets of stairs from different historical periods on slope of hill leading up to Kasi Vishwanathar temple.



Photo 6.15 Modified rock pool now filled with sediment and grass.

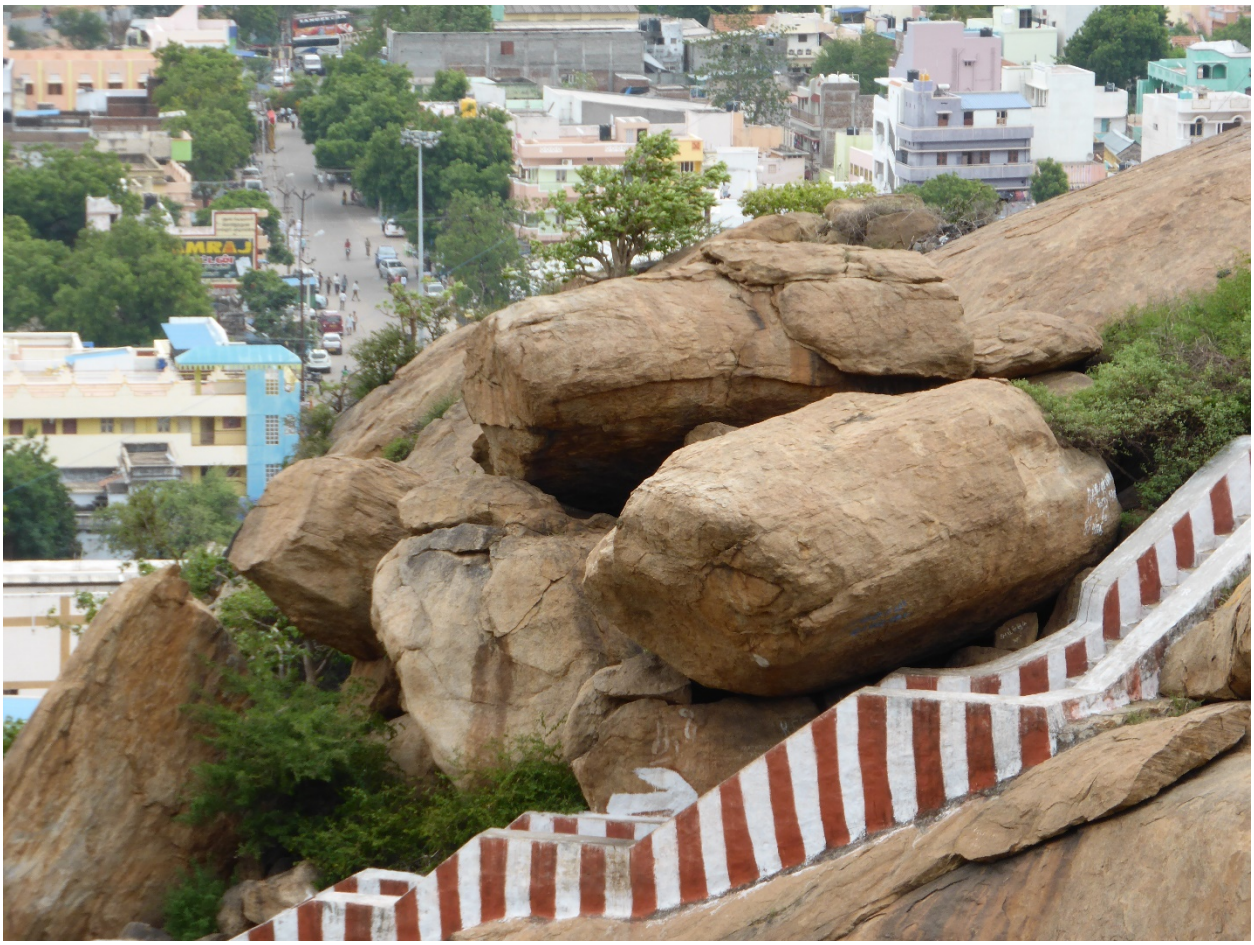


Photo 6.16 View of boulder with drip ledge on Tirupparankundram Hill



Photo 6.17 Close-up view of drip-ledge on boulder



Photo 6.18 Outlines of beds on a boulder near Saravana Poigai



Photo 6.19 Wall on terrace at Tirupparankundram



Photo 6.20 Structure in gap at Tiruppārnkundram



Photo 6.21 Lamps embedded into the sediment



Photo 6.22 Remains of a temple

Samanar Malai



Photo 6.23 View of broken cliff-face with drip-ledge at Samanar Malai / Melakuyilkudi



Photo 6.24 View of the shattered beds with broken pieces of the cliff-face in the background.



Photo 6.25 Rock shelter with boulder with drip-ledge and Tamil-Brahmi inscription



Photo 6.26 Close-up of inscription with white chalk marking the letters.



Photo 6.27 View of boulder with Tamil-Brahmi inscription on upper terrace and modified rock pool at base of cliff immediately below



Photo 6.28 Pechchi Pallam



Photo 6.29 Modified rock pool, eight Medieval Jain images, and six Vatteluttu inscriptions at Pechchi Pallam



Photo 6.30 Exterior of Cettipodavu Cave at base of Samanar Malai



Photo 6.31 Close up of Mahavira relief sculpture.

Vateluttu inscription appears on rectangular slab/pedestal beneath the throne bearing three lions



Photo 6.32 Interior of Cettipodavu

L-R: Goddess on lion, jina, jina, jina, seated goddess



Photo 6.33 Stone foundation of medieval Jain temple visible on terrace, partially covered with grass. View of Tirupparankundram (right) and Pasumalai (left)



Photo 6.34 Rock pools on summit of Samanar Malai. Pillar with Kannada inscription to the right. View of Nagamalai hill range in the background.



Photo 6.35 Modified rock pool on Samanar Malai



Photo 6.36 Modified rock pool at base of Samanar Malai



Photo 6.37 Rock shelter (left) and modified rock pool (right), boulder with Tamil-Brahmi inscription (above)



Photo 6.38 Possible Rock art



Photo 6.39 View of Tirupparankundram from cave on Samanar Malai with red paint



Photo 6.40 Caves at northwestern end of Samanar Malai



Photo 6.41 Cave with groove-type drip-ledge



Photo 6.42. Carved footprint inside cave at base of Samanar Malai



Photo 6.43 Parallel walls at Samanar Malai

Perumal Malai



Photo 6.44 Prepared surface (bed?) in area 1 of Perumal Malai



Photo 6.45 Beds in second area of main cave post holes visible between beds 2 and 3



Photo 6.46 View of Perumal Malai beds (6.45) from outside the cave



Photo 6.47 View of back cave with boulder with rock-cut bed and Tamil-Brahmi inscription



Photo 6.48 View of entire inscription with large gap between parts 2 and 3 visible.



Photo 6.49 Closer view of the Tamil-Brahmi inscription with circular notch for large beams visible above the first and third portions of the inscription.



Photo 6.50 Additional notches visible on rock face on southern side of the cave, circled in red.



Photo 6.51 Tamil-Brahmi inscription engraved upside down on bumpy surface of the rock



Photo 6.52 Natural channel in front of Perumal Malai main cave with boulder and column



Photo 6.53 Alternate view of channel and rock pool at Perumal Malai



Photo 6.54 Rock pond that has been reinforced with cobbles around the edge



Photo 6.55 Two relief images of jinas accompanied by Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions at Perumal Malai



Photo 6.56 Relief sculpture of jina cemented onto pedestal, out of situ, Perumal Malai



Photo 6.57. Giant canyon carved through the middle of Perumal Malai by modern quarrying



Photo 6.58 Late Medieval shrine with pillar and modified rock pond

Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.59 Kongarpuliyankulam hill with upper and lower terraces and caves visible



Photo 6.60. View of Tidiyan and Usilampatti hills (far right) from Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.61 Interior view of Cave 3 at Kongarpuliyankulam, facing south



Photo 6.62 Interior view of Cave 3 at Kongarpuliyankulam, facing north



Photo 6.63. Exterior of Cave 1 with beds visible inside



Photos 6.64 Exterior of Cave 2



Photo 6.65 Pits inside of Cave 2



Photo 6.66 Outlines of beds inside of Cave 2 at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.67 Bed with triple-umbrella pillow inside Cave 3 at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.68 Stone wall and evidence of more beds in corner of Cave 3 at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.69 Interior of Cave 4 with Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and large rock-cut bed and inscribed symbol below



Photo 6.70 Rock-cut bed with pillow and row of pits beside it in Cave 4 at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.71 Exterior of Cave 5 facing south with rock-cut bed on boulder in foreground



Photo 6.72 Interior of the upper part of Cave 5 at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.73 Sockets and channels carved into the edge of the mouth of the upper part of Cave 5 at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.74 Weather-worn relief image of a jina at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.75 Rock pool at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.76 Example of water catchment feature with cobbles along the edge



Photo 6.77 Large modified rock pond at Kongarpuliyankulam adjacent to Visnu temple



Photo 6.78 Another large modified rock pond with rock shelter above (left) at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.79 Back or east side of Kongarpuliyankulam hill destroyed/removed by modern quarrying



Photo 6.80 Series of caves on lower terrace at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.81 Two beds inside small cave at base of Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.82 Spring at base of lower caves at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.83 Cave with beds next to water channel



Photo 6.84 Interior of cave with potential beds



Photo 6.85 Rock alignments at Kongarpuliyankulam



Photo 6.86 Expanded pits in rock face and niches

Vikkiramangalam



Photo 6.87 View of Vikkiramangalam Hill from the south



Photo 6.88 Prominent drip-ledge at Vikkiramangalam main cave

Chalk outline of inscription by Dr. V. Vedachalam



Photo 6.89 View of exterior of cave next to main cave with drip ledge.

Tamil-Brahmi inscription is engraved on underside of the boulder with the drip ledge, behind the smaller boulder

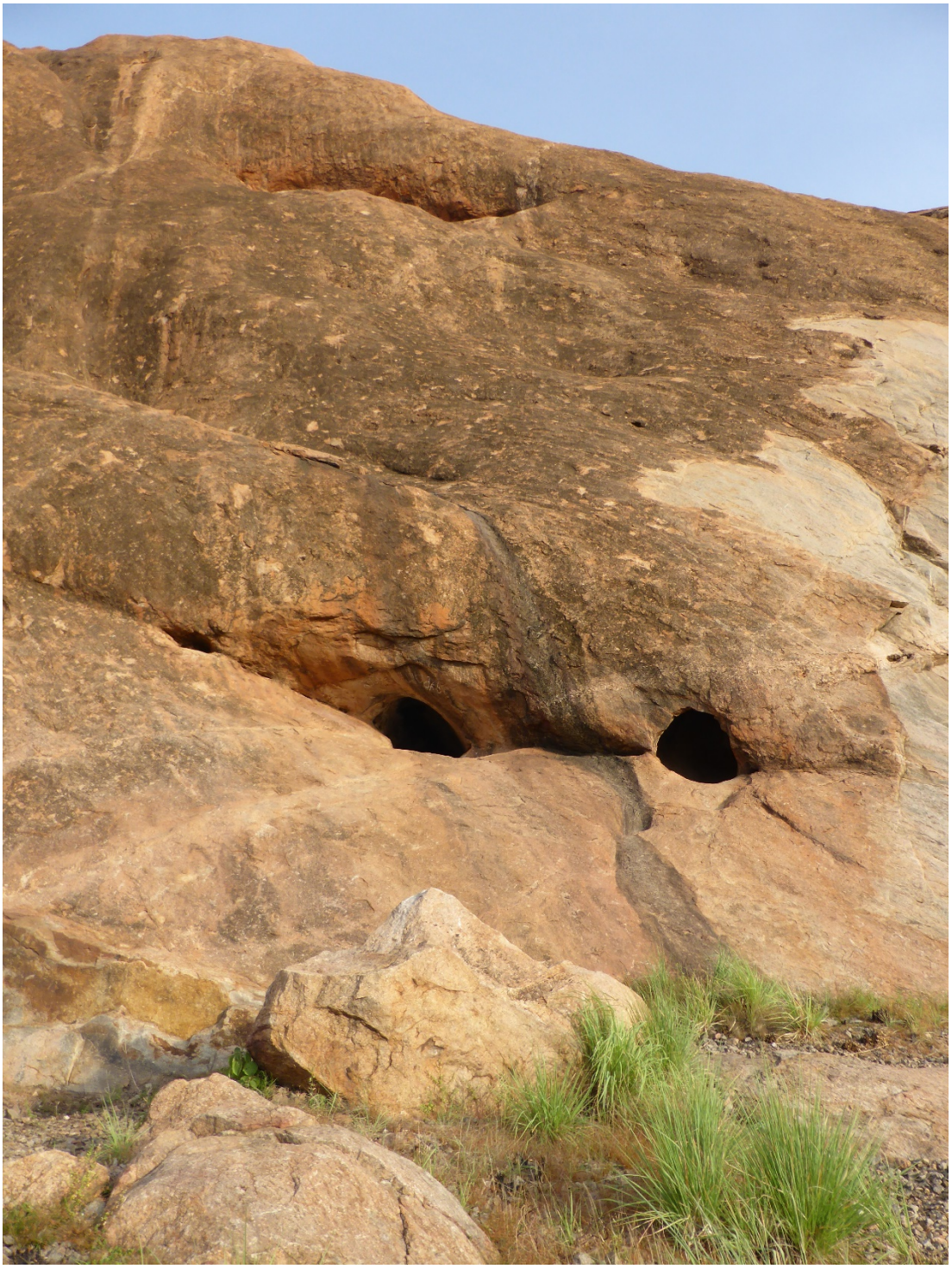


Photo 6.90 Exterior of Cave 2 at Vikkiramangalam at base of hill.

Cave on left, hollow water tank on right.

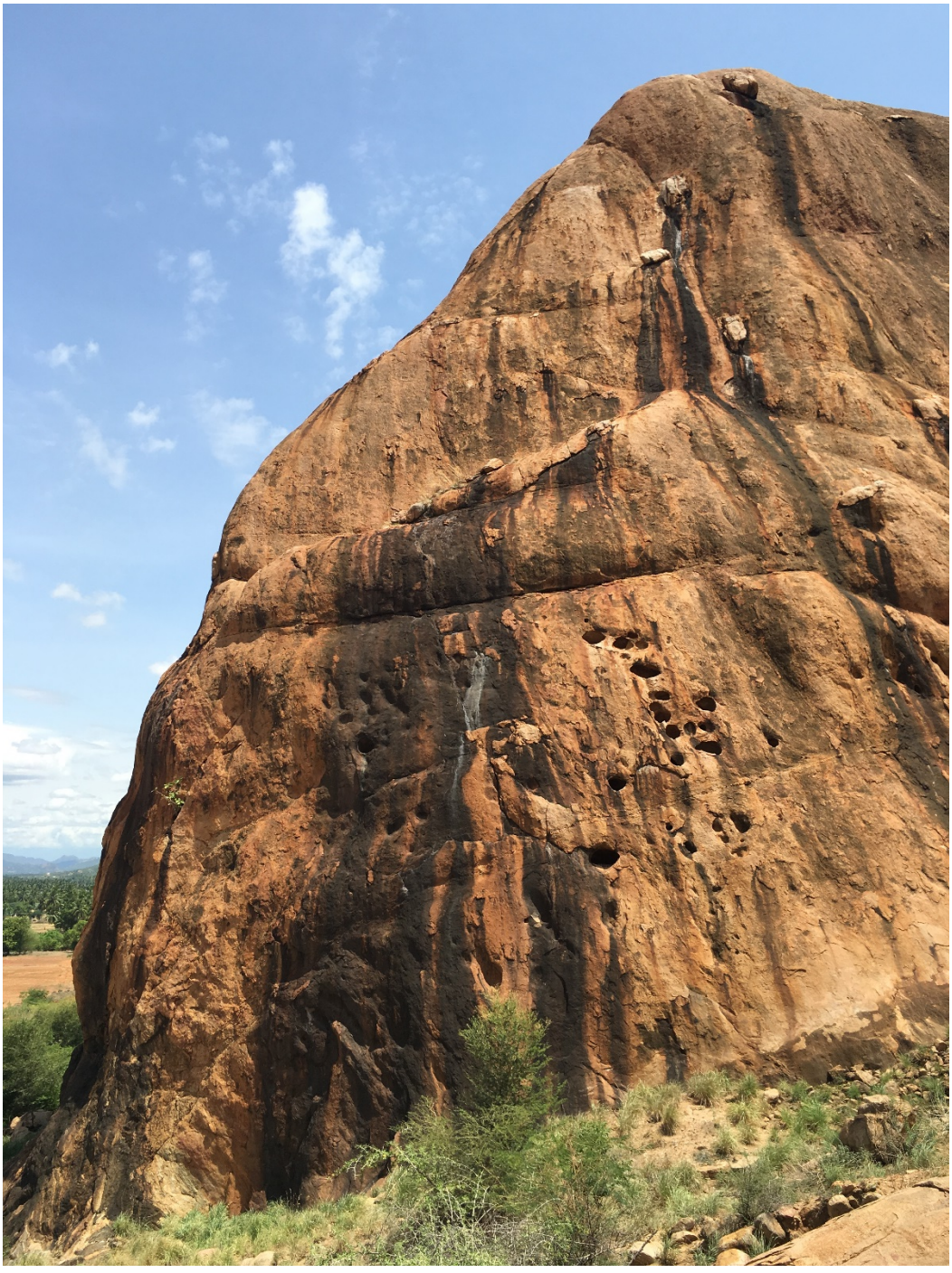


Photo 6.91 Weathering pits in side of granite hill at Vikkiramangalam



Photo 6.92 View of the lintel at the entrance to Cave 2 at Vikkiramangalam



Photo 6.93 Post holes at entrance to the main cave at Vikkiramangalam



Photo 6.94 Pallam or rock-cut pond with stairs at Vikkiramangalam.



Photo 6.95 Small rock shelter with bed and channel downslope from main cave at Vikkiramangalam



Photo 6.96 Cave converted into Saivite shrine at Vikkiramangalam



Photo 6.97 View of Mettuppatti from cave shrine at Vikkiramangalam



Photo 6.98 Second cave next to shrine on hill at Vikkiramangalam



Photo 6.99 Natural cave with engraved signs visible on floor

Mettuppatti



Photo 6.100 View of Vaigai River as well as Alagarmalai mountain from northern side of Mettuppatti hill



Photo 6.101 Dried up Vaigai River bed next to Mettuppatti hill



Photo 6.102 Remains of modern and pre-modern structures inside Vaigai River bed (near Kongarpuliyankulam)



Photo 6.103 View of Mettuppatti Hill from south side – Kaliyanipatti Village



Photo 6.104 Clear drip ledge on backside of cave (north side of hill) at Mettuppatti



Photo 6.105 Raised circle on stone in front of cave on northern side of Mettuppatti hill

v



Photo 6.106 Inscription No. 10 at Mettuppatti.

Circular punch marks are clearly visible along the lines of the characters.



Photo 6.107 Trade guild symbol in front of Tamil-Brahmi inscription No. 3 at Mettuppatti

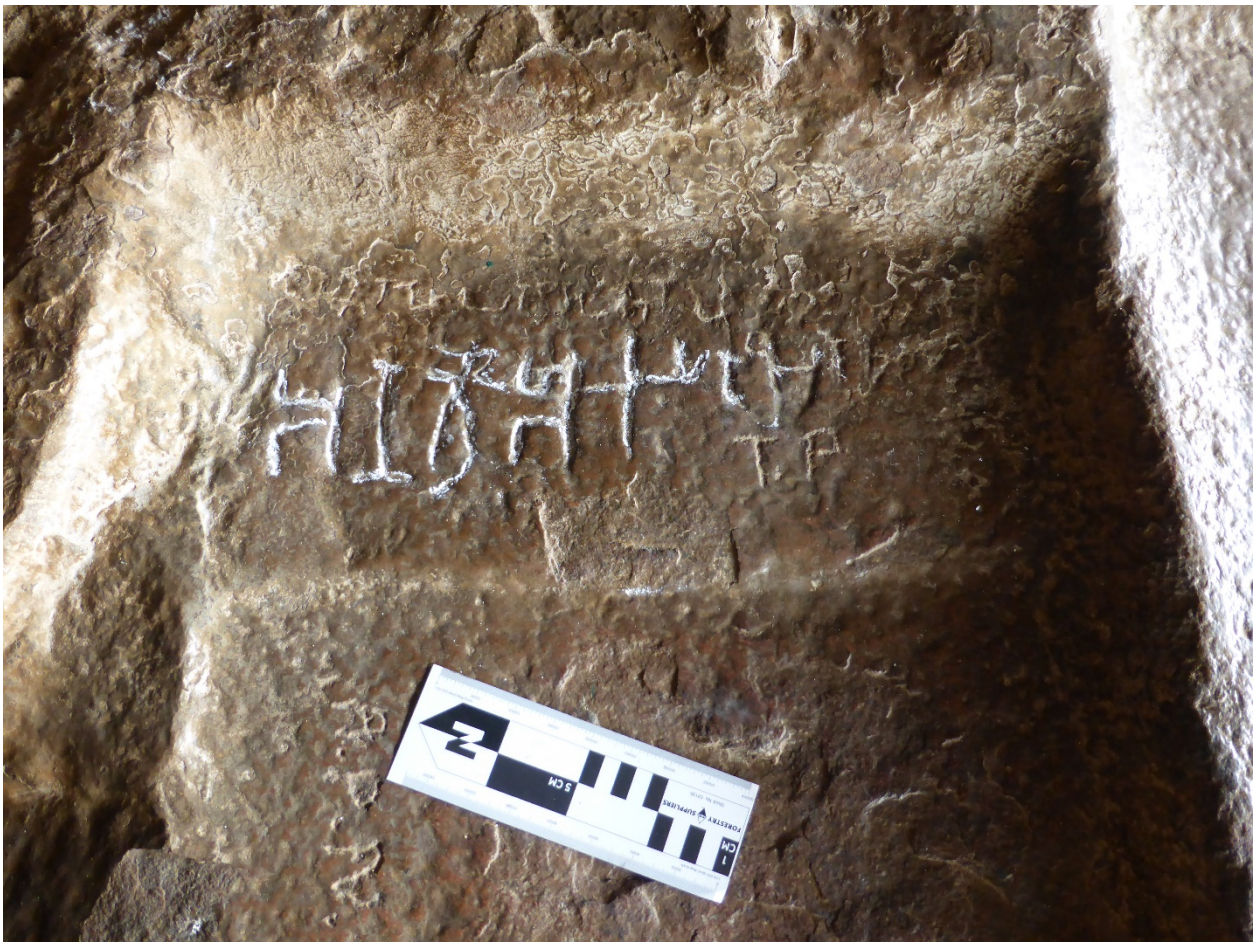


Photo 6.108 Tamil-Brahmi inscription No. 2 at Mettuppatti.

Large gap of almost 10 cm visible after last character (-ya)

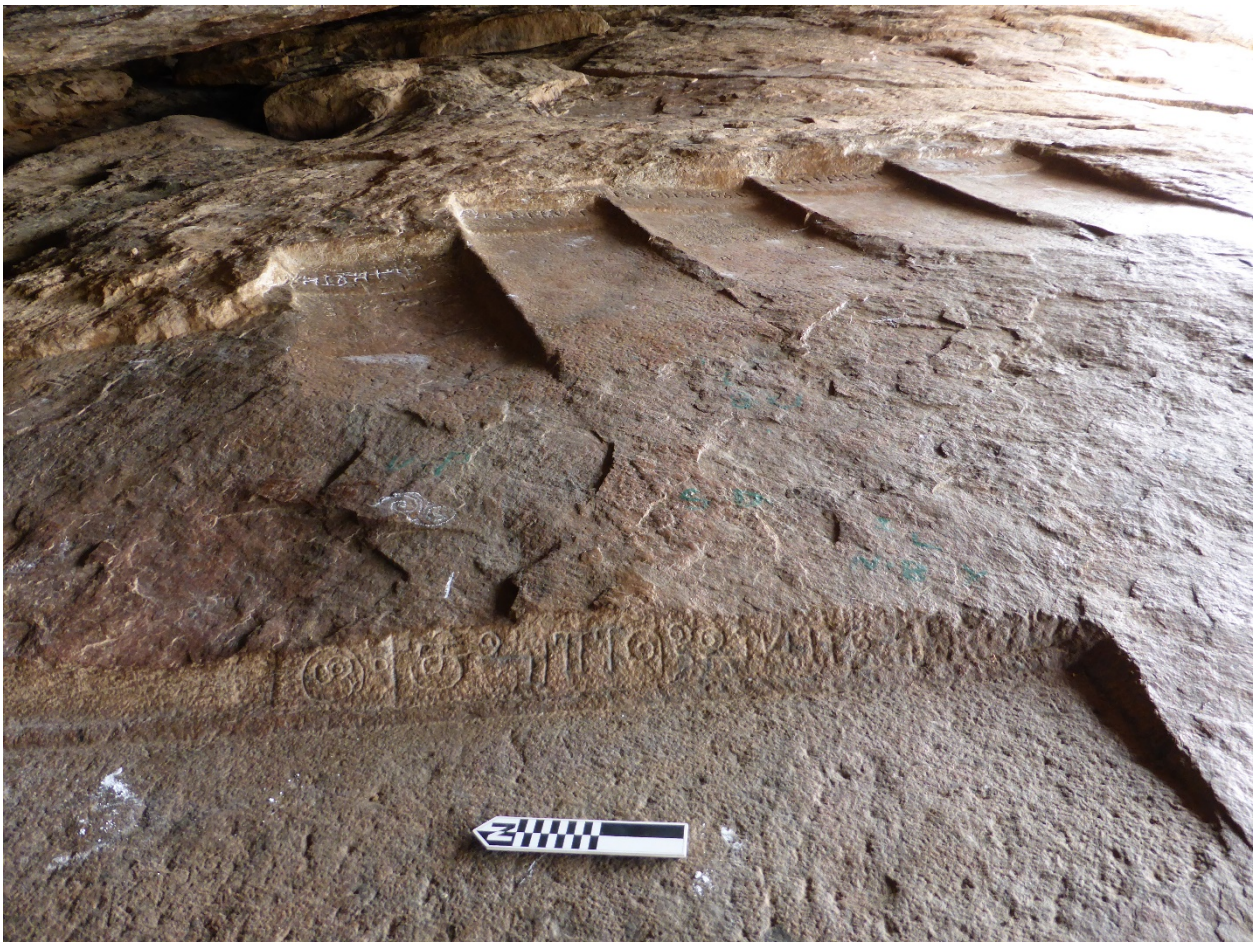


Photo 6.109 View of interior of main cave at Mettuppatti showing height difference between the beds bearing Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3..

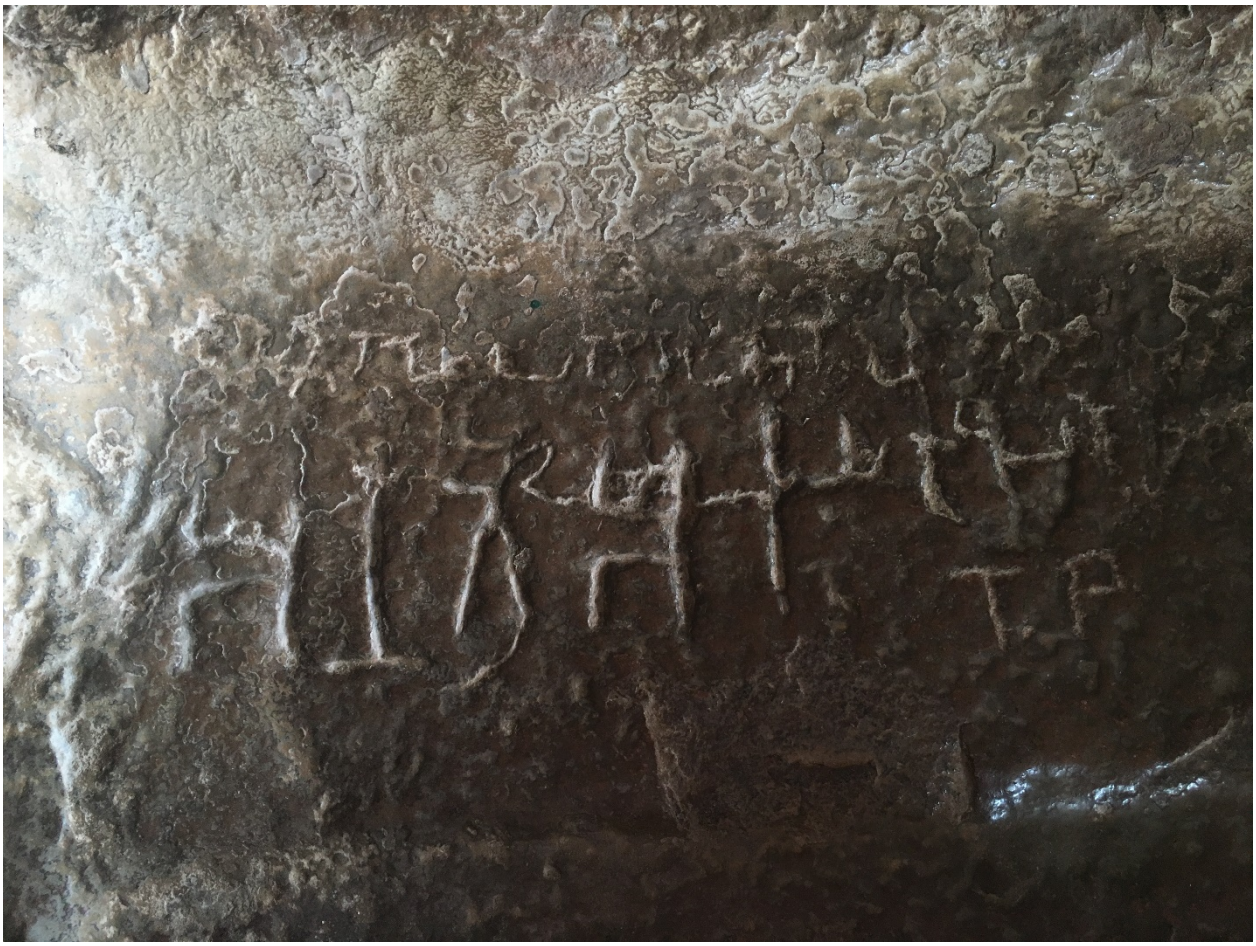


Photo 6.110 Tamil-Brahmi inscription No. 2 at Mettuppatti with indecipherable symbol or scratches preceding the first character.



Photo 6.111 Outline of 2 rectilinear structures with large cobble foundations on a terrace at the bottom of the slope adjacent to the Jain cave at Mettuppatti



Photo 6.112 Rock-cut stairs on southern slope at Mettuppatti



Photo 6.113 Rock-cut stairs on northern slope of Mettuppatti hill

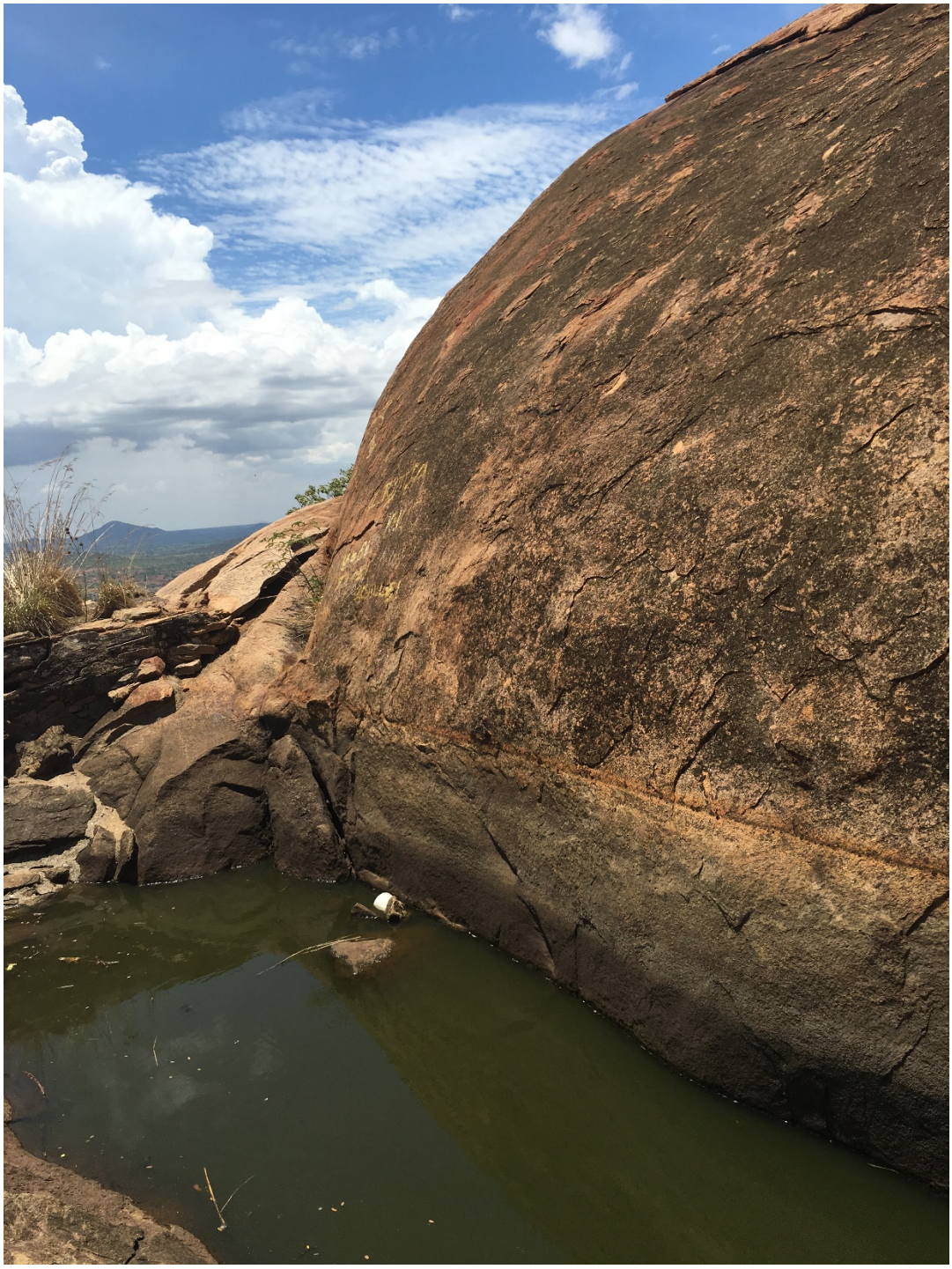


Photo 6.114 Modified rock pond on summit of Mettuppatti hill



Photo 6.115 Carved granite image of a female devotee propped up on rock next to modified rock pond

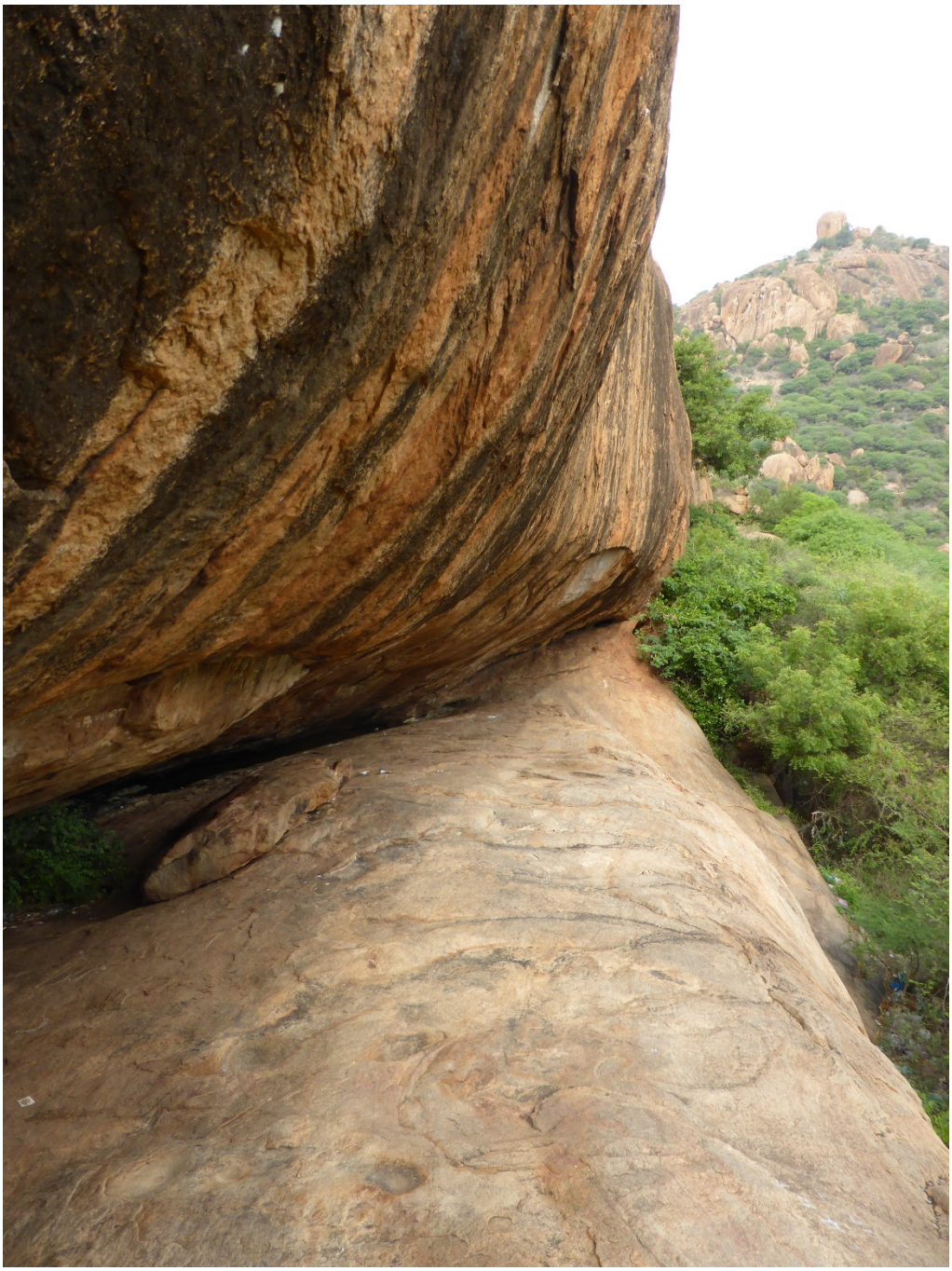


Photo 6.116 Caves at northeast base of Mettuppatti hill with groove-type drip ledges



Photo 6.117 Close up of cave at base of Mettuppatti hill



Photo 6.118 Bricks and pieces of pottery eroding out of the sediment on the summit of Mettuppatti hill



Photo 6.119 View from summt of Mettuppatti hill with rectilinear outline of old temple/structure visible in background



Photo 6.120 Post holes and grooves associated with earlier structure visible on summit of Mettuppatti hill

APPENDIX F

SURFACE FINDS: CERAMICS AND LITHICS

CERAMICS DATA

Tirupparankundram

Table F.1 Surface Ceramics from Tirupparankundram

Period	Ware	Form	Number	Weight in g	Collections
EH	Red slip/pol	bowl	2	33	1
Med	Red pw	bowl	8	44	1
Med	Red slip/pol	bowl	2	19	1
Med	Red slip/pol	jar	1	19	1
Med	Red slip/pol	other	1	4	1

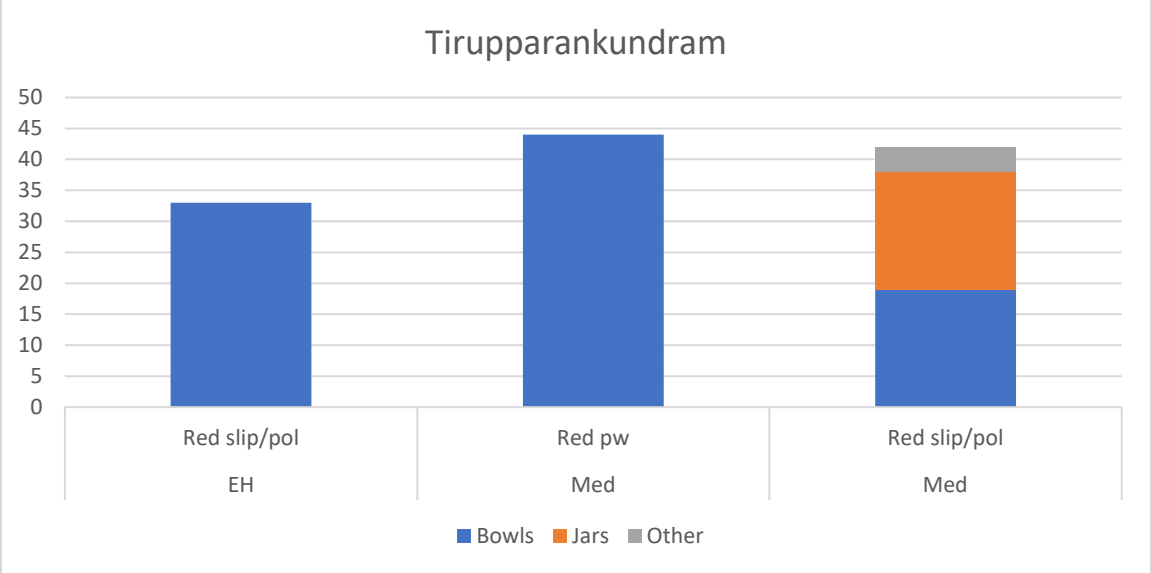


Figure F.1 Surface Ceramics from Tirupparankundram

Samanar Malai

Table F.2 Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Samanar Malai

Period	Ware	Form	Number	Weight in g	# Collections	Period
EH	Red pw	jar	2	10	1	EH
EH	Black pw	other	1	8	1	EH
EH	Red slip/pol	jar	1	15	1	EH
EH	Black slip/pol	other	1	12	1	EH
EH	BRW 2 side	other	5	8	2	EH

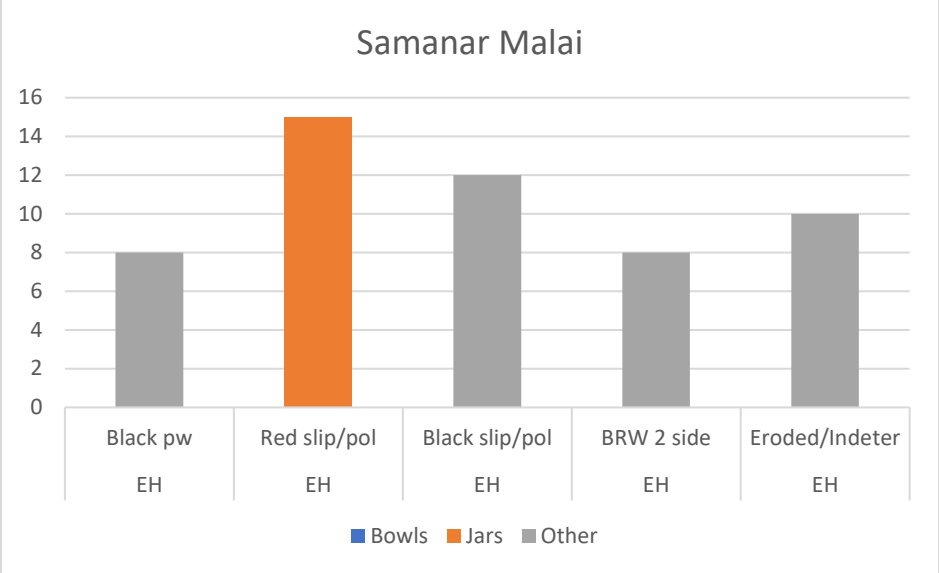


Figure F.2 Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Samanar Malai

Table F.3 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Samanar Malai

Period	Ware	Form	Count	Weight in g	# Collections
Med	Red pw	bowl	6	18	1
Med	Red pw	jar	11	116	5
Med	Red pw	other	32	70	5
Med	Red slip/pol	bowl	8	40	5
Med	Red slip/pol	jar	36	504	8
Med	Red slip/pol	other	31	108	8
Med	Black slip/pol	bowl	1	20	1
Med	Black slip/pol	other	1	1	1
Med	BRW 1 side	other	1	1	1
Med	BRW 2 side	other	1	1	1
Med	Burnt Clay	other	13	74	3
Med	Eroded/Indeter	other	61	141	9

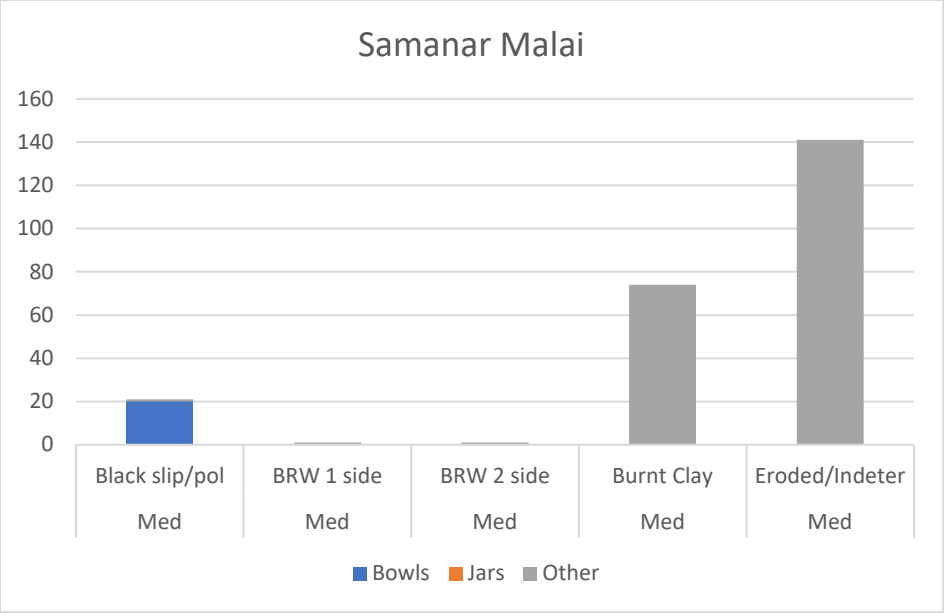


Figure F.3 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Samanar Malai

Perumal Malai

Table F.4 Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Perumal Malai

Period	Ware	Form	Count	Weight in g	# Collections
EH	Red pw	jar	5	185	2
EH	Black slip/pol	bowl	1	5	1
EH	Brown slip/pol	bowl	1	1	1
EH	BRW 2 side	bowl	1	1	1

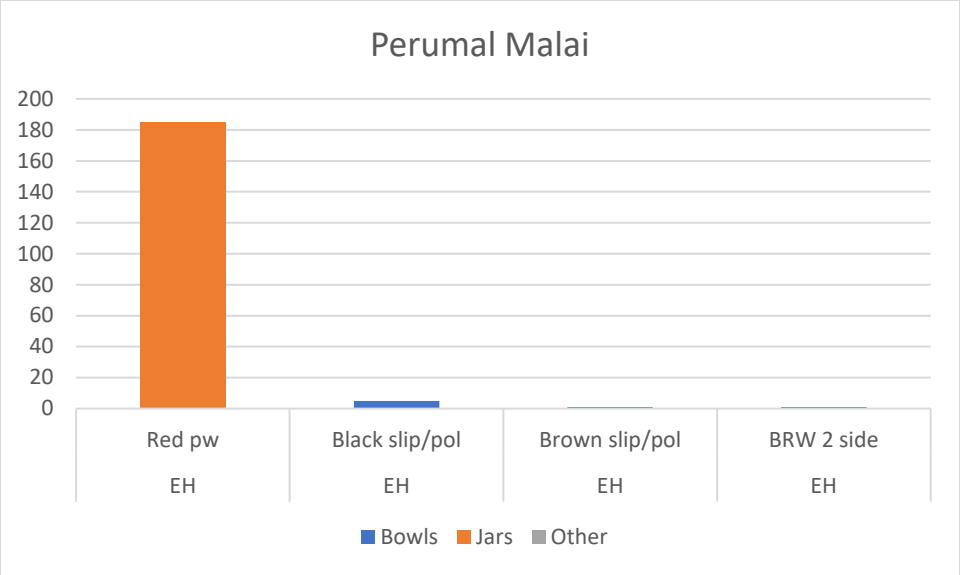


Figure F.4 Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Perumal Malai

Table F.5 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Perumal Malai

Period	Ware	Form	Count	Weight in g	# Collections
Med	Red pw	jar	1	9	1
Med	Red pw	other	25	96	4
Med	Black pw	jar	1	5	1
Med	Black pw	other	11	54	1
Med	Brown pw	other	5	13	1
Med	Red slip/pol	bowl	8	54	4
Med	Red slip/pol	jar	22	284	9
Med	Red slip/pol	other	41	208	9
Med	Black slip/pol	other	2	4	1
Med	BRW 2 side	other	5	17	4
Med	Eroded/Indeter	other	20	109	7

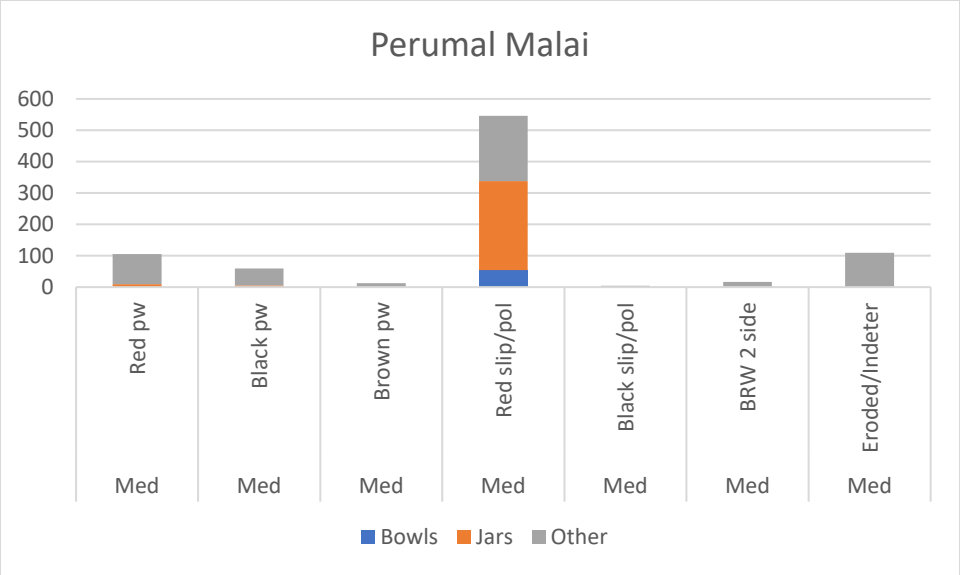


Figure F.5 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Perumal Malai

Kongarpuliyankulam

Table F.6 Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Kongarpuliyankulam

Period	Ware	Form	Count	Weight in g	# Collections
EH	Red pw	jar	1	5	1
EH	Red slip/pol	bowl	4	10	1
EH	Red slip/pol	jar	2	34	2
EH	Red slip/pol	other	5	37	3
EH	Black slip/pol	bowl	6	20	3
EH	Black slip/pol	other	2	6	1
EH	BRW 1 side	other	1	5	1
EH	BRW 2 side	bowl	1	1	1
EH	BRW 2 side	other	6	7	4

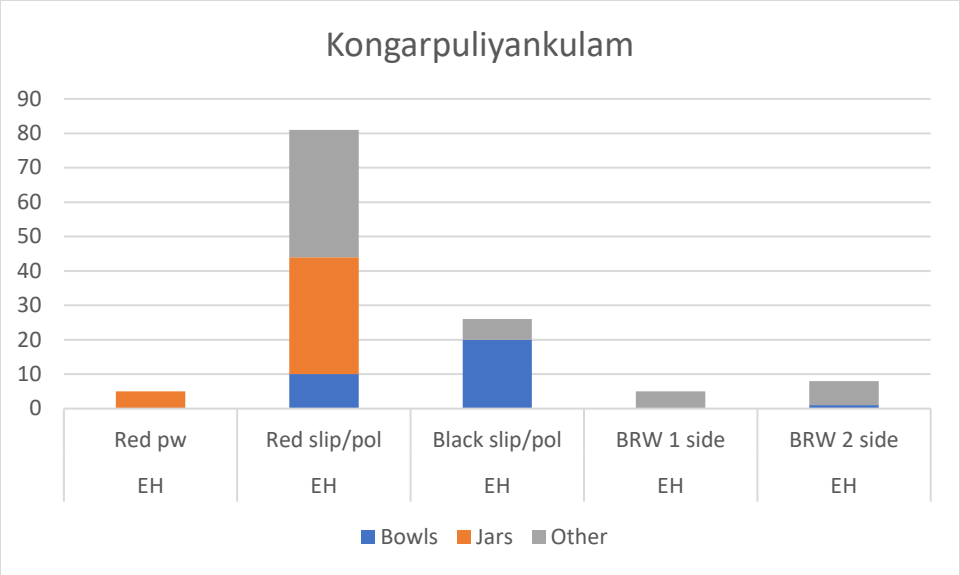


Figure F.6 Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Kongarpuliyankulam

Table F.7 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Kongarpuliyankulam

Period	Ware	Form	Count	Weight in g	# Collections
Med	Coarse Red	jar	2	24	2
Med	Red pw	bowl	9	48	4
Med	Red pw	jar	12	93	2
Med	Red pw	other	32	139	9
Med	Black pw	other	1	10	1
Med	Brown pw	jar	2	27	1
Med	Brown pw	other	1	24	1
Med	Red slip/pol	bowl	41	230	10
Med	Red slip/pol	jar	78	1269	12
Med	Red slip/pol	other	155	601	16
Med	Black slip/pol	bowl	3	9	2
Med	Black slip/pol	other	3	21	2
Med	BRW 2 side	bowl	2	7	1
Med	BRW 2 side	jar	1	6	1
Med	BRW 2 side	other	14	41	3
Med	Burnt	other	3	14	2
Med	Eroded/Indeter	other	146	485	15

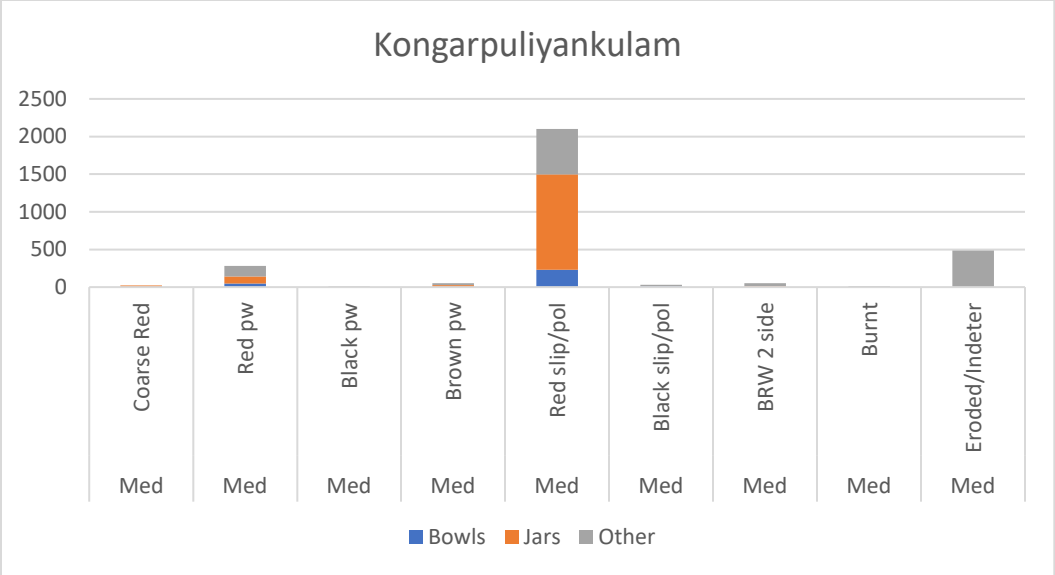


Figure F.7 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Kongarpuliyankulam

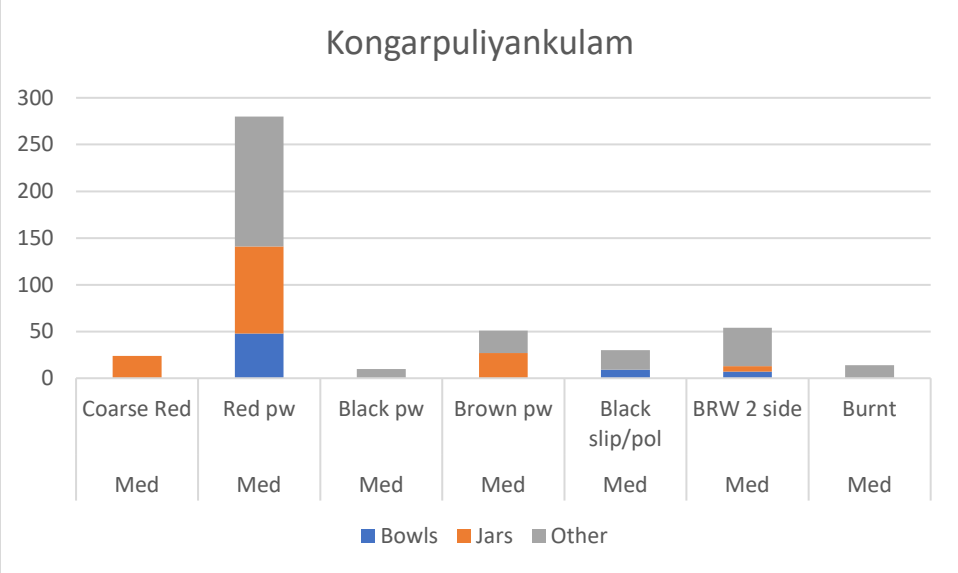


Figure F.8 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Kongarpuliyankulam (Red slipped removed)

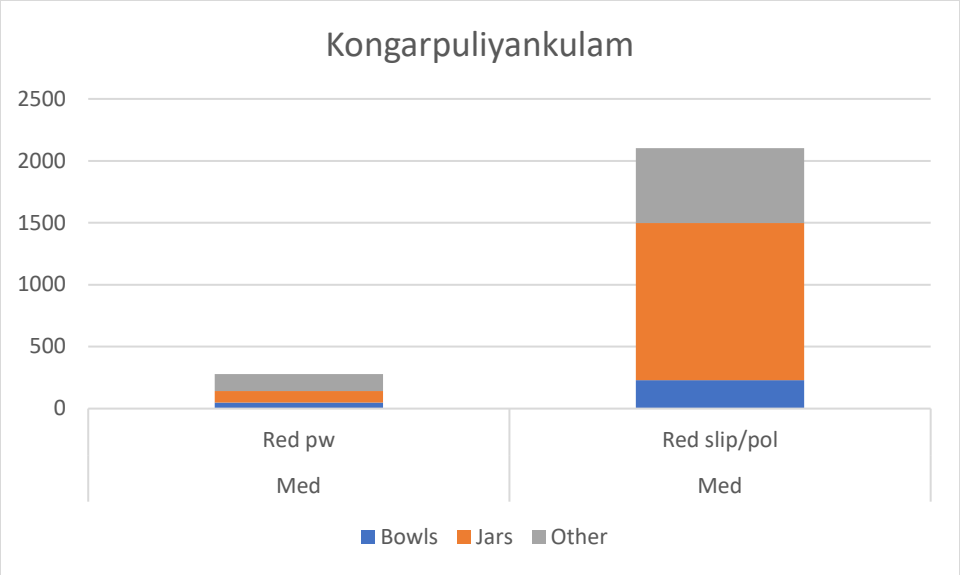


Figure F.9 Medieval Red Plain Ware and Red Slipped/Polished Ware Surface Ceramics from Kongarpuliyankulam

Vikkiramangalam

Table F.8 Iron Age / Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Vikkiramangalam

Period	Ware	Form	Count	Weight in g	# Collections
Iron	Coarse Red	jar	1	23	1
Iron	Red slip/pol	jar	5	186	2
Iron	Black slip/pol	bowl	1	6	1
EH	Coarse Red	jar	2	70	2
EH	Red pw	jar	1	66	1
EH	Red slip/pol	bowl	1	4	1
EH	Red slip/pol	other	1	1	1
EH	Black slip/pol	bowl	4	39	2
EH	Black slip/pol	other	1	3	1
EH	Brown slip/pol	jar	1	44	1
EH	BRW 2 side	other	6	16	3
EH	Eroded/Indeter	other	6	13	4

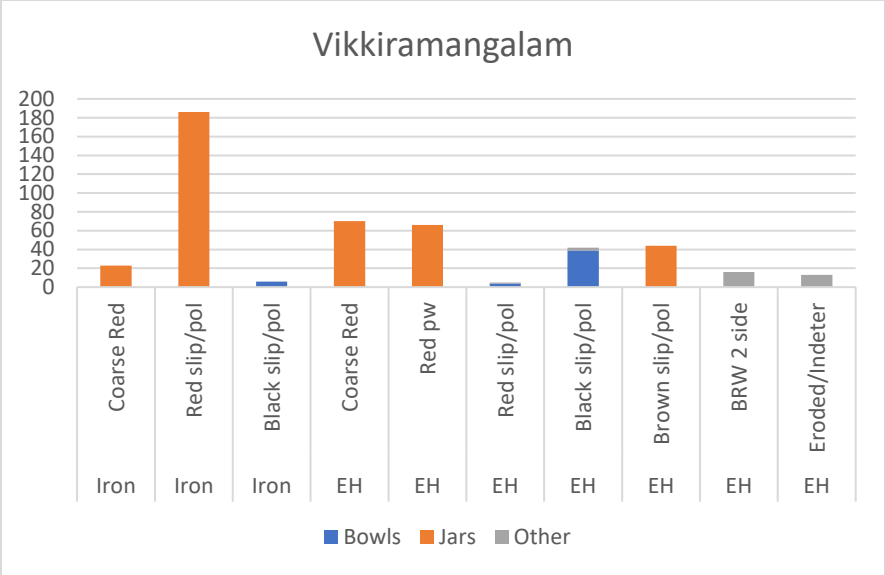


Figure F.10 Iron Age / Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Vikkiramangalam

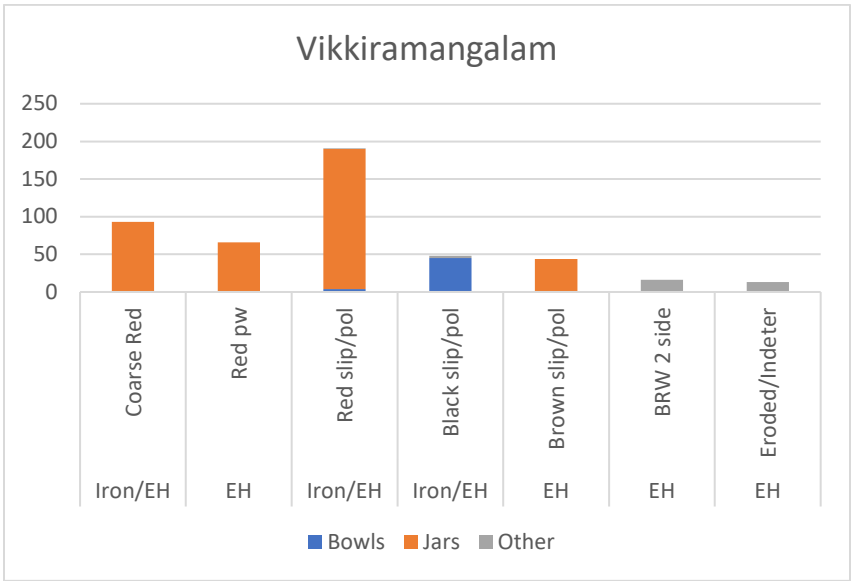


Figure F.11 Iron Age / Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Vikkiramangalam (Combined)

Table F.9 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Vikkiramangalam

Period	Ware	Form	Number	Weight in g	# Collections
Med	Red pw	bowl	1	9	1
Med	Red pw	jar	1	5	1
Med	Red pw	other	10	33	3
Med	Blacked Red pw	jar	1	23	1
Med	Brown pw	jar	1	1	1
Med	Red slip/pol	bowl	13	97	7
Med	Red slip/pol	jar	6	41	7
Med	Red slip/pol	other	19	57	7
Med	BRW 1 side	other	2	3	2
Med	BRW 2 side	other	6	13	
Med	Eroded/Indeter	other	24	93	6

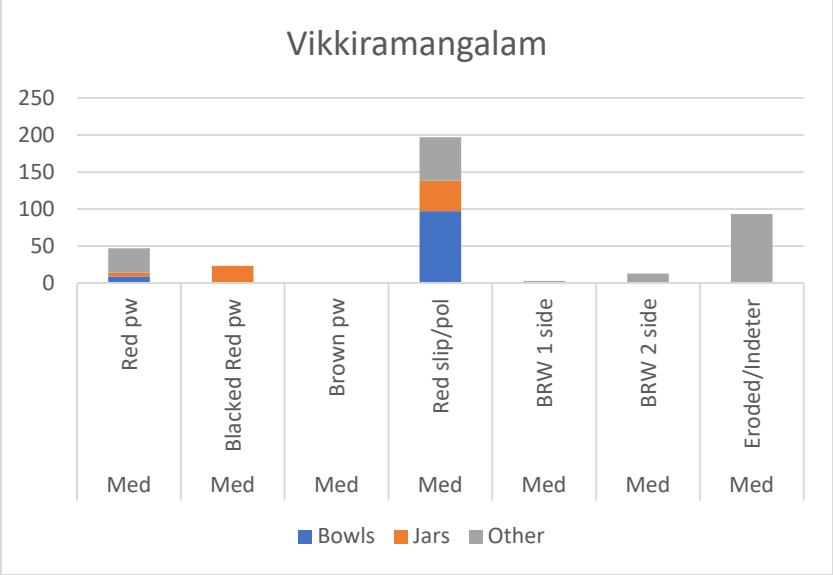


Figure F.12 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Vikkiramangalam

Mettuppatti

Table F.10 Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Mettuppatti

Period	Ware	Form	Count	Weight in g	# Collections
EH	Red slip/pol	jar	3	23	2
EH	Black slip/pol	other	2	3	2
EH	BRW 1 side	other	1	1	1
EH	BRW 2 side	bowl	2	1	1
EH	BRW 2 side	other	1	4	1
EH	Eroded/Indeter	other	15	28	1

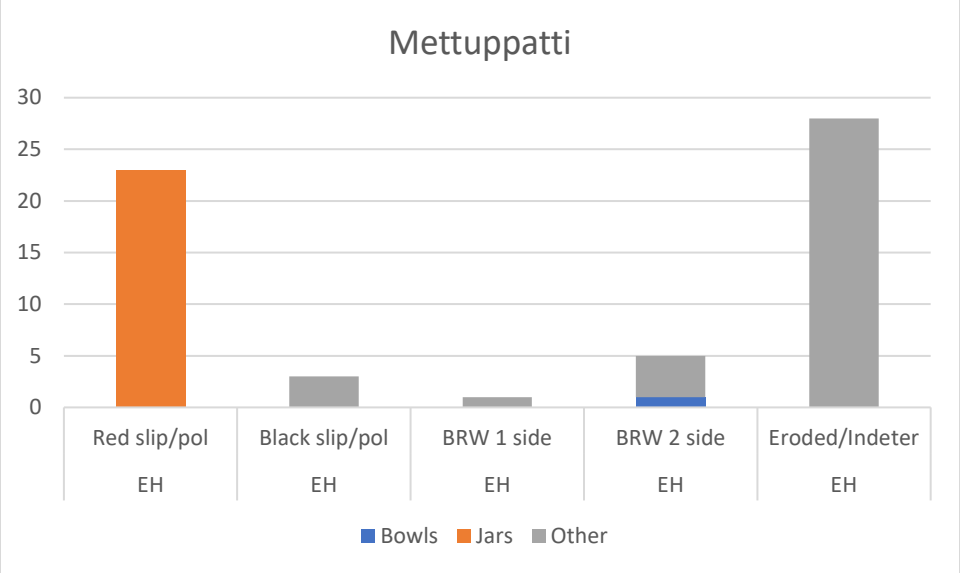


Figure F.13 Early Historic Surface Ceramics from Mettuppatti

Table F.11 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Mettuppatti

Period	Ware	Form	Count	Weight in g	# Collections
Med	Coarse Red	jar	4	133	1
Med	Red pw	jar	1	1	1
Med	Red pw	other	2	1	2
Med	Red slip/pol	bowl	11	67	5
Med	Red slip/pol	jar	19	272	4
Med	Red slip/pol	other	22	125	4
Med	Black slip/pol	jar	2	2	2
Med	Black slip/pol	other	2	2	2
Med	Brown slip/pol	other	2	1	1
Med	BRW 1 side	other	1	4	1
Med	BRW 2 side	other	2	6	2
Med	Eroded/Indeter	other	31	137	3

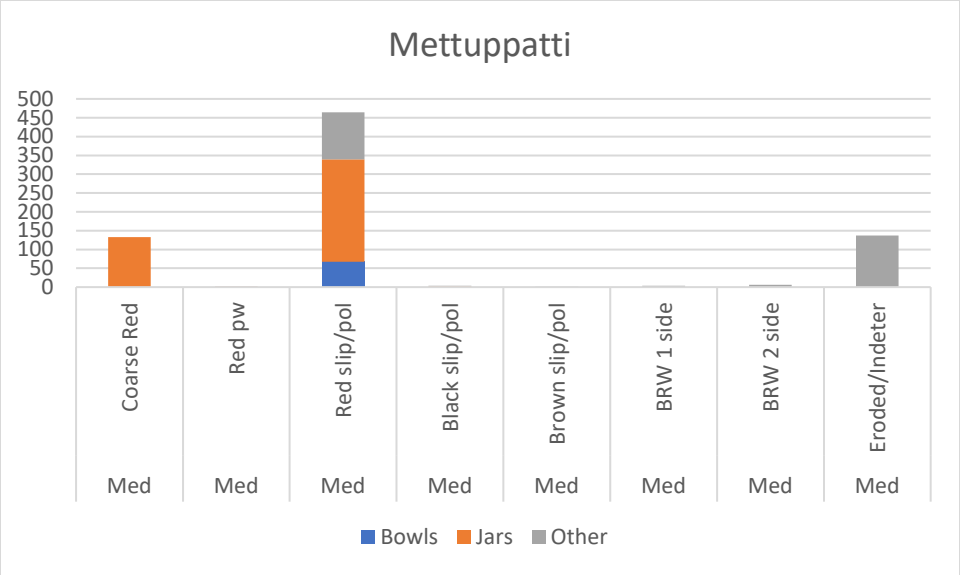


Figure F.14 Medieval Surface Ceramics from Mettuppatti

LITHICS DATA

Table F.12 Surface Lithics from JCMD 2016

Item name	Count	Site	Provenience
blade	1	Kongarpuliyankulam	WP-827
flake/broken core	1	Kongarpuliyankulam	WP-827
flakes	3	Kongarpuliyankulam	WP-827
hammerstone	1	Kongarpuliyankulam	WP-827
hammerstone/ rubberstone	1	Kongarpuliyankulam	WP-829
microlithic blade	1	Kongarpuliyankulam	WP-382
scraper	2	Kongarpuliyankulam	WP-827, WP-871
flakes	3	Kunanampatti	WP-727
core	2	Perumalmalai	WP-273
core	2	Samanarmalai	WP-239
flake	3	Samanarmalai	WP-961, WP-239 (2)
hammerstone	1	Vik or Kong	unknown
arrow	1	Vikkiramangalam	WP-799
blade	1	Vikkiramangalam	WP-811
chip	1	Vikkiramangalam	WP-772
core	1	Vikkiramangalam	WP-774
core	7	Vikkiramangalam	WP-811 (2), WP-774, WP-800, WP-772,WP-808, WP-801
core	3	Vikkiramangalam	WP-774, WP-772,WP-811
core/battered stone	3	Vikkiramangalam	WP-305, WP-800, WP-801
core/battered stone	4	Vikkiramangalam	WP-800 (2), WP-305, WP-772
core/battered stone	4	Vikkiramangalam	WP-810
core/flake	1	Vikkiramangalam	WP-799
flake	1	Vikkiramangalam	WP-774
flake	6	Vikkiramangalam	WP-811, WP-771, WP-808, WP-795, WP-801(2)
flake	3	Vikkiramangalam	WP-771, WP-305, WP-801
flake/broken blade	1	Vikkiramangalam	WP-772
flakes	3	Vikkiramangalam	WP-800
hammerstone/rubberstone	1	Vikkiramangalam	WP-773
rubberstone	1	Vikkiramangalam	C-7 WP-773

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