A STUDY OF

CĪVAKACINTĀMAṆI

PARTICULARLY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF INTERACTION
OF SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE WITH TAMIL

L. D. SERIES 82

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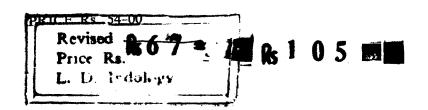
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PREFACE

It is a matter of great pleasure to place before lovers of literature the study of *Civakacintāmaṇi* (Cc) (c. 750-825 A.D.), the Tamil poem composed by Tiruttakkatēvar. It deals with the story of Jīvaka or Jīvandhara, popular among the Jainas.

This study by Dr. Mrs. R. Vijayalakshmy reveals the interaction of Sanskrit language and literature with Tamil language and literature. Chapter I discusses the date and the source of Cc. As the exact date at which Cc was composed is not known, she has tried to fix the date with the help of a comparative analysis of the texts which narrate the story of Jīvaka, viz. the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra (897 A.D), the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta (965 A.D.), the *Jīvandharacampū* of Haricandra, the *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi* and the *Gadyacintāmaṇi* of Vādibhasiṁha. Chapter II examines the social and religious conditions which existed in the Tamil land when the Cc was composed. Chapter III compares the Jīvandhara story of the *Uttarapurāṇa* with that of Cc and expounds the interaction of the pre-Cc Sanskrit works on Cc from the literary, religious and linguistic viewpoints. Chapter IV briefly discusses Tamil literary tradition as found in the early literature and shows that though the author of Cc follows the Mahākāvya form of the Sanskrit tradition he has not ignored the Tamil poetical tradition. Chapter V demonstrates how the author has used the story of Jīvaka to expound the Jaina conception of spiritual progress of soul caught up in the cycle of birth and death. The last chapter enlists Sanskrit loan-words in the Cc and examines the phonetic and semantic changes of these words. Thus the present study is thorough and systematic, and embodies results of strenuous research by Dr. R. Vijayalakshmy who rightly deserves our congratulations.

I am grateful to Prof. T. Burrow for writing a foreword to this work. And I am most thankful to Dr. R. Vijayalakshmy for agreeing to the publication of her thesis which earned her the Ph.D. Degree of the University of Oxford. I am sure this publication will prove useful to all interested in comparative studies in the field of classical Indian literature in general and the Jaina literature in particular.

L. D. Institute of Indology
Ahmedabad–380 009.
15th April, 1981

Nagin J. Shah
Director

FOREWORD

This study, by R. Vijayalakshmy, of the Tamil poem *Civakacintāmaṇi* is concern-
ed with the relationship of the work to the various Sanskrit and Prakrit works which
treat the same story, and more generally with the fusion of Sanskrit and Tamil lite-
rary tradition and culture as exemplified by this Tamil poem. It is not known when
the story of Jīvandhara originated, but it became very popular among the Jains of
South India from the ninth century onwards. A large number of works in Sanskrit,
Prakrit and Kannada can be enumerated which deal with this story, but it is only
the earliest works of this kind which are relevant to the study of the *Civakacintāmaṇi*
and these are subjected in the present work to a detailed analysis in comparison with
the *Civakacintāmaṇi*. The works in question are, the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra
(897 A.D.), the Apabhraṃśa *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta (965 A.D), the *Kṣatracūḍā-
maṇi* and *Gadyacintāmaṇi*, verse and prose versions of the story by Vādibhasiṃha,
and the *Jīvandhara campū* of Haricandra. Dr. Vijayalakshmy's detailed analysis of
these texts in comparison with the *Civakacintāmaṇi* produces some interesting conclu-
sions which are convincingly argued on the basis of abundant evidence, and which
can be regarded as definitely established. Briefly it is shown that the two works of
Vādibhasiṃha show a knowledge of *Civakacintāmaṇi*, and are therefore later than it.
Likewise the *Jīvandhara campū* of Haricandra is shown to be later than the works
of Vādibhasiṃha and therefore later than the *Civakacintāmaṇi*. A comparison of the
story as it appears in the *Civakacintāmaṇi* on the one hand and in Apabhraṃśa and
Sanskrit Purāṇas on the other, shows that though there is general correspondence,
differences in detail are sufficiently numerous to make it clear that these are not the
direct source of Tiruttakkatēvar's work. Dr. Vijayalakshmy suggests the possibility of
a lost Prakrit original, and in support of this points to the fact that some of the
proper names in the Tamil poem appear in Prakrit form. The theory is very likely,
since one would expect that the Jains would have had a version of this popular
story in Prakrit, and also in a fuller form than in the summaries contained in the
Purāṇas.

As regards the date of the *Civakacintāmaṇi* no absolutely certain conclucion can
be reached in the absence of decisive evidence but the probable date suggested, between
the later part of the eighth century and the early part of the ninth century, can be re-
garded as the most likely. All the material that can contribute to this problem has
been carefully collected and the problem has been brought as near a solution as is at
present possible

The *Civakacintāmaṇi* has its literary roots both in the native Tamil tradition
going back to the Caṅkam literature, and in the Sanskrit Kāvya tradition with

which the author was well acquainted, and the book contains a most interesting section showing how these two strands have been combined. The influence of the poet Kālidāsa has been demonstrated by examples, and there is an analysis of the alaṁ-kāras in the work which show the influence of the tradition of Sanskrit poetics.

Being a Jaina work the *Civakacintāmaṇi* contains a good deal of Jaina doctrine in one form or another, and an excellent account is provided of this material. Although Jainism had been under attack for some centuries from Śaivaites and Vaish-navaites, it was still a force to be reckoned with in the Tamil land. The poem provides an excellent picture of contemporary Jainism, particularly as it affected the lay community, and all this is clearly brought out in the present work. The wider influence of Aryan cultural traditions, as reflected in the poem is also given its due.

Finally there is a chapter on the loanwords from the Sanskrit and Prakrit which are found in the poem. There are other studies in this subject in respect of earlier literature, but this is the first time that loanwords in this poem have received detail-ed treatment. It excellently supplements what has been done elsewhere.

University of Oxford
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T. Burrow
Emeritus Boden Professor of Sanskrit

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PREFATORY NOTE

Considering the large number of articles and books which have already been written on the *Civakacintāmaṇi*, the question arises whether there is a need for writing yet another book on the same work. It should therefore be pointed out that most of these works deal with the literary merits of the *Civakacintāmaṇi* purely as a classic in Tamil literature. What little has been written in the form of a critical study of the work has not been based on a detailed comparison of the contents of the *Civakacintāmaṇi*, with that of the extensive Sanskrit and Prakrit works dealing with the same theme. On the other hand, scholars who have been engaged in the study of Jaina texts in Sanskrit and Prakrit have not so far taken serious note of works like the *Civakacintāmaṇi* which are in Tamil.

The present work embodies the results of the investigations of the author during 1969-1972 which were submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford, under the able guidance of Professor T. Burrow, the then Boden Professor of Sanskrit. Its main aim has been to study the interaction between Sanskrit and Tamil with special reference to the *Civakacintāmaṇi*. In addition, it examines the linguistic impact of what may be considered as the first serious attempt to pattern a Tamil classic after the Sanskrit Mahākāvya traditions. In the process many of the obscure verses in the *Muttiyilampakam* have also been explained from the point of view of Jaina metaphysical and religious thought.

I am grateful to Professor Burrow who suggested this line of investigation to me and steered my course through it and to Professor K. Kailasanatha Kurukkal of the University of Srilanka who shaped my career right from my student days. The completion of this work would have been impossible but for the active involvement of my husband, Dr. G. Rangarajan. For its inclusion in the L, D. Series of the L. D. Institute, I am indebted to the late Prof. A. N. Upadhye of the University of Mysore. I would be failing in my duty if I have not thanked Pt. Dalsukh Malvania, the former Director of the L. D. Institute of Indology and Dr. Nagin J. Shah, the present Director for bringing out this work in print.

If scholars notice any defects which have been overlooked by me in this first attempt to study a Tamil classic in comparison with other related works in Indian literature, I would be grateful if the same were brought to my attention.

International Institute of Tamil Studies   **R. Vijayalakshmy**
Adyar
May, 1980

ABBREVIATIONS

Akan *Akanāṉūṟu*

Ap. *Ādipurāṇa*

Cc. *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*

Cey. *Ceyyuḷiyal*

Cut. *Cūttiram*

Gc. *Gadyacintāmaṇi*

Jc. *Jivandharacampū*

Kc. *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi*

Mey. *Meyppāṭṭiyal*

Mp. *Mahāpurāṇa*

Por. *Poruḷatikāram*

Rk. *Ratnakaraṇḍa-Śrāvakācāra*

Tēvar *Tiruttakkatēvar*

Ts. *Tattvārtha Sūtram*

Up. *Uttarapurāṇa*

The following abbreviations have been used only in Chapter VI:

Aiṅk.	*Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*	**Paṭṭ.**	*Paṭṭiṉappālai*
Cirupañc.	*Cirupañcamūlam*	**Pkt.**	*Prākrit*
Cirupāṇ.	*Cirupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai*	**Puṟ.**	*Puṟanāṉūṟu*
Kuṟ.	*Kuṟuntokai*	**Skt.**	*Sanskrit*
Naṟṟ.	*Naṟṟiṇai*	**Tirikaṭ.**	*Tirikaṭukam*
Neṭ.	*Neṭunalvāṭai*	**Tiru.**	*Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*
Pari.	*Paripāṭal*		

TRANSLITERATION : TAMIL

Vowels		Consonants	
அ	a	க்	k
ஆ	ā	ங்	ṅ
இ	i	ச்	c
ஈ	ī	ஞ்	ñ
உ	u	ட்	ṭ
ஊ	ū	ண்	ṇ
எ	e	த்	t
ஏ	ē	ந்	n
ஐ	ai	ப்	p
ஒ	o	ம்	m
ஓ	ō	ய்	y
ஔ	au	ர்	r
ஃ	ẖ	ல்	l
		வ்	v
		ழ்	ḻ
		ள்	ḷ
		ற்	ṟ
		ன்	ṉ

TRANSLITERATION : SANSKRIT

Vowels

अ	a		
आ	ā		
इ	i		
ई	ī		
उ	u		
ऊ	ū		
ऋ	ṛ		
ॠ	ṛī		
ऌ	lṛ		
ॡ	lṛī		
ए	e		
ऐ	ai		
ओ	o		
औ	au		
˙	ṃ (Anusvāra)		
:	ḥ (Visarga)		

Consonants

क्	k	द्	d
ख्	kh	ध्	dh
ग्	g	न्	n
घ्	gh	प्	p
ङ्	ṅ	फ्	ph
च्	c	ब्	b
छ्	ch	भ्	bh
ज्	j	म्	m
झ्	jh	य्	y
ञ्	ñ	र्	r
ट्	ṭ	ल्	l
ठ्	ṭh	व्	v
ड्	ḍ	श्	ś
द्	ḍh	ष्	ṣ
ण्	ṇ	स्	s
त्	t	ह्	h
थ्	th		

*

CONTENTS

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CHAPTER I

AN ATTEMPT TO TRACE THE SOURCE OF THE CIVAKACINTAMANI AND THE PERIOD IN WHICH IT HAS BEEN WRITTEN

The first step in evaluating the influence of Sanskrit on the Civakacintamani (Cc.) involves tracing the source of the Cc. and the period in which it was written. Unfortunately there is no internal evidence in the Cc. which would help one in doing this. In this chapter we attempt to do this by (i) a comparative study of the books which deal with the Jivaka story and (ii) an analysis of external evidence which contains references to the Cc. or to the author of the Cc., Tiruttakkatevar (Tevar).

The Jivaka story has been used as the main theme in many Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada works. These texts have been written in different periods and some of Prakrit and Kannada works belong to a much later period. Such works are not considered here.[1] Thus the books we have taken for our study are, (i) the story of Jivandhara narrated in the *Uttarapurana* (Up.) of Gunabhadra (ii) the story of Jivandhara narrated in the *Mahapurana* of Puspadanta, (iii) the *Ksatracidamani* (Kc.) and (iv) the *Gadyacintamani* (Gc.) of Vadibhasimha, and (v) the Jivardhara campu (Jc.) of Haricandra. We have also consulted the Jivandhara story narrated in the *Sripuranam* which is written in Manipravala style, a style in which Tamil and Sanskrit words are mixed. This is more or less like a translation of the Jivardhara story in the Up. of Gunabhadra, except for the very few minor changes found in it. As Gnanamurthy[2] thinks, this can be of a very late period, probably composed somewhere about the 16th century A.D.

Out of the five books mentioned above which deal with the Jivaka story, the Up. of Gunabhadra is considered to be the earliest The Up. forms the latter half of a work called Mahapurana (Mp.). The first half of this text is called Adipurana (Ap.) and is written by Jinasena, the teacher of Gunabhadra. Gunabhadra completed the work which was started by his teacher and this work was consecrated by Gunabhadra's student, Lokapala. The date of this work is known from the prasasti at the end of this

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1 *Jivandhara-caritra* of Suthacarda (Samvat 10( )) (Sanskrit); *Jivardharacarite* of Raidhu (Apabhramsa) (before A.D. 1439); *Jivandhara-carite* of Bhaskara (Kannada) (A.D. 1424), *Jivandhara-Samgatya* of Terakanambi Bommarasa (Kannada) (c. 1435); *Jivan lhara-satpadi* of Kotisvara (Kannada) (about A.D. 1500); *Jivandhara-caritre* of Brahmakavi (Kannada) The dates of these works are taken from the General Editorial written to *Jivandhara-campu* by A. N. Upadhye and H. L. Jain, edited by Pannalal Jain, Varanasi, July 1958, pp. 8-19.

2 T. E. Gnanamurthy, *A Critical Study of Civakacintamani*, Coimbatore, November 1966, p. 33.

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work. In this praśasti it is stated that this text was completed on the 820 Śaka
year (A.D. 897) called Iirgala, during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarṣa
(Kṛṣṇa II)[1] (A.D. 850–915)

The whole book of the Mp. deals with the story of sixty three Jain divine per-
sonages.[2] Apart from these sixty three divine personages there are also nine Nāradas,
eleven Rudras and twenty four Kāmadevas.[3] Jīvandhaia is one of these Kāmadevas
and his story is narrated in the seventy fifth chapter of the Sanskṛit Mahāpurāṇa
in verses 183–691.

The Jīvandhara story narrated in the ninety ninth saṃdhi of the Apabhraṃśa
Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta which was completed in A.D. 965 during the reign Kṛṣṇa
III (A.D. 939–966) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty,[4] follows the Jīvandhara story narrated
in the Up. to a great extent. The story in Puṣpadanta's Mahāpuiāṇa (Mp.) is very
brief compared to the story in the Up., and it just follows the story of the Up.

From the following verse of the introductory stanzas of the Gc. it is known
that the Gc was written by Vādibhasiṃha :

śripuṣpasenomuniraṭha iti pratīto divyo manur mama sadā hṛdi samnidadhyāt |
yacchaktitaḥ prakṛtimūḍhamatir jano'pi vādibhasiṃhamunipuṅgavatām upaiti ||[5]

[Let the ascetic known as Puṣpasena, the divine manu, be in my heart always,
by whose greatness even the dull headed one becomes the ascetic Vādibhasiṃha (the
lion to the opponent elephants).]

In the Kc. there is no mention of its author But, from the strong similarities
in style and story, it is obvious that both books, the Cc. and the Kc. are written by
the same man. It is most conspicuous in the phraseology, the manner of narration,
the names of the characters, diction and the sequence of events. The fact that these
two works are written by Vādibhasiṃha is also supported by the colophons found at
the end of each chapter in both the Gc. and the Kc. Each colophon states that

1   akālavarṣabhūpāle pālayaty akhilāmilām/
         tasminvidhvastaniśśeṣadviṣi vīdhrayaśojuṣi// 31

         ..   ..
         śakanṛpakālābhyantaraviṃśaty adhikāṣṭaśatamitābdānte/
         maṅgalamahārthakāriṇi piṅgalanāmani samastajanasukhade// 35
         śrīpañcamyām budhārdrāyuji divasamaje mantrivare budhāṃśe
             pūrvāyām siṃhalagne dhanuṣi dharaṇije saiṃhikeye tulāyām/
         sūrye śukre kulīre gavi ca suragurau niṣṭitam bhavyavaryaiḥ
             prāptejyam sarvasāram jagati vijayate puṇyam etat purāṇam// 36
         edited by Pt. Pannalal Jain, Uttarapurāṇam. 2nd edition, Varanasi, 1968, Praśasti, vv. 31–36, p. 577.
2   Twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras, twelve Cakravartins, nine Nārāyaṇas, nine Prati-Nārāyaṇas and nine
         Balabhadras are the sixty three divine personages.
3   Ref. Jagmanderlal Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism.* 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 125–126.
4   P. L. Vaidya, Introduction to Mahāpurāṇa, *Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta,* Manikchand Digambara
         Jaina Granthamālā, Bombay, 1937, p. xxxi.
5   Gadyacintāmaṇi, edited by Pt. Pannalal Jain, Varaṇasi, 1968, 1:6, p. 4.

Vādibhasimha had composed the chapters. The Jivandhara story is narrated in verses in the Kc. and in prose in the Gc. In most of the stanzas in the Kc. the story is stated in the first line and in the socond line a moral explanation is given through the Arthāntaranyāsa alaṃkāra. There is no variation in the sequence of events or in the story. The difference is that in the Gc. the story is described in detail and in the Kc. it is short and simple.

Though the core of the Jivandhara story is the same, these two works and the Cc. differ in many places from the stories narrated in the Up. of Guṇabhadra and in the Mp. of Puṣpadanta. The Jc. of Haricandra shows the knowledge of the Up. as well as of the Kc., the Gc. and the Cc. The story of this work which is written in prose and verse (campū) follows the story of the Kc. and the Gc. to a great extent with modifications here and there. The Jc. in some places follows incidents which are only narrated in the Up. and not in the Kc., the Gc., or the Cc. For example, in the Up. Jivandhara who meets the ascetic Āryavarma while he was playing, takes him home to give him food on his request. At home while he is eating with the ascetic he cries and bothers his mother saying that he cannot eat the food as it is all hot.[1] The ascetic who watches this incident, asks him why he does so. He explains the advantages of crying like that as follows : "Crying makes the collected phlegm flow out, the eyes get clear and the food cools down."[2] The same incident is described in the Jc. The following passage shows that the answer given by Jivandhara to the ascetic is also the same as in the Up.

śrutvā vāṇiṁ tasya mandasmitena tanvanniryatkṣiradhāreti śaṅkām |
ittham vācām ācacakṣe bhavanvai mocāmadhvimadhurimādadadhānām ||
    śleṣmacchedo nayanayugalinirmalatvam ca nāsā-
        singhāṇānām bhuvi nipatanan koṣṇatā bhojyavarge |
    śirṣabaddhabhramakarapayodoṣabādhānivṛttir
        anye'pyasmin paricitaguṇā rodane sambhavanti ||[3]

(Hearing his speech you, with a smile that created the doubt that a stream of milk was flowing down, replied as follows in words sweet as the liquor made of bananas.

The breaking of the phlegm, the clearing of the two eyes, falling down of the dirt in the nose, the cooling down of the food, the curing of the cold which produces dizziness in the head, etc. are the advantages of crying.)

In some places the Jc. also follows the Up. with exactitude in the descriptions. For example the description of the cemetery in which Vijayā gave birth to her son Jivandhara is the same in the Up. and the Jc. whereas the way it is described in the Gc. and the Cc.,[4] while being similar between themselves, is different from the way

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1 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 271-272.
2 Up. *loc. cit.* v. 275.
3 Jc. edited by Pt. Pannalal Jain, July, 1953, 2nd Lambha, p. 43-44,
4 Gc. 1 : para 135, pp. 71-74; Cc. vv. 306-310.

it is described in the Up. and the Jc. In the portrayal of the cemetery the description of the tridents (śūla) on which thieves who were pierced by them lay with oozing blood streaming from their bodies,[1] and the description of the witches who were dragging the half burnt-dead bodies from the funeral pyre and cutting them with sharp knives[2] are similar in the Up. and the Jc. These descriptions are not found either in the Cc. or in the Ge. or in the Kc.

Like this the Jc. also follows descriptions which are found only in the Cc. and not in any other above said works. For example, in the Cc. while describing the flags hoisted on the palaces found in the city of Irācamāpuram, Tēvar describes them as follows :

tiruva niṇakarc cem poṇi niṭiya
uruvav oṇ koṭiy ūḷi ṉuṭaṅkuva
puravai veñ katirc celvaṉa paṉ mayirp
puravi poṅk aḷal ārruva pōṉravē.[3]

(The long beautiful golden flags which are swaying on the top of the large wealthy mansions, look as if they are allaying the heat of the hairy horses of the hot rayed sun.)

Here he says that the flags waver as if they were allaying the heat of the horses of the sun. The height of the mansions is indirectly expressed by the author. The same idea is expressed in the Jc. in the following description of the palaces in Rājapurī.

ambhomukcumbi-saudhadhvaji patapavanoddhūta saptāśvarathyaśrānteḥ
saudāminiśritulitatanulatā-māninimānitāyāḥ. [4]

[(The city Rājapurī) contained mansions which kiss the clouds. The breeze which comes from the wafting flags (hoisted on these mansions) alleviated the fatigue of the horses of the seven-horsed one (the sun). (The mansions) were adorned by beautiful girls who equalled the lightning with their shining bodies.]

The Jc. also follows some of the incidents which are only narrated in the Cc. For example, after the marriage with Curamañcari, Civakaṉ returns to his home where he meets his parents and then he meets his first wife, Kāntaruvatattai. On her request he goes to see his second wife, Kuṇamālai. When she saw Civakaṉ she weeps and asks him not to touch her as she is a sinful woman (It is to be remembered here that Civakaṉ was imprisoned by Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ's servants when he was with Kuṇamālai). Having heard what she said Civakaṉ consoles her saying that he was able to survive only because of the good deeds she had done.

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1 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 225-226; Jc. 1st lambha, p. 31.
2 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 226-227; Jc. 1st lambha, p. 31.
3 Cc. V. 126.
4 Jc. 1st lambha p. 6.

tivinaiy uṭaiyav eṇṇait tinṭaṉmiṉ aṭikaḷ vēṇṭa
pāviyēṉ eṉru noṉtu parint aḷut uruki naiyak
kāviyaṅk kaṇṇiy oṉruṅk kavalal yāṉ uyntat ellām
nāviyē nāru meṉi naṅkai niṉ ravattiṉ eṉrāṉ.[1]

(Oh my lord, do not touch me, the one who is full of demerits. Saying thus she wept. [Cīvakan consoled her by saying] "Do not worry; I could survive only by the merits done by you, the one whose body smells of musk.)

This same incident is narrated in the Jc. in the following lines :

āryaputra mannimittam khalv etāvad duḥkham anubhūtavān asy ato mandabhāgyām
mām mā saṃspṛśeti saviṣādam ukto jivandharaḥ, taruṇi taruṇāruṇakiraṇavikasadam-
bujavadane bhavadiyapūrvakṛtasukṛtaprabhāvenaivaitādṛśaḥ saṃvṛtto'nyathā punar-
bahutaraduḥkham anubhaveyam iti tām samāśvāsya....[2]

[She said with great grief "Lord, do not touch me, the unfortunate one because of whom you had to undergo all these troubles." (Hearing this) Jīvandhara consoled her sayiṅg, "Oh, the one whose face is like a lotus which has bloomed by the rays of the sun, I could survive like this, because of the good deeds done by you before. Otherwise I might have undergone many more difficulties.]

This incident is not narrated in this way either in the Up. or in the Kc. or the Gc.

The names of the kings who came to participate in the contest to win Ilakkaṇai and in the war between Cīvakan and Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ listed in the Cc. and the Jc. are very similar, while the names in the Kc. and the Gc. are different from these.

From these we deduce that Haricandra was also aware of the Cc. among other books on the Jīvaka story. Though Haricandra was aware of the Up. and the Cc., he follows the Kc. and the Gc. more closely than these books. The story in the Jc. is narrated in eleven lambhis as in Vādibhasimha's work. In the Cc. the story of the Jc. is narrated in thirteen Ilampakams. It may be safely said that the story of the Jc. is a brief version of the story narrated in the Kc. and the Gc. The same phrases found in the Gc. and the Kc. are freely employed by Haricandra in his work, the Jc. For example, the following phrase which is a part of the advice given by the ministers to the king Satyandhara when he wanted to entrust his kingdom in the hands of his minister Kāṣṭāṅgāra, is the same in all these books.

hṛdayam ca na viśvāsyam rājabhiḥ kim paro naraḥ |
* ||*[3]

(Even their hearts should not be trusted by kings; how much more of the other man.)

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1 Cc. v. 2099.
2 Jc. 10th lambha, pp. 170, 171.
3 Kc. 1 : 15.

..deva, svahṛdayam api rājñā na viśrambhaṇiyam. kim utāpare.[1]

(Lord, a king should not trust even his own heart. Then what of others ?)

...yan nijahṛdayam api sarvathā na viśvasaniyam kim uta janāntaram..[2]

(..that even one's own heart should not by all means be trusted, what of other people ?)

The similarities between the Kc., the Gc. and the Jc. have been pointed out by T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri in the introduction to his edition of the Gc.,[3] and in the Kc.[4]

The indebtedness of Haricandra to Vādibhasiṃha's works is great and as Handique says, it can be said that "without the latter (Kc. and Gc.) it would not be very easy to follow the story in all its details.."[5]

Therefore, from the above shown evidence it is clear that the Jc. is later than the Up., the Kc., the Gc., and the Cc.

Out of the remaining books, the Up., the Apabhramśa Mp. of Puṣpadanta, and Vādibhasiṃha's works, the Cc. has a greater affinity to Vādibhasiṃha's works than to the Up. and the Mp. of Puṣpadanta.

Just as we are unable to say anything about the source of the Cc. we also do not find any reference in Vādibhasiṃha's works for their source book. Vādibhasiṃha, in the introductory stanzas of his two works, says that he is narrating the story which was told by Sudharma on the request of the king Śreṇika.

Śreṇikapraśnam uddiśya sudharmo gaṇanāyakaḥ|
yathovāca mayāpy etad ucyate mokṣalipsayā||[6]

(Out of the desire for eternal bliss, I am narrating this, just as it was told by the chief of the gaṇas, Sudharma, on being asked by Śreṇika.)

The above verse is from the Kc. and the same fact is also mentioned in the Gc. In the Up. the entire Jivandhara story is narrated through the mouth of Sudharma on the question asked by king Śreṇika. The story starts as follows :

anyadā asau mahārājaḥ śreṇikākhyaḥ paribhraman |
prityā gandhakuṭibāhyabhāsvadvanacatuṣṭaye ||

sthitam piṇḍidrumāsyādho jivamdharamuniśvaram |
dhyānārūḍham vilokyaitadrūpādiṣu viṣaktadhīḥ ||

sakautukaḥ samabhyetya sudharmagaṇanāyakam |
bhaktiko'bhyarcya vanditvā yathāsthānam niviśya tam ||

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1 Gc. 1 : Para 9, p. 38.
2 Jc. 1st lambha, p. 15.
3 Gc. edited by T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Srirangam, 1916.
4 Kc. edited by T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Sarasvativilasa Series, No. III, Tanjore, 1903.
5 K. K. Handiqui, Forward to Jivandhara campu, edited by Pt. Pannalal Jain, Varanasi, 1958, p. 21.
6 Kc. 1 : 3

prañjalir bhagavan eṣa yatindraḥ sarvakarmaṇaj
mukto vādyaiva ko veti papraccha praśrayāśrayaḥ//[1]

(Once, while the famous Mahārāja Śreṇika was joyfully wandering about in the four splendid woods outside the perfumed chamber, he perceived the great ascetic Jivandhara, who was standing under a Piṇḍi-tree, absorbed in meditation. As (the king's) fancy was attracted by his figure, etc., he went up to the chief disciple Sɩ dharma, full of curiosity, worshipped him devoutly, saluted him, assigned to him a seat that was suitable to his rank, and asked him respectfully, with outstretched hands : 'Is this venerable one a great ascetic who has just been freed of all (consequences of former) deeds, or who is he?|[2]

From this one would think that Vādibhasiṃha could have had the knowledge of the Up. The date of Vādibhɩsiṃha which will be discussed later in this chapter shows that Vāʻibhasiṃha is later than Guṇabhadra. It is very likely that he had the knowledge of the Up. Further, the following point also supports this idea.

Though most of the stories in the Kc., the Gc., and the Cc. are similar, the story of Kṣemaśrī in the Gc. and the Kc. shows that Vādibhasiṃha in this particular story follows the Kṣemasundari story in the Up. According to the Up., the Kc., and the Gc. the story of Kṣemaśrī (Kṣemasundari in the Up.) is as follows :

Jivandhara enters the city of Kṣema and there he goes to a Jaina temple and praises the lord Jina. Suddenly the doors of the Jina temple open by themselves. Seeing this, the servant of merchant Subhadra comes and greets Jivandhara. When Jivandhara asks who he is, he replies that he is the servant of the merchant Subhadra. Subhadra has a daughter named Kṣemasundari (Kṣemśrī in the Kc. and the Gc.). It was predicted by astrologers that the doors of the Jina temple would open to receive the one who would be her husband. When Subhadra comes to know from his servant that the Jina temple doors opened by themselves on the arrival of Jivandhara, he gives his daughter in marriage to him.[3]

This story is narrated in a different way in the Cc., as follows :

Kēmacari was born as the daughter of the merchant Cupattiraṉ and his wife Nipputi. Astrologers had predicted at the time of her birth that she would marry the one who would cause her to blush in shame on seeing him. Hence Cupattiraṉ used to bring young men to his house every day and feed them. When one day he took Civakaṉ home, Kēmacari blushed on seeing him and Cupattiraṉ gave her in marriage to him.[4]

Though Vādibhasiṃha would have had the knowledge of the Up. the story in the Kc. and the Gc. differs in many aspects from that of the story of the Up. There

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1   Up. *loc. cit.,* vv. 183–186.

2   Translated by Hultzch, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* XXII, 4, p. 320.

3   Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 401–414; Kc. 6 : vv. 32–51; Gc. 6 : para 168–177, pp. 254–269.

4   Cc. vv. 1450–1490.

are many new episodes which are not found in the Up. and there are several insta-
nces where slight variations from the story of the Up. are found. These variations
and the new episodes found in Vādībhasimha's work have a striking similarity to
the story narrated in the Cc. Apart from these there are also places where the same
incident is described in the same manner in the Kc., the Cc. and the Cc. These simi-
larities which would be discussed below make one feel strongly that one of these
authors follows the other. First we will discuss the similarities between these two
authors and then from the study of these similarities we will try to decide who is
following whom. These similarities can be classified into two sections:

(i) The new episodes and incidents which are not found in the Up. and are found in
     the Kc, the Gc and the Cc. Most of these episodes are narrated in the same way
     in the works of both these authors.

(ii) Similarity in manner and style of descriptions found in the Kc., the Gc. and the
     Cc. First we shall list out the episodes and incidents which are not found in the
     other three texts :

     1. When Gandhotkaṭa finds Jivardhara in the cemetery, he celebrates that happy
occasion in his house and the king Kaṣṭhāṅgāra sends him presents thinking that
Gandhotkaṭa is celebrating his victory over king Satyandhara.[1]

     2. Āryanandi, the teacher, tells the story of Jivandhara's parents after imparting
education to Jivandhara.[2]

     3. Jivandhara becomes angry on hearing the treacherous murder of his father,
and gets ready to kill Kaṣṭhāṅgāra. His teacher asks him to wait for one year.[3]

     4. After the victory over the hunters who took the cows of the cowherds, Jivan-
dhara returns home and on hearing this news, the ladies in the city come running to
see him. The description of this occurs in the Gc. and the Cc. though the manner of
the description is different.[4]

     5. The episode of Śridatta and his journey to acquire wealth. The shipwreck and
his encounter with the celestial king Garuḍavega, the father of Gandharvadattā.[5]

     6. After seeing Guṇamālā, Jivandhara is love-stricken and waits in the park drawing
the portrait of Guṇamāla.[6] Guṇamālā is also in love with him and sends him a love
message through her pet parrot[7]

     7. Jivandhara before reaching the city Candrābha where he marries Padmā, allays
the heat of the sun from which a herd of elephants suffer, by causing a shower of rain.[8]

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1 Kc. 1 : 105; Gc. 1 : para 40, p. 80; Cc. v. 330.
2 Kc. 2 3 : 6–37; Gc. 2 : para 53, p. 104; Cc. vv. 384–387.
3 Kc. 2 : 37; Gc. 2 : para 53, p. 104; Cc. vv. 390–393.
4 Gc. 2 : para 84. pp. 138–139; Cc. vv. 457–470.
5 Kc. 3 : 11 ff.; Gc. 3 : para. 90 ff.; Cc. v. 493 ff.
6 Gc. 4 : para. 133, p. 206; Cc. vv. 1003–1005.
7 Kc. 4 : 38; Gc. 4 : para 132, p. 205; Cc. vv. 1423–1437.
8. Kc. 5 : 34, Gc. 5 : para 150–151' pp. 130–231, Cc. v. 1237.

8. Before reaching Kṣemapurī where he marries Kṣemaśrī, Jīvandhara preaches Jaina doctrine to the ascetics who are performing penance standing in the midst of five fires.[1]

9. After Jīvandhara leaves Kṣemaśrī, she is distressed and her mother consoles her.[2] This incident is not narrated in the Kc.

10. Jīvandhara offers his ornaments to a wayfarer and preaches to him the right knowledge.[3]

11. The episode of Anaṅgatilakā (Anaṅgamāvṛṇai in the Cc.)[4] who tried to seduce Jīvandhara. In this episode Anaṅgatilakā tries to attract the attention of Jīvandhara towards her. She tells him a lie that she is the daughter of a celestial king and her cousin kidnapped her and left her alone in that forest. She asks Jīvandhara to give her protection. Jīvandhara advises her about the unreal nature of the body. At that moment they hear a cry and that turns out to be the cry of Bhavadatta, the husband of Anaṅgatilakā. According to the Cc. Cīvakaṉ asks Anaṅkamāviṇai to wait and he goes to find out who he is. Then Cīvakaṉ preaches to him the fickleness of women. In spite of the preachings Pavatattaṉ still wants to see his wife. So Cīvakaṉ teaches him a mantra which would help him to see his wife. This is slightly different in the Gc. In the Gc., Anaṅgatilakā vanishes from the place where she stands, as soon as she hears her husband cry out for her.[5] Though there are slight differences in the story, this episode which is found in these three books are new to the Up.

12. Suramañjarī (Guṇamālā in the Up.) goes to the temple of the god of love in order to secure Jīvandhara as her husband by offering worship as per the advice given by an old man (who was none other than Jīvandhara himself). In the temple, Buddhiṣeṇa who is hiding there already on the instruction of Jīvandhara, tells her that she will obtain Jīvandhara. She comes back and finds Jīvandhara who has already come out of his disguise and falls in love with him.[6]

13. When Jīvandhara enters the city of Videha, the ladies of that city come running to see him. Though this is described in a different way in the Gc. and the Cc., the idea is the same.[7]

14. The king Kāṣṭhāṅgāra sends a message to king Govinda informing him that Satyandhara has been killed by the state elephant and asking Govinda to come to his country and remove the rumour that he had killed king Satyandhara.[8]

These incidents and episodes which are not found in the Up. are similar in the Kc., the Gc. and the Cc. We will now see the similar descriptions which are found in these books.

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1 Kc. 6 : 7 ff; Gc. 6 : 167, pp. 253–254; Cc. vv. 1423–1437.
2 Gc. 7 : para 184, p. 277; Cc. 1533–1537.
3 Kc. 7 : 8–21; Gc. 7 : para 185, pp. 278–279; Cc. vv. 1542–1556.
4 Kc. 7 : 33 ff.; Gc. 7 : para 186 ff, p. 279 ff; Cc. 1167 ff.
5 Gc. 7 : para 186–190, pp. 279–285; Kc. 7 : 34–62; Cc. vv. 1567–1601.
6 Kc. 9 : 32 ff; Gc. 9 : para 225–226; Cc. vv. 2055–2065.
7 Gc. 9 : para 234, pp. 342–343; Cc. vv. 2114–2128.
8 Kc. 10 : 11–14; Gc. 9 : para 237, p. 349; Cc. vv. 2143–2148.

1. The advice given by the ministers to king Satyandhara who wanted to entrust the kingdom in hands of his minister Kāṣṭhāṅgāra in the Gc., is similar in the following places to the advice given by the minister Nimittikaṉ to the king Caccantaṉ in the Cc.

Cc.

perum peyarp piramaṉ eṉṉum piṭiṉār periya nīrāṉ
arumpiya mulaiyiṉāḷukk aṇi mukam nāṉku tōṉra
virumpiy āṅk avaḷaiy eytāṉ viṉṉakam iḻantat aṉril
tiruntiṉārk iṉrukāruñ ciru collāy niṉrat aṉrē.[1]

(The renowned Brahma, who achieved greatness by his penance, and obtained four faces in order to obtain the lady with the bud-like breasts (Tilottamai) lost heaven, but did not gain her Even though he reformed himself, it remains as a blemish upon him.)

kāmamē kaṉri niṉra kaḻutai kaṇṭ aruḷiṉālē
vāmaṉār[2] ceṉru kūṭi varuntiṉir eṉru vaiyatt
imañ cēr mālai pōlav iḷittiṭappaṭṭataṉrē
nāma vēr raṭakkai vēṉtē nāmitu teriyiṉ eṉrāṉ.[3]

(Oh, king of the fearsome spear, are you troubled by this love which made Buddha to transform himself into a female ass to gratify the lust of a jackass ? To analyse love, it is base just like a garland fallen in a cemetery.)

Gc.

api ca tapaś carann atiduścaram aravindasadmā śaṅkitavalamathanapreṣitavārayoṣit-
viracita vilāsavilokana-vigalitadhṛtir anubhavann ātmabhuvaś cāpalam abhajad apahāsyatām.[4]

(Lord Brahma who dwells in the lotus while performing severe penance lost his concentration because of the spirited movements of a courtesan sent by the slayer of Vala (Indra) who was afraid, experienced the disturbance caused by the God of love and became an object of ridicule.)

tathā tathāgato'pi kadācit kāmaśarapatanaparavaśā-karabhaparisadahamahamikayā
parigrahaparyākulām kām api bāleyim ālokayan karuṇārasataralitamatir āvairbhavad
anekaśatabhāga-śabalitakarabhiveṣaḥ kṣaṇam asthād iti nāstilkacūḍāmaner mahīyān nanu
kalaṅkas tasya.[5]

(Even Buddha who once felt sorry for a she-camel who had been troubled by a group of male camels which were overcome by the arrows of Cupid, turned himself into a she-camel with many yonis for a moment and this was indeed the greatest blemish to the reputation of the gem of Nāstikas [Buddha]).

1 Cc. v. 207. Refer, Swaminātha Iyer, *op. cit.* pp. 109, 110.
2 *Ibid*, v. 210. Refer. notes given by Swaminātha Iyer, *op. cit*, p. 112.
3 *Ibid*, v. 210.
4 Gc. 1 : para 9, p. 40.
5 Gc. 1 : para 9, p. 40.

2. The reason given by the minister Kāṣṭhāṇgāra for his intention of fighting with the king Satyandhara.

Cc.

> *maṇṇavaṉ pakaiy āyator mā teyvam.*
> *eṉṉai vant iṭaṉ koṇṭat iṟāp pakal*
> *tuṉṉi niṉṟu cekuttiṭu niy eṉum*
> *eṉṉai yāṉ céyva kūṟumiṉ ṉṉavĕ.* [1]

(A deity which is inimical to the king took abode in me. Day and night he stays close to me and urges me to kill the king. Tell me what I can do.)

Gc.

> *svapne kenāpi pārthivaparipanthinā daivatena 'nihatya rājānam ātmānam rakṣa' iti niranukroṣena samāvedyate. kā atra pratikriyā ? kim vātra prayujyate ? yad iha asmā-bhir vidhīyatṭe tad abhidhīyatām.* [2]

(A deity which is inimical to the king tells me always in my dream to kill the king and save him. Is there any remedy for this ? What is to be done ? Tell me what should be done by us in this matter ?)

3. The description of the death of king Satyandhara.

Cc.

> *vāmaṉ* [3] *aṭit tāmarai malar cūṭit ..*
> *vēntaṉ pŏy viṇṇŏrkku viruntāyiṉāṉĕ.* [4]

(...adorned himself with the lotus of the feet of Arhat... the king went as the guest of the celestials.)

Gc.

> *svahṛdayamaṇipiṭha-pratiṣṭhāpitajinacaraṇasarojaḥ. kāṣṭhāṅgārāya kaśyapim atisṛjya tridaśasaukhyam anubhavitum amaralokam āruroha.* [5]

(He having placed the lotus of the feet of the Jina, on the jewelled seat of his heart, leaving the kingdom for Kāṣṭhaṅgāra, ascended to the world of celestials to enjoy the pleasure of heaven.)

4. The lamentation of Vijayā on seeing her son being born in the cemetery.

Cc.

> *kaṟai paṇṇir āṇt uṭaṉ viṭumiṉ kāmar cālai taḷi niṟumiṉ*
> *ciṟai cey ciṅkam pŏṉ maṭaṅkic cĕrā maṉṉar ciṉam aḷuṅkav*
> *uṟaiyuṅ kŏṭṭam uṭaṉ cīmiṉ oṉ poṟ kuṉṟaṉ talai tiṟantiṭ*
> *iṟaivaṉ ciṟuvaṉ piṟantāṉ eṉṟ ĕṟpārkk ūrtŏr uyṭṭimiṉ.* [6]

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1 Cc. v. 241.
2 Gc. 1 : para 24, p. 58.
3 Here the word 'vāmaṉ' is used to call the lord Arhat.
4 Cc. v. 291.
5 Gc. 1 : para 31, p. 69.
6 Cc. v. 306.

(On your birth the King will ask these things to be done : Exempt the people from tax for twelve years; erect beautiful charitable institutions and temples; destroy at once the prison, where the enemies, whose wrath was suppressed like captured lions, dwell; open wide the dazzling treasure of gold and go to villages and distribute it to all those who are in want, announcing the birth of a son to the king.)

māṭam ōṅkum vaḷa nakaruḷ varampil paṇṭan talai tiṟantiṭ
aṭai cem poṉ aṇikalaṅkaḷ yāvuᵐ yāruṅ kavqrnt eḷu nāḷ
viṭal iṉrik koḷap peṟuvār vilakkal vēṇṭā viḷntīrkkuk
kōṭi mūṉrōṭ araic cem poṉ kōmā ṉalkum eṉav aṟaimiṉ.[1]

(In the mansion with high terrace, things in bountiful measure will be left un-guarded, and for seven days any one can acquire clothes, gold and jewels without any obstruction; do not prevent them. Proclaim that the king will offer three and a half million gold pieces to those who are in want.)

arum poṟ pūṇum āramum imaippak kaṇikaḷ akaṉ kōyil
oruṅku kūṭic cātakañ ceyt ōkai aracarkk uṭaṉ pōkkik
karuṅkaik kaḷiṟuṅ kampalamuṅ kācuṅ kavikaḷ koḷa vici
virumpap piṟappāy viṉai ceytēṉ kāṇav ihtōo piṟakkumā.[2]

(Your birth would have been happy news for all; the astrologers with dazzling golden ornaments and garlands, would gather together to tabulate the horoscope, the happy news of your birth would be told to all the kings; and the poets would be offered elephants with black trunks, carpets and money; but it is my misfortune to see you born like this.)

vev vāy ōri muḷavākav iḷintār imam viḷakkāka
ovvāc cuṭukāṭṭ uyar araṅkiniḷal pō ṉuṭaṅkip pēyāṭa
evvāy maruṅkum irunt iraṅkik kūkai kuḷaṟip pāṟāṭṭa
ivviārākip piṟappatōv ituvō maṉṉarkk iyal vēṇṭā.[3]

(For drums, the howling of cruel-mouthed jackals; for lamps, the fire of the pyre; for dancing, the dancing of vampires like shadows on the stage of the cemetery; for songs of praise, the pitiful cry of owls everywhere; must you be born like this ? Is this fit destiny for a king?)

paṟṟā maṉṉaṉ nakarp puṟamāl pāyal piṇañ cūḷ cuṭu kāṭāl
uṟrār illāt tamiyēṉāl otuṅkal ākāt tuṅk iruḷāl
maṟriñ ñālam uṭaiyāy ni vaḷarumāṟum aṟiyēṉāl
eṟrey itu kaṇṭēkātey iruttiyāl eṉṉ iṉṉ uyirē.[4]

(Oh, king of the world, the place you are, is the city of the enemy king : your bed is the cemetery surrounded by corpses; I am alone without any relatives; it is pitch dark and I cannot move about; I do not find a way to rear you; Oh my sweet soul, even after seeing this, you are here and not leaving me; Oh it is wicked.)

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1 *Ibid*, v. 307.　　　　　3 *Ibid*, v. 309.

2 **Cc.** v. 308.　　　　　4 *Ibid*, v. 310.

Gc.

yasya janmavārtānivedanamukharā hariṣyanti pūrṇapātraṃ dhātrī janā jananāthebhyaḥ, yasmin ca kṛtāvatāre kārādhyakṣakaratroṭitaśṛṅkhalā viśṛṅkhalagatayaś cirakālakṛtadhar-aṇiśayanamalinitavapuṣo vandipuruṣāḥ palāyamānā iva kalisainyāḥ samantato dhāveyuḥ, yasmin ca jātavati jātapiṣṭātakamuṣṭivarṣapiñjaritaharinmukham unmukhakubjavāmana-haṭhākṛṣyamāṇa-narendrābharaṇaṃ praṇayabharapranṛtta-vārayuvativarga-valgnnarāṇitamaṇi-bhūṣaṇaninadabharita-haridavakāśam nirmaryādamada-paravaśapaṇyayoṣid-āśleṣalajjamāna-rājavallabham vardhamāna-mānasaparitoṣa-pᵃrasparaparirabdha-pārthivabhujāntara-sam-ghaṭṭavighaṭita-hārapatitamauktika-sthapuṭitāsthānamaṇikuṭṭimataṭaṃ kuḍmalita-sauvid-allanirodhasaṃlāpa-niraṅkuśapraviṣṭāśeṣajānapadajanitasambādhaṃ sādaradīyamāna-kana-kamaṇimauktikotpīḍam udghāṭitakavāṭaratnakośapraviśad acakitalokalupyamāna-vastusārtham arthigaṇagaveṣaṇādeśanirgatānekaśatapratihārānitavanipakalokᵃmullokaharṣavihitamahār-hajinamahāmaham ahamahamikāpraviṣṭaviśiṣṭajana-prastūyamānasvastivādam sauva-stikavidhīyamānamaṅgalācāram-ācāracaturapurāṇapuramdharīpariṣadabhyarc ᵞamānagṛh-adaivataṃ daivajñagaṇagṛhyamāṇa-lagnaguṇaviśeṣaṃ aśeṣajana-harṣatumularavasaṃkulam rājakulam avalokyeta, sa tvam ārasad-aśivaśivāvaktra-kuharavisphurad-analakaṇajarjaritata-masi samīrapūrita-vivaravācāṭa-nṛkaroṭikarpara-kalitabhuvi ḍāmaraḍākinīgaṇa-sampātacaki-tapuruṣaparihṛtaparisare pacyamānaśava-piśitavisragandhakaṭuke kalyāṇetaracitābhasma-saṃkaṭe pretavāṭe jāta, katham api jātaḥ kathamanupalakṣitarakṣāprakāre praṇayijanāśūnye pratibhaṭanagaraparisara-paretavāse vasan vardhiṣyase vā. [1]

(at your birth the nurses, loquacious in conveying the news of your birth, would carry away "Pūrṇa pātra" from the kings; at your birth, the prisoners, their bodies dirtied with sleeping on the floor for a long time and shackles unfettered by their jailor's hand, would run about like Kalikāla soldiers; at your birth, in the royal palace, all spots would be yellow with the showers of handfuls of powder; the king's ornaments would be forcibly seized by hunch-backed dwarfs with uplifted faces; the regions would be filled with the noise of jewels made by mincing steps of the courtesans dancing with over-whelming joy; the king's friends would be embarrassed by the embraces of intoxicated courtesans, the paved floor would be made uneven with the pearls fallen through the friction of necklaces worn on the chest of the kings who embrace each other with evergrow-ing joy; crowds of citizens would have entered unobstructed by the preventive words of the chamberlains ('Kāncukins');heaps of gold, jewels and pearls would be given away lavishly; things in bountiful measures would be taken away by the people without fear from the wide open treasury full of gems: mendicants would be brought in by thousands of doorkeepers who would have gone out by the [king's] order : special worship would be offered to the venerable Jina with endless joy; words of blessing would be uttered by eminent people who would have arrived eagerly; auspicious ceremonies would be performed by priests; the household deity would be offered puja by a group of old ladies, skilled in household rites; astrologers would tabulate the horoscope; and every-where there would be noises of happiness made by people. [But now] you have been

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1 Gc. : 1 para 35, p. 71-74.

born on a heap of inauspicious ashes; in a place where the darkness has been dispelled by the fire emitted from the open mouths of howling inauspicious jackals; a place filled with human skulls, giving forth the speech of the wind through the holes in them; a place avoided with all its surroundings by people frightened by ghosts which cause tumult and stinking with the stench of burning flesh; Oh, son, when there is no way to rear you here in the cemetery near the enemy's city and in the absence of any relatives, how are you going to grow [to manhood]?)

5. The condition of Vijayā who was in the cemetery.
Ce.

> uṇṭ eṉav uraiyir kēṭpār   uyir uṟu pāvam ellām
> kaṇṭ iṉit teḷikav eṉṟu   kāṭṭuvāḷ pōlavāki
> viṉ ṭoṭ͟a nivanta kōyil viṇṇavar makaḷiṟ   ceṉṟāḷ
> veṉ ṭalai payiṉṟa kāṭṭuḷ viḷaṅkiḷai tamiyaḷāṉāḷ.[1]

(The lady bedecked with radiant ornaments who dwelt in a mansion which touched the sky, like a divine lady, is now alone in the cemetery full of white skulls, as if to show the evil results of the sin the soul undergoes, about which people have read in books.)

Kc.

> jīvānāṁ pāpavaicittriṁ śrutavantaḥ śrutau purā |
> paśyeyur adhunetiva śrīkalpābhūd akiṁcanā ||[2]

(The lady who is like goddess Lakṣmī became helpless, as if she meant to show the world, the manifold outcomes of sins, as they have learnt from books.)

6. The description of the army which went to retrieve the cows of the cowherds which were stolen by the hunters.
Cc.

> ..   ..vāṉ ulāp pōntatē pōl
> nīr viḷai curi caṅk ārppa nila neḷi parantav aṉṟē[3]

(The army with the sound of conches which were born in the sea, spread all over like the clouds which go on a procession causing the earth to bend.)

Gc.

> . namayanti bhuvam unnamayanti divam vistārayantī ca diśam pratasthe.[4]

(Having caused the earth to bend and the sky to rise and the quarter to be broadened [the army went for war].)

7. The description of the beauty of Govindā, the daughter of Govinda, the chief of the cowherds.
Cc.

> veṇṇey pōnṟ ūṟ iṉiyal mēm pāl pōr ṟiṅ collal
> uṇṉav urukkiyav āṉey pōṉ mēṉiyal
> ..   ..   ..   -- --   ..   ..[5]

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1 Gc. v. 303.   4 Gc. 2 : para 72, p. 124.
2 Kc. 1 : 85.   5 Cc. v. 480.
3 Cc. v. 433.

(She is nice to touch like butter, her words are sweet like milk and her body [has the brightness of] the ghee which has been melted to eat.)

Gc.

..Kṣīramadhurasvarām apanitanavanitamārdavāḍambarām tadātvadrutasarpiḥsaṃkāśakāya-kāntim...[1]

(She has a voice which is sweet like milk, tenderness which is like butter and the splendour of her body is like the ghee which has just been melted.)

8. The description of the manner in which the chief of the cowherds Govinda asks Jivandhara to accept his daughter.

Cc.

> kula niṉaiya ṉampi koḷuṅ kayar kaṉ vaḷḷi
> nala ṉukarntāṉ aṉṟẹ naṟuntār murukaṉ
> ..   ..[2]

(Nampi, do not consider the [difference in] family. For, Murukaṉ, the one who wears the sweet smelling garlands enjoyed Vaḷḷi, the beautiful eyed one.)

Gc.

..kumāram abhivandya nandagopaḥ ca....purātanaṣaṇmukhamukhaviśiṣṭānām āviśiṣṭa jātijātāṅganāsaṃgamisamkathām ca kathayan 'bhavadvihitanirhetukōpakārasya pratyupak-āram apaśyatā mayā diśyamānām pariṇayatu me kanyām.[3]

(Nandagopa, having worshipped Jivaka, told him..about those who like Ṣaṇmukha had married girls who were from the lower caste and said that he did not know how to repay him [Jivandhara] for the help he had done and asked him to accept his daughter.)

9. The description of the state of Śrīdatta who was sitting on the sea shore after his shipwreck.

Cc.

> ōṭun tiraikaḷ utaippav uruṇṭ uruṇṭ
> ātum alavoṉaiy aṉṉam aruḷ ceya
> niṭiya neytalaṅ kāṉa ṉeṭuntakai
> vātiy iruntāṉ varuṅ kala nōkkā.[4]

(Expecting to see a ship, Crītattaṉ, waited at the seashore watching the swan being gracious to the wobbling crabs which were pushed by the running tides.)

Gc.

calataraṅga-taraṅgiṇipathi-taraṅgaparamparāviluṭhad akaṭhorakarkaṭakāvalokana-sakautukam kādambakadambakam apy ālokayan kāṃ cana kālakalām gamayāmbabhūva.[5]

(He spent some time there watching the group of swans which were engaged in watching the beautiful crabs which were tossed by the tides which rise from the sea full of moving tides.)

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1 Gc. 2 : para 87, p. 143.   4 Cc. v. 516.
2 Cc. v. 482   5 Gc. 3 : para 91, p. 150.
3 Gc. 2 : para 86, p. 141.

10. The description of the hall which was erected for the conducting the lute competition of Gandharvadattā.

Cc.

> ōṭu mukil kiṟiy oḷir tiṅkaḷ cikai vaittē
> māṭam atu vār caṭaiya vaḷḷalaiyum okkum
> nāṭi muka nāṉkataṉi nāṉmukaṉaiy okkum
> nēṭi nimir taṉmaiyiṉi nemiyaiyum okkum.[1]

(That hall looked like lord Śiva by bearing the moon crescent which shines through the clouds, on its top; it looked like Brahma [who has four faces] by reaching everywhere with its four faces; and it looked like Viṣṇu by standing up to reach the upper limit.)

Gc.

> ...candraśekharam iva śekharīkṛtaśitāṁśumaṇḍalam, viṣṇum iva viṣṇupadavyāpinam, śatānandam iva sadālokasampādinṃ ...[2]

(It looked like Siva by bearing the moon on its top; like Viṣṇu by pervading the sky and like brahma by being bright [sad + āloka + sampādinam] (applied to Brahma the phrase sadālokasampādinam should be interpreted as the one who always created the world (sadā + loka + sampādinam)

11. The reason given by the author to explain the capability of a dog to change into a yakṣa.

Cc.

> colliya naṉmaiy illāc cuṇaṅkaṉ iv uṭampu niṅki
> ell oḷit tavaṉākip pirakkumōv eṉṉa vēṇṭā
> kol ulaiy akattiṭṭ ūtik kūr irūmp irataṅ kutta
> ellaiyil cem poṉ ākiy eri niṟam peṟṟataṉre.[3]

(Do not wonder whether a dog which did not have any of the said virtues, could leave its body and be born as a luminous celestial. Even the iron melted in the forge turns into gold with a bright colour when mercury is poured on it at the end.)

Kc.

> yakṣendro'jani yakṣo'yam aho mantrasya śaktitaḥ |
> kālāyasam hi kalyāṇam kalpate rasayogataḥ ||[4]

(Oh, by the power of mantra, the dog turned into a yakṣa. Even the iron can be turned into gold by the effect of alchemy.)

12. The cry from Guṇamālā's friend when she saw the state elephant coming to attack Guṇamālā.

Cc.

> karuntaṭaṅ kaṇṇi taṉ mēṟ kāmukar uḷḷam pōla
> iruṅ kaḷiṟ eytav ōṭac civikai viṭṭilaiyar ēka
> arumpeṟal avaṭkkut toḷiy āṭavar illaiyōv eṉ

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1 Cc. v. 598.   3 Cc. v. 960.
2 Gc. 3 para 101, pp. 167, 168.   4 Kc. 4 : 9.

oruṅku kaiy uccik kūppik kaḷirr etir iraiñci niṉrāḷ
eṉṉaik koṉr ivaḷ kaṇōṭum ellaiyil oruvaṉ rōṉri
iṉṉuyir ivaḷaik kākkum aṉreṉil eṉkaṉ māyntār
piṉṉaittāṉ āvatakav eṉreṇṇip piṇai ko ṇōkki
miṉṉup pō ṉuṭaṅki niṉrāḷ vītatai por komp oppāḷ[1]

(When the mighty black elephant, like the minds of the lusty people, ran towards Kuṇamālai, the broad and black-eyed one, the palanquin-carriers ran away. Kuṇamālai, like a golden branch full of flowers, stood there like a scintillation of lightning. Seeing that, her friend, Vītatai, the fawn-eyed one, thought to herself, " Having killed me, it will run to kill her, and in the meantime someone might appear and save her life. Otherwise, let anything happen after my death." Thinking thus, with her hands crossed on her head, shouting "Are there no men [to help]?" she stood in front of the elephant leaving Kuṇamālai behind her.)

Gc

"prāṇasamām imām matprāṇatrāṇaya vihāya katham apatrapā prayāmi.
prayāntu mama asavaḥ prāg etanmṛtiprekṣaṇāt" iti pṛṣṭhikṛtya
tām bimboṣṭhim baddhāñjaliḥ kuñjarasya purastād asthāt.[2]

(How can I abandon the one who is equivalent to my life and go without shame. Let my soul leave me before I see her death." Saying thus she came in front of the red-lipped one and stood before the elephant, with a salutation with añjali.)

13. The description of the incident in which Guṇamāla asks her pet parrot to carry a message to Jīvandhara with whom she was in love.

Cc.

uyyumār urai uṉṉaiy allāl ilēṉ
ceyya vāyk kiḷiyē cirantāy eṉa
naiya ṉaṅkaiy in nāṭṭakatt uṉṭeṉir
raiyalāy camaḷāṭ urai eṉratē[3]

("Oh, the red-beaked parrot, glory to you! There is no resort other than you." Thus she said; and the parrot replied, " Oh lady, if he is in this country tell me without any worry.")

Gc.

...krīḍāśukam śokaprahāṇaye pāṇau kurvati sarvam asmai samīhitam
āvedyate vidyate kim atropāya iti sapraṇayam sakṛpaṇam sānunayam
savrīḍam cānvayuṅkta. sa ca kīraḥ, "kim amba kātaryeṇa. kāryam
idam avanau cet pāryata eva mayā sādhayitum" iti sadhiram samabhyadatta.[4]

(To cast away her worries, she took her parrot in her hands, and told him all her desires and with love, kindness, courtesy and shyness she asked whether there was

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1 · Cc. vv. 975, 976. 3 Gc. v. 1000.
2 Gc. 4 : para. 130, pp. 201, 202. 4 Gc. 4 : para 132, p. 205

any means by which she could accomplish her desire. The parrot in a clear voice said, "Oh mother, what is gained by worrying ? If the object of your desire is in this world I can accomplish it for you.")

14. The description of Jīvandhara who was drawing the portrait of Guhamālā sitting in the garden.

Cc.

> tittinan kili micait tilaka vā ṇutal
> vēlta māl kaḷirritai veruvi ninratōr
> nāṭṭamu naṭukkamu naṅkai vaṇṇamē.[1]

(He, with thoughts about her in mind, drew [the portrait of] the lady with the beautiful forehead adorned with tilaka in the pose he liked, the tremulous state and the eager look, when she stood in front of the elephant.)

Gc.

> ...tatra kvacit pracchāyaśitale mahītale niṣaṇṇo viṣaṇṇahṛdayaḥ svahṛdayaniviṣṭām tām bimbosṭhim bahir āniyeva pratyakṣayitukāmaḥ tatkāminirūpam abhirūpo'yam akhila-kalāsu kvacid ativiśaṅkaṭe prakaṭitatadavasthām ālikhat.[2]

(He, who was skilled in all fine arts, with a dejected mind, sat under a cool shady tree, and as if desirous of bringing out and seeing the beauty of the red–lipp-ed one who entered his heart, drew her portrait in the state [in which] he saw her, on a broad board.)

15. The description of the anger of Kāṣṭhāṅgāra on hearing that his state elephant Aśanivega was controlled by Jīvandhara and as a result of that it was sick.

Cc.

> iṇt aḷar kuṭṭam pōlav eriy eḷat tiruki nōkkik
> kōn taru kurumpar vempōr kōk kuḷam veṇrat uḷḷi
> maṇṭatil ceykai cūḷnta vāṇikan makaṇai vallē
> anṭiraṅ kaḷaiven ōṭip parrupu tammin enrān.[3]

(Like a mass of fire and with a crooked look glowing like fire, [Kāṣṭhāṅgāra] thinking of the victory he [Civakan] had over opposing hunters and the group of kings, said "Capture that son of merchant, who is involved in base deeds and bring him to me. I will destroy his heroism.")

Gc.

> sa ca śabaracārubhaṭaśūra-gṛhita-godhanapunarānayana-prakaṭitaparākrama-pāṭavā-hitena nijavāravāmalocanāvargāntaraṅgibhavad-anaṅgamālāṅgikaraṇaprarūḍhena gan-dharvadaṭṭāpariṇayanasamayasaṁjātaparibhavapariṇatena..[4]

(With his anger, which had been provoked by [Jīvaka's] proclamation of his valour by retrieving the stolen cows from the army of clever hunters, increased by the

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1 Cc v. 1003.   3 Cc. v. 1079.
2 Gc. 4 : para 133, p, 206.   4 Gc. 5 : para 144, p. 217,

acceptance of Anaṅgamālā who was one of his important courtesans, matured by the insult he had during the marriage of Gandharvadattā...[ordered the men around him to bring Jīvandhara to him].)

Kc.

> *saṅgād anaṅgamālāyā vijayāc ca vanaukasām |*
> *viṇāvijayataś cāsya kopāgniḥ sthāpito hṛdi ||*[1]

(The union of Jīvaka with Anaṅgamala, his victory over hunters and his victory in the vīṇā (lute) competition, made the inflamed anger in [Kāṣṭhāṅgāra's] mind.)

16. Jīvandhara's thought when Kāṣṭhāṅgāra ordered his men to kill him.

Cc.

> *inn uyir avanai uṇṇum ellai nāḷ vantatillai*
> *ennaiy ik kirumi konṟ en ṟōḷanai niṇaippal enṟān*[2]

("The time has not come to drink the sweet life of his. What can be gained by killing these worms?[3] I shall think of my friend." Thus he said.)

Gc.

> ..'*kim ebhir niṣphalam nihataiḥ. nāsīdati gurujanādiṣṭaḥ kāṣṭhāṅgāravadhasamayaḥ*'
> *iti sāhasāya samnahyamānam ātmānam nivārya sudarśananāmno devasya sasmāra.*[4]

('What is gained by killing there people? The suitable hour advised by my teacher to kill Kāṣṭhāṅgāra has not come.' Saying thus, he controlled himself who was prepared for a rash deed and thought of the celestial Sudarśana.)

17. The description of the state of mind of Jīvāndhara when he was rescued by Sudarṣana from the hands of the servants of kāṣṭhāṅgāra who wanted to kill him.

Cc.

> *viḷaṅki vil umiḷum pūṇan viḷuc ciṟaip paṭṭapōḷtum*
> *alaṅkal an tārinān vant aruñ ciṟai viṭutta pōḷtum*
> *pulampalu makiḷvu neñcir poliṭalum inṟip poṉ ārnt*
> *ulaṅ kalant uyarnta tōḷān ūḷ viṉaiy enṟu viṭṭān.*[5]

(Cīvakaṉ with lofty and stone-like muscular shoulders, full of golden jewels, was neither distressed when he was imprisoned by Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ who wore jewels casting flickering rays, nor happy when released by Cutañcaṉaṉ who wore beautiful dangling garlands. He, with his heart unaffected, considered them as the fruits of deeds in previous births.)

Kc.

> *svāmino na viṣādo vā prasādo vā tadā'bhavat |*
> *kiṃ tu pūrvakṛtam karma bhoktavyam iti mānasam ||*[6]

(The lord was neither happy nor distressed, but he thought that the fruits of deeds done before should be experienced.)

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1 Kc. v : 4.
2 Cc. v. 1154.
3 Worms here means the insignificant people.

4 Gc. 5 : para. 147, p. 222.
5 Cc. v. 1167.
6 Kc. V : 23.

18. The description of the honours made to Jīvandhara by Sudarśana in his palace.
Cc.

> tiṅkaḷait teḷittiṭṭanna pārkaṭar ṟicai cey ten ṉir
> veṅ kaḷ viṭṭ alarnta kaṉṉi viṇṇavaṉ urimai taṉṉāl
> maṅkala vakaiyiṉ āṭṭi maṇiy aṇi kalaṅkaḷ cārttip
> paṅkaya neṭuṅ kaṇāṉaip pavittira kumaraṉ eṉṟāṉ[1]

(Cutañcaṉaṉ, who wore the garland made of flowers which had bloomed with dripping honey, brought pure water from the milky ocean; made his wives bathe Cīvakaṉ according to the auspicious rites; adorned him with jewels made of precious stones; and honoured him by the name 'Pavittira kumaraṉ')

Kc.

> payovāridhipayaḥpūrair abhiṣicyāyam   abravīt |
> pavitro'si pavitram mām śvānam yat kṛtavān iti ||[2]

(He yakṣaḷ, having bathed him [Jīvandhara] by the water brought from the milky ocean, and said to him 'you who had made me, the dog, into a holy one, are a pure one'.)

Gc.

> akārṣic ca tatra harṣotphullamukhaḥ...jivakasvāmīnaḥ svabhartṛmukhaparijñāta-kumāra-
> mahopakāritātyādarair dāraiḥ sārdham payovāridhi-payobhir abhiṣekam [3]

(Sudarśana, with a face brightened with happiness, along with his wives who had come to know about the great help rendered by Jīvaka to their husband, performed Jīvaka's ablution with water brought from the milky ocean.)

19. The description of the three mantras which Sudarśana taught to Jīvandhara and their powers.

Cc.

> kaṭun toṭaik kavar kaṇaik kāmaṉ kāmuṟap
> paṭuṅ kura ṟarum   itu pāmpum allavum
> kaṭun tiṟa ṉöykaḷuṅ keṭukkum vēṇṭiya
> uṭamp itu tarum eṉav uṇarak kūṟiṉāṉ[4]

(This will give you a sweet voice, which will be envied even by Kāma who has the quick arrow which attracts [others]; this [has the power] to cure the poison of snakes, other poisonous creatures and the unfavourable effects caused by air, wind, fire, water, etc. and diseases; this will give you any desired body.)

K.c

> kāmarūpavidhau gāne viṣahāne ca śaktimat |
> yakṣendraḥ svāmine paścān mantratrayam upādiśat ||[5]

(The yakṣa taught the lord, three mantras which had the power to give any desired appearance, (skill) in music and cure for poison.)

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1 Cc. 1169.   4 Cc. v. 1218.
2 Kc. V : 26.   5 Kc. V : 27.
3 Gc. 5 : para, 148, p. 223.

Ge.

> *adāc ca tasmai 'mā sma kuruthāḥ kurukulapate tatra preṣyasya prārthanākadarthan-*
> *enāvajñām' iti yāñcāpūrvakam sarvaviṣāpaharaṇe gānavidyāvaiśāradyakaraṇe kāmarū-*
> *pitvakalpane'py analpaśaktikam amandādarān mantratrayam.*[1]

(He gave him, out of great respect, three mantras possessing ample powers to cure all poisons, to obtain expert knowledge in music and to assume any desired form, with the request, "Oh lord of the Kurus, do not humiliate your servant by discarding his gift.)

20. The description of the forest through which Jīvandhara goes before he reaches the city of Candrābha In the Cc. this description occurs when Cutañcaṉaṉ describes ths path through which Cīvakaṉ has to go. In the Ge. the author describes it as the path through which Jīvandhara goes.

Ce.

> *kalaiy iṉ piṉai kaṉṟiṭum eṉṟu kacint*
> *ilaiyiṉ niḷal avvayiṉ iṉmaiyiṉāṉ*
> *nilayiṉ niḷa ṟāṉatu niṉṟu koṭut*
> *ulaiyum veyi niṉṟ urukumm uravōy.*[2]

(Oh, wise one, since there are no shades of leaves, worrying that his sweet mate is suffering, the buck stands suffering in front of the doe (i.e., in between the sun and the doe) in the hot sun in order to cover her in his shadow.)

Ge.

> *... niḥśeṣaparṇakṣayanirviśeṣāśeṣaviṭapini ...*
> *...kareṇutāpaharaṇakṛte nijakāyacchāyāpradāyidantini ...*[3]

([In a place where] all the trees remain without any leaves on them..the male elephant, to protect the she-elephant from the heat, covered her body with shadow of his body.)

21. The description of the incident in which Padmā was bitten by a snake,

Cc.

> *naṅkai taṉ mukattai nōkki nokai mati ituv eṉṟeṇṇi*
> *aṅkuṟai aravu tiṇṭi . . . .*[4]

(A snake who lives there [in that tree] has bitten her, msitaking her face for the shining moon.)

Ge.

> *kanyām imām idānīm kanyāgṛhān nirgatya gṛhodyāne svakarāvarjita-jalasekena*
> *sasneham abhivardhitā puṣpavatī jātā mādhavīlateti mahotsavam āracayantīm tad-*
> *vadanagocaraśaśāṅkaśaṅkayeva bhujaṅgamaḥ ko'pyasprākṣit.*[5]

(The lady, having gone out of her palace while she was in the garden rejoicing over the blooming of her mādhavī creeper, which was watered with love by her, was bitten by a snake which mistook her face for the moon.)

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1 Ge. 5 : para 149, p. 224.
2 Cc. v, 1188.
3 Ge. 5 : para 150, p. 227.

4 Cc. v. 1271.
5 Ge. V : para 155, pp. 234–235.

22. The description of the state of Padmā when she saw Jīvandhara for the first time after recovering from the effect of the poison.

Cc.

> āṭciy aim poriyāḷan uṭampu enum
> pūṭci nīḷ koṭip purriṇ akatt uṟai
> vaṭ ka nokk enum vai eyiṟṟ āraḷal
> vaṭkai nākattiṇ miṭṭuṅ koḷappaṭṭāḷ[1]

(She was again affected by the poison that is spread in the teeth [the look of his sharp eyes] of the snake [desire], which lives in the anthill [Cīvikan's body which controls the five senses of impelling nature] where the creeper [of determination] grows.)

Gc.

> tataś ca sā sakṛd avalokanakṛtavyasanabhūyastayā bhūyaḥ kumāraṃ apārayanti
> draṣṭum viṣavegamiṣeṇa paścād api nimeṣaṇam evātmanaḥ śaraṇam amaṃsta.[2]

(By the pains that arose on seeing him once, she being unable to look at him again, thought that closing her eyes under the pretext of being affected by poison was the only safe way open to her.)

23. The remark about the minds of ladies told by Jīvandhara to Bhavadatta.

Cc.

> . . . .
> uṇ niṟaiy uṭaiyav allav or āyira maṇattav ākum
> . . . .[3]

(A woman) is not pure in her mind and she has a thousand thoughts in her mind).

Kc.

> param sahasradhibhāji strīvarge kā pativratā
> . . . .[4]

(Who is a devoted wife amongst women who have a thousand thoughts.)

24. The description of the state of mind of Jīvandhara after seeing the male monkey give the female monkey a jack fruit and the watchman snatch it away from the latter.

Cc.

> kaip paḷam iḷanta manti kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ ottat
> ip paḷan turantu koṇṭa cilataṇum eṇṇaiy ottāṇ
> ip paḷam iṇṟu pōkat iṇpamē pōlum eṇṟu
> meyppaṭav uṇarvu iōṇṟi miṭṭitu kūriṇāṇē[5]

(He realised the truth and said to himself : the monkey which lost its fruit is like Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran; the watchman who snatched the fruit from the monkey is like me; and the fruit is like the mundane pleasures.)

Gc.

> sarvathā kāṣṭhāṅgārayate karaśakhābhraṣṭaphaloḥ śakhāmṛgaḥ. asmadyate nūnam āccho-
> ṭitatatphalaḥ sa vanapālaḥ. phalaṃ tu niyamena bhogāyate. gacchatu tucchaphalakāṅkṣayā
> kṛcchrāyamāṇena mayā gamitaḥ kālaḥ.[6]

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1 Cc. v. 1292.	3 Cc. v. 1597.	5 Cc. v. 2726.
2 Gc. 5 : para 157, pp. 237, 238.	4 Kc. 7 : 57.	6 Gc. 11 : para 273, p. 406.

(The monkey which lost its fruit is like Kāṣṭhāṅgāra. The watchman who had snatched the fruit from the monkey is like me. The fruit is the mundane pleasures. My time has been spent on the efforts made to gain the fruit.)

25. The description of the torture given in hell to the people who had union with the wives of other people.

Cc.

> *kātalaḷ karintu naiyak kaṭiyavā kaṇaiṇṭu knṇri*
> *ātilāṇ rara nampiy eḷit eṇav iranta pāvatt*
> *ūtulaiy uruka venta oḷ oḷar ceppup pāvai*
> *ātakāṭ eṇṇap pulliy alarumāl yāṇai vēṇtē.* [1]

(Oh the king who has elephants, the person who went with another man's wife leaving his own wife who was distressed and [neglecting] the world's condemnation, will [in hell] embrace an idol of copper which was melted in a forge and cry out of pain while onlookers exclaim words of pity.)

Gc.

> *pare tu paradāreṣvatikamrāms tāmramayataptaśālabhañjikām 'tava priyāṅganeyam'*
> *iti haṭhād atigāḍham āliṅgayanti.* [2]

(The persons who are addicted to the wives of other people are made to embarce tightly the melted copper idols saying that they are their sweethearts.)

Apart from the similarity in the manner of description found in the works of Tēvar and Vādibhasiṃha, and can also notice similarities in the phrases used in descriptions. The following examples illustrate this aspect.

1. The phrase used to describe the state of the cowherds who went to bring back the cows which have been stolen by the hunters in the Cc. is similar to the phrase used to describe the state of the army of Kāṣṭhāṅgāra who went to retrieve the cows from the hunters in the Gc.

Cc.

> *āyar matt eri tayirin āyiṇārē* [3]

(They were like the curd churned by the churning-stick of the cowherds)

Gc.

> *gōkulam amandāvartamanthena dadhīva mathyamānam śithilibabhūva.* [4]

(The cowherds dispersed like the curd which was rapidly churned by a churning stick.)

2. The phrase which is used to describe the cowherdesses.

Cc.

> *uṭai tayirp puḷi moytta tō ṇalār.* [5]

(The ladies who have the shoulders full of curd spots which were sprinkled when they were churning the curd.)

Gc.

> *...mathitadadhibindudanturapayodhare..* [6]

(The ladies who have their breasts spread with churned curd spots.)

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1 Cc. V. 2769. 3 Cc. V. 421. 5 Cc. V. 423.

2 Gc. 11 : para 282, p. 416. 4 Gc. 2 : para 77, p. 129. 6 Gc. 2: para 77, p.130.

3. The phrase used to describe Guṇamālā in the portarit drawn by Jīvandhara.

Cc.

> *nekiḷntu cōr pūn ṭukil*[1]
>
> (The slipped garment of Kuṇamālai)

Gc.

> *...āgalitavasanām ..*[2]
>
> (The one with slipped garment.)

4. The phrase used to describe the swooned state of Vijayā on hearing from her son's friends the calamity which happened to her son.

Cc.

> *iṭika ṭavaḷntiṭṭa paṭa nākam eṇa viḷntāḷ*[3]
>
> (She fell down like a snake attacked by a thunderbolt.)

Gc.

> *irammadāviddhaśayor iva...*[4]
>
> ((Her state which is like that of) a snake affected by a thunderbolt.))

5. The phrase used by Padmamukha, the friend of Jīvandhara, when he talks about Jīvandhara to his mother Vijayā.

Cc.

> *cintippavar avalam aṟu cīvakaṉ eṉ tōḻaṉ*[5]

(Cīvakaṉ, who removes the troubles of the people who think about him, is my friend.)

Gc.

> *...dīnajīvajīvāṭor jīvakakumārasya suhṛdaḥ kila*[6]
>
> ([We are] friends of Jīvaka, who is the protector of the needy people.)

6. The phrase used to describe Jīvandhara who went to the abode of Suramañjarī in the disguise of an old man.

Cc.

> *cāvar toṭiṉē kaṭitu*[7]
>
> (He will die at once if you touch him.)

Gc.

> *spṛṣṭo'pyasmābhir ayum naṣṭasur bhavet*[8]
>
> (He might die even if we touch him.)

From the similarities pointed out above, it is clear that between Tēvar and Vādibhasiṃha, one is considerably influenced by the other. Many authors[9] have noted

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1 Cc. V. 1004.

2 Gc. 4 : para 133, p. 206

3 Cc. V. 1798.

4 Gc. 8 : para 206, p. 306.

5 Cc. V. 1797.

6 Gc. 8 : para 206, p. 306.

7 Cc. V, 2016.

8 Gc. 9 : para 218, p. 324.

9 i. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, *The age of Tamil Jivaka cintāmaṇi*, Indian Antiquary, October, 1907, Vol. XXXVI, p. 285 ff.

ii. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Kāviyakālam*, 2nd edition, Madras, March 1962, p. 175.

iii. Auvai S. Turaicamippillai, *Cīvakacintāmaṇi Ārāycci*, 2nd Edition, Madras, 1948, p. 12.

iv. B. Balasubrahmaniyan, *Introduction to Cīvakacintāmaṇi* published by the Śaiva Siddhānta Maha Samājam, Madras, 1941, p, 18 ff.

the similarities and just from the fact that the two works are similar in many places, have conclude that Vādibhasimha works are the source books for the Cc. But how far is such a conclusion appropriate ?

Though the Cc. employs many Sanskrit traditions in the narration of the Jivaka episode, it owes a great debt to the Cankam literature, and to a certain extent to the Cilappatikāram and the other Patinenkilkanakku—(eighteen minor works) works, written before it in the ideas, the phrases, the similes etc. Similarly Vādibhasimha follows the style of Bāna in his Gc. In many places while describing the same incidents and descriptions, Tēvar follows the early Tamil literary works and Vādibhasimha follows the style of the Kādambari and the Harsacarita For example the following lines which describe the city Hemāngada in the Gc. contain ideas which are in descriptions found in the Kādambari and the Harsacarita.

. .*dhyānapara-yamadarādhyusita-vedikopaśobhitāśokapādapacchā vā- langhana-cakita-bhavyaloka-vakritapradaksinabhramanaih, parahitaniratamunivaraparisad-abhihita-dharmānukathonakarmatha-śukakulavācālodyān āśākhiśākhāpariskrtaparisaraih.*.[1]

([The country of Hemāngada shone by] the Jaina devotees who go round the Aśoka trees, because of the fear of crossing[2] the shadow of these trees, which are beautified by the stages on which the ascetics who do penance dwell, and by the territories surrounded by flower gardens which are full of branches on which are perched the noisy parrots which have the talent of repeating the virtuous discourses which are uttered by the group of ascetics who do good to others)

In the Harsacarita, while describing the river Ganges, following which Sarasvatī descended to the earth by the curse ef Durvāsa, it is stated that on its shores, Vidyādharas ran away in fear that they should not cross the phallic images of Śiva made of sand for worship by the Siddhas.[3] In the Kādambari, the description of the hermitage of the ascetic Jabāli in the Dandaka forest contains the statement that the parrots there repeat the 'vasatkāra'[4] sound.[5] What is stated with reference to the idols of Śiva in the Harsacarita has been taken over to the case of the Aśoka trees in the Gc. as it is a Jaina text. The entire description of the country of Hemāngada in the Gc. has the strong influence of the description of Ujjayini in the Kādambari The same Hemāngada country is described in the Cc. and one sees clearly the style of the Cankam works here.

Several places where the descriptions in the Cc. proceed on the lines of Tamil traditions are not found in the Gc. Instances for this are the descriptions of the five

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1 Gc,1: para 1, p. 9.
2 To cross over or tread upon a sacred object is sinful.
3 'siddhaviracitavālukālingalanghanatrāsavidrutavidyādharam'
   Bāna, *Harsacarita*, edietd by P. V. Kane, 2nd edition, Delhi, 1965, 1st chapter, p. 8.
4 'Vasat' is an exclamation pronounced when offering oblations to the sacred fire.
5 'anavarataśravanagrhītavasatkāravācālaśukulām', Bāna, *Kādambari*, edited by M. R. Kale, 4th edition, Bombay, 1968, 1st chapter, p. 70.

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kinds of lands, the meeting and love episodes of Patumai and Cīvakaṇ etc. But indirect influence of such descriptions is found in the Gc. An analysis of some of the examples which are quoted above to explain the similar decriptions found in both books will show Vādibhasiṃha's indebtedness to the Cc. These are discussed under two sections :

1. The examples which show that the knowledge of the Cc. is necessary to understand what is said in the Gc.

2. The examples in which one can see the influence of Tamil literary traditions an the Gc. which came thraugh the Cc.

1. In the example no, 8,[1] the chief of the cowherds asks Cīvakaṇ to accept his daughter without considering that she belongs to a lower caste. To support his request Kōvintaṇ cites precedents where other illustrious persons had married girls from lower castes. Here he quotes lord Murukaṇ who married Valli as one of the precedents.

According to early Tamil literary thought, Murukaṇ is the deity of Kuṛiñci land, one of the five kinds of landscape,[2] and he is supposed to live on the hill tops, Valli is the daugnter of one of the Kuṛavar, the hunting tribes, the inhabitants of hilly land.[3] The abduction of Valli was considered as one of the sacred sports of lord Murukaṇ. According to Tamil poetical tradition different situations of love and war are attributed to different lands.[4] Kalavu (pre-maritial love) is the love situation appropriate to Kuṛiñci, and tho myth of Murukaṇ and Valli is also based on this tradition. The myth of Murukaṇ and Valli is referred to in the early Tamil poems. the following examples illustrale this :

In the following lines of the 82nd verse of Naṛṛiṇai, the hero asks the heroine whether she is accompanying him as Valli who went with lord Murukaṇ.

vēy vaṇappuṛṛa tōlai niyē
eṇṇul varutiyō naṇ naṭaik koṭicci
muruku puṇarnt ivaṇṛa valli pōla...[5]

(Oh the one with shoulders which have the beauty of a bamboo, you are coming with me like Valli who was united with Murukaṇ.)

Similar references are also found in the later Caṅkam works like the Paripāṭal and the Tirumurkāṛṛuppatai The following lines from Paripāṭal show the relationship between Murukaṇ and Valli—

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1 Supra, p. 15.
2 Ref. chapter 4, for detailed knowedge about the divisions of land and the aspects conected to it.
3 In South India still the Kuṛavar are referred to as 'Valliammai Kūṭṭam' (the followers of goddess Valliammai). Edgar and Thurstan, *Castes and tribes of Southern India,* The Govt. Press, Madras, 1909. iii, p. 459.
4 Ref. Chapter 4,
5 *Naṛṛiṇia,* published by South India Saiva Siddhanta works, Tinevely, 3rd edition. January, 1962, v. 82,

> *aṟu mukatt āṟiru tōḷāḷ veṉṟi*
> *naṟu malar vaḷḷip pū nṇyantōyē*
> 1

(You, the hero who has six faces and twelve shoulders, desired the sweet fragrant flower, Vaḷḷi,)

The following example also mentions Murukaṇ and Vaḷḷi.

> . . . . *oru mukam*
> *kuṟavar maṭamakaḷ koṭi pōl nucuppiṉ*
> *maṭavaral vaḷḷiyoṭuṇakaiy amarnt aṉṟē*2

(One face of lord Murukaṉ) which loves to enjoy itself with Vaḷḷi, whose waist is like a creeper, the daughter of Kuṟavars [hunting tribes].)

As a result of the Aryan religious influence, the concept of God Murukaṇ fused with the concept of brahmanic God Skanda. As time went on, as Subrahmaniyan says "Muruga got transformed into Subrahmanya carrying with Him His old legends and surrounding Himself with more and more new legends any myths."3 Hurukaṉ acquired six faces and twelve arms and another wife, Devasenā, who is supposed to be the wife of Skanda in North India.4 According to Sanskrit literature, Skanda otherwise called Kārtikeya is the general of the army of the ce'estials, Devasenā and hence Devasenā is personified to be his spouse.5 To our knowledge there is no myth relating the relationship of Skanda with Vaḷḷi in Sanskrit literature. Even Skanda–Purāṇa, one of the eighteen purāṇas in Sanskrit which deals with the story of Skanda, does not contain any references to Skanda marrying a lower caste woman. In this Purāṇa there is no reference for exagamous marriages (asavarṇa marriages) 6

The relationship between Vaḷḷi and Murukaṉ which is cited by Kōvintaṉ in the Kōvintaiyār ilampakam of the Cc., therefore can be uuderstood only with the help of the know'edge of early Tamil literary trapitions. But to understand the reference "purātanaṣaṇmukhamukhaviśiṣṭanām avisiṣṭajātijātāṅganā-saṃgama-saṃkathām ca kathayan"7 cited by Govindā in the Gc. one has to know the myth of Vaḷḷi and Murukaṉ which was prevalent in Tamil literary works and specially the context in which it is related in the Cc. Bechert who examined the cult of Skandakumara in the religious history of South India and Ceylon, points out that there is conformity

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1 *Paripāṭal*, (Le Paripāṭal), published by Institut Francais D'Indologie, Pondichery, 1968. 11 : line 21 22. See also, 9 : 67 and 21 : 10.

2 *Tirumurukārrupaṭai*, Pattuppāṭṭu, edited by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, 6th edition, Madras, 1961, lines 102–103.

3 N. Subrahmaniyan *Sangam polity*, Asia Publishing House, London, 1966. p. 354.

4 "maṅkaiyar kaṇava maintar ēṟē" (You the husband of (two) ladies (Vaḷḷi and Devasenā) and the bull among the men) *Tiṟumurakārruppaṭai*, Paḷamutir Colai, line 264.

5 Refer the notes by G. R. Nandargikar on Raghuvamśam of Kalidasa, VII : 1, 3rd Editÿon, Bombay, 1897, p. 120.

6 A. B. S. Awasthi, *Studies in Skandapurāṇa*, Lucknow, 1965, Part I, p. 298,

7 Supra, p. 15.

of early Tamil religion with Sinhalese religion, particulary regarding the cults of Muru-
kan and the God of Kataragama and the legend about his marriage with Valli who
was from the jungle folk of South India hills or from the jungle people, the Veddhas.
He concludes that these common characteristics are earlier than the identification of
Murukan with the north Indian Skandakumara or Karthikeya whose spouse Devasena
is nothing but a personification of the army of Gods led by him.[1]

2. In the example No. 15,[2] we see the anger of Kasthangara described in almost
the same way in the Gc. and Cc. While describing the reasons which kindled the anger
of Kasthangara in the Gc. it is said that the union of Jivandhara with Anangamala
is one of them. This episode of Jivandhara and Anangamala is not mentioned in the
Cc. in this context. But it is narrated in detail by the character Nakamalai to Kantotkatan,
just before Civakan went to compete with Kantaruvatattai in the lute competition.
This episode is not narrated anywhere else in the Kc. or the Gc. This is also not
found in the Up. Therefore to understand the reference "sangad anangamalaya" in the
Kc. and "nijavaravamalocanavargantarangibhavad anangamalangikaranaprarudhena"
one has to have the knowledge of the Anankamalai episode in the Cc.

3. In Patumaiyar ilampakam of the Cc.,[3] the love story of Civakan and Patumai
progresses on the traditional lines of Kalavu (premarital love) in Tamil. Here Patumai
who is in love with Civakan is taken to the garden by her friends, where they leave
her alone and go away in the pursuit of sports. Patumai stands alone near the house
made of madhavi creepers. Civakan comes there and speculates whether she is a celestial
being or a human being. Then he notes that the flowers of her garland fade and from
such symptoms knows that she is a human being. Then he unites with her in accordance
with the tradition of Iyarkaippunarcci (union). He praises her and then leaves her
for fear that her friends might come back All these stages of love have been described
by Tevar according to the Tamil poetical tradition. This entire section has been omitted
by Vadibhasimha in his Gc. and Kc. Yet, the way he has narrated the marriage of
Jivaka and Padma makes one feel that he is aware of the above narration in the Cc.
which he has omitted in his works. Thus in the following passage he narrates that
Jivaka and Padma once married according to the Gandharva rites in the house made
of Madhavi creeper though he has not even mentioned it before.

*...grhodyanamandanamadhaviletamandape kusumakodandena pradattam tam mattaka-
sinim gandharvadattapatir gandharvavivahaprakramena ragagni-saksikam parintya
punargunavati lagne lokapalena vitirnam vidhivad upayacchata.*[4]

(He (Jivandhara), the husband of Gandharvadatta, having married her (Padma),
the one who appears as if she is intoxicated, given by Manmatha and witnessed by

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1   Heing Bechert, The cult of Skandapurana in the religious history of South India and Ceylon,
    paper submitted to the IIIrd International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Paris, 1970.
2   Supra. pp. 18, 19.
3   Cc. vv. 1326-1334.
4   Gc. 5 : para 159, p. 242.

the fire of love in the house made of Mādhavī creeper, which is in the garden, again married her who was given by Lokapāla at an auspicious time according to the wedding rites.)

From these examples which show that the knowledge of the Cc. is necessary to understand certain incidents narrated in the Cc and the Kc., one can see that Vādibhasiṃha is indebted to Tēvar.

2. Next we will consider the example which show the influence of Tamil literary traditions on the Gc.

1. First we will take example No. 20,[1] in which the description of the forest through which Civakaṉ goes to the city Cantirāpam. This description in the Cc. is obviously influenced by the eleventh verse of the Kalittokai. In the eleventh verse of the Kalittokai the arid landscape (pālai) is described, and thus it is called Pālaikkali. The description of the male pigeon embracing its mate with its wings in order to allay the heat,[2] the description of the buck standing in the hot sun in order to cover the doe in his shadow[3] are described in the same way in both the Cc. and the Kalittokai. Even the words used here are the same. The description of the pigeons is not found in the Gc. But, the description of the deer is narrated in the same way. The only difference he has made is that he has changed deer into elephant. Though Vādibhasiṃha tries to incorporate the description of the summer in the Ṛtusamhāra of Kālidāsa in his description of the forest, this particular description of the deer (elephant in the Gc.) has a strong similarity to the description in the Kalittokai and in the Cc. Thus, the following lines in all the three books show this similarity.

Kalittokai :

> *in nīḻal iṉmaiyāṉ varuntiya maṭap piṉaikkut*
> *taṉ niḻalaikkoṭutt aḻikkuṅ kalaiy..*[4]

(Since there are no shades of leaves the buck gives his shadow to the doe which is suffering [in the hot sun].)

Cc. :

> *kalaiy iṉ piṉai kaṉṟiṭum eṉṟu kaciṉt*
> *ilaiy iṉ nīḻal avvayiṉ iṉmaiyiṉāṉ*
> *nilaiyiṉ nīḻa ṟoṉtu niṉṟu koṭut*
> *ulaiyum veyi niṉṟ urukumm uravōy*[5]

Gc. :

> *..niḥśesaparṇakṣayanirviśeṣāśeṣaviṭapini...kareṇutāpaharoṇakṛte nijakāyacchāyāpra-*
> *dayidantiṉ...*[6]

This example also shows that Vādibhasiṃha is translating the above description from the Cc.

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1 Supra, p. 21.
2 Kalittokai, v. 11: Cc. v. 1187.
3 Kalittokai, v. 11: Cc. v. 1188.
4 Kalittokai, v. 11.
5 Cc. v. 1181. For translation see supra p. 21.
6 Gc. 5 : para 150, p. 227. For translation see supra p. 21.

2. Now let us consider example No. 7[1] from the examples quoted to show the similarity in the manner of description and example Nos. 1 and 2[2] from the example quoted for the usage of similar phrases. In all these examples which are from the episode of Kōviṇtai, we could see that the object of comparison are all from the objects characteristic of the pastoral land (the Karupporul of Mullai land). The tradition of describing a scene or an action taking place in a particular land with the help of the objects characteristic of that particular landscape is expected according to the early Tamil poetical tradition. This literary tradition is explained in the fourth chapter by us. Tēvar has followed this literary tradition in many places, and he selects most of the objects of comparison from the objects which are found in the type of land he is describing In the above-mentioned examples also one could see that Tēvar is using the objects which belong to the pastoral land. This method of description has been followed by Vādibhasiṃha in the above-mentioned examples. He compares the army which was defeated by the hunters to the curd which was churned by churning stick, and describes the spots of curds on the bodies of the cowherdesses. He also compares the body, the voice and the tender touch of Govindā with the melted ghee, milk and butter respectively. These descriptions show that Vādibhasiṃha follows the description of Tēvar which is according to Tamil traditions.

3. This aspect is also seen in the example No. 9[3] of the similar descriptions shown earlier. In this example we see that Tēvar's description of the seashore, the littoral land, the rolling tides, the wobbling crabs and the gracious swans is closely followed by Vādibhasiṃha.

4. Next let us consider example No. 6[4] of the similar descriptions in which the army of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ which marched to retrieve the stolen cows of the cowherds from the hunters is described. The statement in the Cc. that the earth was depressed under the weight of the army strongly reminds one of the description of the army In the 23rd verse of the Puranāṉūṟu. In this verse in Puranāṉūṟu the army is described as 'ñālam neiḷyav iṉṭiya viyaṉ paṭai'[5] (the army which approached causing the earth to bend). In the Cc. also the army is described as the one which causes the earth to be depressed. This is not an isolated incident in which Tēvar borrows his phraseology from the earlier works, in particular from Caṅkam works. He is not only influenced by the phraseology of Caṅkam works but also by the ideas expressed in them. For example, in the following description of the prosperous state of the city, Irācamāpuram, we could see the idea expressed in the description occurring in the Paṭṭiṉappālai.

Cc. :

poṟ ciṟu tēr micaip paim poṟ pōtakam
naṟ cirār ūrtaḷi ṉaṅkaimār virii
uṟṟavar kōḷi mēl eṟintav oṇkuḷai
maṟṟat tēr uruḷ koṭā vaḷamai cāṉṟavē.[6]

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1 Supra, p. 14.   3   Supra, pp. 15.   5   Puranāṉūṟu, v 23.
2 Supra, p.23.   4   Supra, p. 14.   6   Cc. v. 89.

(The prosperity of the country was such that the shining earrings which were thrown by the ladies who were watching the paddy, on the hens, blocked the golden chariots with golden elephants on them, which the beautiful children ride.)

Paṭṭiṇappālai :

> *nĕr iḻai makaḻir uṇaṅk uṇāk kavaruṅ*
> *koḻi eriṇta koṭuṅ kāṟ kaṇaṅ kuḻai*
> *poṟ kāl puṭalvar puraviyiṉṟ uruṭṭum*
> *muk kāṟ ciṟu tĕr muṉ vaḻi viḻakkum.*[1]

(The round and thick ear-studs which were thrown on the fowls which came to feed on the drying grains, block the way of the three wheeled playcart of the little boys with golden anklets.)

This sort of description which follow the early Tamil literary works are daliberately omitted by Vādibhasiṃha and as said before he follows the style of Bāṇa. Yet, this particular incident in which he describes the army of Kāṣṭhaṅgāra, as causing the earth to bend under its might, shows that he has closely translated the phrase which the Cc. borrowed from Puraṇāṉūru.

From the above discussion one could see the indebtedness of Vādibhasiṃha to Tĕvar. The inference that he had the knowledge of the Cc. is reinforced by the concluding stanza in the Gc.

> *stheyād oḍayadevena vadibhahariṇā kṛtaḥ |*
> *gadyacintāmaṇir loke cintāmaṇir ivaparaḥ||*[2]

(Let this Gadyacintāmaṇi, which was composed by Oḍayadeva, Vādibhasiṃha, stay in this world for ever like another Cintāmaṇi.)

Though cintāmani refers to the mythical stone which grants one's wishes here the phrse 'cintāmaṇir iva aparaḥ' most probably refers to Tĕvar's Cintāmaṇi. The term Cintāmaṇi has been used only by Tĕvar while referring to Cīvakaṉ. It is the name by which Vicayai, Cīvakaṉ's mother, calls him at the time of his birth.

> *cintāmaṇiyĕ kiṭattiyāl*[3]

(Cintāmaṇi, you are lying here [without speaking to me]).

Tĕvar also refers to Cīvakaṉ by the word Cintāmaṇi when he says that he has narrated the life history of Cintāmaṇi (i.e Cīvakaṉ).

> *cintāmaṇiyiṉ caritam citarnĕṉ.*[4]

Thus it appears that Vādibhasiṃha is referring only to the Cc. in this phrase 'cintāmaṇir iva aparaḥ'. Vādibhasiṃmha's works do not contain any references similar to the Cc. which would justify the word 'Cintāmaṇi' in his title 'Gadyacintāmaṇi' (the prose Cintāmaṇi). Further the term 'gadya' in his tittle appears to presuppose the existence of a 'padya' (verse) cintāmaṇi. But, since he has given the title Kṣatracūḍā-maṇi to his poetical work, this padya Cintāmaṇi is not likely to be the Kc. It is most probably the Cc.

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1 Paṭṭiṇappālai, lines 22–26.
2 Gc. 11 . v 297, p. 437.
3 Cc, v. 311.
4 *Ibid,* v. 3144.

Thus it is our opinion that the two works of Vādibhasimha are not of earlier origin than Cc. and derive a good deal of inspiration from the Cc. This would mean that the date of Vādibhasimha, if ascertained, could set the lower limit to the date of the Cc. We therefore consider the question of the date of Vādibhasimha next.

Vādibhasimha's date has been a problem for scholars and there have been many controversial ideas about it. The references we find about him in other books and the references which are found in his books, help to decide that he is the contemporary of the Cola king Rajaraja I (A.D. 985–1016).

Pandit Bhujabali Sastri[1] is of the opinion that Vādibhasimha must be placed in the latter half of twelfth century A.D. and was the contemporary of Rajaraja II (A.D. 1146–1173). He comes to this conclusion by analysing some of the inscriptions which are published by Sithala Prasād in his book *Madras va Mysore Prānta ka Prācina Jaina Smāraka* (The old Jaina monuments of Madras and Mysore states). But, most of the inscriptions he quotes could have been also written after Vādibhasimha's death, as they refer to him as a teacher of some one, or say that there were monuments built in his memory. The earliest dated inscription belongs to A.D. 1077. Therefore it is possible only to say that Vādibhasimha lived before this period.

In the last verse of the Kc., a name Rājarāja is mentioned.

rājatām rājarājay'a n rājarājo muhodayaih |
tejasā vayasā śūrah kṣatracūḍāmaṇir guṇaih ||[2]

(May that lord of kings who is an emperor (rājarāja) by his loftiness, warrior by his lustre and his age, best of the kings by virtues, be glorious.)

There are three Rājarājas in the history of Colas, Rajarāja I (A.D. 985–1016), Rajaraja II (A.D. 1146–1173), Rājarāja III (A.D. 1218) and there is also Rajarāja Narendra of Vengi, who was the son-in-law of Cola Rājendra I (A.D. 1022–1063). As Srikantha Sastri[5] says, among these four kings Rājarāja I was the most famous and the one who deserves to be called Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi. He further says that "the Tamil inscriptions mention Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram probably named after Rājarāja I, who seems to have had the title Kṣatriya Śikhāmaṇi".[4]

Similary when describing the country Rajapuri is his work, Vādibhasimha refers to it as a country which served as a model for the creator for the construction of Rājarājapuri.

tatra rajapurināma rājadhāni virājate|
rajarājapurisṛṣṭau sraṣṭur yā māṭṛkāyate||[5]

There shines a capital named Rājapuri, which serves as a model for the creator for the construction of Rājarājapuri)

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2 K. Bhujabali Sastri, *Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskara*, Vol. VI, Part 2, 1939 pp. 79 ff.

3 Kc. 11 : 106.

1 Srikantha Sastri, *Jaina Antiquary*, December 1939, Vol. III; pp. 89–95.

4 Srikantha Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 91

5 Kc. 1 : 5.

The Rājarājapurī mentioned here may refer to a town named in honour of the Cola king Rājarāja I. Inscriptions indicate that the modern Tārācuram was called Rājarājapuram.[1] Tārācuram is a village near Kumbakonam. The Śiva temple which is in that village is referred to as Rājarājeccuram.[2] The architecture of this temple very much resembles the architecture of the great temple at Tanjore, which was built by Rājarāja I. The connection between Rājarāja and Tārācuram is explained by the phrase 'Rājarājeccuram'. Again, in the book *Koṅgadesa rājakkal*[3] it has been mentioned that a Cola king who was the son of Parāntaka named a village originally called Kēraiyūr in the Talakād[4] district of Mysore state as Rājarājapuram. The other historical facts mentioned here about this Cola king strongly support the conclusion that he was the king Rājarāja I.

Therefore it is possible that the references to ' Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi ' and to 'Rājarājapurī' in the above mentioned stanzas from the Kc. may have been made by the author in an effort to commemorate the ruling sovereign, Rājarāja I. This would then suggest that Vādibhasiṃha was a contemporary of Rājarāja I.

The following evidence also contributes to this conclusion regarding the date of Vādibhasiṃha. Śrutasāgara Sūri in his commentary on Somadeva's Yaśastilaka campu quotes a verse in which Vādirāja and Vādibhasiṃha are said to be contemporaries and disciples of Somadeva Sūri.

> *Sa vādirājo'pi śrīsomadevācāryasya śiṣyaḥ,*
> *'vādibhasiṃho'pi madīyaśiṣyaḥ*
> *śrīvādirājo'pi madīyaśiṣyaḥ' ity uktatvāc ca|*[5]

(That Vādirāja also is the disciple of Śrī Somadevācārya. Because he says, "Vādibhasiṃha is also my student. Sri Vādirāja is also my student".)

The above statement cannot be traced back to the extant works of Somadevasūri : apart from the fact, neither Vādirāja nor Vādibhasiṃha claimed Somadeva as his guru in any of their works.[6] But, as Handique says, it is not chronologically impossible to prove that Vādirāja and Vādibhasiṃha are the disciples of Somadeva. Somadeva's date can be easily decided upon, as it is known that he had completed his campu in A.D. 959.[7] The fact that Vādirāja and Vadibhasiṃha also had lived in the same time is supported by the following evidence.

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1 R. P. Sethuppillai, *Urum perum*, 3rd edition, Madras, 1956, pp. 258, 259.

2 *Ibid*, p. 259.

3 *Koṅgadesa rājakkal*, edited by C. M. Ramachandran Chettiyar; Madras Government Oriental Series, No. VI, Madras 1950, p. 13.

4 This place still exists, under the name of Talakād, on the left bank of the River Kaveri, about 28 miles to the south east of the city Mysore. J. F. Fleet, "The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency". *Bombay Gazetteer*, 1896, Vol. I, Part II, p. 299.

5 Somadevasūri, *Yaśastilaka campu*, with the commentary of Śrutasāgara, Kāvyamālā edition, No. 70, Bombay 1901, Part I; p. 265.

6 K. K. Handique, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, Sholapur, 1919, p. 9.

7 *Ibid*, p. 2.

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Vādirāja in his Pārśvanātha carita says that he had finished his work in A.D. 1025, during the reign of Cālukya king Jayasiṃha II. (A.D. 1015-1042).[1] This is also confirmed by the Belgamve Grant of the Cālukya king Jayasiṃha II Jagadekamalla, to the Lākula Vādirudragaṇa in A.D. 1035 (saka 957).[2] In this grant the following titles given to the Śaiva saint Vādirudragaṇa show that Vādibhasiṃha and Vādirāja are contemporaries.

...Vādibhasiṃha śarabham, vādirāja mukha mudra..[3]

(...a śarabha to the lion Vādiibha [or to Vādibhasiṃha] sealer up of the mouth of Vādirāja ..)

This evidence shows that there is a possibility for Vādirāja and Vādibhasiṃha to be contemporaries and to be disciples of Somadevasūri.

Vādirājā in his Pārśvanātha carita mentions Matisāgara as his guru.[4] This is also corroborated by the elaborate stone inscription in the Pārśvanātha basti at Śravaṇa Belgola dated A.D. 1129. In this inscription it is said that Matisāgara had two illustrious students, Dayāpāla Muni, the author of Rūpasiddhi and Vādirāja.[5] Therefore it is clear that Matisāgara was the guru of Vādirāja. Venkataraman identifies Matisāgara as the contemporary of Rājarāja I.[6] He bases his argument on an inscription found in Pudukkottai. In Pudukkottai there is a place called 'Samaṇarmēṭu' (Jain mound), on the north of the irrigation tank Veṇṇāvikkuḷam. This place was a mound before the excavation and now a whole group of shrines stand there. In this place a number of Jaina images and two inscriptions have been discovered. In one of the inscriptions there are fragments of the Praśasti of Rājarāja I and in the other the following fragment in Tamil is found.

udaya natisāgara-aruhar-ācāryar ippaḷḷi..[7]

Venkataraman says that, the Matisāgara mentioned in this inscription may be identified with the Matisāgara, the guru of Dayāpāla who composed Hitarūpasiddhi and Vādirāja.

Therefore if Matisāgara was a contemporary of Rājarāja I, Vādibhasiṃha who was a contemporary of his student, Vādirāja, also can be a contemporary of Rājarāja I.

All these above discussed facts contribute to the conclusion that Vādibhasiṃha was contemporary of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1015).

Since Vādibhasimha had lived in the period between the later part of 10th Cen-

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1 Vādirāja, *Pārśvanāthacarita,* edited by Manoharalal Sastri, Bombay, 1953.

2 *Epigraphia Carnatica,* Vol. VII, Shikārpur Inscriptions, Inscription No. 126, p. 174.

3 *Ibid,* p. 174.

4 Vādirāja, *op. cit.* p. 197.

5 *Epigraphia Carnatica,* Vol. II, Inscription No. 54, pp. 43, 44.

6 K. R. Venkataraman, "Jainism in Pudukkottai" *Journal of the Oriental Research Institute,* Madras, Vol. XII, part I, p. 8.

7 *Ibid,* p. 8.

tury, and the earlier part of 11th century, Tēvar who had preceded him must have lived some time before this period.

The next landmark among Sanskrit works on the story of Jīvandhara is the Up. which is the earliest of them. A similar examination of the Up. in comparison with the Cc. should therefore be of considerable interest. The study is however deferred until chapter III, where we do this in an effort to assess the influence of Sanskrit stories on the story of the Cc. Here we anticipate the conclusion of this comparative study and note that this study does not enable us to arrive at any definite answer to the question of the date or the source book of the Cc. It seems that the Cc may or may not have been based on the Up.

Next we consider the important point that the names of some of the main characters in the Cc. appear to be of Prakrit rather than Sanskrit origin. Examples of these names are shown in the table below :

	Sanskrit names in the Up.	Prakrit names in Puṣpadanta's Mp.	Names in the Cc.
1.	*Satyandhara*	*Saccamdharu*	*Caccantan*
2.	*Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka*	*Kaṭṭaṅgarau*	*Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran*
3.	*Gandhoṭkaṭa*	*Gandhukkaḍa*	*Kantukkaṭan*
4.	*Garūḍavega*	*Garulaveu*	*Kaluḷavēkan*

This leads one to wonder whether there would have been a Prakrit work dealing with the story of Jīvandhara belonging to the period before the 10th Century A.D. from which Tēvar has taken his story. The only Prakrit text which belongs to the period before 10th Century A.D. and which deals with the Jīvandhara story is the Mp. of Puṣpadanta. But, the Jīvaka story in this text follows that in the Up. without any change and with great brevity. For example, the stories of Vimalā and Guṇamalā (Turamañcari in the Cc.) have been narrated only in a few lines. It is unlikely that Puṣpadanta's Mp. is the source of the Cc.

Thus the comparative study of the books dealing with the story of Jīvandhara helps us only to specify the lower limit of about 1000 A D. for the date of the Cc.

Next we consider two phrases in the Cc. which have been interpreted by some authors as providing clues regarding the probable date. Thus the phrase 'ariñcayan kulattuṭṭonṛi'[1] applied to Queen Vicayai is explained by Naccināṛkkiṇiyar as 'Ariñ-cayan, the grand-father of Vicayai'.[2] This Ariñcayan who is mentioned here has been taken as the Cōla king Ariñjaya (A D. 956-957).[3] We find that in the Up. several kings having this name are mentioned and thus it appears that this was a name of common occurrence in the Jaina lore. Hence this speculation does not strike us as very signifi-

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1 Cc. v. 201.

2 Naccināṛkkiṇiyar, Commentary written on the Cc. v. 201.

3 T.E. Gnanamurthy, op, cit. p.11.

cant. Similarly the phrase 'Munnir valampuri' has led Naccinārkkiniyar to explain that this is an autobiographical reference by Tēvar to his birth in in the Cōla family. This reference has not enabled us to trace the identity of the author of the Cc.

On the other hand it is of interest to note that in the places Tēvar lists the names of the kings from different countries who assemble either to fight in a battle or to compete for the hand of a princess, the Pāṇdya and the Pallava kings are mentioned while the Cōla king is not. This would seem a significant ommission if the Cc. were to have been written in the heyday of Cōla sovereignty, i.e. the later part of the 10th Century A.D.

External Evidence

We have four references to either the work called Cintāmaṇi or to its author. These are found in :
(i) Tiruttoṇṭar varalāṟu
(ii) The Uraiccirappuppāyiram of the Cc. (verse relating the merits of Naccinārkk- iṇiyar's commentary on the Cc.)
(iii) The Malliseṇa Praśasti inscription of Śravaṇa Belgola.
(iv) The Tirumakūḍlu Narasipur Taluq inscription.

(i) In the section Cēkkiḷār Puṟāṇam of the Tamil work Tiruttoṇṭar vaṟalāṟu (A.D. 1217–1315)[1] it is said that the Cintāmaṇi was adored by the king Anapāya. From the following verse, one can see that Cēkkiḷār advised king Anapāya who was adoring the Cintāmaṇi that it was a book of false beliefs, and told him to listen to the story of Śiva.

> *vaḷavaṉuṅ kuṇṭ amaṉ puraṭṭut tiruṭṭuc cintāmaṇik kaṭaiyai*
> *mey eṉṟu varicai kūṟa*
> *uḷa makiḻntu pala paṭap pārāṭṭik keṭkav*
> *upaya kula maṇi viḷakkāñ cekkiḷār kaṇṭ*
> *iḷavaracaṉ taṉai ṉōkkic camaṇar poy nūl itu maṟumaikk*
> *ākāt immaikkum āṟṟa*
> *vaḷa maruvukiṉṟa civa kataiy immaikku maṟumaikkum*
> *uṟutiy eṉa vaḷavaṉ keṭṭu*
>   ..   ..[2]

(When Vaḷavaṉ listened with great pleasure to Cintāmaṇi, which is a false story, Cēkkiḷār, the jewelled lamp of the two families, advised him that this Jaina book was a false one and it was of no use for this world and the next. The Śiva story; which is worth listening to, is good for this life as well as the next.)

Cēkkiḷār lived in the reign of king Anapāya.[3] King Anapāya is identified with

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1 N.C.C. vol. III, University of Madras, pp. 94–95.

2 Umāpaticivāccāriyār, *Tiruttoṇṭar Purāṇam*, edited by P. Ramalinka-Cuvami, Cekkilār nāyanār Purāṇam, v. 11.

3 T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. Indian Antiquary, XXXVI, 1907, p. 288.

Kulōttuṅga II (A.D. 1113-1159). Though the Cintāmaṇi referred to here is not explicitly stated to be the Cc. it is most probable that the reference is to the Cc. This makes it clear therefore that by the first half of the 12th Century the Cc. had come to occupy a position of considerable importance. However this reference does not lead to any conclusion regarding the date which should supplement our earlier inferences regarding the same from a comparative study of the Cc. and the Sanskrit works of Vādibhasiṃha.

(ii) In the verse written to extol Naccinārkkiṇiyar's commentary on the Cc.[1] it is mentioned that Tēvar was honoured by one Poyyāmoḷi. This reference proceeds as follows :

>   ..   ..   *vaṇ peru vañcip*
>   *poyyāmoḷi pukaḷ maiyarū kāṭcit*
>   *tiruttaku muṇivaṇ*

(Tiruttakumuṇivaṇ the one with flawless perception who was praised by Poyyāmoḷi of the city of Vañci)

We do not know who wrote this verse. Now the question arises regarding the identity of Poyyāmoḷi. It is generally held that the word Poyyāmoḷi is the Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit epithet 'Satyavākya' (the one of truthful speech.) It is known that many rulers of the Gaṅga dynasty flourished in the modern Mysore state, with Talakād (Taḷavanapura in Sanskrit) as their capital[2] till about A.D. 1000 when the Cōla supremacy put an end to it. Most of the kings of this family are reputed to have been devoted to Jainism. It is difficult to say with certainty which of the Gaṅga kings holding the title Satyavākya has been referred to as Poyyāmoḷi in the above verse. Certain claims have been made that the reference is to king Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarma Bhūtuga Permāṇaḍi (A.D. 938-953).[3] But, these claims have not been justified clearly and we can only say that it is likely that the author of the Cc. may have been honoured by one of these Satyavākya kings of the Gaṅga dynasty. We have consulted the book 'Studies in South Indian Jainism' by M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar and B. Seshgiri Rao,[4] in which they have given a geneological table of the Gaṅga kings and the article written by M.V. Krishna Rao on the 'Gaṅga kings Talakād[5]. Rajamalla I, the son of Vijayāditya Raṇavikrama, appears to have been the first Gaṅga king who held this title.[6] He succeeded Viyāditya in A.D. 818. This is also corroborated

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1 Cc. edited by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, 6th edition, Madras, 1957, p. 1523.

2 Fleet, *op. cit.* p. 299.

3 S. Vaiyapuripillai, *Kāviya kālam*, p. 174; B. Balasubrahmaniyam, *op. cit.* p. 21.

4 M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar and C. Seshagiri Rao, *op. cit,* p. 155.

5 M. V. Krishna Rao, 'The Gaṅgas of Talakad', *Karnataka through the ages,* published by the government of Mysor. 1968. pp.116-127.

6 The book *Koṅgadesa rājākkal* refers to one Satyavākya rāya, the great grandson of Vijayāditya, who was so called because he was always truthful. It also reports the acts of charity performed by his brother Guṇatuttamarāya in Saka year 800 (A.D. 878). We do not know how much we can rely on this date. *Koṅgadesa rājākkaḷ*, p. 9.

by the reference made by a Jaina author Vidyānandi.[1] He also alludes to a contemporary king named Satyavākya in the colophon of four of his works. He also alludes to three other kings in the colophons of his three other works.[2] In one work he refers to Śivamāra, in another to Mārasimha and in another probably to Śrīpurusha.[3] All of these people are kings of the Gaṅga dynasty. Vidyānandi also mentions the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa (A.D. 780-92)[4] in his Aṣṭasabasrī.[5] Thus the Satyavākya alluded to by him appears to be the Gaṅga king Rācamalla I (A.D. 818-837).[6]

All the Gaṅga kings of Talakāḍ who came after Rācamalla I seem to have had the title Satyavākya with their names.[7] Therefore from the phrase 'Poyyāmoḷi pukaḷ tiruttaku munivan' we can only infer that one of the Gaṅga Satyavākya kings who may have lived any time from the early ninth century A D. up to about A.D. 1000[8] would have honoured the author of the Cc.

The reference to the city of Vañci in the phrase 'vañci cēr poyyāmoḷi pukaḷ' is not very helpful in arriving at a more exact conclusion. Vañci is said to have been the capital of the Cēra kings. T. A. Gopinatha Rao[9] says that a chieftan belonging to Takaṭūr in the Gaṅga country called himself 'Vañciyar kulapati'. Hence the adjective 'vañci cēr' supports the conclusion that the word poyyāmoḷi refers to a Gaṅga king.

(iii) The Malliṣeṇa Praśasti inscription of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa refers to two works called Cintāmaṇi and Cūḍāmaṇi. This epitaph was composed to perpetuate the memory of the Jaina preceptor Malliṣeṇa Maladhārideva who committed religious suicide on Sunday 10th March A.D. 1129,[10] (dark fortnight of Phalguṇa, the expired Śaka year of 1050). In this epitaph the author Mallinātha extols the glory of eminent Jaina ascetics. Though it cannot be said with certainty that these teachers have been listed in strict chronological order, we can say that there are no serious chronological discrepancies.

In this inscription the authors of Cintāmaṇi and Cūḍāmaṇi are praised in the following stanzas :

> *dharmārtthakāma parinirvṛticārucintaś cintāmaṇiḥ pratiniketam akāri yena |*
> *sa stūyate sarasasaukhyabhujā sujātaś cintāmaṇir munivṛṣā na kathañ janena ||*
> *culāmaṇiḥ kavīnīm culāmaṇinā(ma)sevyakāvyakaviḥ*
> *śrīvarddhadeva eva hi kṛtapuṇyaḥ kīrttim āharttum ||*[11]

1 Jyoti prasad Jain, *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*, (100 B.C.-A.D. 900), Delhi, 1964, p. 199.
2 *Ibid*, p. 199.
3 *Ibid*, p. 199.
4 K. A. Niḷakanta Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 210
5 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 200.
6 M. V. Krishna Rao, *op. cit.* p. 124.
7 M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar and B. Seshagiri Rao, *op. cit.* p. 155.
8 In A.D. 1004 Rājendra Cola sueceeded in capturing Talakāḍ and extinguishing the Gaṅga dynasty. M. V. Krishna Rao, *op. cit.* p. 127.
9 T. A. Gopinatha Rao 'Aruṅkalaṇvayam, Cīvakacintāmaṇi, Cūḍāmaṇi' Centamiḷ, Vol. V, pp. 95-102.
10 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 185.
11 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, pp. 190, 191.

(How could not men experiencing sweet pleasure, praise that noble chief of sages, Cintāmani, who composed [for use] in every house, the Cintāmani, which contains fine thoughts on virtue, wealth, pleasure and salvation?)

(Only Śrīvarddhadeva [who was] the crest–jewel of poets [and] the author of a poem called Cūlāmani, which is worthy of study, has performed [sufficient] pious deeds [in former births] for earning fame.)[1]

These stanzas are preceded by a reference to sage Kumārasena and followed by a reference to Maheśvara and Akalaṅka. Reference to the historical facts known about the Jaina teachers of this period throws some light on the dates of Kumārasena and Akalaṅka. The Harivamśa Purāna of Jinasena Punnāta which is known to have been completed in A.D. 783[2] gives a geneology of teachers which includes Kumārasena, Vīrasena, and Jinasena.[3] Vīrasena is the well-known author of the commentaries Dhavalā, Mahādhavalā, and Jayadhavalā. The date on which he completed the Dhavalā has been ascertained by Jyoti Prasad Jain as A D. 780.[4] His Jayadhavalā, left unfinished by him, was completed in A.D. 837[5] by his disciple, Jinasena, who is also well known as the author of Ādipurāna. Thus we can with reasonable certainty assign the date of Vīresena to the end of the 8th Century A.D. The Mulguṇd inscription (A.D. 902–903)[6] states that Vīrasena was the senior pupil of Kumārasena. This would place Kumārasena also in the later part of the 8th Century A.D. These dates are also confirmed by the reference made by Vidyānandi to Vīrasena's recent demise and his statement that he was helped by Kumārasena's advice in the composition of Aṣṭasahasrī.[7] Vidyānandi has already been noted as the contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūta king, Dhruva (A.D. 780-792).

Akalaṅka is said to have been the contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛṣṇa I (A.D. 756-775).[8] He is reported by the Mallisena Praśasti to have defeated the Buddhists in argument at the court of Himaśītala in Kañci in A.D. 778(Śaka 700).[9] He is also referred to and quoted by Vīrasena and praised in the Harivamśapurāna. Akalaṅka's colleague Puspasena[10] is said to have had a disciple called Vimalacandra who appears to have lived towards the end of the 8th Century A.D.[11] All this evidence would place Akalaṅka also in the period around the later half of the 8th Century A.D.

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1 Translated by E. Hultzsch, *Ibid*, p. 200.

2 Jyoti Prasad Jain, *op. cit.* p. 42.

3 Harivamśapurāna, edited by Pannalal Jain, Vārānasi, 1962, 1 : 38, 39, 40.

4 Jyoti Prasad Jain, *op. cit.* p. 187.

5 *Ibid*, p. 187.

6 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, pp. 190 ff.

7 Jyoti Prasad Jain, *op. cit.* p. 199.

8 E. Hultzsch, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, pp. 186, 187.

9 Ibid, pp. 186, 187.

10 Ibid, Śravana Belgola Epitaph of Mallisena *v.* 24. p. 192,

11 M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar and B. S. Rao, p. 88.

The Malliṣeṇa Praśasti also contains the following eulogy, supposed to have been composed by Daṇḍin in praise of Śrīvardhadeva, the author of the Cūḍāmaṇi.

> *ya evam upślokito daṇḍinā*
>> *jahnoḥ kanyām jaṭā(gre)-ṇa babhāra parameśvaraḥ* |
>> *śrivarddhadeva samdhatse jihvāgreṇa sarasvatim* //[1]

(He was thus praised in verse by Daṇḍin :

"Parameśvara [Śiva] bore Jahnu's daughter [Gaṅgā] on the top of [his] matted hair. Thou, O Śrīvarddha ! bearest Sarasvatī [the goodess of speech on the tip of [thy] tongue.")[2]

Though there have been some uncertainties regarding the poet Daṇḍin s date and identity, it is generally believed that he was in the court of King Rājasiṃha of the Pallava dynasty.[3] This king reigned during the period A.D. 700 to 728.[4] Daṇḍin is also said to have been the great grandson of Dāmodara, a friend of Bhāravi,[5] who is mentioned in the Aihole inscription (A.D. 634). This will put Daṇḍin, and hence Śrīvarddhadeva mentioned in the Malliṣeṇa Praśasti, around A.D. 700 750. However the date of Daṇḍin as well as the authenticity of verses attributed to him are far from being satisfactorily ascertained.

(iv) The Tirumakūḍlu Narasīpūr Taluq inscription of 1183 also refers to the authors of Cintāmaṇi and Cuḍāmaṇi in the following two stanzas :

> *kṛtvā cintāmaṇim kāvyam abhiṣṭārtha-samartthanam* |
> *cintâmaṇir abhūn nāmnā bhavya-ciñtā-maṇir ggu[ruḥ]* //
> *vidvac-cūḍā-maṇiś cūḍāmaṇi-kāvya-kṛte..*|
> *cūḍāmaṇi-samākhyō 'bhūl lakṣya-lakṣa..lakṣaṇaḥ* //[6]

(Having composed the poem Cintāmaṇi, able to satisfy all desires was the guru Cintāmaṇi, a wishing-stone (Cintāmaṇi) to the blessed (the Jains))

(A head-jewel (Cūḍāmaṇi) of the wise, author of the poem Cūḍāmaṇi, he was called Cūḍāmaṇi, the exhibitor of all the ornaments of composition.)[7]

It also refers to Kumārasena and Maheśvara and Akalaṅka before and after them respectively and one more person named Sāntideva is also mentioned. Nothing appears to be known about Maheśvara and Sāntideva.

From these two inscriptions, one might roughly take the authors of Cintāmaṇi and Culāmaṇi referred to in them to belong to the period of Kumārasena and Akalaṅka (i.e. middle of 8th Century A.D. onwards).[8] This is not far from agreement with the

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1 *Epigraphia Indica.* Vol; III, Sravaṇa Belgola Epitaph of Malliṣeṇa, v. 17. p; 191:

2 Translated by E. Hultzsch. *Ibid, loc. cit.* p. 207.

3 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. *op. cit.* p. 153;

4 *Ibid*, p. 153.   5   *Ibid*, p. 345.

6 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol, III, Part I, Incriptions in the Mysore District, p. 171.

7 Translated by Lewis Rice, *Ibid*, Translations, p. 89.

8 L. D. Swamikkannu has examined the astrological references which occur in the Cc. in the work *An Indian Ephemeris*. It is interesting to note that all the references are satisfied for the year A.D. 813 only. *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I, Appendix iii, pp. 469-470.

conclusion obtained from the reference to Poyyamoḷi in the verse relating the merits of Naccinārkkiṉiyar's commentary (uraicciṟappuppāyiram) of the Cc. The question still remains whether the Cintāmaṇi and Cūḷāmaṇi referred to in the Epitaph of Malliṣeṇa and Tirumakūḍḷu Narasipūr Taluq inscription are the Tamil works bearing these names. In this context T. A. Gopinatha Rao observes that "after sage Guṇabhadra there lived one Kumārasena and after him came the author of the Cintāmaṇi, and the author of the Cūḷāmaṇi".[1] This conclusion has been accepted and restated by Vaiyapuri Pillai,[2] Auvai Turaicamipillai,[3] Balasubrahmaniyam,[4] and T. P. Meenaksisundaran.[5] But there is no reference to Guṇabhadra in the above two inscriptions. Balasubrahmaniyam refers to Yāpparuṅkalam Virutti urai (the commentary written on Yāpparuṅkalam) when mentioning Kumārasena.[6] These authors may have had in mind one Kumārasena who appears to have lived around the later part of the 9th Century A.D.[7]

Kumārasena and the authors of the Cc. and Cūḷāmaṇi are said to have belonged to Aruṅgalānvaya branch of the Nandigaṇa in the Dravida Saṅgha according to the Tirumakūḍḷu Narasīpūr Taluq inscription.[8] This would make it likely that these are the two Tamil poems calld Cintāmani and Cūḷāmaṇi. Irrespective of whether they belonged to the Kannada or the Tamil country, the Jaina preceptors of those days appear to have been well versed in Tamil, Kannada and Sanskrit and there was considerable intermingling among the members of Jaina religious order of the Kannada and Tamil speaking regions.[9] In his footnotes to the Malliṣeṇa Praśasti, Lewis Rice says that Samantabhadra is said to have written a Cintāmaṇiṭippaṇi or commentary on the Cintāmaṇi and AbhinavaMaṅga Raja is said to have written a Cintāmaṇi Pratipada or word to word translation of the same.[10] He also refers to a Cintāmaṇi which is a commetary on Śakaṭāyana's grammar. As for Cūḍāmaṇi he mentions the reference in Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅka Deva's Karnāṭaka Śabdānuṣāsanaṃ to a commentary by that name on Tattvārtha-Maha Śāstra.[11] He says that this work is referred to in Rājāvali kathā and attributed there to Tumbulūr-Ācāryar.

But, the Malliṣeṇa Praśasti describes these two works in the following terms : "the epic Cintāmaṇi which is capable of yielding all the four ends of life" and "Cūḍāmaṇi

1   T. A. Gopinatha Rao. *op. cit.* pp. 95–102.
2   S. Vaiyāpuri Pillai, *op. cit.* p. 172.
3   Auvai, C. Turaicāmipillai, *op. cit.* p. 11.
4   B. Balasubrahmaniyam, *op. cit.* p. 19.
5   T. P. Meenaksisundaran, A History of Tamil Literature, Annāmalai, 1965, p. 90.
6   Balasubrahmanyam, *op. cit.* p. 19.
7   Jyoti Prasad Jain. *op. cit.* p. 160. Footnote 2.
8   *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 171 ff.
9   A typical example for this is the word 'oḷḷiyaṉ' which is used by Tēvar to signify a good person. Naccinārkkiṉiyar points out that this is a 'Ticaic col' i.e. a word of alien origin and U. V. Swaminatha Iyer indicates that this word is used in this sense in Kannada. Cc. edited by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, *op. cit.* p. 372. Cc. v. 741.
10 B. Lewis Rice, Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgola, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II, p. 135.
11 *Ibid*, p. 135.

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the kāvya which should be honoured". These descriptions do not sound very appropriate if they refer to commentaries as suggested by Lewis Rice.

In Tamil the Cc. and the Cūlāmaṇi are considered to be two good kāvyas and it is believed that the Cūlāmaṇi came after the Cc. This is illustrated by the phrase in Rājarājaṇ Ulā "cintāmaṇi tanta cūlāmaṇiyāl"[1] (the Cūlāmaṇi which was given by Cintāmaṇi). The author of the Tamil Cūlāmaṇi is usually taken to be one Tōlāmolittēvar. But, it is thought that Tōlāmoli is a name which the author acquired as a result of the phrases "ārkkum tōlātāy" and "tōlā nāvir caccutan" found in his work.[2] Hence we do not know what his original name was.

From verse 4 in the Cūlāmaṇi[3] we see that this book was submitted in the court of a king called Cēntaṇ who is traditionally believed to be a Pāṇḍya king.[4]

There is another isolated verse[5] which says that Tōlāmoli was honoured by a Kārveṭṭi king (i.e. Pallava king). We have no means of identifying these kings at present. It has however been suggested that the Pāṇḍya king might be the one belonging to the middle of the 7th Century. This would be hard to reconcile with the evidence presented earlier.

The problem is yet far from resolved and must necessarily await further evidence for definite conclusions to be made. The evidence presented in this chapter appears to point to the period between the later half of the 8th Century A.D. and the first half of the 9th Century as the most probable date. The one result which seems fairly conclusive to us from the comparative analysis of this chapter is that the Cc. preceded Vādibhasiṃha's works and is not based on them as it is usually contended.

The analysis of the social, religious and literary background in the next chapter is made with the adove period in mind. With the present evidence it is also not possible to indicate the source book of the Cc. As the Up. of Guṇabhadra is the earliest among the books written on the Jīvandhara story (except the Cc.), we have considered the similarities and the differences in the plot between the Up. and the Cc. in chapter III in an effort to assess the probable Sanskrit influence on the story of the Cc.

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1 S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *op. cit.*

2 P. V. Comacuntaran, Cūlāmaṇi, edited by South India Saiva Siddhānta works, Tinnevely, 1962, vol. I, pp. 12, 13.

3 "*nāmāṇ p uraikkuṅ kuṛaiy eṇ itu nāma veṇ vēl*
   tēmīṇ alaṅkar rirumāl neṭuñcēntaṇ eṇṇuṇ
   tūmāṇ tamiḷiṇ kiḷavaṇ cuṭar āra mārpiṇ
   kōmāṇ avaiyuṭ teruṇṭār koḷappaṭṭataṇṛē.

4 P. V. Comacuntaraṇ and C. A. Irāmacāmipulavar, Commentary written on Cūlāmaṇi *v.* 4.

5 *Tikk eṭṭum pukaḷpaṭaitta ṭiṛal vicayaṇ*   *pokkeṭṭum pattum ilāṇ pukaḻṭ taruma*
      puyal anaiya kaiyaṇ tevvaik   *tīrṭṭaṇ malarp paṭam pūcippōṇ*
   Kaikkoṭṭi nakaikkum ikar kārveṭṭiy   *corkeṭṭa vaṛaṇ tōlāmoli culāmaṇiy*
      araiyaṇ vaḷa nāṭaṛk ērppap   *uṇarvōr tuṛai kaṇṭōṛē.*

P. K. Comacuntaran, Introduction to Cūlāmaṇi, *op. cit.* p. 12.

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CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY BACKGROUND

In the previous chapter the question of the date of the Cc. has been discussed. In the following chapters, the interaction of Sanskrit in the Cc. from the point of view of the story, literary traditions, religion and language will be analysed. Before analysing these, there arises a need to consider the following factors in brief : (i) the political· social, religious and literary background in which the Cc. was written, and (ii) the historical development of the interaction of Sanskrit with Tamil literature before the period of the Cc. As the Cc. is a Jain epic (kāvya), and the main motivation of the poet to write this epic is the desire to propound Jaina religious doctrine, the development of Jaininism in Tamil land will be stressed while analysing the above two aspects.

The admixture of Aryan elements in Tamil land can be seen even in the Cankam poems the earliest Tamil literary works. Unlike in North India, where speakers of Indo-Aryan had to fight and struggle to establish themselves, in South India their entry seems to have been peaceful. Even though the Tamils had a well established culture, a social structure, and literary traditions of their own, there began the steady and gradual infiltration of Aryan influence in the life of the Tamils. This influence, though it was not on anything like the large scale in which it is found in later periods, can be seen to have already begun in Cankam literature. There are poems in the Cankam anthologies which are ascribed to poets having Sanskrit names. Irācamāṇikkaṇār[1] points to some authors of verses in the Narriṇai whose names are of Sanskrit origin. For example, Cātevaṇār (Skt. Sāhadeva), Kapilan (Skt. Kapila), Ukkirapperuvaḷuti (Skt. Ugra + Tamiḷ peru-vaḷuti), Kācipaṇ (Skt. Kaśyapa), Tevaṇ (Skṣ. Deva), etc. Likewise he also quotes[2] about thirty Sanskrit names among the poets who composed the Kuṛuntokai poems. For example, Uruttiraṇ (Skt. Rudra), Kulapati (Skt. Kulapati); etc. There are also Sanskrit names among the poets who composed the other Cankam anthologies.

Apart from the names of the poets, there are also references in the poems of Cankam literature, in which the names of the kings have titles in Sanskrit which indicate the sacrifices they performed. The names Pāṇṭiyaṇ-pal-yāka-cālai-mutukuṭumi[5] (the Pandya who had many sacrificial halls) and Irācacūyam-vēṭṭa-perunaṛk-kiḷḷi[4]

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1 M. Irācamāṇikkaṇār, 'Tamiḷ moḷi ilakkiya varalāṛu' (History of Tamil Literature), Madras, 1961, p. 169.

2 M. Irācamāṇikkaṇār, op. cit. p 164.

3 Puṛanāṇūṛu, v. 64.

4 Ibid, v. 367.

(the Peruna̠rkki̠ḷi who performed Rājasuya sacrifice[1]) serve as good examples. These show the predilection the Tamil kings had for Vedic sacrifices. A detailed description of sacrificial rites can be seen in the 160th poem of the Purananu̠ru. There are also other references to penances and sacrifices in Caṅkam literature.[2] The introduction of sacrifices and Vedic rituals also brought along with it the Aryan gods like Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Indra, Skanda. etc. to Tamil literature. There are also references in Caṅkam works to Viṣṇu's several incarnations,[3] the five elemeats (pañcabhūta),[4] etc.[5]

Besides there, these is also a multitude of Sanskrit purāṇic incidents mentioned in poems like the Pa̠ripāṭal and the Kalittokai, which are of late Caṅkam period. The burning of the three aerial cities by Śiva,[6] the battle between Lord Muruga and Śūrapadma,[7] the plans of Duryodhana to kill Pāṇḍavas in the palace of lac,[8] the churning of the milk ocean,[9] Rāvaṇa lifting Mount Kailāsa,[10] Bhīma breaking Duryodhana's thigh,[11] the birth of lord Ṣaṇmukha,[12] the story of Ahalyā[13] etc. are referred to in these works.

In addition to the religious and mythological lore and its impact on literary and social life, the day-to-day intermingling of people at all levels of society caused a certain amount of cultural and linguistic mixture. The linguistic aspects of this have been considered in chapter VI.

An inspection of post Caṅkam works shows definite increase in the extent of Sanskrit interaction. The rise of the Pallava kings in seventh century A.D. led to an increase in Sanskrit influence. Foreign invasions like that of the Kalabhras brought in a lot of changes. During this time Buddhists and Jains migrated into Tamil land in large numbers.

We do not know exactly when the Jains first came to Tamil land. The names of poets like Ulōccanār[14] and Mātirttan show the presence of Jaina poets in earlier times.[15] Even though there are a few references to Jains in Caṅkam literature, Jains do not appear to have attained the importance enjoyed by the Aryan brahmins during this time.

1 Rājasūya is a great sacrifice or religious ceremony performed at the coronation of a supreme sovereign or universal monarch by the king himself and his tributary princes. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1964, p. 874, col. 2.

2 *Pu̠ranānu̠ru* vv. 397, 361. *Kalittokai*, vv. 130, 36, 119.

3 *Perumpāṇā̠rruppaṭai*, lines 371–73, 402–403.

4 Pañca-bhūta, are earth, fire, air, water, and ākāśa.

5 Ref. K. K. Pillay, "Aryan influence in Tamilaham during Sangam epoch", *Tamil Culture*, vol. XII, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 165 ff.

6 *Paripāṭal*, 5. line 25.   10 *Kalittokai*, 38.

7 *Kalittokai*, 27. *Paripāṭal*, 5. line 4.   11 *Ibid*, 52.

8 *Kalittokai*, 25.   12 *Paripāṭal*, 5. lines 27–49.

9 *Paripāṭal*, 2. lines 71–72; 3. lines 33–34.   13 *Ibid*, 19. lines 50–52.

14 Tamil, Ulōccu, Skt. luñca–Pulling out the hair on one's head with one's own hands. The name Ulōccanār would have come from this ritual which is performed by Jains.

15 S. Vaiyapuripillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, Madras, 1965, p. 59.

The establishment of the Draviḍa Saṅga in South India is a definite landmark in the introduction of Jainism into Tamil land. In a Jaina religious work, Digambara Darśanasāra which was obtained from Anhilwād Pāṭan, Devasenea (A.D. 853), the author of the work, states that in the year A.D. 470 (525 Vikrama Saka) Vajranandi, the pupil of Pūjyapāda founded the Draviḍa saṅga in Mathura of the Deccan.[1] S. R. Ayyangar and B.S. Rao, in their work " Studies in South Indian Jainism " point out that the same source also reveals that the saṅga was an association of Digambar Jains who migrated to the south with the view of spreading Jainism.[2] This saṅga consisted of four divisions, Nandi-gaṇam, Ṣena-gaṇam, Siṃha-gaṇam, and Deva-gaṇam. From the above evidence it is clear that Jainism had a place in Tamil land in the fifth century A.D. Apart from this evidence we have mainly to rely on Tamil literature to deduce the position of Jainism in Tamil l. nd.

The Jains and Buddhist who came to Tamil land, unlike Aryan brahmins, mixed freely with the common people. Though the religious rituals, mythological stories and social behaviour of brahmins attracted the Tamil kings and the people, the religious books of the brahmins—the sacred Vedas—were never accessible to the layman. They were considered sacred and the common mass remained in ignorance of the teachings of Vedas. This attitude towards religious doctrines did not exist among Jains. "They believed " as Winternitz says, that " [their]... religion {is] not only for human beings of all races and classes but even for animals, gods and denizans of hell".[3] They always ensured that their religious doctrines and literary works were accessible to the people. It is because of their desire to share their knowledge that they wrote their canonical writings and earliest commentaries in Prakrit dialects (Ardhamāgadhi and Mahārāṣṭri).[4] But in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. most of the works were written in Sanskrit. When the Jains came to Tamil land they made none of their religious writings unavailable to the layman. The Jains learned Tamil and their religious teachings were imparted in Tamil. This approach in introducing their religion served to attract people towards Jainism and led to the acquisition of royal support and patronage. Though the Buddhists who came to Tamil land were as eager as the Jains in propagating their religion, it cannot be denied that the Jains have had a greater share in Tamil cultural and literary evolution.

Most of the literary works which came into being between the end of the Caṅkam period and the Pallava reign, except the Cilappatikāram and the Maṇimēkalai, were didactic in nature. They are classified as the collection Patiṉeṇkīlkkṛṇakku, (eighteen minor works). Of these, the Nālaṭiyār, the Palamoḷi nāṉūṟu, the Cirupañcamūlam, and the Elāti are Jain works. The progresssively increasing influence of Sanskrit can be seen in these Patiṉeṇkīlkkaṇakku works. In the Jain works a great number of Sanskrit

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1   *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Bombay, Vol. XVII, No. XLIV, Peter Petersons's report on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay circle, p. 74.

2   S. R. Ayyangar and B. S. Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism,* Madras, 1922, p. 52.

3   M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* Calcutta, 1933, Vol. II, p. 425.

4   M. Winternitz, *op. cit.,* p. 427

words came to be used to elaborate the importance of the code of conduct. These will be considered in chapter VI. In these Jaina works, unlike in the Cc. where all the aspects of Jainism are discussed, importance is given mainly to ethical (rather than metaphysical) ideas.

The Cilappatikāram, the first Tamil epic (kāvya), contains a good amount of Aryan mythology, ritual, and Sanskrit words. Though there are a few references to Jainism in the Cilappatikāram, there are no religious expositions as found in the Cc.; the Maṇimēkalai, which more or less contains the story of the Cilappatikāram, also has a great number of Sanskrit words. These words are used mostly in the places where Buddhist philosphical ideas are explained. This is explained in the section on Sanskrit loan words in Chapter VI.

The period during which these works were composed was favourable to Buddhists and Jains. The major reason for this is the patronage of the kings, which they enjoyed along with the public support. Literary works like the Cilappatikāram[1] and the Maṇimekalai[2] furnish evidence that there were religious discourses and debates in the cities. These religious discussions among different religious groups were undertaken with mutual respect. References in these two books also suggest that Jainism enjoyed a stable position in Tamil land. In the tenth chapter of the Cilappatikāram, the Nāṭukāṇ-kātai, the Jaina nun Kavunti joins Kōvalaṇ and Kaṇṇaki on their journey to Madurai, saying that she would like to worship Aṟivaṇ (Arhat) by listening to the dharma preached by the sinless saints, who had got rid of all their adharma by their purity.[3] There are also references in these works to show that there were wandering ascetics (cāraṇas) who preached Jainism.[4]

Jainism probably became popular in Tamil land during the reign of the Kalabhras,[5] who came to Tamil some time about A.D. 300 or a little later.[6] These Kalabhras, who were under the influence of the great number of Jains who inhabited Tamil land, even began to persecute the Śaiva saints in the country and disregard the whorship of the Hindu gods.[7]

After the Kalabhras, when the Pallavas came into power, Hinduism regained its popularity with the rise of Śaiva saints and Vaiṣṇava Aḻvārs. The prosperous state of Jainism was soon shaken by this revival of Hinduism. The Śaiva saints often condemned the religious practices of the Jains and this fact is clearly seen in their

1   *Cilappatikāram,* chapter V, Intiraviḻav-eṭutta-kātai, lines 174–181.

2   *Maṇimekalai,* chapter XXVII, Camayakkaṇakkar-tan-tiraṅ-keṭṭa-kātai.

3   *Cilappatikāram,* chapter X, Nāṭukāṇ-kātai, lines 55–60.

4   *Ibid,* X, lines 163, 182, 192. *Maṇimekalai,* XI, line 7.

5   S. R. Ayyangar and B. S. Rao are of the opinion that these kalabhras came to Tamil land from the Carnatic country. Vide, S. R. Ayyangar and B. S. Rao, *op. cit.* p. 55.

6   K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 3.

7   S. R. Ayyangar and B. S. Rao, *op. cit.* pp. 55–56.

devotional songs. For example some instances are quoted below :

   kuḷitt uṇāv amaṇar[1]

(The Jains who eat without having their bath.)

   kuruḷai eytiya maṭavār niṟppavē

   kuñciyaip paṟittuttiṟaḷai kaiyil uṇpavarum[2]

(The people who pluck their hair from their head, and those who eat their lump of food from their hands in front of young girls..)

In most of the Patikams[3] of the Śaiva saint Ñānacampantar one can observe that he makes a point of condemning the Jains.

The desire of the Śaiva saints and Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs to establish their religion in every possible way led to the Bhakti movement in Tamil land. The devotional hymns of the Śaiva saints and Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs were set to music and a large amount of Sanskrit purāṇic and other mythological stories were freely used. These factors gradually attracted the common mass towards Hinduism, and among them were a large number of Jains.

During this period, religious debates held with a view to establishing the truth of a particular faith were characterised by fanatical fervour rather than tolerance. The Śaiva saint Ñānacampantar, who may have lived in the middle of the seventh century,[4] converted the ruler of the Pandyan kingdom at that time from Jainism to Śaivism. This Pandyan king may have been either Māravarmaṇ Avaniśūlamani (A.D 625—A.D. 645)[5] or his grandson Arikesari Marāvarman[6] (A.D. 670-A.D. 700).[7] It is knwon from his songs that, Ñānacampantar also foiled the conspiracies of Jains and vanquished them in debates. His contemporary and another Śaiva saint Tirunāvukka-racar, who is also known as Appar, has converted the Pallava king Mahendravarman-I (A.D. 580—A.D. 630)[8] from Jainism to Śaivism. Appar was converted to Jainism in his early days and held the name Dharmasena. His name indicates that he belonged to the Sena-gaṇam of Draviḍa saṅgha. He later became a Śaivite and contributed many devotional songs to Tamil literature. During this period, there were also two other Śaiva saints, Cuntaramūrti and Māṇikkavācakar, who contributed the flourishing state of Śaivism in Tamil land.

The profusion of Sanskrit mythological stories and words in the devotional songs of the Śaiva saints and Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs indicates the growing influence of Sanskrit. New literary traditions came into vogue and in some of them the distinction between Sanskrit origin and Tamil origin can hardly be distinguished. The mythological

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1 Tiru Ñānacampanta cuvāmikaḷ Tēvārap-patikaṅkaḷ Tīrumuṟai, 1, Patikam 114, Tirumāṟperu, v.10, *Panṇiru-caivat-tirumuṟait-tokuti,* Madras 1927, p. 240.

2 *Ibid,* Tiruvaracilai, v. 10, p. 492.

3 Patikam is a poem in praise of a deity consisting generally of ten stanzas.

4 K. A, Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 415.

5 *Ibid,* p. 152.   7 *Ibid,* p. 152.

6 *Ibid,* p. 425.   8 *Ibid,* p. 150.

episodes in Sanskrit were effectively used to praise the glory of Hindu gods. The introduction of the Paṇ (melody-type) system of music led to the employment of the Viruttam (vṛtta) metre. This employment of Viruttam metre also necessitated the use of a large vocabulary consisting of sonorous sounds. Just as the Hindu gods were praised by drawing freely from Sanskrit mythology, so also the musical quality of the songs was heightened by drawing freely from Sanskrit diction.

Though the influence of the Jains waned considerably due to the success of the Bhakti movement, the zeal for religious propaganda could not be extinguished. The different conditions they faced during this period forced a reconsideration of the methods they used to spread Jainism in Tamil land. They begun to realise that it was not possible to attract people towards their religion by mere exposition of righteous religious conduct. Simultaneously there were several transformation coming over the very structure of Jainism. Initially in Jainism the life of a householder was interpreted as just a stage of preparation for the ascetic order or its support and so the code of laws related to the ascetic. But between the fifth century and the thirteenth century A.D.,[1] the distinction between the householder and the ascetic came to be recognised and separate laws for the householder were evolved. Books meant for the guidance of the householder like the *Ādipurāṇa* (14th chapter),[2] *Ratnakaraṇḍaśrāvakācāra*, and *Sarvārthasiddhi* were written. Jainism, hitherto only a system of philosophy, began to assume the form of a religion. The Jaina monks attempted to evolve new techniques in their works by introducing Hindu mythological stories and religious rites suitably modified according to their religious doctrine. Evidence for Hinduization which took place in this period can be clearly seen in the following works : *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena, *Caritrasāra* (C. 1000)[3] of Cāmuṇḍarāya, and *Sāgaradharmāmṛta* (1240)[4] of Āśādhara.[5] The Hindu saṃskāras were drawn in as kriyās of Jainism. Most of the kriyās like the thread ceremony (upanayana), wedding rituals, etc. are imitated from saṃskaras and decked with Jaina symbolism. During the same time, attempts were made to give literary form to the stories of the Jaina saints and their life history. The Mahāpurāṇa in Sanskrit exemplifies one such effort.

In Tamil land, Jaina like all the other religious teachers, began to draw their plots from mythological purāṇic stories. It is also said that Koṅkuveḷir had a Sanskrit version of the Paiśāci book of Guṇādhya translated by Durvinīta. As Durvinīta's translation is not available now, one is not certain whether the above fact is correct. After Koṅkuveḷir it was Tēwar who took a Sanskrit story as the theme of his epic (kāvya), Cc.

Tēvar's aim was religious indoctrination. He fitted the abstruse religious doctrine into the form of an ornate epic using the literary form as sugar coating to his religious pill. This was possible because the climate in the country was one of religious

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1 A. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, A survey of the medieval Śrāvakācāras, London, 1963, pp. 17–21.
2 14th Chapter of Ādipurāṇa deals with the rituals of a householder.
3 Williams, *op. cit.* p. 17.
4 *Ibid*, p. 17.
5 *Ibid*, p. xxiii.

tolerance and co-existence except for the period during which the Jains were severly persecuted. The Cola kings in particular are known to have promoted and safeguarded the interests of non-Hindu communities. There was no distinction drawn between a Jaina village and an Agrahāra, where brahmins lived, and all privileges were given to a Jaina village. During this period Palliccandam lands (lands or village owned exclusively by the Jain and Buddhist religious institutions) were donated by the kings in great number. Even when transactions connected with the administrative authorities of the state were made, special care was taken to safeguard the privileges of these lands. For example, in the Udayendiram plates of Hastimalla records we can see that the Palliccandam lands of Digambara Jains consisting of two pattis of land were excluded from the gift of the village of Kadaikkōttur. This village was granted to the village of Udayendu chaturvēdimangalam by Sembiyan-Māvalivaṇarāya (i.e. the Ganga-Bāṇa king Pṛthivīpati II) with the permission of his sovereign Parantaka I (A.D. 907-A.D. 955).[1]

> *..ip paricu nāṭṭaik kūṭṭi nila naṭappiṭṭuk kallum kalliyu nāṭṭip paḷam paḷiccanta-maṇa viccātiripaṭṭiyun tēvarpaṭṭiyumāṇa iv iraṇṭu paṭṭiyu nikki...*[2]

[Having assembled accordingly [the inhabitants of] the district [nadu], having caused [them] to walk over the boundaries of the [granted] land, having planted stones and milk bush[3] [on the boundaries], having excluded the two Pattis called Vichchādiri Patti and Devar Patti which had been formerly a Pallichchandam..)[4]

There is also evidence to show that Cola kings and queens built Jaina temples and donated land and wealth for their maintenance.[5] Rājarāja I donated the village Ānaimangalam to the Buddhist Vihāra called Chūlamaṇivarma vihāra in Nāgapaṭṭaṇam, which was built by the chief of Kaḍāram Chūlamaṇivatman and his son Māravija-yotungavarman.[6]

In writing this epic, as we will see in Chapter IV, Tēvar has followed the pattern set by similar epics in Sanskrit. This was facilitated by the popularity of Sanskrit in the conntry. The Pallava kings patronised Sanskrit scholars and poets in their court. We learn that the Pallava king Mahendravarman I (A.D. 580-A.D. 630)[7] composed a delectable farce (prahasana) Mattavilāsaprahasana in Sanskrit. The impact of Sanskrit on the social life and the culture of the Tamils persisted during the period of the Cola kings. Thus, in the Cola inscriptions also we find a large admixture of Sanskrit.

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1 Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 209.
2 *South Indian Inscriptions* (S.I.I.) Vol. II, Part III, p. 386, Inscription No. 76.
3 Kalli. Euphorbia.
4 Translated by E. Hultzch, p. 387.
5 *S.I.I.* Vol. I, pp. 67, 68.
6 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, No. 34, pp. 228, 229.
7 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 171.

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From the period of the Pallava reign, Tamil land was heading towards a state of progress and stability which culminated in the period of Tamil supremacy during the reign of the Colas in South India. The prosperity of the age was conducive to innovations and novel literary compositions. As trade and commerce flourished, merchants occupied a place next in importance only to that of the kings. The political and social ties which flourished between the merchant community and the royal family could be indicated from the circumstances that four among the eight brides of Cīvakaṇ hail from the merchant community. The custom prevalent among the Tamil emperors of marrying princesses from various countries for diplomatic reasons could be seen in the narration of Cīvakaṇ's marriage to the eight girls in the story. The principle that salvation could be achieved even through the normal existence of householder could be also illustrated by the example of Cīvakaṇ. These presumably are the reasons why Tēvar chose the Jivaka story from all the stories of Jaina Saints for his work. He probably had a source book in Sanskrit or Prakrit, as discussed in the first chapter. In chapter III we compare the story of Cc. with that of the earliest available Sanskrit book on the Jivaka story, the Up, in an attempt to assess the Sanskrit influence on the story of Cc.

CHAPTER III

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE JĪVANDHARA STORY IN THE UTTARAPURĀNA AND THE STORY OF THE CĪVAKACINTĀMAŅI AND A DISCUSSION OF THE SANSKRIT MOTIFS FOUND IN THE CĪVAKACINTĀMAŅI

From very early times Sanskrit episodes appeared in Tamil literature. The Sanskrit purāṇic and epic stories became popular among the Tamils along with Aryan customs and traditions. Though the Cankam literature appears to be relatively free from the influence of Sanskrit works, there are a few references to the episodes of the two Sanskrit epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, and to the other mythological stories. References to these stories are made in eulogies of kings and in descriptions. For example,

> alaṅkuḷaip puraviy aivar oṭu ciṇaii
> nilan talaik koṇṭa polam pūn tumpai
> iraim patiṇmarum porutu kaḷatt oḷiyap
> peruñc cōṟṟu miku paṭam varaiyāṭu koṭuttōy[1]

(The hundred men (Duryodhana and his brothers) who possessed land fought with the Pāṇḍavas, who had the horses adorned with head ornaments. During the fight, you supplied the army with food till the hundred men were killed.)

Here, the poet Murañciyūr Muṭinākaṇār praises the glory of the Cera king Peruñcōṟ ṟūtiyañceralātaṇ by saying that he gave food to the armies of the Pāṇḍavas and to Durdodhana and his ninety nine brothers till the latter hundred were killed by the Pāṇḍavas. The allusion to the Mahābhārata story in praising a southern king already shows the liking that the people of Tamil land had for these stories. Similar references to stories from the Mahābhārata are found also in the Cirupāṇarruppaṭai,[2] the Perumpāṇarruppaṭai,[3] the Patiṟruppattu,[4] the Akanāṇūru,[5] etc. Like the stories of the Mahābhārata, episodes from the Rāmāyaṇa are also mentioned in works like Akanāṇūru,[6] the Cirupāṇarruppaṭai[7] and Puranāhūru. For example,

> Kaṭunteral irāmaṇuṭaṇ puṇar ciḷaiyai
> valitta kaiy aṟakkaṇ vavviya ñāṇṟai
> nilañ cēr mātar aṇi kaṇṭa kurañkiṇ
> cemmukap peruṅ kiḷaiy iḷaip polintāṅku[8]

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1 *Puṟanāṇūru*, verse 2, lines 13–16.
2 *Cirupāṇaṟṟuppaṭai*, lines 238–241.
3 *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai*, lines 415–417.
4 *Patiṟṟuppattu*, verse 14.
5 *Akanāṇūru*, verse 233.
6 *Ibid*, verse 70.
7 *Cirupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai*, lines 119–120.
8 *Puṟanāṇūru*, 378.

(It was like the happiness of the red-faced monkeys who were the relatives of the monkey who found on the ground the ornaments of Cītai, the wife of brave Irāmaṉ, when she was abducted by the strong-handed arakkaṉ [rākṣasa]).

In the above lines, the happiness of the relatives of the pᴏruṉaṉ (the bard), who received presents from the Cola king Ceruppaliyerinta-Iḷañcēṭceṉṉi, is cᴏmpared to that of the relatives of the monkey who found the ornaments which were dropped by Sītā when she was taken by Rāvaṇa.

Allusions of this kind to Sanskrit itihāsa stories and to the purāṇic stories began to proliferate in works like the Paripāṭal and the Kalittokai which belong to the later Caṅkam period.

As we have already seen, the post-Caṅkam period was marked by the ever-increasing popularity of Sanskrit works in Tamil land. There are references to Sanskrit stories in the Cilappatikāram, the first Tamil epic, though such references are com-paratively fewer than in the Cc. For example :

> *piḷḷai nakulᴄm perum piṟitāka*
> *eḷḷiya maṉaiyōḷ niṉaintu piṉ cella*
> *vaṭa ticaip peyarum mā maṟaiyāḷaṉ*
> *kaṭavataṉṟu niṉ kaitt ūṇ vaḻkkai*
> *vaṭamoḻi vācakam ceyta nʌli ēṭu*
> *kaṭāṉaṟi māntar kai nī koṭukkeṉa*
>
> ..   ..¹

(A brāhmaṇa, who abandoned his wife because she caused the death of a mongoose (which they were bringing up), started going north.² When the wife he had spurned followed him, he said that it was not proper for him to eat food from her hands. He gave her a note containing a Sanskrit verse and asked her to hand it over to people who led a virtuous life.)

This stanza is narrated by the character Māṭalaṉ to Kōvalaṉ, in order to praise the noble qualities of Kōvalaṉ. The husband of the brahmin lady who had killed the mongoose left her and started going north. Before he left he handed over a note containing a Sanskrit phrase (vaṭamoḻi vācakam) and asked her to give that to people who could understand it. She also went round with the note in her hand and met Kōvalaṉ. He consoled her and took the note from her. He gave gifts (dāna), the merits of which would destroy her sins. He fetched her husband back and gave them enough wealth to maintain them for the rest of their lives. Māṭalaṉ narrates this incident to praise Kōvalaṉ. In this narration the phrase ' vaṭamoḻi vācakam '⁶ refers

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1   *Cilappatikāram*, Aṭaikkalakkātai, lines 54–59.
2   Here, going north means going to have a holy bath in the Ganges.
3   In the Pañcatantra written by Viṣṇuśarma, there is no mention of the brahmin proceeding towards the north and his wife following him. We do not know whether this sequence is found in any other version of the story. We have also checked this story in the Pañcatantra, a Collection of Ancient Hindu tates in the recension, called Pañcākhyānaka, and dated A.D. 1199 of the Jaina Monk, Pūrṇabhadra critically edited in the original Sanskrit by Johannes Hertel, Harvard Oriental series, Vol. 11, 1908. In this book we cannot find this particular incident narrated.

to the following verse which is given in the fifth tantra of Pañcatantra.[1]

> *aparikṣya na kartavyaṃ kartavyaṃ suparikṣitam |*
> *pascād bhavati saṃtāpo brāhmaṇyām nakulārthataḥ ||*[2]

(Do not do (anything) without examining. Do what is well examined. (Otherwise) there will be pain as happened to brahminee because of a mongoose.)

The Maṇimēkalai, the epic written after the Cilappatikāram, also contains a few references to Sanskrit popular tales For example :

> *koṭik kōcampikkōmakan ākiya*
> *vaṭit tērt tānāi vattavan-tannai*
> *vañcam ceytuḷi vān taḷai viṭiiya*
> *uñcaiyir tōnriya yūki antaṇan*
> *uruvukku ovvā uru nōy kaṇṭu*
> *parivuru mākkaḷil tām pariv eyti*
>   ..   ..[3]

([There gathered around her a crowd], much like the crowd that had collected around Yaugandharāyaṇa when he assumed the disgusting disguise of a man suffering from disease, and entered the streets of Ujjain for the purpose of releasing Udayana, his master, from the prison into which Pradyota, the king, had thrown him.)[4]

Here the poet Cāttanār in describing the crowd which gathered around Manimēkalai who became a Buddhist nun after receiving instructions from the sage Aravaṇa Aṭikaḷ, alludes to the similar incident which took place in the story of Udayana. Here the point of the comparison will be missed without a knowledge of the Udayana story referred to. Pradyota, the king of Ujjain, captured Udayana by deceit. His minister Yaugandharāyaṇa came to free him, disguised as a person suffering from a deadly disease. The people of Ujjain felt sorry for him when they saw him. Their sorrow is compared to that felt by the people of Pukār when they saw Maṇimēkalai in the garb of a Buddhist nun.

The Udayana story from which the above incident is taken was a popular theme in Sanskrit literature. In the later period it is also often alluded to in Tamil literature. This story of Udayana is the first Sanskrit story to have been taken as the source of a Tamil epic. It is used as the main theme of the literary work, the Peruṅkatai. Before the period of the Peruṅkatai, only allusions were made to Sanskrit stories in Tamil works, while the plots were always of Tamil origin. Koṅkuvēlir, the author of the Peruṅkatai, was the forerunner of Tēvar in dealing with a Sanskrit story in Tamil.

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1 Aṭiyārkkunallār, commentary on Aṭaikkalahkātai, *Cilappatikāram*, lines 54–75.

2 Viṣṇuśarman, *Pañcatantra*, Nirṇaya Sāgara edition, Bombay, 1902, Vth Tantra, verse 18.

3 Maṇimēkalai, 15, lines 61–66.

4 Translated by S. Krishnaswami Aiyanagar, *Maṇimēkalai in its historical setting*. London, 1928, p. 149.

As we have discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, we do not exactly know which was the source for Tēvar's work. As the Up. is the earliest available source among the Sanskrit and Prakrit texts which deal with the story of Jīvandhara, in this chapter we compare the Jīvandhara story of the Up. with the story of the Cc. In the Up. the story of Jīvandhara is related in a prosaic manner. We do not find many descriptions or any literary flourish. Stories within the main story sometimes impede the flow of the narrative. One can find in the story of the Cc. many novel features and variations which are not found in the Jīvandhara story of the Up. The similarities and the variations found between the story of the Jīvandhara in the Up. and the story of the Cc. can be analysed under three headings :

1. Contents of the story
2. Sequence of events
3. Characters

The Contents of the Story

We shall now see the similarities, the variations and the differences found between the contents of the Jīvandhara story of the Up. and the story of the Cc. As the Jīvandhara story in the Up. is narrated in one long story without any sub-divisions in it, here we analyse the story according to the chapters found in the Cc.

1. Nāmakaḷ Ilampakam (The birth and the education of Cīvakan)

The Jīvandhara story in the Up. begins with King Śreṇika asking the chief disciple Sudharma about the ascetic Jīvandhara. The whole story of Jīvandhara is related through the mouth of Sudharma, and here the story is related only after the renunciation of Jīvandhara. But in the Cc. the story starts from the birth of Cīvakan and is related up to the renunciation of Cīvakan. The whole story is narrated by the author Tēvar and the question of the king Cēṇikan (Śreṇika) and the answer to it given by the ascetic Cutaṇmar (Sudharma) is included in the last ilampakam, after the renunciation of Cīvakan. Here, the reply of Cutaṇmar contains only the description of the way in which Cīvakan attained salvation after renouncing the world, and not the whole story.[1]

The country in which the story takes place is the same in both books and the main characters are also the same.

The Similar sections in the Up. and the Cc.

In the country Hemāṅgada, the king Satyandhara (Caccantaṇ in the Cc.) ruled in the city called Rājapuram. His queen was Vijayā (Vicayai in the Cc.) and his minister Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka (Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ in the Cc.). One day the queen had two dreams. In one, the king gave her a crown adorned with eight golden bells,[1] and in the other, an aśoka tree under which she was standing was cut off with an axe by

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1 *Ibid*, verses 3059–3086.

2 The variation found in the Cc. about this incident will be discussed later.

somebody and from the root a young tree grew up. The queen, being anxious to know the results of her dreams, went to the king and asked what they meant. The king explained the good and the bad implications of the dreams. After some days the wicked minister Kāsthāṅgāraka came to kill the king. The king, who realised his situation, sent away his wife, who was pregnant, in an aerial car. In the fight between the king and the minister, the minister slew the king. The queen, who went in the aerial car, descended in a cemetery, where she gave birth to a son. She was helped and consoled by a yakṣi. In the meantime Gandhotkaṭa (Kantukkaṭan in the Cc.), a merchant, came there to dispose of the dead body of his son. Gandhotkaṭa, hearing the cry of a child, went near him and fetched him. He took the child home, and handed him over to his wife. He pretended to be angry and told his wife that she had given him the child, which was still alive, to be buried. Vijayā, after the child had been taken by Gandhotkaṭa, went to the Daṇḍaka forest where the ascetics dwell, and resided there. Jivandhara grew into a boy; one day while playing with his friend he met an ascetic and took him home and gave him food. The ascetic conceived an affection for Jivandhara, and undertook the charge of educating him. He told him that he was the king Āryavarma, and imparted khowledge of all the sciences to Jivandhara and his companions. After some days Āryavarma attained salvation.

The variations found in the story of the Cc

(1) In the story of Jivandhara in the Up., when the characters Satyandhara and Vijayā, the parents of Jivandhara, are introduced for the first time, they are married.[2] But in the Cc. they are not married when they are first introduced in the story. Their marriage arrangements, wedding and the other celebrations are described in detail.[5]

(ii) The two dreams which Vijayā had in the Up. are made into one in the Cc. and there is also variation in the contents of the dream. According to the Cc., an aśoka tree fell down with all its flowering branches and from the root of the tree a young sprout came up with a crown adorned with eight garlands on it.[3] Therefore in the Cc., unlike in the Up., the king did not give a diadem to Vicayai and also the tree was not cut by an axe. The crown did not have eight bells but eight garlands.

(iii) The portrayal of the character Kaṭṭiyaṅkaran is altered in the Cc. According to the Up., Kāsthāṅgāraka killed king Satyandhara because he feared his own death. The domestic priest Rudradatta was angry because in the early morning the queen refused him an audience with the king, as the king was still asleep. He went and asked Kāsthāṅgāraka to kill the king Satyandhara. When Kāsthāṅgāraka refused to do so, he predicted that if Kāsthāṅgāraka did not kill the king, the son of the king would kill Kāsthāṅgāraka. This scared Kāsthāṅgāraka and he killed the king. Though he obtained the kingdom, it gave him no happiness.[4] Therefore the only reason he killed the king was to save his own life. In the Cc Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran is portrayed as a wicked traitor who usurped the kingdom of Caccantan by murdering him. Caccantan

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1 Up. *loc. cit.* v. 189.   3 Cc. v. 223.

2 Cc. vv. 157–198.   4 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 207-223.

entrusted his kingdom to Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ in order to enjoy himself with his queen Vicayai. Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ took this opportunity to kill the king. To gain the support of the other ministers he made up a story that a deity who was angry with the king had been inciting him to kill the king.[1]

(iv) In the Up., after the dream of Vijayā, the event in which Gandhotkaṭa met the ascetic Śilagupta is narrated. Gandhotkaṭa asked the ascetic whether he would have any long-lived sons as all his sons were dead. The ascetic predicted that he would obtain a virtuous son who would rule the earth.[2] This event is not narrated in this place in the Cc. But it is narrated by Kantukkaṭaṉ, in the Kuṇamālaiyār ilampakam, who consoled Cunantai and Kuṇamālai when Cīvakaṉ was punished by Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ.[3]

(v) According to the Up., when Gandhotkaṭa heard the voice of a child, he went towards the child calling out 'Jīva, Jīva.' In this context the poet says that he went towards the child calling 'Jīva, Jīva' as if it were the future name of the child, Jīvandhara.[4] This is not mentioned in the Cc. Tēvar gives another reason for naming the child Cīvakaṉ. According to the Cc. the child sneezed when Kantukkkaṭaṉ went to fetch the child, and at that time a voice blessed him saying 'cīva' (jīva) 'Live long.' It is because of this blessing that the child is named Cīvakaṉ.[5]

(vi) In the Up., the queen Vijayā, hearing the voice of Gandhotkaṭa, made herself known to him and handed over her child to him saying, "Bring up my son unknown to others."[6] In the Cc., Vicayai did not come out of her place of hiding.

(vii) The introduction of the teacher of Jīvandhara in the Up. and in the Cc. are different. In the Up., Jīvandhara met his teacher while playing with his friends. On the request of the teacher he took him home and gave him food. After food, the ascetic revealed his past history and expressed his desire to teach Jīvandhara.[7] He imparted the knowledge of all sciences to Jīvandhara and afterwards he attained salvation by exercising self-control. This part is narrated in a different way in the Cc. The past life of the teacher is related only after the education of Cīvakaṉ. Before this event, in the Cc. Tēvar introduces another important event which is necessary for the growth of the rest of the story, and which is not found in the Up. Accaṉanti. the teacher of Cīvakaṉ, narrated the story of the birth of Cīvakaṉ and the story of his parents to Cīvakaṉ.[8] On hearing this, Cīvakaṉ was angry and got ready to kill Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ. But his teacher pacified him and asked him to wait for one year. Cīvakaṉ agreed to the condition. This one year is an important period in the life of Cīvakaṉ, and the whole preparation for the fight with Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ takes place in this time.

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1 Ce. v. 241.   5 Cc. vv. 323, 361.
2 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 201–204.   6 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 244, 245.
3 Cc. vv. 1122–1131.   7 *Ibid, loc. cit.* v. 274.
4 Up. *loc. cit* v. 243.   8 Cc. vv. 385–390.

In the Up. Jīvandhara did not know anything about his parents till he was told by the celestial (khecara). He met the celestial after the marriage of Hemābha (Kaṇakamālai in the Cc.).

Differences found between the Up. and the Cc.

(i) In the Up. the ascetic Śīlagupta predicted to Gandhotkaṭa that he would find a son who would rule the earth, in a cemetery where he would go to dispose of the dead body of his own son. This prediction is heard by a yakṣi and she went to the royal palace to assist the mother in the birth of that son. This is not narrated in the Cc.

(ii) The visit of the ascetic Rudradatta, his request to see king Satyandhara, the refusal of permission by the Queen Vijayā, the anger of Rudradatta, his visit to the house of Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka, his request to Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka to kill the king and his prediction that the son of the king will kill Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka[1] are not narrated in the Cc.

2. Kovintaiyār ilampakam

Similar sections in the Up. and the Cc.

The hunters approached the cow pen in order to seize the cows in Hemāṅgada. When the king Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka was informed about it, he proclaimed that the virtuous virgin Godāvari, the daughter of Gopendra and Gopaśrī, would be given to the one who could recover the cows. On hearing this, Jīvandhara went to bring back the cows. He defeated the enemy and brought back the stolen cows. The whole country rejoiced over the victory of Jīvandhara. The sons of Vaiśyas made the king give Godāvari in marriage to Nandādhya.[2] (Patumukan in Cc.)

Variations found in the Cc.

(i) In the Up. the name of the chief of the forest-dwellers is given as Kālakūṭa.[3] This name is omitted in the Cc. and it is only said that the cows were stolen by hunters.

(ii) In the Up., the king Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka proclaimed that the virgin Godāvari would be given to him who shall recover the cows.[4] But in the Cc. this has been altered. First, when the cowherds reported to the king Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ he sent his army. The king's army failed to recover the cows. Being disappointed, the chief of the cowherds, Kōvintaṉ, proclaimed that he would give his daughter to the one who retrieved the cows from the enemy.[5] On the victory of Cīvakaṉ it was Kōvintaṉ who gave away his daughter to Cīvakaṉ and not Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ.[6] Cīvakaṉ accepted her to give her in marriage to Patumukaṉ and not to Nantāṭṭiyaṉ as stated in the Up.[7]

(iii) In the Up., it is said that Jīvandhara accompanied by Kālāṅgāraka (the son of Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka) went to fight the enemy. But in the Cc. the character Kālāṅgāraka is not introduced into the story at all.

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1 Up. v. 284.   2 Up. v. 296.   3 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 284 296.

4 *Ibid, loc. cit.* v. 288.   5 Cc. v. 440.   6 *Ibid, vv.* 477–482.   7 *Ibid,* v. 489.

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The difference between the Up. and the Cc.

(i) The prediction of the astrologers to the hunters who wanted to steal the cows of the cowherds, that there would be evil, and the prediction of the foreteller of the omens to the cowherds that there was going to be evil, which is narrated in the Cc., are not found in the Up. These incidents are narrated in the Cc., according to the Veṭci and Karantai war, the two kinds of war found in the early Tamil literary tradition.[1]

3. Kāntaruvatattaiyār ilampakam

The story of Kāntaruvatattai is one of the longest episodes in the Cc. Though the main section of the story is similar to the Up., there are many variations and differences in the rest of the story, and in the sequence of events.

Similar sections in the Up. and the Cc.

Gandharvadattā, the daughter of the Vidyādhara king Garuḍavega and queen Dhāriṇī, was taken to Rājapuram by Jinadatta, to get married according to the prediction made earlier. In Rājapuram, Jinadatta erected a hall and proclaimed that Gandharvadattā would be given in marriage to the one who could defeat her in the lute competition. All the people who wanted to marry her came and competed with her. But all of them failed. At last Jīvandhara went to the hall and played the lute, and won her. Gandharvadattā who had fallen in love with Jīvandhara, garlanded him.

The variations found in the Cc.

(i) In the Up., Matisāgara, the minister of Garuḍavega (Kaluḷavēkan in the Cc.) came to know all about the future life of Gandharvadattā from the ascetic Vipulamati. Jinadatta (Cītattan in the Cc.) and Garuḍavega were friends and Jinadatta went to visit his friend in his house.[2] This part of the story is not found in the Cc. The introduction of Cītattan is effected in an entirely different way. According to the Cc. Cītattan, after a shipwreck in which he lost all his wealth and friends, met a celestial called Taran, who was sent by Kaluḷavēkan (Garuḍavega). Taran explained to Cītattan that the shipwreck was caused deliberately by him in order to bring Cītattan to their land. He took Cītattan to the court of the king, where the king handed over his daughter to Cītattan. The king also told him about the prediction of the astrologers and asked Cītattan to give her in marriage to the one who won her in the lute competition.

Therefore, the meeting of Kaluḷavēkan and Cītattan in the Cc. is narrated in a different way from the Up.

(ii) In the Up., after Gandharvadattā had garlanded Jīvandhara, Kālāṅgāraka, the son of Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka, made an attempt to abduct Gandharvadattā.[3] But in the Cc., the character Kālāṅgāraka is never introduced. It was Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran who instigated other kings to fight against Cīvakan.[4]

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1 Infra, p. 149.   2 Up. *loc. cit* v. 322.   3 *Ibid, loc. cit.* v. 340.   4 Cc. vv. 741–757.

(iii) In the Up., the father of Gandharvadattā knew that his daughter was going to get married to Jīvandhara.[1] But in the Cc., till Cīvakaṉ won Kāntaruvatattai in the lute competition, nobody knew that she was going to marry Cīvakaṉ. As the Cc. omits the section in which Matisāgara, the minister of Garuḍavega, related the future of Gandharvadattā, this section is also excluded.

Difference found between the Up. and the Cc.

(i) According to the Up., Gandharvadattā's father Garuḍavega, who was skilled in diplomacy, became the mediator between the parties who were fighting and pacified them.[2] This event is not found in the Cc. Here Cīvakaṉ fought with his enemies and defeated them.

4. Kuṇamālaiyar ilampakam

As will be shown later in the section about characters,[3] the names Guṇamālā and Suramañjarī are interchanged. The story of Guṇamālā in the Cc. is narrated as the story of Suramañjarī and vice versa in the Up. Except for the change in names, all the other incidents are more or less the same.

During the spring the citizens of Rājapuram went to enjoy sports. Two friends Suramañjarī and Guṇamālā started an argument over their scented powder. Their maids took the powders and went to Jīvandhara for judgement. Jīvandhara decided that the powder of Suramañjarī (Kuṇamālai in the Cc.) was the better one. To prove it he took both powders in his hands and scattered them. A swarm of bees, attracted by the sweet smell, ate the powder of Suramañjarī. Both girls departed. After this incident, some naughty boys harassed a dog, and the dog out of fear jumped into a pond, and there it was about to die. Jīvandhara had it retrieved and spoke into its ears the words of veneration. As soon as it heard the words of veneration it became a yakṣa called Sudarśana. Sudarśana asked Jīvandhara to think of him whenever he was in any calamity. Having said that he returned to his abode.

When Suramañjarī was returning home after the sports, the elephant Aśanivega became intoxicated and ran towards the carriage of Suramañjarī. Using his skill Jīvandhara controlled the elephant. From the time of this incident Suramañjarī fell in love with Jīvandhara. Her parents, who came to know about her love, gave her in marriage to Jīvandhara with the permission of his foster-parents.

The wicked king Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka attacked Jīvandhara with an army for humiliating his elephant. When Jīvandhara defeated that army, Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka, sent another army.[4] As Jīvandhara thought that there was no use in fighting and killing the innocent army, he remembered his friend the yakṣa and went with him to his abode.

Variations found in the Kuṇamālaiyār ilampakam

(i) According to the Up., after hearing the judgement made about the the scented powders by Cīvakaṉ, the two girls went away without any enmity.[5] But in the Cc.,

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1 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 310–312.   2 Up. *loc. cit.* v. 343.   3 Infra.
4 This is only narrated in the Up.   5 Up. *loc. cit.* v. 354.

Curamañcari was not at all pleased with the judgement made by Jīvandhara. From that day onwards she decided not to see any men until Cīvakan went back to her. This decision of Curamañcari is related in the latter part of the Up., in the story of Guṇamālā (Curamañcari in the Cc.).[1] Tēvar has made it clear even in the story of Kuṇamālai.

(ii) In the Up., the dog which turned into the yakṣa Sudarśana was beaten by a a group of boys.[2] But according to the Cc., it was some brahmins who beat the dog.[3],

(iii) In the Up., when Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka attacked Jīvandhara for the second time Jīvandhara did not fight, and he thought that it would be of no use to kill the innocent people. But in the Cc., Kaṭṭiyaṅkaran did not send an army to fight with Cīvakan. He sent people to arrest him. Cīvakan did not fight because he had to abide by the promise he had given to his teacher. This is the only reason why he thought of his friend Cutañcaṇan for help.

Differences found between the Up. and the Cc.

(i) In the Cc. Kaṭṭiyaṅkaran ordered his cousin Mataṇan to kill Cīvakan. But when Cīvakan remembered his friend Cutañcaṇan (Sudarśana in the Up.), the latter caused rain and thunder to take Cīvakan away without the knowledge of others. Mataṇan who had missed Cīvakan in the tumult caused by Cutañcaṇan killed a wayfarer and showed his blood to Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran, saying that it was the blood of Cīvakan who had been killed by him. Kaṭṭiyaṅkaran thought that it was true and presented him with gifts.[4] This incident is not found in the Up.

(ii) In the Cc., when Pātumukan, Cīvakan's friend, heard about the imprisonment of Cīvakan by Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran, he went with Putticeṇan and other friends to fight with Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran.[5] This incident is not found in the Up.

5. Patumaiyār ilampakam

In this ilampakam only the main story of Padmottama is similar in both books. In most of the other events connected with the main story one can find a number of variations.

Similar sections in the Up. and the Cc.

Jīvandhara, after staying for some time with Sudarśana, expressed his desire to leave his place. Sudarśana gave him a ring which would enable the bearer to assume any desired appearance and to acquire desired objects. Jīvandhara went from the palace of Sudarśana to the country Candrābha of King Dhanapati. At that time when Cīvakan arrived at that country, the daughter of King Dhanapati, Padmottama, was bitten by a snake. Jīvandhara by pronouncing a spell freed the princess from the effects of the poison. The king, pleased by the act of Jīvandhara, gave his daughter to him in marriage. Jīvandhara after staying in the palace of Dhanapati for some days, left it without the knowledge of anyone.

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1 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 594–595   2 *Ibid, loc. cit.* vv. 359–360.   3 Cc. vv. 934–946.
4 *Ibid*, vv. 1161–1165.   5 Cc. vv. 1134–1144.

Variations found in the Patumaiyār ilampakam

(i) According to the Up., Sudarśana gave Jīvandhara a ring which would help the bearer to gain any desired form or desired object.[1] But in the Cc., Cutañcaṇaṇ taught Cīvakaṇ three mantras which could produce the following effects[2]:

(i) to cure poison
(ii) to assume any desired form
(iii) to make his voice sweet.

These mantras are introduced by Tēvar, because they are important for the development of the story. In the Patumaiyār ilampakam Cīvakaṇ used the first mantra, i.e. the mantra which helps to cure the poison. In the Curamañcariyār ilampakam he used the other two. He assumed the form of an old man and sang sweet songs to attract the attention of Curamañcari.

(ii) In the Up., the King Dhanapati, the father of Padmottamā, proclaimed when his daughter was bitten by the snake that he would bestow his daughter and half the kingdom to him who freed her from the poison.[3] This proclamation made by the king is not mentioned in the Cc. According to the Cc., when Cīvakaṇ, entered the country of king Taṇapati, he met the prince of the country, Ulōkapālaṇ, the brother of Patumai, at a dance recital given by Tēcikappāvai. The news that Patumai had been bitten by a snake reached Ulōkapālaṇ while he was with Cīvakaṇ. On hearing the news Ulōkapālaṇ rushed to see his sister, leaving Cīvakaṇ. But, later on, when Ulōkapālaṇ failed to cure his sister from poison, he asked his servants to bring Cīvakaṇ. Cīvakaṇ cured Patumai and the king, being pleased, offered his daughter to Cīvakaṇ.

Differences found in the Patumaiyār ilampakam

(i) In the Cc., when Cīvakaṇ expressed Cutañcaṇaṇ the desire to leave the house of Cutañcaṇaṇ, the latter told him that Cīvakaṇ would kill Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ and regain the kingdom in twelve months' time.[4] This prediction of Cutañcaṇaṇ is not found in the Up.

(ii) According to the Cc. before Cīvakaṇ reached the city of Cantirāpam, he preached Jaina doctrine to a hunter who offered him meat and honey. This incident is not narrated in the Up.[5]

(ii) According to the Cc., Cīvakaṇ helped a herd of elephants from a forest fire by causing a shower of rain.[6] This incident is not related in the Up.

(iv) According to the Cc., Tēcikappāvai, a dancing girl in whose dance recital Cīvnkaṇ met Ulōkapālaṇ the brother of Patumai for the first time, fell in love with Cīvakaṇ.[7] Cīvakaṇ united with her after his marriage with Patumai in the park.[8] This episode is not found in the Up.

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1 Up. *loc. cit.* v. 388.   2 Cc. v. 1218.   3 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 392–393.
4 Cc. vv. 1220–1221.   5 *Ibid*, vv. 1230-1236.   6 *Ibid*, v. 1237.
7 *Ibid*, vv. 1253–1261.   8 *Ibid*, vv. 1355-1357.

(v) According to the Cc., Civakan, who had fallen in love with Patumai, when he cured her from the effect of poison, met her in the park afterwards and united with her before she was given in marriage to him by her father,[1] The whole description of the incident which took place in the park is according to the early Tamil literary traditions.[2] This is not narrated in the Up.

(vi) According to the Cc., Civakan after he left Patumai gave all his ornaments to a traveller.[3] This incident is not narrated in the Up.

(vil) According to the Cc., Civakan told the servants who were sent by King Tanapati to search for Civakan, that Civakan would return to Patumai in nine months' time.[4] This is not found in the Up.

6. Kēmacariyār ilampakam

The episode of Kēmacari in the Cc. is the counterpart of the story of Kṣemasundari in the Up. Except for the fact that Civakan married Kēmacari, all the other parts of the story are different. Comparatively this is one of the smallest episodes in the Cc. and the Up. According to the Up., an ascetic had predicted that Kṣemasundari would get married to the one on whose arrival the doors of the Jaina temple in that country would open automatically, and the campaka flowers and the other kinds of flowers would appear. But this has been changed by Tēvar. In the Cc. it is narrated that according to the prediction Kēmacari would feel shy for the first time in her life when she met the man who was to be her husband.

7. Kanakamālaiyār ilampakam

The Kanakamālaiyār ilampakam contains a great number of episodes and new events other than the main story. Most of these episodes are found only in the Cc. Even the main story is very different from the story of the Up. According to the Up., Jivandhara won Hemābhā (Kanakamālai in the Cc.) by showing his skill in archery. Astrologers had predicted that Hemābhā would marry the man who could dispatch an arrow so that it turned round the target and flew back. Jivandhara, who could shoot like that, was offered Hemābhā, the daughter of Dṛiḍhamitra.

The story is different in the Cc. In the Cc. Civakan first met the prince of the country, Vicayan, the brother of Kanakamālai. Civakan helped him to pluck some mangoes. Vicayan, who was astonished by the skill of Civakan, introduced him to his father Taṭamittan, the king of the country Emamāpuram. The king asked Civakan to teach archery to his sons, and Civakan agreed to do so. The king, pleased with the skill of Civakan, gave his daughter to him in marriage. After the marriage of Jivandhara and Hemābhā Nandādhya went to see Jivandhara with the help of Gandharvadattā.

After Nandādhya went to see Jivandhara, his friends also went to see him with the help of Gandharvadattā. On the way Jivandhara's friends met Jivandhara's mother

1 Cc. v. 1329.   2 *Ibid*, vv. 1115–1137.   3 *Ibid*, v. 1409.   4 *Ibid*, vv. 1410–1411

Vijayā and she, knowing that they were her son's friends, asked them to bring him with them when they came back. His friends, when they entered Hemābhapuram, plundered the property of the merchants in that country (this incident is described differently in the Cc. and it will be dealt with in the section dealing with the variations) and Jivandhara went to fight with them and bring the lost property. There Jivandhara found the arrows dispatched by the enemy were marked by his own name and recognised that the enemies with whom he fought were his own friends. They all joined Jivandhara and stayed with him for some time. They told him about their encounter with Jivandhara's mother. Hearing the news of his mother Jivandhara started to see his mother in the Daṇḍaka forest.

Variations found in the Story of the Cc.

(i) According to the Up. Gandharvadattā visited Jivandhara very often. But in the Cc. Kāntaruvatattai did not go to see Civakaṉ at all. She only knew the place where he was staying by her magical powers.[1]

(iii) Accarding to the Up. Madhura, the friend of Jivandhara went to visit Jivandhara with his friends.[2] But, in the Cc. it is Patumukoṉ who went to see Civakaṉ.[3]

(iii) According to the Up. Madhura and his friends plundered the property of the merchants.[4] But in the Cc. Patumukaṉ and his friends stole the cows of the cowherds and the war is described according to the Tamil poetical traditions of the early Tamil literature.[5]

Differences found between the Cc and the Up.

(i) The episode of Anaṅkamāviṇai, the lady who tried to seduce Civakaṉ, which is narrated in detail in the Cc. is not found in the Up. In the Cc. Anaṅkam āviṇai's effort to attract the attention of Civakaṉ, his recognition of her intentions, his preaching to her about the impurity of the body, her lover's arrival, her disappearance from the spot where she was standing, the encounter of Civakaṉ with her lover Pavatattaṉ, his advice to him about the unfaithfulness of women, Pavatattaṉ's eagerness to see his lover in spite of the advice given by Civakaṉ and the teaching of a mantra which could help Pavatattaṉ to obtain his wife by Civakaṉ[6] are not narrated in the Up.

(ii) According to the Cc., Civakaṉ, before he married Kaṉakamālai, sent her a garland with a letter in it through a dwarf woman. Having read that letter Kaṉakamālai fell in love with Civakaṉ and sent a love letter back to Civakaṉ through Ānaṅkavilāciṉi. Though Civakaṉ did not want to receive that letter, on the persuasion of Anaṅkavilāciṉi he received that letter.[7] This incident is not narrated in the Up.

(iii) According to the Cc., before Civakaṉ's friends Patumukaṉ, Putticēṉaṉ and others started to steal the cows of the cowherds they heard about the victory of

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1 Cc. v. 1709.   2 Up. vv. 551ff.   3 Cc. v. 1767ff.   4 Up. v. 561.
5 Cc. v. 1856ff.   6 Cc. vv. 1567–1601.   7 Cc. 1652ff.

Civakan in controlling the intoxicated elephant, Valaiyacuntaram. This event is not narrated in the Up.

(iv) According to the Cc., Kāntaruvatattai sent a letter through Civakan's friends who went to see him. In that letter Kāntaruvatattai mentioned about the love–lorn condition of Kunamālai.[1]

(v) According to the Up. after the story of Hemābha, the story of the previous births of Nandādhya and his wife, Śrīcandra, is narrated.[2] These stories are narrated in the Up. in great detail. None of these stories are found in the Cc. Following these stories, the story of the previous births of Jīvandhara is also related in the Up. But this story is not narrated in this context in the Cc. It is told in the Muttiyi-lampakam by the Cāranan Manivannan to Civakan.[3] There are many differences in the story of Civakan's previous birth narrated in the Up. and the Cc., and these will be dealt with while dealing with the story related in the Muttiyilampakam.

(vi) According to the Up. the yaksa came to visit Jīvandhara when he was with his mother and showed respect to them both. This incident is not narrated in the Cc.[4]

8. Vimalaiyār ilampakam

In the Vimalaiyār ilampakam the meeting of Civakan and his mother is narrated. After the narration of this incident, the story of Vimalai is told

Similar sections found in the Up. and the Cc.

As Jīvandhara entered the town Rājapuram, many kinds of jewels and other articles which were lying unsold were sold away in the shop of the merchant Sāgara-datta. As predicted by the astrologers earlier, Sāgaradatta gave his daughter Vimalā in marriage to Jīvandhara.

The story of Vimalā in the Up. is comparatively very short; it is narrated in four verses.

Variations found in the Story of the Cc.

(i) According to the Up., Jīvandhara left his mother after meeting her in the Dandaka forest and told her to stay there till he sent an army under the leadership of Nandādhya to fetch her. But in the Cc. Civakan sent his mother to the palace of his uncle, Kōvintan, till the time when he would go there to get ready for the fight with his enemy Kattiyankāran.

(ii) In the Up., Jīvandhara entered Rājamāpuram disguised as a merchant. In the Cc. he did not go in disguise. According to the Cc., Civakan met Vimalai before entering the shop of Cākaratattan. She met him when she was playing, and there she fell in love with him.

9. Curamañcariyār ilampakam

Note : The story of Curamañcari in the Cc. is narrated as the story of Gunamālā in the Up.

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1 Cc. vv. 1767–1768.   2 Up. vv. 438–520.   3 Cc. vv 2856–2890.   4 Ud. vv. 573, 576.

Similar sections found in the Up. and the Cc.

Jivandhara entered the house of Guṇamālā (Curamañcari in the Cc.) disguised as a wandering ascetic, having decided to win the love of Guṇamala, who had taken a vow not to see any men because Jivandhara did not praise her fragrant powder. Because Jivandhara looked old, the maids of Guṇamālā allowed him to go into the house. There he attracted Guṇamālā by his sweet music. Entranced by his music, she asked him to teach her the arts. One day Jivandhara showed her his true appearance, and Guṇamālā fell in love with him. With the consent of her parents she got married to Jivandhara.

Variations found in the story of the Cc.

(i) According to the Up., the princes who were in the court of the king Kāsthā-ngāraka asked Jivandhara, who had claimed that he could subject others by the effect of the drugs he had, to win the love of Guṇamālā, who had decided not to see any men.[1] But in the Cc. Cīvakan "did not claim anything. But his friends challenged him to win the love of Curamañcari, who had taken a decision not to see men.[2]

(ii) In the Cc., the incident where Curamañcari saw the true appearance of Cīvakan is related otherwise than in the Up. In the Up., Jivandhara showed his true appearance when they were alone in a secluded place.[3] In the Cc. Curamañcari, after hearing the song of the old man, went to the temple of Kāman (the god of love) to pray that she should get Cīvakan. There when she was praying to the god of love, Putticēnan, a friend of Cīvakan who was already hiding in the temple at the request of Cīvakan, told her that she would get Cīvakan. Curamañcari was pleased by the prediction, came back home, and saw Cīvakan.[4]

10. Maṇmakaḷ ilampakam

In this ilampakam, the victory of Cīvakan over his enemy Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran is described. The entire story related in this ilampakam is different from the story of the Up.

According to the Up., Jivandhara killed Kāsthāngāraka after his marriage with Ratnāvatī (Ilakkaṇai in the Cc.)

Similar sections in the Up. and the Cc.

King Gopendra of Videha took his daughter to Rājapuram and in that country he proclaimed that his daughter would be given to the one who could hit the machine Chandraka. All the suitors who came to the competition failed and at last Jivandhara succeeded in hitting the machine. King Gopendra gave his daughter in marriage to Jivandhara. This victory incited the jealousy of Kāsthāngāraka and he tried to kidnap

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1 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 590-595.
2 Cc. vv 1999-2001.

3 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 629-630.
4 Cc. v. 2059.

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Ratnāvatī, the wife of Jīvandhara (Ilakkaṇai in the Cc.) Thereupon, Jīvandhara declared his identity and with the help of soldiers, high officials and other dependents of King Satyandhara attacked Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka and killed him. He thus recovered his father's kingdom.

Variations found in the story of the Cc.

(i) According to the Up. Ratnāvatī made a vow that she would only marry the one who could hit the rotating machine Candraka. But in the Cc. Ilakkaṇai did not make any vow like that which Ratnāvatī had made in the Up. In the Cc. the proclamation that Ilakkaṇai would be given to the one who could hit the rotating machine which is in the shape of a pig was made by Kōvintaṉ, the father of Ilakkaṇai.

(ii) According to the story in the Up., Gopendra, the father of Ratnāvatī is not the uncle of Cīvakaṉ. But in the Cc, the father of Ilakkaṇai is the uncle of Cīvakaṉ.

Differences found between the stories of the Up. and the Cc.

(i) According to the Cc. before the competition in which Cīvakaṉ won Ilakkaṇai, Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ sent a message to Kōvintaṉ in which he asked Kōvintaṉ to accept the kingdom of Caccantaṉ, for Caccantaṉ had been killed by the state elephant. In fact the competition which was arranged by Kōvintaṉ for the hand of Ilakkaṇai was a well organised situation where Cīvakaṉ could meet Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ. Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ's message in the Cc. is not found in the Up.

(ii) According to the Cc. Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ did not know that Cīvakaṉ was alive until he saw him in the competition, where Cīvakaṉ succeeded in hitting the machine in the shape of a pig. Tēvar does not reveal this fact till the moment arrives for Cīvakaṉ to kill Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran. In the Up. Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka recognised Jīvandhara after the marriage of Guṇamālā (Curamañcari in the Cc.). Jīvandhara, after his marriage with Guṇamālā, stayed at the abode of Guṇamālā for some time, and then with his relatives, surrounded by an army of the four arms (elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry), went to the house of his foster-father Gandhotkaṭa, riding on his elephant Vijayagiri. On seeing that, Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka shouted that Jīvandhara was mad and not at all scared of him, the king. Then his chief ministers pacified him, saying that Jīvandhara had good fate, the help of Gandharvadattā, who was like the goddess of fortune, the company of his unfailing friend the yakṣa, his unity with his friends and unshakable courage. They also advised him not to fight with a strong adversary. These sections are not found in the Cc.

(iii) According to the Cc, when Kōvintaṉ related the identity of Cīvakaṉ, that he was the son of the king Caccantaṉ, a voice in the sky said that Cīvakaṉ would kill Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ. This incident is not found in the Up.

11. & 12. Pūmakaḷ ilampakam and Ilakkaṇaiyār ilampakam

In the Cc. the coronation of Cīvakaṉ is mentioned in the Pūmakaḷ ilampakam, and the marriage of Cīvakaṉ with Ilakkaṇai, his reunion with his wives, and his

making Kāntaruvatattai, his chief queen, are mentioned in the Ilakkaṇiayār ilampakam. These incidents are narrated in the Up. in only three verses.[1] Tēvar describes these incidents in great detail. These provide him with more opportunities to describe the various things necessary for a mahākāvya (peruṅkāppiyam). In the three verses of the Up., the coronation of Jivandhara, his marriage with Ratnāvatī, the crowning of Gāndharvadattā as his chief queen, his union with his mother, foster-mother and wives, his attainment of universal sovereignty, and his enjoyment of pleasures are mentioned.

The differences found in the Up. and the Cc.

The following incidents which are found in the Ilakkaṇaiyār ilampakam of the Cc. are not narrated in the Up. :

(i) Cīvakaṉ's visit to the temple of Arhat after his marriage with Ilakkaṇai

(ii) Cīvakaṉ donating gold pieces to the temple.

(iii) Cīvakaṉ honouring his foster parents, his brothers, friends, his uncle and other kings.

(iv) Cīvakaṉ asking the dramatists to write the story of Cutañcaṉaṉ as a drama in order to honour him.

(v) Cīvakaṉ honouring the banyan tree under which he played when he was a small boy.

(vi) Cīvakaṉ uniting with Tēcikappāvai who came with a letter pretending to be a friend of Aṉaṅkamālai.

13. Mutti ilampakam

According to the Up., once when Jivandhara was walking in the park Suramalaya he met the ascetic Vardhamāna and accepted his commandments and became an adherent to the Jaina faith. His brother Nandādhya did the same. Another day Jivandhara saw a group of monkeys fighting among themselves. This scene created in him disgust for the world. In the same forest he met a wandering ascetic called Praśasta-vaṅka and this ascetic told him about his previous birth as he had heard it already from the celestial (khecara). After this incident he visited the lord of the Jinas (Mahāvira), who had arrived in the park Suramalaya. Following this he gave his kingdom to his son Vasundhara, the son born of Gaṇdharvadattā, and renounced the world. His uncle, the other princes, his mother and his wives also renounced the world with him. Having heard all these stories, the king Śreṇika saluted Jivandhara and praised his glory.

Variation found in the story of the Cc.

(i) According to the Up. Jivandhara met the ascetic Vardhamāna and listened to his religious teachings before the incident in which he saw the monkeys fighting. This

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1 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 670-673.

encounter with the ascetic Vardhamāna is omitted in the Cc. Even the incident of the fighting monkeys is different. According to the Up., Cīvakaṇ feels disgusted with the world when he saw the group of monkeys fighting. In the Cc. this incident is narrated as a small episode. According to the Cc., Cīvakaṇ watched two monkeys and saw the male monkey giving a jack fruit to the sulky female monkey, out of love. At that moment the watchman of the garden came there and snatched the jack fruit from them. This incident made Cīvakaṇ realise the state of this world. He thought that the monkeys and the watchmaṇ were celestials who showed him the impermanence of this world and wanted to guide him to salvation.[1]

(ii) In the Up., a wandering ascetic called Praśastavaṅka (cāraṇa) told Cīvakaṇ about his previous birth as he had already heard from the celestial (khechara).[2] In the Cc. Cīvakaṇ heard about his previous birth for the first time from the wandering ascetic (cāraṇa) Maṇivaṇṇaṇ in the temple of Arhat, where he went with his wives after being disgusted with the world.[3] The story of the previous birth of Jīvandhara related in the Up. is found in a slightly different form in the Cc

In the Up., Jīvandhara was born in Videha as Jayadratha the son of king Jayandhara and queen Jayavatī. One day, Jayadratha separated a young swan from its parents out of curiosity. When the father of the young swan, on seeing his son being taken away, shrieked repeatedly, a servant of Jayadratha killed the parent-swan with his arrow. Jayadratha took the swan home. His mother saw it and asked her son to reunite the young swan with its mother. Jayadratha realised his fault, and reunited the young swan with its mother, after having kept it for sixteen days. After that Jayadratha having enjoyed worldly pleasures for some time, renounced the world and became a god in Sahasrāra.[4] Then, when his heavenly enjoyments had come to an end, he was reborn in this world as Jīvandhara. The father of the young swan which had been killed by the servant of Jayadratha was reborn as Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka, who killed the father of Jīvandhara. Since Jīvandhara had separated the young swan from its mother for sixteen days, in this life he was separated from his mother for sixteen years.

The following variations are found in the Cc. in the above story of the previous birth of Jīvandhara related in the Up. .

(a) In the Cc., Acōtaraṇ separated the young swaṇ at the request of his wives. The young swan was brought up by the wives of Acōtaraṇ. It was the father of Acōtaraṇ who asked him to reunite the young swan with its parents, and not his mother as in the Up. In this context, Tēvar has taken the opportunity to expound the importance of the five vows of a householder, non-killing, non-stealing, truth, celibacy, and non-possession.

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1 Cc. vv. 2720–2729.
2 Up. *loc. cit.* vv. 533–548.
3 Cc. vv. 2856–2890.
4 Sahasrāra is the twelfth of the sixteen heavens which are the parts of Kalpa. Kalpa and Kalpatita are the two parts of the upper world.

(b) In the Cc. there is no mention of the incident where the servant of Acōtaraṇ killed the father of the young swan, nor is it said that the father of the young swan was born in this world as Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ who killed the father of Cīvakaṇ.

II.

Now we shall see the similarities and the variations and differences in the names of the characters found in the Up. and the Cc. List 'A' will show the similar names found in both texts, the Up. and the Cc. list 'B' will show the variations found in the names of some of the characters found in these texts :

A

	Uttarapurāṇa	*Civaka Cintāmaṇi*		*Uttarapurāṇa*	*Civaka Cintāmaṇi*
1.	Dhanapati	Taṇapati	15.	Nandādhya	Nantāṭṭiyaṇ
2.	Dhanapāla	Taṇapālaṇ	16.	Nirvṛtti	Nipputi
3	Dhāriṇi	Tāriṇi	17.	Satyandhara	Caccantaṇ
4.	Dṛdhamitra	Taṭamittaṇ	18.	Sāgaradatta	Cākaratattaṇ
5.	Gandharvadattā	Kāntaruvatattai	19.	Subhadra	Cupattiraṇ
6.	Garuḍavega	Kaluḷavēkaṇ	20.	Sudarśana	Cutañcaṇaṇ
7.	Guṇamālā	Kuṇamālai	21.	Sudharma	Cutaṇmar
8.	Jayavatī	Cayamati	22.	Sumitra	Cumittiraṇ
9.	Jivandhara	Cīvakaṇ	23.	Suramañjarī	Curamañcari
10.	Kamalā	Kamalai	24.	Śreṇika	Cēṇikaṇ
11.	Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka	Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ	25.	Tilottamā	Tilōttamai
12.	Kumāradatta	Kumāratattaṇ	26.	Vijayā	Vicayai
13.	Lokapāla	Ulōkapālaṇ	27.	Vimalā	Vimalai
14.	Gandhotkaṭa	Kantukkaṭaṇ			

Among the characters listed above, the names of Guṇamālā and Suramañjarī have been interchanged, i.e., the story of Suramañjarī in the Up. has been changed to the story of Guṇamālā in the Cc. and vice versa. The character Ratnāvatī in the Up. has been named Ilakkaṇai in the Cc. These changes in names have been also followed by Vādibhasimha in his works the Gc. and the Kc.

B

Uttarapurāṇa	*Civaka Cintāmaṇi*	*Remarks*
1 Āryavarma	Accaṇanti	The word 'Ārya' is the same in both texts. Ārya-Skt. Ajja-Pkt. Acca-Tamil. But, instead of the word 'Varma' in the Up. the word 'Nanti' has been introduced in the Cc.
2. Kṣemasundarī	Kēmacari	Instead of 'Sundari' in the Up. 'Cari' is found in the Cc.
3. Gopēndra	Kōvintaṇ	The word 'Gopa' is the same in both texts and the word 'Indra' has been changed to ' Intaṇ ' in the Cc. The

Uttarapurāṇa	*Civaka Cintāmaṇi*	*Remarks*
		Sanskrit word' Indra' becomes 'Iṁda' in Prakrit.[1] As there is no soft consonant 'd' in Tamil, the 'd' in Prakrit has changed into the hard consonant 't' and following this preceding nasal ' ṁ ' also has changed into 'n'.
4. Godāvarī	Kōvintai	The word 'Go' is the same in both texts and instead of 'Dāvari' 'Vintai' is found in the Cc.
5. Gopaśrī	Kōtāvari	Instead of 'Śrī' in the Up. 'tāvari' is found in the Cc.
6. Nandā	Cunantai	A prefix 'Cu' is added in the Cc. with the word 'Nandā'.
7. Padmottamā	Patumai	The word 'Uttama' which is added to the word 'Padma' in the Up. is not found in the Cc.
8. Hemābhā	Kaṇakamālai	The word 'Kaṇaka' in the Cc. is the synonym of 'Hēmā' used in the Up. Instead of 'Ābha' in the Up. 'Mālai' is found in the Cc.
9. Jinadatta	Citattaṇ	Instead of 'Jina' in the Up. the word 'Ci' is prefixed to 'Tattaṇ' in the Cc.
10. Jayavati	Cayamati	The word 'vati' in the Up. occurs as 'mati' in the Cc.

Apart from the variations shown in the list 'B' there are also characters who are named differently in these two texts. They are shown below :

The Characters	*Their Names in the Up.*	*Their Names in the Cc.*
1. The father of Buddhiṣeṇa, the friend of Jīvandhara	Sāgara	acalaṇ (acala)
2. The name of Jīvandhara in his previous birth	Jayadratha	acōtaraṇ (yaśodhara)
3. The name of Jīvandhara's father	Jayandhara	Pavaṇamātēvaṇ (Pavanamahādeva)
4. The name of the teacher of Jīvandhara, when he was a king before his renunciation	Āryavarma	ulōkāmāpālaṇ (lokamahāpāla)
5. The father of Suramañjarī (Kuṇamālai in the Cc.)	Vaiśravaṇadatta	Kupēramittiraṇ (Kaberamitra)
6. The mother of Suramañjarī (Kuṇamālai in the Cc.)	Cūtamañjarī	Vinayamāmālai (Vinayamahāmālā)
7. The maid of Suramañjarī (Kuṇamālai in the Cc.)	Śyāmalatā	mālai (mālā)

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1 R. L. Turner, *A comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Language*, Item 1572, p. 71.

The Characters	Their Names in the Up.	Their Names in the Cc.
8. The father of Guṇamālā (Curamañcari in the Cc.)	Kumāradatta	Kubēratattaṇ (Kuberadatta)
9. The mother of Gunamālā (Curamañcari in the Cc.)	Vimalā	Cumati (Samati)
10. The maid of Guṇamālā (Curamañcari in the Cc.)	Vidyullatā	Kaṇakapatākai (Kānakapatākā)
11. The father of Jinadatta (Citattaṇ in the Cc.)	Vṛsabhadatta	yavatattaṇ (yavadatta)
12. The mother of Jinadatta	Padmāvatī	Karutattai (Gurudattā)
13. The mother of Ratnāvatı (Ilakkaṇai in the Cc.)	Pṛthivīsundarı	Putavi
14. The son of Gandharvadattā	Vasundhara	Caccantaṇ (satyandhara)

Here we also would like to point out the variations found in the names of the four of the friends of Jīvandhara, who were the sons of the domestic priest, the chief merchant, the king's general and the minister:

The names in the Up.	The names in the Cc.	Comments
The son of domestic priest		
Domestic priest – Sāgara	Acalaṇ (Acala)	Here the name of the
Priest's wife – Śrīmattā	Tilōttamai (Tilottamā)	priest's son is the same in
Priest's son – Buddhiṣeṇa	Putticēṇaṇ (Buddhiṣeṇa)	both the texts.
The son of the chief merchant		
Chief merchant – Dhaṇapāla	Taṇapālaṇ (Dhanapāla)	Here the name of the chief
Merchant's wife – Śrīdattā	Pavittirai (pavitrā)	merchant is the same in
Merchant's son – Varadattā	Patumukaṇ (Paṭumukha)	both texts.
The son of the minister		
Minister – Matisāgara	Cākaraṇ (Sāgara).	The name of the minister
Minister's wife – Anupamā	Kurutattai (Puradattā)	in the Cc. can be the shor-
Minister's son – Madhumukha	Cıtattaṇ (Śrıdatta)	tened form of Matisāgara (Sāgara)
The son of the general		
General – Vijayamati	Vicayatattaṇ (Vijayadatta)	Here the first half of the
General's wife – Jayavatī	Pirītimati (Prītimatı)	names of the general and
General's son – Devasena	Tēvatattaṇ (Devadıtta)	his son Vijaya and Deva are the same in both texts.

Other than these variations found in these two texts there are also some characters which only come in the story of either the Up. or the Cc. These differences are shown below.

The characters which are found in the story of Jīvandhara in the Up. and not in the Cc.

1. Anaṅgapatākā   –one of the younger wives of king Satyandhara

2. Āditya   –the ascetic who predicted that Padmottama would be bitten by a snake.

3. Bakula   –the son of Anaṅgapatākā.

4. Bhāmarati   –one of the younger wives of king Satyandhara.

5. Bahumitra   –one of the brothers of Hemābhā.

6. Dhanamitra   –one of the brothers of Hemābhā.

7. Dhṛtiṣeṇa   –the son of the king Āryavarma, the king of Siṃhapura before his renunciation

8. Guṇapāla   –an ascetic to whom Vṛṣaabhadatta, the father of Jinadatta, went to get religious enlightenment.

9. Guṇamitra   –one of the brothers of Hemābhā.

10. Kālāṅgāraka   –the son of Kāṣṭhṅgāraka.

11. Kṣanti   –a nun from whom Padmāvatī, the mother of Jinadatta, learnt self-control.

12. Matisāgara   –a minister of King Garuḍavega.

13. Rudradatta   –the domestic priest of king Satyandhara.

14. Vinayandhara   –the ascetic who predicted that on the visit of the would-be husband of Kṣemasundarī, the Campaka flowers and the other tokens would appear.

15. Vipuḷamati   –the ascetic from whom Matisāgara, the minister of the king Garuḍavega, learnt about the future of Gandharvadattā.

16. Vīranandin   –the ascetic from whom Āryavarma heard the religious doctrine.

The names Kālakūṭa, the chief of ths forest dwellers, and the name Silagupta, the ascetic from whom Gandhotkaṭa asked about his future sons, are not mentioned in the Cc. But these characters are introduced in the story without mentioning their names.

The characters which are found in the story of Jīvandhara in the Cc. and not in the Up.

1. Anaṅkamāviṇai (Anaṅgamahāviṇā)   –the lover of Pavatattaṇ, the lady who tried to attract the attention of Cīvakaṇ.

2. Anaṅkavilācini (Anaṅgavilāsinī)   –the friend of Kaṇakamālai.

3. Ariccantan (Hariścandra) — one of the ministers of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ.

4. Alaṅkāramālai (Alaṅkāramālā) — one of the friends of Ilakkaṇai.

5. Anaṅkamālai (Anaṅkamālā) — a harlot.

6. Ulōkapālaṇ (Lokapāla) — the son of the king Taṇapati, brother of Patumai.

7. Kaṭampaṇ (Kadamba) — the son of Taṭamittaṇ.

8. Kantukkaṭaṇ (Gandhotkaṭa) · — the son of Kēmacari.

9. Kaṇakaṇ (Kanaka) — the son of Taṭamittaṇ.

10. Kāmukaṇ (Kāmuka) — a soldier of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran.

11. Kīrttitattaṇ (Kirtidatta) — the father of Pavatattaṇ.

12. Kōmukaṇ (Gamukha) — the brother of Kāmukaṇ.

13. Kōvintaṇ (Govinda) — the son of Ilakkaṇai.

14. Caccantaṇ (Satyandhara) — the son of Kāntaruvatattai.

15. Caṇpakamālai (Campakamālā) — a hunch-back friend of Vicayai, in whose disguise the goddess of the forest came to help Vicayai when she was in the cemetery.

16. Calaniti (Calanidhi) — one of Cīvakaṇ's soldiers.

17. Cācāraṇ — an Indra who ruled the heaven because of his merits, and who was born as Acōtaraṇ (Cīvakaṇ in this birth).

18. Ciṅkanāthaṇ (Siṃhanātha) — a servant of Ulōkapālaṇ.

19. Cittiramāmālai (Citramahāmāla) — the mother of Anaṅkamāviṇai.

20. Ciritattaṇ (Śrīdatta) — the son of the king Kōvintaṇ.

21. Ciṇatatti (Jinadatta) — the mother of Pavatattaṇ.

22. Cutañcaṇaṇ (Sudañjana) — the son of Kuṇamālai.

23. Celvanāmaṇ — the father of Anaṅkamāviṇai.

24. Taraṇ (Dhara) — a celestial who took Cītattaṇ to the court of Kaluḷavēkaṇ.

25. Tarumatattaṇ (Dharmadatta) — a minister of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ.

26. Tēcikappāvai — a courtesan.

27. Napulaṇ — a brother of Cīvakaṇ.

28. Narapatitēvaṇ (Narapatideva) — the king of the Kēmamāpuram.

29 Nākamālai (Nāgamālā) — one of the maids of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ.

30. Parataṇ (Bharata) — the son of Curamañcari.

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31. Pavatattan (Bhavadatta)	–the lover of Anankamāvinai
32. Puraviccēnau	–the son of Tatamittan.
33. Matanan (Madana)	–the cousin of Kattiyankaran.
34. Matitaran (Matidhara)	–the minister of Tanapati.
35. Vacuntari (Vasundhari)	–a maid of Kanakamālai.
36. Vamalēkai (Vāmalekhā)	–a friend of Anankamālai.
37. Vicayan (Vijaya)	–the son of Kanakamālai
38. Vicayan (Vijaya)	–the son of Tatamittan.
39. Vipulan (Vipula)	–a brother of Cīvakan.
40. Viricikan	–a servant of the king Kōvintan.
41 Vināpati	–a eunuch friend of Kāntaruvatattai.

III.

Now we see about the sequence of events in the Up. and in the Cc.

The order in which the episodes are narrated and the sequence of events in them are more or less the same in both books, except in some places, which are discussed below.

1. The story of Gandhotkaṭa and the ascetic Śilagupta

In the Cc. Kantakkaṭan is introduced for the first time in the cemetery where queen Vicayai gives birth to her son. But in the Up. Gandhotkaṭa is introduced before this event. Gandhotkaṭa goes to an asectic called Śilagupta and asks him whether he will have any sons who will live long. The ascetic predicts that he will have a son who will live long and rule the whole earth.[1] The story is narratred in the Cc. in the Kunamālaiyār ilampakam[2] in the context where the king Kattiyankaran decides to kill Cīvakan for controlling the state elephant. In this place, Kantukkaṭan asks his wife not to worry and to believe in the prediction of the ascetic about the life of Cīvakan. Here the prediction of the ascetic has been narrated in two different places in the two books.

2. Cīvakan coming to know about his parents

In the Up. Jīvandhara comes to know about his parents through the celestial being (khecara) who is guarding a lake.[3] The celestial tells him all about his previous birth and about his parents for the first time.[4] This incident of meeting the khecara takes place after Jīvandhara's marriage with Hemābhā and before his meeting his mother. This incident is not found in the Cc., and the information about his parents is given to Cīvakan by his teacher Accananti.[5] Cīvakan promises Accananti that he will not fight with his enemy Kattiyankaran within a year. This situation in the Cc.

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1 Up. vv. 198–203.   2 Cc. Kunamālaiyār ilampakam. vv. 1122–1131.
3 Up. *loc. cit.* v. 526.   4 *Ibid*, vv. 526–548.   5 Cc. vv. 384–390.

creates an interval during which Cīvakaṇ may acquire the military power that is necessary for his conquest over Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran.[1]

3. The story about the previous birth of Cīvakaṇ

The story of the previous birth of Cīvakaṇ is related in the Up. for the first time by the celestial who is guarding a lake. In the Up. this story is narrated along with the story of the previous births of Nandāḍhya and his wife Śrīcandrā. Tēvar does not deal with the stories about the previous births of Nandāḍhya and Śrīcandrā, and only deals with the story of the previous birth of Cīvakaṇ. This is only revealed in the last chapter, the Muttiyilampakam, by the cāraṇaṇ Maṇivaṇṇaṇ to Cīvakaṇ.[2] After giving up all worldly pleasures, Cīvakaṇ goes to the temple of the Arhat with his wives. In the temple Cāraṇaṇ Maṇivaṇṇaṇ preaches Jaina doctrine to Cīvakaṇ and his wives. Along with the religious preachings the cāraṇaṇ also relates the story of the previous birth of Cīvakaṇ.

The foregoing comparative study makes it clear that, *a priori*, it is not easy to say between the Up. and the Cc. which preceded which. As shown above the two texts deal with the Jīvandhara story roughly on parallel lines. While the story in the Up. is skeletal, the Cc. develops the theme in a more elaborate way. This coupled with the fact that the Up. is in Sanskrit would make it appear that it was the source from which Tēvar has borrowed his theme. But all the differences that are found do not seem to be explainable on the grounds of Tēvar's efforts to impart an epic character to the story. Many of them may well have been the differences arising from a different version of the story. This is also suggested by the fact that the later authors do not take one or the other version of the two but combine both in different ways. The differences in the characters and their names also suggest this possibility. As we have shown earlier, the same character has been named differently in the two texts, the Up. and the Cc.[3] However it is quite certain that Tēvar had one or more Sanskrit and Prakrit sources which strongly influenced the composition of the Cc. It is not easy to decide whether or not the Up. was one among them without knowing the exact period or date in which the Cc. was composed.

Apart from the similarities we find between the stories of the Up. and the Cc., we also see similarity in some incidents and episodes which are found in the other Sanskrit texts and the Cc. For example, the svayaṃvara of Illakkaṇai, in which the father of Ilakkaṇai proclaims that his daughter will be given to the man who can hit the machine in the form of a rotating pig, strongly resembles the svayaṃvara of Draupadi in the Mahābhārata.

One can also see similarities between the episodes which are found in the other Sanskrit works and the Cc. Thus the following incident has a striking similarity to a situation in the Ratnāvalī of Śrīharṣa.

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1 *Ibid*, v. 393.   2 *Ibid*, vv. 2849–2890.   3 Supra, pp. 70, 71.

Cīvakaṉ after saving Kuṇamālai from the intoxicated state elephant, goes to the garden. There, out of love. he draws the portrait of Kuṇamālai and admires her beauty in the picture. In the meantime his first wife Kāntaruvatattai comes there and looks at the portrait. She gets angry and leaves the place, in spite of the pleadings and explanations of Cīvakaṉ.[1]

In the Ratnāvali there is a similar incident. King Vatsa falls in love with Sāgarika, the disguised Simhala princess. Sāgarika draws the portrait of the king on a drawing board and her friend draws the portrait of Sāgarika next to him on the drawing board. Because of a commotion created by a monkey which has escaped from its cage, they both leave the drawing board and run away. This board happens to be seen by the king and his friend Vasantaka, and while they are admiring the portraits, the king's wife Vāsavadattā comes there. Though Vasantaka tries to hide the drawing board. the queen sees it. She realises the situation and gets angry and leaves the place in spite of all the pleadings and requests of King Vatsa.[2]

Incidents of this kind are often narrated in the famous Udayana tales, the Mālavikāgnimitra, etc. These tales have almost the same story; i.e. the love intrigue of a king with a disguised princess, the jealousy of the chief queen, and the final acceptance of the young princess.

There are grounds to think that Tēvar was indebted to some of the episodes and incidents which might have occurred in the Sanskrit prose romance, based on the Bṛhatkathā. We are unable to say anything more conclusively about this interesting point since the original Paiśāci version of the Bṛhatkathā written by Guṇādhya is not available now. But there are three well known Sanskrit versions of the same. They are Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjari (11th century A.D.), Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (12th century A.D.) and Buddhaswāmin's Bṛhatkathā-ślokasaṅgraha. Somadeva says that he is faithful to the original, adding or changing only for needs of clarity and minimum poetic embellishment and that his version is original itself, but in a different language. Kṣemendra's version is an abridged form of the same story. Buddhaswāmin's version has been considered by Lacote and others as being perhaps true to the original while they think the other two might have followed an inflated Kashmirian Paiśāci version.[3] Whatever the truth of these theories may be. the present uncertainties regarding the contents of the Bṛhatkathā have made us limit our attention only to the similarities between the several motifs found in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and the motifs of the story of the Cc. The Tamil Peruṅkatai which is supposed to have followed the Sanskrit translation of Bṛhatkathā written by King Durviṇīta (6th century A.D.) which is not available now, deals only with the Udayana stories of the Bṛhatkathā. This does not show striking similarities to any portion of the Cc.

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1 Cc. vv. 1014–1019.   2 Srīharṣa, Ratnāvali, Act. II.

3 V. Raghavan, Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Madras, 1963, pp. 816 ff.

The following motifs were found to occur in the Kathāsaritsāgar : the aerial chariot, the controlling of a wild elephant. the winning of a girl's love through proficiency in music and by curing poison, a shipwreck causing a character to reach a new land, the transformation of animals into celestial beings, the gāndharva marriage, a king's affair with another girl without the knowledge of his queen, and his discomfort when it is found out by the queen. These motifs have obvious parallels in the theme of the Cc.

Examples of this kind give un an insight into the knowledge which Tēvar had in Sanskrit stories and literature. Sanskrit stories also have been freely used by Tēvar in his similes and allusions. Illustrations of this will be given in the next chapter which treats of the influence of Sanskrit stories on the literary style of the Cc. Like all the other authors' works which had religious motives, he exploits the wealth of folk lore, mythology and episodes narrated in the great epic Mahābhārata and the other kāvyas which prevailed in his time to weave the fabric of his plot.

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THE SANSKRIT INTERACTION IN THE LITERARY STYLE OF THE CĪVAKACINTĀMAṆI

Any new work may contain original ideas or literary techniques of its own. At the same time, however, it will necessarily be influenced by its literary predecessors. Thus the Cc. too owes a great deal to the literature which preceded it, especially to the epics, the Cilappatikāram and the Maṇimekalai. In addition to these literary traditions and ideas of the ealier Tamil literature, several new elements are also found in this epic. There are many factors responsible for the introduction of these new elements. Our purpose in this chapter is to see the nature and degree of the interaction (of the influence) that Sanskrit literary forms and traditions have had on these novel features. Before examining this influence, a short critical survey will be made of the literary traditions and poetic forms which existed in Tamil before the composition of the Cc.

Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant grammar text, is the only work from which one can know about the rules regading different literary compositions and poetical conventions observed in early Tamil literature. This text, which is divided into three parts, Eluttatikāram (chapter on letters), Collatikāram (chapter on words), Poruḷatikāram (chapter on matter), deals with the different kinds of poems and poetical conventions in the Poruḷatikāram. From the Tolkāppiyam we understand that there were established poetical traditions indigenons to Tamil. The most important aspect of these poetical conventions is the distinction made between Akam (inner) and Puram (outer) poems. Akam poems deal with love and Puram poems deal with other aspects of life such as war, victory, the munificence of kings etc.

The nature of ancient Tamil poetry is different from that of early Sanskrit poetry. One of the principal differences is the topography and climatic characteristics which gave rise to poetry. Thus "the vast Himalayan Range, the broad plains that seem to have no horizon, watered by rivers which in their mighty expanse seem to have no shores setting limits to them, the tropical forests with their varing creatures, were instrumental in the evolution of Vedic poetry and the sense of wonder and the sense of the Infinite these poems reveal and these natural causes inspired. Man was faced with the uniform sense of the Infinite on all sides; it seemed to overwhelm him and there was no other alternative but to let oneself be absorbed in the Infinite through the medium of contemplation and ecstasy." [1] On the other hand, "the physical texture of the South Indian landscape with its dividing mountains and rivers and its clearly defined contours, gave the South of India not only an occasion for its

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1 Xavier S. ThaniNayagam, *Landscape and Poetry*, 2nd edition, Bombay, 1966, p. 11.

small kingdoms and smaller chieftaincies, but also formed the basis for the division of poetry on geographical regions as for example ' mountain poetry ' and ' seaside poetry'.[1]" The Tamil land has been divided into five regions, montane (kuriñci), pastoral (mullai), agricultural (marutam), littoral (neytal) and arid (pālai). The names kuriñci, mullai, marutam, neytal and pālai refer to the most characteristic flower found in each kind of landscape. These names are also used to denote the psychological and emotional patterns of behaviour suited to each region

Tolkāppiyar classifies the objects found in each land under three classes : Mutarporuḷ (the basic things, the region and time), Karupporuḷ (objects characteristic of the particular region), and Uripporuḷ (the kind of love peculiar to each region).

Mutarporuḷ denotes the basic things, the region and time. Region means the different landscapes explained above. The time is divided according to the seasons of the year, the Perumpoḷutu (the major time), and the time of day, the Cirupoḷutu (the minor time). The year is divided into six seasons : Kār (the rainy season), August and September; Kūtir (the cold season), October and November; Muṉpaṉi (the early dew season), December and January; Piṉpaṉi (the late dew season), February and March; Iḷavēṉil (spring) April and May; and Mutuvēṉil (Summer), June and July. The day is also divided into six parts : the Vaikarai (the time before sunrise); Vitiyal (sunrise); Naṉpakal (mid-day); Erpāṭu (sunset); Mālai (early night); and Yāmam (midnight). Time always has a connection with Uripporuḷ, the kinds of love peculiar to each land. According to the aspect of love the divisions of time, i.e. both the Cirupoḷutu and the Perumpolutu are laid down. This poetic usage will be explained while dealing with the Uripporuḷ, which deals with the particular objects belonging to each land, is clearly explained by Singaravelu,[2] in a chart attached to his work, *The Social life of the Tamils*. This chart is given on pp. 80-81 here to show in details the particular objects, the inhibitants, animals, birds, flowers, trees, deities, food, the recreation of the people etc, of each landscape.

Thus, in describing the landscape, as Thaninayagam says, the poet had not only to "study the visible phenomena or the several objects (god, flora, fauna, music, occupation) found in or related to these regions, but he had as well to know what changes were introduced into these regions by the annual seasons, and how Nature manifested herself by day and night during these seasons. Thus the Tamil poet could ill afford to neglect the study of landscape as seen during each of the six major divisons of the Tamil day."[5]

Mutarporuḷ, the place and time, and Karupporuḷ, the objects of a particular region, though fixed for each landscape, can overlap in practice.[4] In other words, the Mutarporuḷ and Karupporuḷ of one landscape can also be sometimes used in describing another landscape. But the Uripporuḷ, the kind of love ascribed to one

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1 X. S. ThaniNayagam, *op cit.*, p. 11.

2 S. Singaravelu, *Social Life of the Tamils, the Classical Period*, Kulalampur, 1966, p. 22.

3 ThaniNayagam, *op cit*, p. 40, 41.   4 *Tolkappiyam*, por., Akat., cut 13.

CLASSIFICATION OF KARUPPORUL (OBJECTS)

Regions	Phratries (Inhabitants)	Fauna (Animals)	Avifauna (Birds)	Flora (Flowers)	Trees	Occupa-tions	Pastimes/Festivities
Montane (Kuriñci)	Kuṟavar (m) Kuṟattiyar (f) Kāṉavar (m)	Tiger Bear Elephant Lion Ram	Peacock Parrot	Kuriñci (Strobi-lanthus) Vēṅkai (flower of Kino tree) Gloriosa superba Kaṭampu (Engenia racemosa)	Bamboo Sandal wood Teak Aquila Acoka (Uvria lon-gifolia) Nākam Margosa	Hunting Digging roots Gathering honey Seasonal cultivation of hill-paddy and millet	Veṟi-āṭal (Frenzied dancing) Bathing in hill stream Birds-driving
Arid (Pālai)	Eyiṉar (m) Eyiṟṟiyar (f) Maṟavar (m) Maṟattiyar (f)	Jackal Ass	Eagle Vulture Pigeon	Pālai (Mimu-scops Hexaudrus Kuṟāmpū (Webera corym-bosa)	Pālai Omai (Salvadara persica) Iruppai (Bassia longifolia) Uliñai (Oerva laṉater)	Soldiering Marauding Highway-Robbery	
Pastoral (Mullai)	Āyar (m) Āycciyar (f) Iṭaiyar (m) Iṭaicciyar (f)	Gazelle Wild hare Cow Bull Sheep Goat	Wild fowl	Jasmine (Mullai) Koṉṟai (Cassia) Kullai (Cannabis) Piṭavam Tōṉṟi	Koṉṟai (Cassia) Kāyā Kuruntam	Minor cul-tivation of crops like varaku, cāmai, etc. Shepherd-ing Cow-herding	Kuravai dance Bull-fighting River-bathing
Agricul-tural (Maru-tam)	Ulavar (m) Ulattiyar (f) Kaṭaiyar (m) Kaṭaicciyar (f)	Buffalo Otter Fresh-water fish Carp	Heron Swan Waterfowl Duck	Aquatic Plants Lotus Water-lily	Marutam (Termina-lia alata) Kāñci Vañci	Farming Harvesting Threshing	River-bathing Festivals (agricul-tural)
Littoral (Neytal)	Nuḷaiyar (m) Nuḷaicciyar (f) Aḷavar (m) Aḷattiyur (f) Paratar (m) Parattiyar (f)	Shark Fish	Sea-gull	Neytal (Nymphae alba) Tūlampū (Pandanus) Muṉṭakam Attampam Water-lily Water-hyacinth	Alexan-drine Laurel Mangrove	Coastal & inland fishing Deep-sea fishing Drying the fish Pearl-diving Selling fish	Sailing Bird-driving Seabathing Playing on sea-shore Worshipp-ing of skeleton of shark

CLASSIFICATION OF KARUPPORUL (OBJECTS)

Foodstuffs	Water Resources	Drum	Musical Instrument	Musical Tune	Settlement	Titles of Chieftain and his Spouse	Deity
Meat Hill paddy rice Bamboo rice Millet Honey Roots	Hill Streams and pools	Toṇṭakam	Kuṟinci lyre	Kuṟinci	Cirukuṭi	Poruppaṉ (m) Verpaṉ (m) or Cilampaṉ (m) Kuṟatti or Kōṭicci (f)	Murukaṉ or Cēy
Meat Grass–rice Roots	Stagnant water in pits Liquor	Tuṭi	Pālai lyre	Pañcuram	Kurumpu	Vitalai (m) Kālai (m) or Mīḷi (m) Eyiṟṟi (f)	Turkkai, Kaṉṉi, or Koṟṟavai
Varaku Cāmai Mutirai Milk and milk products	Rivers Tanks	Ēraṅkōl	Mullai lyre	Cātāri	Pāṭi	Kurumpoṟainātaṉ (m) or Tōṉral (m) Maṉaivi (f) or Kālatti (f)	Neṭumāl, or Tirumāl
Paddy-rice Sugar-cane	River Pond Lake Well	Kiṇai (For harvesting) Muḷavu (For wedding etc.)	Marutam lyre	Marutam	Pērūr	Ūraṉ (m) or Makilnaṉ (m) Kilatti (f) or Maṉaivi (f)	Intiraṉ, or Vēntaṉ
Fish, and ducts obtained from other regions through barter	Sea Salt lakes Sea-side canals	Mīn-kōl (For fishing) Nāvāy (For sailing)	Viḷari	Sevvaḷi	Pākkam Paṭṭiṉum	Cērppaṉ (m) or Pulampaṉ (m) Paratti (f) Nuḷaicci (f)	Varuṇaṉ

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landscape cannot be used as the kind of love of another landscape. If so used it is known as Tiṇaimayakkam.

There are five kinds of love, Puṇartal (union), Pirital (separation), Iruttal (waiting), Ūtal (love quarrel), and Iraṅkal (wailing); they are attributed to Kuriñci (montane), Pālai (arid), Mullai (pastoral), Marutam (agricultural) and Neyatal (littoral) respectively. These kinds of love are allotted according to the nature of each landscape. Puṇartal is the love of Kuriñci land, for hills afford more opportunities than any region for courtship and clandestine meetings. The Perumpoḻutu (major time) assigned to this kind of love is Kūtir (the cold season) and the Cirupoḻutu (minor time) is Yāmam (midnight) which is the suitable time for clandestine union. This kind of love has always been described in poems as taking place before marriage. The love ascribed to Neytal, the littoral land, is Iraṅkal (lamenting), for often the women of this region wail for their husbands who have gone to sea to fish in the evening. Erpāṭu (sunset) is the minor time for Neytal, since once it is sunset, the roaring of the sea, the returning of beasts and birds to their homes etc. make the lady-love wail for her husband. Ūtal (love quarrel) is the love of Marutam, the agricultural land which is the richest of all lands. Owing to the prosperity of the land, man have enough time to spend on recreations and they often spend their time with harlots. After spending their time with harlots, the men return home and this causes the wives to have love quarrels with them. As this often takes place either in the late night or in the dawn, the minor time allocated to Marutam land is Vaikarai (before sunrise) and Viṭiyal (sunrise).[1] Pirital (separation) is the love for Pālai, the arid land, where men frequently leave their wives and take up occupations such as highway robbery, soldiering, marauding, etc. Here the separation includes the separation of lovers as well as the separation of couples from their parents when they elope. The major time for Pālai is Vēṇil (summer) and the minor time is Naṇpakal (mid-day),[2] the time suitable for highway robbery etc. Iruttal (waiting) is the kind of love for Mullai, the pastoral land where the lady-love waits patiently for her lover to come back after the successful completion of his errand. As the rainy season is the time when the husband is expected to come back, the major time of Mullai is Kār and the minor time is Mālai.

Whenever a poet wants to describe one of these themes, he also describes the particular natural surroundings. For example, if a poet wants to depict the union of two lovers, he has to select Kuriñci landscape as his background setting.

Apart from these five kinds of love,[3] there are Kaikkiḷai (one-sided love) and Peruntiṇai (unequal love), which are not particularly ascribed to any land. In Kaikkiḷai, the one-sided or un-reciprocated love, the hero wants to get the love of an immature girl who cannot understand or reciprocate his feelings. Peruntiṇai is the unequal or inappropriate love, when a hero takes to the mounting of Maṭal[4] (mounting on a

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1 *Tolkāppiyam*, Por., Akat., cut. 8.   2 *Ibid, loc. cit.* cut. 9,
3 *Ibid, loc. cit*, cuts. 50, 51,   4 *Ibid, loc. cit*, cut. 54.

hobby-horse made of palmyrah stalks) out of love, or love between two people who are not suited to each other. In some of these poems, unlike other Akam poems, in which the names of the characters are not supposed to be mentioned,[1] the names of the characters are mentioned. Considering the nature of these poems some scholars do classify these poems under Puram poems.

As in Akam poems, Puram poems also have seven tiṇais (poetic themes), Veṭci, Vañci, Uḷiñai, Tumpai, Vākai, Kāñci, and Pāṭāṇ. Out of these seven all except Kāñci and Pāṭāṇ are ascribed to the five different landscapes. All the names cf Purattiṇai except Pāṭāṇ are names of plants, the flowers of which were worn to symbolize the feelings of those who were engaged in the war during its differerent stages.

The Purattiṇai for Kuṟiñci is Veṭci. Veṭci is a red flower (Ixora coccinea) indigenous to the Montane region, which is worn by warriors when they go to raid cattle; the wealth of Mullai land. When the hunters, the people of the Kuṟiñci, raid their cows, the men of the Mullai land wear Karantai flowers and go to retrieve the cows and this war is called Karantai war. This Karantai war is a 'tuṟai' (a military situation) of Veṭci war. Vañci, named after the yellow flower of the Vañci tree (Hiptage madablota) indigenous to Mullai land, is the Purattiṇai for Mullai. Garlands made of this flower are worn by warriors of the Mullai land when they are residing in temporary military camps pitched in the jungle to conquer another country. Tumpai is the Purattiṇai for Neytal, which is named after the Tumpai flower (Leucass linifolia) worn by soldiers during battles taking place in the open land of maritime tracts. Purattiṇai of Pālai is Vākai (Mimosa flectuosa) which is named after the flower of the Vākai tree. Garlands made of these flowers are worn by warriors when they return from the battle-field with victory. Uḷiñai, the Purattiṇai for Marutam, denotes the advance of the soldiers to attack the walls of the city of another king. When they are engaged in this military action they wear garlands made of the flowers of Uḷiñai (Cardiospermum halicacabum) as a sign of derision, i.e. to show the worthlessness and weakness of the fort they want to seize.[2] They people who are inside the wall while defending the attack wear Nocci flowers (Vitex trifolia). Nocci war is a Tuṟai of Tumpai war. The other two Purattiṇais, Kāñci and Pāṭāṇ, are not ascribed to any strategic movements in battle. Kāñcit tiṇai generally deals with the impermanence of the world and Pāṭāṇ tiṇai comprises poems which are eulogistic and panegyrical. In these songs regional interchanges are found, mainly to praise the plurality of regions in a certain kingdom.[5]

These rules set out by Tolkāppiyar are peculiar to Tamil literature. Further, unlike the Vedas, which are religious and mythological, the Caṅkam poems are secular. In these poems importance was given to classes of men and women of all regions. As Thaninayagam correctly observes, the Caṅkam poets "did not treat only of the kings

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1 Maṭal is a ritual performed by a person whose love is not returned. In Caṅkam literature only men performed this ritual. But later works like the devotional songs Āḻvars deal with women mounting Maṭal. One such example is the songs of Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār.

2 ThaniNayagam, *op. cit.*, p. 85.   3 ThaniNayagam, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

and queens, cities and palaces. They found poetry in fishers' lowly huts and in the dwelling of mountain people. The fisher woman wailing for the fishing boats with the day's haul, or the fisher children watching the fish being dried, the shepherds with their flocks, the lowly at their work, come in for as much poetry as the wealthy heroine of a mountain chief wandering over the hills gathering flowers with a number of maids to attend upon her. Even when they sang of kings or sang to kings, they pleased their hearers most, not by describing the palace, but by describing the people who were privileged to live under the king's protection."[1] The personification with which natural phenomena are described in Vedic songs does not occur in the Cankam works. Even the occasional apostrophes to objects in nature found in the Cankam works occur only as rapid outbursts of a soul tense with emotion.[2] The absence of mythology, and the religious element, and the interest in the common man in the Cankam poems meant that the love themes in particular were of a very different nature from Sanskrit. The kāvya pattern of kings with large harems, of social acceptance of polygamy, and the diverse opportunities this afforded for describing different kinds of love and different kinds of lovers, runs on lines which are different from the traditions of the Cankam literature.

The realistic approach to nature was the result of emphasis on human interest. The fidelity with which the Cankam poets described nature can be seen in their accurate and beautiful similes. Examples of these will be given later in the discussion of the descriptions in the Cc. There are not hyperbolic conceits, and the similes employed serve to illustrate the particular subject in question and are never allowed to obscure the meaning or obstruct the narration. Graphic descriptions are of common occurrence. Occasionally one find epic similes containing elaborate imagery. They are frequently found in the works like the Kalittokai and the Paripāṭal. The pathetic fallacy and aphorisms are not all common in the Cankam literature.

Thus the Tamil literature of this period had a personality of its own which was manifested in the literary style, descriptions, figures of speech employed, the themes chosen and the sentiments depicted.

In the Tolkāppiyam there are two sections devoted to similes and sentiments which are known as Uvamaiyiyal and Meypptāṭiyal. It has been suggested by J. R. Marr that both of them may be regarded as being wholly dependent on Sanskrit models in the respective fields of dramatic theory and rhetoric."[3] In the discussion about Uvamaiyiyal he further says that "Uvamaiyiyal is fairly clearly an attempt to apply one of the aspects of rhetoric in Sanskrit namely Upamā, to Tamil."[4] He points out the resemblances between the division of Upamā in the Tolkāppiyam and in the Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin[5] and suggests that these two chapters could have been interpolated. Whether they are interpolated or not, it is conceivable that Tolkāppiyar

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1   *Ibid.,* pp. 46, 47.   2   ThaniNayagam, *op. cit.,* p. 70.

3   J. R. *Marr, The eight Tamil anthologies with special reference to Putanāṉūru and Patiṟṟuppattu,*
     A thesis submitted to University of London, 1958, p. 83.

4   *Ibid,* p. 80.   5   *Ibid,* pp. 80, 81, 82.

was aware of the conventions and traditions that existed in the Sanskrit literature of his time,[1] and in laying down the rules for literary composition in Tamil, he had not only the vast collection of Tamil works but also an equally good knowledge of the Sanskrit traditions which existed before his time.

The eight meyppatus (the manifest physical expressions of emotion) mentioned by Tolkāppiyar, nakai (laughter), alukai (sorrow), ilivaral (disgust), marutkai (surprise), accam (fear), perumitam (bravery), vekuli (anger), and uvakai (happiness)[2] are the equivalent of the sthāyibhāvas (dominant states) hāsa (laughter), śoka (sorrow), jugupsā (disgust), vismaya (surprise), bhaya (fear), utsāha (bravery), krodha (anger) and rati (love)[3] mentioned in the Nātyaśāstra. Sthāyibhāvas are the permanent emotions that are manifested in the mind. According to the Nātyaśāstra these sthāyi-bhāvas, rati, hāsa, śoka, krodha, utsāha, bhaya, jugupsā, and vismaya develop into the respective rasas, śrńgāra (erotic), hāsya (comic), karuna (pathetic), raudra (furious), vīra (heroic), bhayānaka (terrible), bibhatsa (disgust) and adbhuta (marvellous), when they are united with the other bhāvas (states), vibhāvas (determinants), anubhāvas (consequents), and vyabhicāribhāvas (transitory states).[4] Vibhāvas are of two kinds : the ālambana and the uddīpana. Ālambana vibhāva is the character towards whom the emotion is manifested and the uddīpana vibhāvas are the external factors such as spring season, unguents, moonlight etc. which help in manifesting the emotion. Anubhāvas are the physical actions which are expressed through sweet words, side-glances etc. These vibhāvas and anubhāvas are not exhaustively enumerated by Bharata, as they can be of any number. But while discussing each rasa he explains it by showing the possible vibhāvas and anubhāvas. There are thirty three vyabhicāribhavas (transitory states) which also help in developing the dominant state into rasa. Besides these vibhāvas and anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas, Bharata also mentions eight sāttvikabhāvas (temperamental states) stambha (paralysis), sveda (perspiration), romāñca (horripilation), svarasāda (change of voice), vepathu (trembling), vaivarnya (change of colour), aśru (tears) and pralaya (fainting), which are manifested due to the mental change taking place.

The production of rasa (rasanispattih) is not discussed by Tolkāppiyar though the commentator Peraciriyar deals with it in his commentary. As the date of Peraciriyar cannot be earlier than the tenth century A.D.[5] his theories in many ways could have been influenced by the later Sanskrit theories of poetics. Tolkāppiyar divides each meyppatu into four kinds[6] and most of these divisions seem to be made on the basis of his knowledge of the respective vibhāvas (determinants) given by Bharata to each

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1 Scholars differ about the date of the Tolkāppiyam. S. Vaiyapurippillai fixes its date as 600–700 A.D. S. Vaiyapuri pillai, *Kāviyakālam, op. cit,,* p. 261.

2 *Tolkāppiym,* Por., Mey., cut. 251.

3 *Nātyaśāstra,* vi, 17.

4 *Nātyaśāstra,* vi, 31.

5 A. Chidambaranatha Cettiyar, *Advanced Studies in Tamil Prosody,* p. 12.

6 *Tolkāppiyam,* Por., Mey., cuts. 247–255.

sthāyībhāva (dominant state).[1] Some divisions are not similar to the divisions in the Nāṭyaśāstra and these may be the original thoughts of Tolkāppiyar expressed to suit the Tamil literary tradition.

Apart from the thirty-two divisions of meyppāṭus (i.e. the eight meyppāṭus with four divisions in each) mentioned above, Tolkāppiyar also mentions another set of thirty-two meyppāṭus, which he thinks can be considered as a different set of meyppāṭus when they do not come under the category of these thirty-two meyppāṭus.[2] Among these later meyppāṭus some are based on the vyabhicāribhāvas (transitory states) and a few on the sāttvikabhāvas[3] (temperamental states), and the rest do not have any equivalent in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra.[4]

In considering the relevance of these two chapters in the Tolkāppiyam to an analysis of ancient and later Tamil literature, one should bear in mind the fact that in spite of the resemblance to Sanskrit works of dramaturgy and rhetoric, the treatment of the subjects has the distinct chacteristics of Tamil literature in view.

Besides these literary theories, Tolkāppiyar also mentions eight kinds of poetic compositions in the section Ceyyuḷiyal. This chapter, which is mainly a treatise on prosody, mentions eight kinds of compositions viz. Ammai, Aḷaku, Toṉmai, Tōl, Viruntu, Iyaipu, Pulaṉ and Iḷaipu.[5] Ammai is a composition which does not exceed five lines,[6] and is made with sweet words but as few as possible. A composition which cotains no dialect (i.e. in standard Tamil) and is full of poetic charm is called Aḷaku.[7] A composition which deals with popular legends with prose explanations in it is called Toṉmai.[8] A composition which deals with aram (duty), poruḷ (wealth), iṉpam (pleasure) and vīṭu (salvation),[9] in an attractive style or that which deals with a topic in detail in more than five lines is called Tōl. Viruntu[10] is a composition composed in a novel way, and Iyaipu[11] is a composition in which the last line ends with any

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1 P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri in his commentary to meyppāttiyal points out the vibhāvas used by Tolkāppiyam in his fourfold division of each meyppāṭu, P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, *Commentary on Meyppāṭṭiyal*, Madras, pp. 2–5.

2 "ivaiyum uḷavē avaiyaṭaṅkalaiyē"—*Tolkāppiyam*, Por., Mey., cut. 260.

3 Ns. sveda) perspiration   Ns. Vepathuh) trembling
   Tol. viyarttal)   Tol. naṭukkam)

4 J. R. Marr, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 78.

5 *Tolkāppiyam*, Por., Cey., cut. 340.

6 *Ibid, loc. cit.* cut. 547. Pērāciriyar in his commentary on cāttiram 547 explains 'aṭi nimirpuḷ as not exceeding five lines.

7 *Ibid, loc. cit.* cut. 548.

8 *Ibid, loc. cit.* cut. 549.

9 *Ibid, loc. cit.* cut. 550. Pērāciriyar in his commentary on cūttiram 550 explains ' viḷumiyatu nuvalutal' as explaining aram, poruḷ, iṉpam, and vīṭu.

10 *Ibid, loc. cit.* cut. 551.

11 *Ibid, loc. cit.* cut. 552.

of the consonants ñ, ṇ, n m, ṉ, y, r, l, v, ḷ, ḻ. Pulaṉ[1] is a composition which is composed of common words and is clear to the reader. Iḷaipu,[2] the last of the eight, is a composition which consists of five types of lines (aṭis), beginning with Kuṟalaṭi, which has two feet (cīr), and ending with a line which has seven feet. These feet do not combine a surd consonant with anothar surd.[3] Beyond what is said in the Tolkāppiyam, we cannot be definite about these literary compositions. Later, the commentator Perāciriyar has cited examples for these literary forms defined by Tolkāppiyar, mostly from later literary works. Thus the Nālaṭiyar, the Kaḷavaḻinārppatu, and other works classed under Patiṉeṉkīḻkkaṇakku works are cited as instances for Ammai; the Akanāṉūru and the Eṭṭuttokai for Aḻaku; the Pāratam and the Takaṭūr yāttirai for Toṉmai; the Muttoḷḷāyiram and the Kalampakam works for Viruntu; the Maṇimēkalai and the Peruṅkatai for Iyaipu; and folk dramas (kūttu) for Pulaṉ.[4]

Later commentators also hold these eight vaṇappus to be features found in Toṭarnilaicceyyuḷ works.[5] What is a Toṭarnilaicceyyuḷ? It is a long poem with poetic charm which is characterised by the continuity of its subject-matter. In the Caṅkam literature, in addition to the Taṉip-pāṭals (single stanzas) which are small, there is the Pattup-pāṭṭu (collection of ten idylls), which consists of long poems in which a central theme is developed. It would be legitimate to say that these formed the nucleus for later Toṭarnilaic-ceyyuḷas, which develop a story continuously. The elaborate descriptions and figures of speech found in works like the Maturaikkāñci, the Malaipaṭukaṭām, the Paṭṭinappālai were directly or indirectly borrowed in later epics. These will be detailed later while dealing with the descriptions in the Cc.

One can discern three distinct stages in the evolution of the literary form of Toṭarnilaic-ceyyuḷ. The first stage was that of works like the Pattuppāṭṭu referred to earlier, in which a particular theme is developed in the course of long poem in great detail with elaborate descriptions. For example in the Paṭṭinappālai, the situation treated is the sorrow of the spouse of a bard at her impending separation from him when he will go to Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam, the capital of the Cōḻa king (whom he expects to praise so that he will bestow gifts on him). This serves only as a pretext for the poem, which dwells almost entirely on the glory of the Cōḻa king and the grandeur of his capital. The descriptions of the king and the grandeur of his capital in this poem have inspired the tradition of describing the hero and his country in the later epics.

The second stage in the development of the Toṭarnilaicceyyuḷ is that in which the theme of the poem is a story, in particular a story that took place in Tamil country. It is at this stage that the poetical works Cilappatikāram and Maṇimēkalai were written. The style of these works is similar to that of the earlier Caṅkam works. One principal reason for this is that they were composed in the same Āciriyappā metre

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1   *Tolkāppiyam*, Por., Cey., cut. 553.

2   *Ibid*, loc. cit. cut. 554.

3   *Ibid*, loc. cit. cut 554

4   No example has been given for Iḷaipu and Tol.

5   K. V. Jagannathan, 2nd edition, *Tamil Kāppiyaṅkaḷ*, Madras, 1955, p. 70.

which was much employed in the Cankam poems. Because of the structure of the metre Āciriyappā, the words used have a dignified simplicity and picturesqueness which does not interfere with the rapid course of the narration. Further, the require- ments expected of the later epics, such as the treatment of the fourfold ends of life, viz. Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa, are not strictly met in these books.

This situation underwent considerable changes at the time when the Cc. was composed. This is the third stage in the development of the Toṭarnilaic-ceyyuḷ, and the distinguishing feature of this stage is the preponderance of Sanskrit elements. In the Cc., Tēvar has made a definite attempt to compose an epic styled after the Sanskrit mahākāvyas. Tamil epics which were written after the Cc. followed the pattern set by it. It is with this in mind that the later critics in Tamil who enunciated the definition of a Peruṅkāppiyam (mahākāvya) did so by translating or adapting the definition given in the Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram. The definition of the peruṅkāppiyam set forth in this treatise is applicable to works like the Cc. and all subsequent peruṅk- appiyams. But to evaluate the earlier works like the Cilappatikāram and the Maṇi- mēkalai in accordance with the tenets of such treatises is certainly inappropriate. Thus for example, Aṭiyārkkunallār, who wrote a commentary on the Cilappatikāram, has suggested in his commentary that the Cilappatikāram and the Maṇimēkalai should both be taken together as forming a single peruṅkāppiyam,[1] because neither of them deals with all the four ends of life and the structure and story of the Maṇimēkalai make it seem to be the continuation of the Cilappatikāram. These two epics, even without considering them together, have their own merits as epics which follow Tami literary traditions.

The main characteristic of the Cc. is the influence exerted by the Sanskrit literary form, the mahākāvya. It may be said that Naccinārkiṇkiyar, who is the author of a commentary on this epic, has failed to a certain extent to point out this aspect of the Cc. At the beginning of his commentary he expresses the folllowing opinion about the literary form under which the Cc should be classified.[2] For clear understanding

1 Aṭiyārkkunallār, commentary on the *Cilappatikāram*,"Uraiccirappuppāyiram".

2 The following are the passages in which Naccinārkkiṇiyar expreresses the ideas mentioned above :
   "It toṭarnilaic-ceyyuḷ Tevar ceykiṉra kālttiṛkku nūl akattiyamum Tolkāppiyamum ātalāṇum, 'muntu-nūl kaṇṭu muṛaippaṭav eṇṇi' (Tol. Cirappu) eṉrātaṉal, Akattiyattiṉ vaḷi- nūl Tolkāppiyam atalāṇum, piṛar kūṛiy nūlkaḷ nirampiya ilakkaṇattaṉa aṉmaiyāṇum, an nuliṛ kūṛiya ilakkanamē itaṛkk ilakkaṇam eṉr uṇarka.
   Avv ilakkaṇatiiṛ ceyyuḷ iyaliṅkaṇṇē āciriyar pā nāṇkeṉrum, avṛrai aram, poruḷ, iṇpattāṛ kuṛukaveṉrum kuṛip piṇpu ammai mutaliya toṭarnilaic-ceyyuṭkku ilakkaṇam eṉru kuṛukiṉ- ṛuḷi, "iḷumeṇ moḷiyaṇ viḷumiyatu nuvaliṇum" (Tol., cey., 238) eṉpataṉal, melleṇra collaṇ aram, poruḷ, iṇpam, viṭ eṇṇum viḷumiya poruḷ payappap paḷayaiyat oṛu katai meṛ koccakattāṛ kūiṛṇ, atu tōl eṉru kūṛiṇamaiyiṇ, ic ceyyuḷ aṅgaṇam kuriya tōḷām eṉr uṇarka.
   ..muntu nūlkaḷiṛ kāppiyam eṉṇuṁ vaṭamoḷiyāl toṭarnilaic–ceyyuṭkkup peyar iṇmaiyum itaṛkkup piṇpu kuṛiya nūlkaḷ itaṛkku vitiy aṉmaiyum uṇarka." Naccinārkkiṇiyar, *commentary on the Cc., v. 1.*

we have divided his opinion into three points :

1. Akattiyam and Tolkāppiyam are the authoritative treatises on which the Cc. is based, as there were no other works existing before the period of the Cc.

2. The literary form, the Cc. belongs to is Tōl (one of the eight literary forms discussed by Tolkāppiyar), because it satisfies the requirements for the literary form Tōl.[1]

3. The Cc. cannot be called a kāppiyam, because there is no tradition of calling a Toṭarnilaic-ceyyuḷ by the Sanskrit term kāppiyam before the period of the Cc. and the later treatises on poetics (which call a Toṭarnilaic-ceyyuḷ as kāppiyam) cannot be authoritative for the Cc.

If we take his first two points, it is clear that he tries to show that in the Cc. Tēvar follows the literary theories of Tolkāppiyam, as it is the 'vaḷinuḷ' (secondary work)[2] of Akattiyam. It cannot be denied that Tēvar was aware of the Tolkāppiyam and its literary traditions. But at the same time one cannot make the restriction that the Tolkāppiyam is the only work on which Tēvar depends either for his poetical ideas or for his style. A perusal of the Cc. obviously shows his familiarity with the Sanskrit literary works which existed before his age. The examples which will be cited later while analysing the influence of the Sanskrit mahākāvya form will furnish proof for this contention.

It is more likely that Tēvar had a knowledge of the treatises written on Sanskrit poetics, and of the works on which they are based. Daṇḍin's Kāvyadarśa, which was very popular in Tamil land and which was adapted later into Tamil as Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram (12th century A.D.),[3] had a considerable influence on the work of Tēvar. Therefore from the structure and the contents of the Cc. (which will be discussed below), it can be seen that it shows not only the impact of the Tolkāppiyam and its literary traditions but also the strong influence of Sanskrit literary works and the treatises on Sanskrit poetics which existed before it.

Naccinārkkiniyar's third point, that the Cc. cannot be called a kāppiyam because there was no tradition of calling Toṭarnilaic-ceyyuḷ a kāppiyam before the time of the Cc., seems somewhat forced. As Aṭiyārkkunallār,[4] the commentator on the Cilappatikāram has pointed out, the word kāppiyam was used by authors in Tamil before Tēvar's time. In the Maṇimēkaḷai Cāttaṇār, while describing the sports of king Kiḷḷivaḷavaṇ with his wife Cīrtti in a flower garden, says that Kiḷḷivaḷavaṇ enjoyed

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1 Supra, p. 86.

2 Vaḷi-nūl is a work which agrees for the most part with its original or Mutaṇūl, and deviates only in places where the author considers it necessary.

3 K. V. Jagannathan, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

4 Aṭiyārkkunallār, commentary on *Cilappatikāram*, Uraippāyiram.

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himself in the company of poets who composed dramatic epics (nāṭakak kappiyam). The following line :

> nāṭakak kāppiya nūl nuṇippör[1]

(the people who compose dramatic epic)

explains it, In the Peruṅkataī, the word kappiyam is mentioned in the description of the things which were taken when the queens of the king went to enjoy water sports. The following phrase :

> kāppiyak kōcamum[2]

(the books in which kāppiyams were written)

shows that they also took books in which kāppiyams were written. In another context in the Peruṅkatatai, the poet mentions the reading of kāppiyam as "kāppiya vācanai colli".[3]

Besides these references in the pre-Ce. works, there is also evidence to show that even Tēvar was aware of the word kāppiyam. In the soliloquy about the nature of women after seeing Anaṅkamālai, Cīvakaṉ says that poets who compose kāppiyam describe the lump of flesh (the body of a woman) in such a way as to make it desirable.

> kāppiyak kavikaḷ kāma erīy eḷa vikarpittiṭṭār[4]

(The poets who compose kāppiyam have described this lump of flech in such a way as to intensify the glowing lust in the mind)

All these references make one agree with Aṭiyārkkunallār in saying that Toṭar-nilaic- ceyyuḷ was also called kāppiyam even before the time of the Cc. Still, apart from the literary forms dealt with in the Tolkāppiyam, one does not encounter a clear definition for a kāppiyam or a clear distinction between the different kinds thereof such as peruṅkāppiyam, cirukāppiyam etc., till the date of Taṇtiylaṅkāram. However, from works like the Cilappatikāram and the Maṇimēkalai one can see that there existed among poets of the Tamil land some conventions as regards the composition of epic which had been derived from earlier Tamil literature. By the time the Cc. was written this situation had changed. Tēvar made the first attempt to modify the Tamil pattern of a kāppiyam to conform also to the requirements stated in the definition of a mahākāvya in Sanskrit. The concept of mahākāvya has been laid down by Sanskrit rhetoricians like Daṇḍin,[5] Bhāmaha,[6] Bhoja,[7] Hemacandra,[8] and Viśvanātha.[9] The various definitions of a mahākāvya given by these rhetoricians are very similar. The mahākāvya is considered to be the best form of poetry and in its qualities perfection

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1 *Maṇimēkalai,* canto, 19, line 80.
2 *Peruṅkatai*, 1 : 38, line 167.
3 *Ibid,* 4 : 3, line 42.
4 Cc., v. 1585.
5 Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa,* 1, vv. 14–22.

6 Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṅkāra,* 1.19–23.
7 Bhoja, *Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇa,* v. 103–104.
8 Hemacandra, *Kāvyānuśāsana,* vol. 1. VIII.
9 Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇam,* vl. 315–325.

is expected. Daṇḍin defines mahākāvya as follows :[1]

> *sarga-bandho mahākāvyam ucyate tasya lakṣaṇam |*
> *āśīr namaskriyā vastu-nirdeśo vāpi tan mukham ||*
>
> *itihāsa-kathodbhūtam itarad vā sad-āśrayam |*
> *catur-varga-phalopetam caturodātta-nāyakam ||*
>
> *nagarārṇava-śailartu-candrārkodaya-varṇanaiḥ |*
> *udyāna-salila-krīḍā-madhupāna-ratotsavaiḥ ||*
>
> *vipralambhair vivāhaiśca kumārodaya-varṇanaiḥ |*
> *mantra-dūta-prayāṇāji-nāyakābhyudayair api ||*
>
> *alaṅkṛtam asaṅkṣiptam rasa-bhāva-niran'aram |*
> *sargair anativistirṇaiḥ śravyavṛttaiḥ susandhibhiḥ ||*
>
> *sarvatra bhinna-vṛttāntair upetam lokarañjakam |*
> *kāvyam kalpāntarasthāyi jāyate sadalamkṛti ||*

(A poem made up of cantos is a mahākāvya. Its characteᵣ·sitcs are given below. It should begin with a benediction, a salutation or an indication of the contents. The plot should be taken either from a story told in Itihāsa or from other proper subject matter and it should deal with the fourfold ends of life (dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa). Its hero should be a person of wisdom and noble qualities. It should be embellished by descriptions of cities, the sea, mountains, the seasons, the rising of the sun and the moon, sports in pleasure gardens and in the water, drinking parties, love scenes, separations of lovers, marriages, birth of sons, consultation with ministers, sending messengers, military expeditions, battles and the successes of the hero. It should not be too short It should be pervaded with rasa and bhāva (sentiment and emotion). It should consist of a number of cantos which are not too long, well formed and with measures pleasing to the ears, everywhere dealing with a variety of topics (ending each chapter in a different metre) so as to make it popular. Such a kāvya which has been well embellished with figures will live through the ages.

Many of the aspects which make a mahākāvya are not new to either Tamil kāppiyams or to Tamil literary works. The foregoing requirments of a mahākāvya can be classified under six points as indicated below :

1. The beginning of the text.

2. The source from which the story is taken and the scope of the entire work.

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1 Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa*, vv. 14–19

3. Characterisation of the hero, the main character through whom the whole aim of of the text is achieved, and of the characters connected to his life.

4. The descriptions which enhance the beauty of the narration.

5. The depiction of rasa (sentiment) and bhava (emotion) which are expected to pervade the work.

6. The general structure of the text and the metres used.

1. The first point, regarding the beginning of a mahakavya, is that it must take the general form of a benediction, a homage, or an indication of the subject matter. These three forms encompass all permissible methods of beginning a work. In Tamil, the general practice of starting the work with a verse of benediction or homage to God (katavul valttu) existed from the early times. But in the benedictory verses found in Tamil there is no well-defined distinction between the above three ways of beginning a work. In Tamil the benediction is sometimes made by the poet to benefit himself[1] and sometimes to benefit other people.[2] These benedictions are also classed as Tevapani (benedictory verses with musical rhythm) and Tevarp-paravutal (stanza in which God is praised in the first person). The first verse may also be written praising any one of the following seven objects; gods, ascetics, cows, brahmins, kings, rain, and the country.[3] Of these, only those which praise the gods are classed under katavul valttu and the rest are termed aruvakai valttu (six kinds of homage)

The Cilappatikaram begins with verses which invoke the sun, the moon, the rain and the city of pukar in turn, in accordance with the Tamil custom noted above (aruvakai valttu). In the Manimekalai the opening lines take us straight into the subject of the poem. Tevar in the Cc. adopts the pattern which is common to both Tamil and Sanskrit by paying homage to the four supreme beings, Dharma, Sadhu, Arhat and Siddha Here the homage is paid to the four supreme beings as the Cc is a Jaina epic. The choice of this method of beginning the poem is perhaps governed by his attempt to conform to the Sanskrit mahakavya pattern wherever it does not run contrary to Tamil practice. Perhaps it is also due to the religious character of this work.

The next novel feature to be found in the beginning of the Cc., and which is not found in the Cilappatikaram or the Manimekalai, is that of avaiyatakkam (apologia). Even though reference is made in the Tolkappiyam[4] to the custom of introducing verses of avaiyatakkam, this practice is not commonly observed in Tamil literture prior to the Cc. After the initial propitiatory verses, Tevar dwells on the loftiness of the subject he is about to deal with and his own incompetence to treat it

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1   Tanakkup-payanpata-valttal-Peraciriyar, Commentary on *Tolkappiyam*, Por. Cey. Cut 109.

2   Pirarkkup-payanpata-valttal – *Ibid, loc. cit.* cnt. 109.

3   Peraciriyar, *Ibid, loc. cit.* cut. 109.

4   Tolkappiyam, Por., Ccy., cut. 419.

properly, and entreats scholars to bear with the consequent flaws which may be found in the work. Poets who came after Tēvar like Tōlāmoḷit-tēvar and Kampar also adopted this convention of avaiyaṭakkam, following the pattern set up by Tēvar. Tēvar may have drawn his inspiration for this from the Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa.[1] This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that Tēvar has been inspired by the Raguvaṃśa in other ways also, as we shall see in the course of this chapter. This convention of avaiyaṭakkam has later also been incorporated by the author of the Māraṇalaṅkāram[2] as a feature of a kāppiyam.

Another feature which is common in the Cilappatikāram, the Maṇimēkaḷai and the Cc. is the patikam, a series of verses giving a summary of the entire work. A somewhat parallel instance is to be seen in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa in Sanskrit, where the story of Rāma is narrated to Vālmiki by Nārada at the beginning of the epic.[3]

2 The second point concerns the story which forms the subject matter of the mahākāvya. As shown in the previous chapter, Tēvar has taken the story of Jīvaka from a Sanskrit or Prakrit poem. Earlier epics like the Cilappatikāram and the Maṇimēkalai, which deal with stories of the Tamil country, have the characteristic flavour of the life and the culture of the Tamil land. The shortness of the story which Iḷaṅkō has selected is responsible to a great extent for the unity, continuity and coherence of his epic. The Cilappatikāram deals with the story of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki who are from the merchant community. The Maṇimēkalai, which almost continues the story of the Cilappatikāram, narrates the story of Maṇimēkalai, the daughter of Kōvalan and Mālavi, the courtesan. When one comes to the Peruṅkatai, the tradition of taking a story from Sanskrit for the subject of a poem begins. The story taken is that of Udayana as told in Durviṇīta's Sanskrit translation of the Bṛhatkathā written in the Paiśācī dialect by Guṇādhya.[4] So far no-one has analysed how much of this has been taken from the Sanskrit original story and how much the original has been changed. Further, parts of this work at the beginning and at the end are missing. The Cc., which comes after the Peruṅkatai, is the first epic now available in complete form which has borrowed its story from Sanskrit. Almost all epics in Tamil written after the Cc. borrow their stories from Sanskrit.

The requirement regarding the source for a mahākāvya is stated by Daṇḍin in the phrase 'itihāsa-kathodbhūta'. It must be a story which enjoys fame and popularity, and this explains why Tēvar chose the story of Jīvaka for his epic. The story of Jīvaka, who is one of the religious leaders, occupies a place in Jaina religious lore which is comparable to that of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa in Hinduism and of Buddha in Buddhism.

1　Kālidāsa, Raghuvaṃśa, canto 1, vv. 2-4.

2　K. V. Jagannathan, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

3　Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Balakāṇḍam, chapter 1.

4　Saminatha Iyar, U. V. Introduction to Peruṅkatai, *op. cit.* P. xxvii, Footnote †.

In the treatment of this story he has also taken into consideration the requirement that it must expound the four puruṣārthas Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa.

In both Sanskrit and Tamil literature, works on poetics have emphasised the importance of dealing with the four aims of life. Dharma deals with the duties and rules of social conduct and the values and ideals of the society. Artha is concerned with the particular rules governing the various varṇas and āśramas, and the acquisition and distribution of riches and other good things of life one enjoys; and mokṣa deals with the efforts and ways through which one attains liberation after death. In Sanskrit, Manu's Dharmaśāstra, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra set forth the details of the three pursuits Dharma, Artha, and Kāma. Mokṣa is mainly dealt with in philosophical and religious works. In Tamil didactic works like Thirukkuṛaḷ and the Nālaṭiyār the three aims Dharma (arām), Artha (poruḷ) and Kāma (iṉpam) are dealt with in detail. The Paḻamoḻināṉūru deals with all the four aims whereas the other works which are classified under the Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku deal with one or more than one of them. The Nītiśataka, the Vairāgyaśataka, and the Sṛṅgāraśataka of Bhartṛhari in Sanskrit form a tripartite collllection of gnomic verses which deal with the materialistic, the sensous and the spiritual aspects of life in accordance with the above classification of the ends of life.

Later, the authors of ornate epics recognised that a still more effective way of treating these was to trace the course of events in the lives of outstanding characters and to show how they exemplified all that was considered best in the four pursuits of life. This explains why commentators like Aṭiyārkkunallār discuss the question of how these treated in the Tamil epics. Tēvar is the first Tamil author who attempted to compose an epic whose contents embraced all the four ends of life.

Now we shall trace how the story of Cīvakan's life has been developed by Tēvar from this point of Virtuous (dhārmic) deeds are done by Ciṉvakaṉ throughout his life. Ahiṃsā (non-killing). one of the basic principles of Jainism, is practised by Cīvakaṉ, at times even in battle. The battle he fights against the hunters who drove away the cows of the cow-herds is a battle in which complete ahiṃsā is observed, as Cīvacaṉ wins the battle without any violence.[1] He saves the dying dog which is beaten by the brahmins and utters the pañcanamaskāra mantra which makes the dog turn into a yakṣa.[2] He also saves the elephants which were caught in a fire.[3] He gives religious advice to the ascetics in Cittirakūṭam,[4] to a hunter[5] and to a traveller.[6]

He shows kindness to all and his generosity increases after he acquires the kingdom. He is compassionate towards the wounded warriors and looks after the

1. Cc. vv. 448–455.
2. *Ibid*, vv. 984–960.
3. *Idid*, v. 1237.

4. *Ibid*, vv. 1426–1437.
5. *Ibid*, vv. 1230–1237.
6. *Ibid*, vv. 1543–1566.

needs of the women who were in his enemy's palace.[1] Every marriage of his brings him wealth, but he does not in any way misuse it. On becoming king, he distributes all his wealth in such a way that all his subjects are well looked after. He demolishes all the prison buildings and exempts all his subjects from paying tax for sixteen years,[2] He does not levy any tax on the lands of temples, astrologers, or brahmins.[3] He donates gifts and helps the blind, the diseased, and women deserted by their husbands.[4]

The enjoyment of pleasures (kāma) by Cīvakan can be seen throughout the story. His marriages with his eight wives and his sexual pleasures with them are dealt with in detail in the Cc. The treatment of love in the Cc. bears the influence of the Tolkāppiyam and early Tamil literary works as well as of Sanskrit literary works. These will be discussed in detail while analysing the descriptions of love scenes and marriages.

The aspect of salvation (mokṣa) is explained in the last ilampakam. the Muttiyilampakam. From the beginning of the story Tēvar prepares Cīvakan to attain salvation. The last chapter explains the stages through which Cīvakan attained mokṣa. As these facts are explained in detail in the chapter on Jainism, they are not discussed here.

3. Coming now to the discussion of the hero of Cc.; we note that the Cc. does not have good precedents in Tamil for the development of the hero's character. In the Cilappatikāram everything else is subordinated to the interest in the characterisation of Kaṇṇaki. Kōvalan is thus reduced to a kind of shadow designed to accentuate the characterisation of the heroine by contrast. Similarly in the Maṇimēkalai Utayakumāran is introduced in such a way as to enhance the spirituality of Māṇimēkalai. Civakan's character has been cast by Tēvar in a fundamentlly different way. To understand this it would be necessary to briefly discuss the definition of a kāvya nāyaka as laid down by Sanskrit rhetoricians. Four types of hero have deen recognised in Sanskrit All of them are noble and self-controlled, For this reason all of them are called Dhīra, but they are distinguished as udātta ' (exalted), uddhata (haughty), lalita (light hearted) and śānta (calm). The Dhīra-udātta[5] hero is a person of great excellence, exceedingly serious, forbearing, not boastful, resolute, without self-assertion, and firm of purpose. The Dhīroddhata[6] hero is dominated by pride

1. Cc. v. 2372.
2. *Ibid,* vv. 2345–48.
3. *Ibid,* vv. 2372–2373.
4. *Ibid,* v. 2376.
5. mahāsattvo' tigambhīraḥ kṣamāvān avikatthanaḥ
   sthiro nigūḍhāhamkāro dhīrodātto dṛḍhavrataḥ
   Dhanamjaya, *The Daśarūpa,* 2.5 Indo-Iranian series, vol. 7, New York, 1912
6. darpamātsaryabhūyiṣṭho māyāchadmaprāyaṇaḥ
   dhīroddhatastvahamkāri calaś caṇḍo vikatthanaḥ
   Ibid, 2:3.

and jealousy and devoted to magic practices and deceit, self-assertive, fickle, irascible and boastful. The Dhīra-lalita[1] hero is one who is free from anxiety, fond of arts and gentle.[2] The Dhīra-śānta hero, who is a brahmin or the like, possesses all the qualities necessary for a good hero.

This kind of classification is not found in early Tamil literature. Though the Caṅkam poems deal with the valour, glory, munificence, compassion and charm of the hero, it has not been possible to fuse these characteristics into the personality of a single hero since they are all short isolated verses. This is also true of longer poems like the Pattuppāṭṭu and the Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai.

We have already mentioned the absence of vivid characterisation of the hero in epics like the Cilappatikāram and the Maṇimēkalai. In the Cc. however the story turns around the character of Cīvakaṉ. Tēvar has delineated his character on the lines of a Dhīrodātta type of hero as defined by Sanskrit rhetoricians and depicted in Sanskrit literary works. He has also contrasted the character of Caccantaṉ, his father, with Cīvakaṉ's, by making the former a Dhīra-lalita hero. Cīvakaṉ's conscientiousness and steadfastness are lacking in the character of Caccantaṉ. Though he is good to his subjects and noble in character he falls a prey to his passion. He faces death as a result of his dereliction of his regal duties. The qualities which bring death to Caccantā are carefully omitted in the characterisation of Cīvakaṉ. Cīvakaṉ is always alert in his actions and aware of what is happening around him. None of his actions bring blemish to his noble, upright character. He enjoys pleasure but at the same time he does not neglect his duty and fall a prey to his passions. Till he regains the kingdom lost by his father he does not stay with any of his wives for more than a few days. He is well versed in all arts[3] and these talents help him to acquire some of his wives. He wins Kāntaruvatattai by showing his skill in Viṇai (lute), Kuṇamālai by controlling the intoxicated elephant which was going to attack her, Patumai by curing her from snake-bite, Kaṉakamālai and Ilakkaṇai by showing his talent in archery, and Curamañcari by his mellifluous musical talent.

In the Cc. these noble qualities are depicted by Tēvar in the form of descriptions, in the speech of his enemy Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ and through the expressions of the other characters connected with Cīvakan. His balance of mind is well expressed by Tēvar in the following verse, which explains the state of Cīvakaṉ after being helped by Cutañcaṇan to escape from the death sentence imposed by Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ for pride of his Acaṇivēkam.

> *viḻaṅki villumiḻum pūṉāṉ viḻuc ciṟaip paṭṭapōḻtum*
> *alaṅkal aṉ tāriṉāṉ vant aruñc ciṟgi viṭuttapōḻtum*
> *pulampu makiḻvu nēñciṟ politalum iṉṟip poṉ ārnt*
> *ulaṅkaḻant uyarnta tōḻāṉ ūḷ vinaiy eṉṟu viṭṭāṉ*[4]

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1. niścinto dhīralalitaḥ kalāsaktaḥ sukhī mṛduḥ *Ibid,* 2.3.
2. sāmānyaguṇayuktas tu dhīraśānto dvijādikaḥ. Dhanaṃjaya, *op. cit.* 2.4:
3. Cc. vv. 370-373.
4. *Ibid,* v. 1167,

(Cīvakan with lofty and stone-like round (muscular and well fleshed) shoulders full of golden jewels, was neither distressed when he was imprisoned by Kattiyankāran who wore jewels casting flickering rays, nor happy when he was released by Cutañcanan who wore beautiful dangling garlands. His heart unaffected, he considered both as the fruits of previous births).

The following verse shows how his excellent qualities are even praised by his enemy Kattiyankāran :

> arul valiyānmai kalviy alak ariv ilamaiy ūkkam
> tiru maliy ikai pōkan tin pukal nanpu curram
> oruvar iv ulakil yārē cīvakan okku nirār
> perit arit ivanaik konrāy perukenac cirappuc ceytān[1]

(In this world who can be compared with Cīvakan in his compassion, strength, prowess, knowledge, beauty, wisdom, youth, perseverence, charity, indulgence, undying fame, and in having worthy friends and well wishers. It is great that you killed him. Accept these presents. Thus praised Kattiyankāran)

Cīvakan is also often praised by his friends for his excellent qualities. The attributes they give him such as 'kunattotu malintavan'[2] (he who is full of good qualities) and 'vanakk aruñ cilaiyinān')[3] (he who has a bow which cannot be bent (by his enemies)), show his reputation among his friends in all respects. Thus, Cīvakan is elevated to be a Dhīrodātta type of hero.

It is of interest to notice that the characters of Caccantan and Kattiyakāran have also been developed on the lines indicated in Sanskrit works. Caccantan is depicted as a Dhīra-laita. Though the character of Kōvalan in the Cilappatikāram has a certain resemblance to that of Cacantan the way two characters are depicted is different. Kōvalan is introduced in the Cilappatikāram for the first time with the following lines :

> man tēytta pukalinān mati muka matavār tam
> pan tēytta moliyinar āyattup pārāttik
> kantēttum cevvēl enr icai pōkkik kātalār
> kontēttuṅ kilamaiyān kōvalan enpān manno
> ..   ..[4]

Kōvalan's expanding fame made the earth all too small to bear it. Moon-faced maidens, skilled in song and sweet voice, fondly said to each other, 'O, He is Subrahmanya incarnate ! ' and revealed their excessive love for him when they spoke in praise of him in their own gatherings.)[5]

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1 Cc. v. 1165.
2 *Ibid*, v. 1817.
3 *Ibid*, v. 1817.
4 Cilappatikāram, Muṅkala-vālttup-pātal, lines 36–39.
5 Translated by V. R. Ramachandra Diksitar, "The Silappadikaram", Oxford, 1939, p. 89.

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Here reference to his popularity among women has been made deliberately to indicate the tragic flaw which made him lose all his wealth and later on his life itself. But in the Cc., though Caccantan also meets his end as a result of his passion for Vicayai, he is introduced differently. The description of Caccantan, which proceeds in five verses, reminds us strongly of Kālidāsa's description of Daśaratha in the Raghuvamśa. The idea expressed in the following verse is similar to the verse in the Cc. which sets forth the relationship between Caccantan and his vassal kings.

Raghuvamśa

udayam astamayam ca raghūdvahād ubhayam ānaśire vasudhādhipāḥ |
sa hi nideśam alaṅghayatām abhūt suhṛd ayohṛdayaḥ pratigarjatām ||[1]

(Through the head of the family of Raghu, the vassal kings experienced both rise and set, for he had a kind heart towards those who did not violate his commands and a heart made of steel towards his enemies.)

> *naccu nākaṭṭin ār aḷar cirrattan*
> *accam urr aṭaintārkk amirt annavan*
>
> .. ..
> . .. .[2]

(To his enemies his anger is like that of the fiery venom of the poisonous cobra and to the people who surrender themselves out of fear he is like ambrosia.)

The verse

samatayā vasu-vṛṣṭi-visarjanair niyamanād asatām ca narādhipaḥ |
anuyayau yama-puṇyajaneśvarau savaruṇāv aruṇāgrasaraṃ rucā ||[3]

(The lord of the people imitated Yama in equitability; the lord of the yakṣas (Kubera) in raining showers of wealth; Varuṇa in punishing the wicked; and the sun, whom the dawn precedes in his bright splendour.)

also is similar to the verse in the Cc.

> *tarumin raṇṇaliyār raṇat ikaiyāl*
> *varuṇan kūrr uyir mārralin vamaṇē*
> *arumaiyāl aḷakir kaṇaiy aintuṭait*
> *tiromakan riru mā nila mannanē*[4]

(He, the king of the prosperous city, is Dharma (the eldest of Pāṇḍavas) through his benevolence, Varuṇan through his generosity; Yama through taking lives (punishing evil people); Arhat through his greatness; and Kāman (the God of love) through his beauty.)

The third verse in Caccantan's description runs as follows :

> *kōtai niṭṭilañ cūḷ kuḷir veṇ kuṭai*
> *ōta nir ulakoppa niḷarralār*
> *rātaiyēy avan tā niḷar raṅkiya*
> *kātalār kaḷikkinrat iv vaiyamē*[5]

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1 Raghuvamśa, 9:9.　　2 Cc. v. 157.　　3 Raghuvamśa, 9:6.　　4 Cc. v. 160.　　5 Cc. v. 159.

(In giving equal protection to the world surrounded by the ocean under his white cold umbrella which has flower garlands and pearl garlands around it, he is indeed the father to his subjects, who are hence very happy under his rule.)

It reminds us of the description of Dilīpa in the Raghuvaṃśa.

prajānām vinayādhanād rakṣaṇād bharaṇād api |
sa pitā pitaras tūsām kevalaṃ janmahetavaḥ ||[1]

(He by imparting education, by protection and by support to them, he (Dilīpa) was the real father to the subjects. Their (own) fathers were only the cause of their birth).

The noble aspects of his personality are again stressed later on in the story. In spite of his infatuation with Vicayai he anticipates his death at the hands of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ and therefore orders an aerial car to be made to enable Vicayai to get away from the palace in an emergency. He also displays remarkable tranquility, maturity and philosophical erudition when he consoles Vicayai by pointing out the transience of human existence and the effect of Karma on one's life. The overall picture of Caccantaṇ is thus one of a great and heroic personality who has the tragic flaw of being susceptible to the charms of his wife. He still richly deserves to be called a Dhīra nāyaka, in particular a Dhīra-lalita.

Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ is portrayed as typical pratināyaka, who is required to be a Dhīroddhata type of hero. Thus we find in him the avarice, conceit, cruelty and viciousness characteristic of this type of hero. Thus we find that Tēvar's characterisation of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ is very different from the portrayal of the character of Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka in the Up. The introduction of a character like Rudradatta in the Up. takes away much of the cruelty, cunning and greed from the character of Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka. Unlike in the Up., where Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka kills Satyandhara because of the prediction made by Rudradatta, in order to save his own life, in the Cc. Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ kills the king out of sheer avarice. So he invents a lie to justify his action to his ministers. For his subsequent attempts to kill Cīvakaṇ and Kōvintaṇ he has no reasons except his vanity and vaulting ambition.

In passing we note Gnanamurthy's contention about the characterisation of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ. He refers to Tolkāppiyam :

nimpiri koṭumai viyappoṭu puṟamoḻi
vancoṟ poccāppu maṭimaiyōṭu kuṭimai ʼ
iṉpuṟal ēḻamai marapōṭ oppumaiya
eṉṟ ivaiy iṉmaiy eṇmaṉār pulavar.[2]

(Learned men say that the following should be avoided : jealousy, cruelty, pride, back-biting, hard words, irresoluteness, sluggishness, haughtiness on account of heredity, lowering one's dignity, forgetfulness, and misplaced love on account of likeness.)[3]

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1 Raghuvaṃśa, 1 : 24.　　　　2 Tolkāppiyam, Por., Mey., cut. 26.
3 Translated by P. S Subrahmanya Sastri, *op. cit.,* p. 12.

and says that "since Tolkāppiyar prescribes that these undesirable dualities should be eschewed by the hero or the heroine of poem, we may take it for granted that they are the attributes of a villainous character."[1]

However, considering the fact that this cuttiram is in the meyppāṭṭiyal of the Tolkāppiyam, where the qualities of the ideal lover have been described, we feel that generalising this to indicate the characteristics not to be found in a hero (and hence to be found in a villain, according to Gnanamurthy) is to read too much into this verse.

4. We have seen the prescription of Daṇḍin for descriptions in a mahākāvya. He also says that the omission of a few of these items will not diminish the beauty of a mahākāvya. Tēvar, who is keen on perfecting his epic in accordance with these prescriptions, tries to include all of them except drinking scenes, which are against his religious code of behaviour.

A study of the descriptions in the Cc. shows a great of intermixture of Tamil and Sanskrit poetical traditions. Tēvar's knowledge of both literatures makes him borrow ideas, phrases and techniques from the literature of both the languages. The great inclination which Sanskrit mahākāvyas had for alankāras has left its stamp on the Cc. As we have pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the descriptions found in works composed in Tamil before the Cc. were more realistic and very much less exaggerated than the descriptions in Sanskrit works of the same period. The descriptions are integrated with the theme in the Tamil poems. But in the Cc. most of the descriptions have been introduced with the aim of embellishment—a poetical attitude advocated by Daṇḍin. For example, one of the Sanskrit conventions in such descriptions is to describe a lady from head to toe if she is human and from toe to head if she is a Goddess.[2] We see this in the description of Vicayai,[3] which proceeds from head to toe (keśādipādāntavarṇanā) in sixteen verses. However, this description contains both Tamil and Sanskrit poetical traditions. One can discern the influence of the portrayal of the Viṛali (the wife of the bard) in the Porūnarāṛruppaṭai,[4] one of the Cankam works, as well as that of Umā, in the Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa.[5] The clear, placid style of the Porunarāṛruppaṭai is not seen here : instead the exaggerated and detailed style of Sanskrit mahākāvyas is followed. The standards of comparisons are borrowed from both the sources. In the Porunarāṛruppaṭai the ears and the earings of Viṛali are described as follows :

> *mayir kuṛai karuvi mūṇkaṭaiy annu*
> *pūṅkuḷai ūcaṛ poṛai cāl kāṭiṉ*
> ...   .[6]

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1 T. E. Gnanamurthy, *op. cit.* pp. 154, 155.

2 "devatānām rūpam padāṅguṣṭaprabhṛti varṇyate. mānuṣāṇām keśād ārabhyeti dhārmikaḥ.."
   Mallinātha, commentary on the *Kumārasambhava*, 1:33.

3 Cc. 164–179.

4 Porunarāṛrupp. ṭai, lines 25-45.

5 Kumārasambhava, 1:33–48.

9 Porunarāṛruppaṭai, lines 29-30.

(Her ears in which her pendants dangling shine
Resemble well-shaped loops of scissors used
To trim the hair...   ...   . .)[1]

Here the ears and the earrings on it together are compared to a pair of scissors which trim the hair. The same object of comparison, the pair of scissors, is used in describing Vicayai in the following lines ;

> *mayir eri kattarikaiy anaiyavāy vaḷḷai vāṭ*
> *uyir cekuṭṭu mun onrip pin pērāt uruvamainta*
> *ceyir makara kuṇṭalamun tiḷaipp ānā vār kātum*
> ..   ..[2]

(The beautiful earrings which are in the shape of a Makara fish and the immovable ears, which destroyed the beauty of a fatigued Vaḷḷai creeper, looked like a pair of scissors which are used to trim the hair.)

The fingers are compared to the Kāntaḷ flower in both works.

> *Kāntaḷ mel viral...* [3]   *—Porunarārruppaṭai.*

(ths fingers like Kāntaḷ flower (Gloriosa superba)).

> *Viral ceṅkāntʒḷ...*[4]

(the fingers like the red Kāntaḷ flower).

In describing the thighs of the queen Tēvar follows Kāḷidāsa. The latter compares the trunk of the elephant Airāvata and the stem of the plantain tree to the thighs of Umā and says that though they were considered in the world to be beautiful, through their toughness and coldness they could not be compared to the thighs of Umā.[5] Tēvar does not use the same alaṅkāra vyatireka in his description, but uses the trunk of Airāvata and the stem of a young plantain as the standards of comparison for the thighs of Vicayai, in the following lines :

> *vēḷa ven ṭira ṭaṭakkai veruṭṭi marr iḷaṅ kaṇṇi*
> *vā,ait taṇḷ eṇat tiraṇṭu ...   .*[6]

(Her (Vicaiyai's) thighs had the beauty which scares (surpasses) (the beauty of) the trunk of white elephant (Airāvata), and they were plump like a young plantain tree.)

In the description of Kōvintai, the daughter of Kōvintaṇ, the chief of the cowherds, Tēvar follows the Tamil tradition completely. Since she is a cowherdess all the comparisons are to the products of milk .

> *veṇṇey pōnr ūriniyaḷ mēm pāl pōr riñcollāḷ*
> *uṇṇa urukkiya à ney pōl mēniyaḷ*
> *...   ...   ...* [7]

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1 Translated by J. V. Chelliah, Pattupāṭṭu, Madras, 1962, p. 63.

2 Cc. v. 168.   5 Kumārasambhava, 1 : 36.

3 Porunarārruppaṭai, line 33.   6 Cc. v. 174.

4 Cc. v. 370.   7 *Ibid,* v. 480.

(She is nice to touch like butter. Her sweet words are like delicious milk, Her body is like the cow ghee which has been melted to be eaten.)

Tēvar starts his epic with a detailed descripton of the country Emāṅkatam, with its villages,[1] town,[2] the interior of the town[3] the moat,[4] the walls,[5] the interior of the fortified city with the descriptions of the harlot street,[6] market street,[7] the living apartments of the servants of the king,[8] and the palace of the king.[9] Some of these descriptions are even found in earlier Tamil works such as the Paṭṭiṉappālai and the Cilappatikāram. As in these poems, Tēvar faithfully follows the Tamil tradition of describing the country. Yet Tēvar's method of description is one of extreme exaggeration, and he liberally uses the figures of speech Utprekṣā and Udātta.

The following verse composed with udātta alaṅkāra expresses the fertility of the land in the country of Emāṅkatam :

> pāvaiy aṉṉavar paṇṭu puṭaittaliṟ
> rūviy aṉṉam veṟit tuṇaiy eṉṟu pōyk
> kōvai niṭṭila māṭak kuḷāmicai
> mēvi veṇ mati taṉṉot iṟnkkumēᵗ⁰

(The swans which are frightened by the (noise) of the balls played with the ladies who are (beautiful) like images, go and sit with the men on the top of of the mansions which are adorned by pearl garlands, thinking that it is their companion.)

In this verse it is indirectly said that mansions are so high that their tops touch even the moon.

Tēvar also uses atiśayokti (hyperbole) in his descriptions and the following verse is a good example :

> tēṉ ulā matuc cey kōṭai tēm pukai kamaḷav ūṭṭa
> vāṉ ulāñ cuṭarkaṉ mūṭi mā nakar iravu ceyyap
> pā ṉilāc corintu nallār aṉikalam pakalaic ceyya
> vēṉilāṉ viḷainṭa cēri mēḷulak aṉaiyat oṉṟē.[11]

(In that city the smoke which arises when perfumming the garlands which are surrounded by bees, hides the rays of the sun which moves in the sky, and converts the day into night. The jewels of the ladies cast rays of moonlight like milk and make the night look the day. This city which is desired by the God of love appears like heaven.)

To give a different touch to the facts he narrates he also often uses utprekṣā alaṅkāra, which is called 'tarkuṟippēṟṟam" in Tamil. The following verse serves

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1	*Ibid*, vv. 64–77.	5	Cc. vv. 100–105.	9	*Ibid*, vv. 125–156.
2	*Ibid*, vv. 79–84.	6	*Ibid*, vv. 106-111.	10	*Ibid*, v. 125.
3	*Ibid*, vv. 85–93.	7	*Ibid*, vv. 112-117.	11	Cc. v. 111.
4	*Ibid*, vv. 94–99.	8	*Ibid*, vv. 118-124.		

as a good example for the many verses in which he uses utprekṣa alaṅkāra :

> tiruva niṇakarc cem poṇi niṭiya
> uruvav oṇ koṭiy ūḻi nuṭaṅkuva
> paravai veṅ katirc celvaṇa paṇ mayirp
> puravi poṅk aḷal ārṟuva pōnṟavē[1]

(The long beautiful golden flags which are swaying on the top of the large wealthy mansions, look as if they are allaying the heat of the hairy horses of the hot rayed sun.)

In this verse also the height of the mansions is expressed. The flags are imagined as fans for the tired horses of the sun.

In some verses he uses bhrāntimat alaṅkara, which is called 'mayakkaṇī' in the Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram. In the following two verses this alaṅkāra is used to show the fertility of the country.

> vaḷa muṭi naṭupavar varampil kampalai
> iḷa maḷai muḷakkeṇa maññai ēṅkaliṇ
> aḷamaru kuyiliṇam aḷuṅkip pūm poḷil
> uḷa meli makaḷiriṇ oṭuṅkum eṇpavē.[2]

(The peacocks shout in joy, thinking the limitless noise made by the people who transplant the heap of flourishing young paddy to be the roaring of the new clouds (which appear in the beginning of the rainy season), and the koels, being sad like women who are distressed (by the separation of their lovers), resort to the flower garden).

> kaṇ eṇak kuvaḷaiyum kaṭṭaḷ ōmpiṇār
> vaṇṇa vāṇ mukam eṇa maraiyiṇuḷpukār
> paṇṇ eḷutt iyalpaṭap parappiyiṭṭaṇar
> taṇ vayal uḷavar taṇ taṇmaiy iṇṇatē.[3]

(They would not go near lotuses, thinking that they were the bright beautiful faces of their lovers. They refrained from weeding the blue lilies, thinking that they were the eyes of their lovers, and they sang the songs pronouncing the syllables clearly. This was the nature of the farmers who were in the cool fields.)

In all epics which were written after the Cc., the tradition of beginning the work with descriptions of country, capital city, etc, is followed. Kampar, who came after Tēvar, has included whole sections named Nāṭṭuppaṭalam and Nakarppaṭalam in the Irāmāyaṇam.[4] In the Cūḷāmaṇi, there are chapters devoted to the descriptions of the country and the capital city.

The following verse in the Nīlakeci makes it clear that this way of describing the country, the city, etc., came to be regarded by later poets as an important feature

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1 *Ibid,* v. 126.

2 Cc v. 49.

3 *Ibid,* v. 51.

4 Kamparāmāyaṇam, Pāla Kaṇṭam, Chapters 2 and 3.

of the kāvya tradition :

> vāṭa vaḷattān malar ñālam maṭippin mikka
> nāṭāvat ihṭām aṭan nan nalam con nalattār
> kūṭat eninum cila kūraḷum vēṇṭum anṛē
> pāṭaviṛuntār poriv añcum paṭiyataṇṛē¹

(This country is celebrated as the best country in the world by its ever flourishing nature. Though its fine features cannot be encompassed by (our) words (of praise), it is necessary to say a few things. Because, the one who leaves it unsung would suffer fearsome consequences.)

Tēvar has also described forests, mountains etc. and such natural phenomena as sunrise and moonrise, as laid down by Daṇḍin. Though such descriptions arise out of the mahākāvya tradition in Sanskrit, the way in which the fauna and flora are described is in accordance with the Tamil conventions. For example, the route taken by Civakan when he leaves Kēmacari is described, and Tēvar gives importance to the different kinds of landscapes.² Before Civakan meets Anaṅkamāviṇai in the garden, he travels through four kinds of landscape. Here descriptions include all the landscapes mentioned in Tamil literature except Neytal (littoral). The landscape of all five kinds is also depicted in the Maṇmakaḷ ilampakam when describing the journey of Civakan to the country Vitēkam. The sunrise is described in verse 1406 and the moon rise in verse 1541.

In a few descriptions Tēvar has used almost exactly the same idea as found in Sanskrit poems. While describing the prosperity of Irācamāpuram, Tēvar borrows the exact incident from one of the verses in the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa :

> nīvibandhocchvasitaśithilam yatra bimbādharāṇām
> kṣaumam rāgād anibhṛtakareṣv ākṣipatsu pṛiyeṣu
> arcis tuṅgān abhimukham api prāpya ratnapradīpān
> hrīmūḍhānām bhavati viphalapreraṇā cūrṇamuṣṭiḥ³

(Where the handful of powder flung by women having bimba (a kind of fruit) like lips and confused with shame when their garments, loosened by the untying of their knots, are snatched away by their husbands through passion with their quick-moving hands, is flung in vain although it reaches the jewel lamps powerfully blazing with their flames.)⁴

> kar cunañ ceyta tōṇ maintar kātalāl
> nar cuṇap paṭṭuṭai paṛṛa nāṇiṇāṛ
> por cuṇattāl viḷakk avippap poṅkiya
> por cuṇam purampaṇai tavaḷum poṛpiṛṛē⁵

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1 Nīlakeci, v. 11.
2 Cc. vv 1556–1566.
3 Meghadūta, Uttaramegha, v. 5.
4 Translated by Kale. Meghadūta edited by Kale, M, R, Bombay, 1916.
5 Cc, v, 91,

(The city is characterised by agricultural tracts (rich with) golden dust that is excess after (being used to) extinguish the light, out of shyness when youths with (muscular) shoulders (as if) made of powdered stones, pulled the scented silk garment (of their beloved) out of love.)

In the description of the moonrise mentioned earlier, Tēvar expresses exactly the same idea expressed in the description of a moonrise in the Cārudattam, and says that the white rays of the moon amid the darkness are like streams of milk on dried up mire.

> *udayati hi śaśāṅkaḥ klinna-kharjūra-pāṇḍur*
> *yuvatijanasahāyo rājamārgapradīpaḥ*
> *timiranicayamadhye raśmayo yasya gaurā*
> *hṛtajala iva paṅke kṣīradhārāḥ patanti*[1]

(The moon which is pale as moist dates, friend to young women and the light of the royal road, has risen. His white rays which descend in the midst of the darkness look like streams of milk falling on dried up mire.)

> *kālakac cērruṭ ṭimpāl kaṭir maṇikkuṭattiṉ ēṉṭi*
> *viḷ tarac corivaṭē pōl viḷaṅk oḷit tiṅkaṭ puttaḷ*
> *cūḷ iruṭ ṭoḷuti mūḷkat tiṅ kaṭir corintu nallār*
> *mālai koṇ mukaṭṭir ṭōṉri vaḷai kaṭaṉ muḷaittat aṉrē*[2]

(As if pouring into black mud sweet milk from a ray-emitting gemstudded pot, the moon God, who is like the pale faces of ladies, by his shower of cool rays dispelled the pitch darkness spread everywhere and arose in the sea around.)

The familiarity of Tēvar with the Raghuvaṃśa makes him sometimes use the same similes in his work. For example, the simile used to describe the Pāṇḍya king in the Raghuvaṃśa has been used to describe Cīvakaṉ in the Cc.

Raghuvaṃśa

> *pāṇḍyo'yam aṃsārpitalambahāraḥ klptāṅgarāgo haricandanena |*
> *ābhāti bālātaparaktasānuḥ sanirjharodgāra ivādrirājaḥ ||*[3]

(Here sits the king Pāṇḍya with his body smeared with red sandal paste and with his shoulders from which pearl garlands hang, shines like the king of the mountains whose summits are reddened with the rays of the morning sun and which has rivulets flowing downwards.)

Cc.   *iḷaveyiṉ maṇi varaiy erittiṭṭ aṉṉaṭōr*
> *aḷavaru kuṅkumatt akaṉra mārpiṉāy*
> .. ..[4]

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1 Cārudattam, Act 1. v. 29. Selected from the thirteen Trivandrum plays attributed to Bhāsa, critically edited by C. R. Devadhar, Poona, 1962. This verse is also seen in the Mṛcchakaṭika, chap. 1.57.

2 Cc. v. 1541.   3 Raghuvaṃśa, 6 : 60.   4 Cc. v. 1182.

Sc-14

(Oh, the one with broad chest, smeared with a thick layer of kuṅkumam (a red powder), like a mountain of gems on which the morning sunrays are falling ...)

In the above description Tēvar omits the comparison of pearl garlands worn by the Pāṇdya king to the rivulets flowing from the mountain. He has only taken the comparison made to the smearing or sandal paste on the body of the Pāṇdya king to the morning sun rays falling on a mountain. The same comparison is also found in the description of King Śūdraka in the Kādambari of Bāṇa.

atisurabhicandanānulepanadhavalitoraḥ sthalam uparivinyastakuṅkumasthāsakamantar-
āntarānipaṭitabālātapācchēdamiva kṣilāśaśikhariṇam......rājānam adrākṣīt.[1]

(He saw a king...whose chest was whitened with exceedingly fragrant sandal paste, with marks of saffron made over it, and who looked like the (white) Kailāsa mountain with patches of (reddish) morning sunlight falling on it here and there.)

The descriptions of various seasons are seen in the Kuṇamālaiyār ilampakam[2] and the Muttiyilampakam.[3]

Besides these descriptions of kings and queens, natural scenery and cities, Tēvar has also tried to include all the other descriptions required by Daṇḍin. In the Patumaiyār ilampakam, Patumai who is in love with Cīvakaṇ is taken to play in the garden by her friends. Their sports in the garden are described in six verses.[4] Similarly in the Muttiyilampakam Cīvakaṇ is described laying with his wives in the garden. Water sports are portrayed in great detail in the Kuṇamālaiyār ilampakam.[5] Again, Civakaṇ engaged in water sports with his wives provides the poet with a chance to elaborate on water sports in sixteen verses in the Muttiyilampakam.

All the eight heroines fall in love with Cīvakaṇ before marrying him. Some of these love scenes are described in detail. The scene in which Kuṇamālai sends a message to Cīvakaṇ through the parrot and Cīnakaṇ draws her portrait, and the scene in which Kāntaruvatattai gets angry because of Cīvakaṇ's attention to Kuṇamālai, are described with both Tamil and Sanskrit traditions in mind. In the story of Potumai the Tamil erotic traditions of Iṭantalaippāṭu (rendezvous), Iyarkkaippuṇarcci (union), Nalampārāṭṭal (praising) and Pāṅkiyar kūṭṭam (the company of girl friends) are elaborated with great accuracy.[6]

In Sanskrit kāvyas like the Buddhacarita and the Raghuvaṃśa there are scenes depicting the state of girls who fall in love with the hero when he comes in procession through the streets. The Tirukkailāya-ñāna-ulā of Cēramaṇperumāḷ (8th Century A.D.),[7] is perhaps the earliest work (except the Cc.) in which there are descriptions of girls in the seven stages, the Pētai, Petumpat; Maṅkai, Maṭantai, Arivai, Terivai, Pēriḷampeṇ,

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1 Bāṇa, Kādambari, Edited by Kale, 1968, p. 19.   2 Cc. v. 851 ff.
3 *Ibid*, vv. 2668–2698.   4 *Ibid*, vv. 1316–1321   5 *Ibid*, vv. 2652–2667
6 *Ibid*, vv. 1317–1334.   7 T. P. Meenakshisundaran, A History of Tamil Literature, p. 142

who are infatuated with lord Śiva when they see him coming in a procession. Though in later Tamil literature the theme of ulā gave rise to a whole class of poetry, with its own characteristics, such poems are not found in the earlier Tamil literature. There are four such situations described in the Cc.[1] Of these, in the Kuṇamālaipār ilampakam some of the descriptions resemble the ones found in the Raghuvaṃśa.[2] Thus the actions of ladies mentioned in the following verses of the Cc. ;

> cem poṉ ōlai viḷavuñ cey kalaṅkaḷ cintavum
> am poṉ mālaiyōṭ acaint aviḷntu kūntal cōravum
> nampaṉ urr at enneṉā nāṭakam maṭakam maṭantaiyar
> vempi vitiy ōṭiṉār minniṉanna nuṇmaiyār[3]

(The dancing girls, who had waists like lightning, being distressed by the trouble Civakaṉ had, with their golden earrings falling from their ears, ornaments scattering, and golden garlands dropping from their loosened tresses of hair, ran to the streets to see what was happening to him.)

> matarakaḷ karpiṉukk uṭainta mā maṇikkaḷait
> titilāra nūr peyvār citarntu pōkac cintuvār
> potulām alaṅkalāṉ muṉ pōṉṭu pūṉ terivaiyar
> aṭakāteṉak kalaṅkiy avvayir aṭukkiṉār.[4]

(The ladies who were making flawless necklaces with thread and gems which are defeated by the chastity of ladies, ran in front of Cīvakaṉ who was wearing flower garlands and beat their bellies saying that this is not proper while the gems scattered around.)

The following verses of the Raghuvaṃśa, in which the prince Aja is shown coming in a procession, are similar :

> ālōkamārgam sahasā vrajantyā kayācit udveṣṭana-vānta-mālyaḥ |
> baddhum na sambhāvita eva tāvat kareṇa ruddhopi hi keśapāśaḥ ||[5]

(A certain lady while suddenly hastening to the window (lit. a passage to look through) did not at all think of binding the braid of hair though she held it in her hand and from the folds of which the flowers were dropping down on account of its being made loose through her haste, till she has reached the door of the window.)[6]

> ardhācitā satvaram utthitāyāḥ pade durnamite galanti |
> kasyāścid āsid raśanā tadānim aṅguṣṭha-mūlārpita-sūtra-śeṣā ||[7]

(The half-stringed girdle of some other lady risen up in haste, the jewels of which were dropping down at her every faltering step, had at the time the string fastened only to the root of her foot-toe)[8]

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1 Cc. vv. 457-470; 2114-2122; 2529-2540; 1099-1107.   2 Raghuvaṃśa, 7 : 6 and 7 : 10,
3 Cc. v. 1103.   4 *Ibid,* v. 1106.   5 Raghuvamsa, 7 : 6.
6 Translated by Nandargikār. Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa, Bombay, 1897.
7 Raghuvaṃśa, 7 : 10.   8 Translated by Nandargikār. Raghuvaṃśa, 7 : 10.

In these verses, the loosening of hair with the falling flowers and the Jewels dropping from the string are described in the same way. But both in the Kuṇamālaiyār ilampakam and in the Ilakkanaiyār ilampakam the girls are classified into seven different kinds according to their age and maturity, in accordance with Tamil tradition.

The marriages of Cīvakaṉ with his eight wives are described. Special attention is paid to the wedding ritual in the marriage of Ilakkaṇai.[1] The marital pleasures of Cīvakaṉ receive detailed descriptions in several places. It has been claimed that Tēvar shows his knowledge of Sanskrit as well as Tamil works, both Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra and the Caṅkam literature in these descriptions.

The birth of Cīvakaṉ's children is dealt with in the Muttiyilampakam.[2]

Details of battles and descriptions of the counsel held before war[3] and the despatch of a messenger[4] have all been included by Tēvar. The descriptions of war contain details about the strength of the army, the valour of the soldiers, their victory etc. The seizure of the cows and their retrieval involve battles, which are set forth in accordance with the Tamil conventions of Veṭci[5] and Karantai[6] war in the Kōvintaiyār ilampokam[7] and in the Kaṉakamālaiyār ilampakam.[8] The final battle between Cīvakaṉ and Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ, and the victory of Cīvakaṉ in the battle, are elaborately described in the Maṉmakaḷ ilampakam.

Thus we see that every opportunity has been used by Tēver to include descriptions as required by the Sanskrit rhetoricians' definition of a mahākāvya. A few words in particular about the several figures of speech used in these descriptions are necessary at this point because the proliferation of figures of speech is one major result of the effort to adopt the Sanskirt pattern. As we have seen, earlier Caṅkam poetry mainly employs similes, graphic descriptions and, in the later period, epic similes. One is struck with the purposefulness with which these similes are employed in these poems. They are never used in such a way as to obscure the meaning of the poem. They are precisely phrased and short. The objects of comparison are chosen from everyday experience, and hence illustrate the idea clearly. Nature serves as a background for depicting human emotions. The kind of simile called Uḷḷurai always suggests some kind of human relationship through the description of nature. This is often used through the address of a friend of the heroine to the hero, suggesting the state of his lover. Mythological allusions were seldom introdnced before the Kalittokai and the Paripāṭal. Most of the similes have only one point of comparison.

Thus for example the gems that shine on the girdles of ladies are compared to the dew shining on the boughs of a koṉṟai tree.[9] The teeth of an angry dog are compared to bamboo shoots.[10] This is the tradition followed in the Cilappatikāram and to a lesser extent in the Manimēkalai. Śabdālaṅkāras (embellishments involving sounds) were of relatively rare occurrence and when found were never long

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1 Cc. v. 2385 ff.   2 *Ibid*, vv. 2701-2706.   3 *Ibid*, v. 2143-2149.   4 *Ibid*, v. 2143.
5 Supra, p. 149.   6 Supra, p. 149.   7 Ch. v. 413 ff.   8 *Ibid*, v. 1845 ff.
9 *Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai*, lines 327-328.   10 *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, line 131.

or artificial, they were merely the outcome of a mastery of diction serving without effort to beautify powerful thoughts.

Coming to the Cc., one encounters a different situation. As we have seen in the foregoing examples, a good number of figures of speech have been borrowed from Sanskrit literature. The personification of nature and inanimate objects, hyperbole and fanciful expressions, obscure similes involving mythological and philosophical allusions, and Śabdālaṅkaras, puns etc. are found in plenty here. The verse describing the plight of Vicayai in the burial ground runs as follows :

> *puraṅ kāṭṭuḷ vantā ṭamiyēy eṉa maraṅkaḷ*
> *cintit iraṅki aḷuvaṉa pōl paṉi cēr kaṉṉir corintaṉavē*[1]

(The trees shed tears mixed with dew drops as if they were crying at the thought, "Oh, you (Vicayai) have come alone to the cemetery".)

This method of attributing emotions to inanimate objects closely resembles the description in the Meghadūta.

> *paśyantīnām nā khalu bahuśo nā sthalīdevatānām*
> *muktāsthūlās tarukisalayeṣvaśruleśāḥ patanti*[2]

(The local deities shed tear drops as big as pearls on the shoots of the trees when they see me (throwing out my arms into space to embrace you).)

The figure of speech here is Utprekṣā or Poetic fancy, instances of which have already been indicated in particular in the descriptions of the country and the capital city. In the above example Utprekṣā one also finds a pun (Śleṣa). The word Kaṉṉir can be read in two ways with the word 'paṉicēr.

> (i) *paṉicēr kaḷ + nir corintaṉavē.*
> (ii) *paṉicēr kaṉṉir corintaṉavē.*

Here if one reads 'Paṉier kaḷ+nir corintaṉavē. then the meaning is the trees shed honey with dew (as tears)', and if one reads 'paṉicēr kaṉṉir corintaṉavē', then the meaning is the trees cried with the tears of dew drops.'

Tēvar also attempts to employ the different kinds of similes set forth by the rhetoricians. Thus Mālopamā is employed in describing the growth of Cīvakaṉ.

> *pal pūm poykait tāmarai pòṉrum paṉivāṉatt*
> *ellār kaṇṇum iṉpurav ūrum maṭi pōṉrum*
> *kolluñ ciṅkak kuṭṭiyum pōṉr iv ulakeṭṭac*
> *cellum maṉṉō cīvakaṉ teyvap pakai veṉrē.*[3]

(Cīvakaṉ grew without being affected by the diseases which affect small children (teyvappakai), like a lotus which is in the pond full of lotuses, like a moon which moves in the cold sky giving pleasure to the eyes of all people, and like the cub of a lion.)

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1 Cc. v. 312.   2 Meghadūta, Uttaramegha, v. 43.   3 Cc. v. 364.

Examples of similes involving allusions to Sanskrit mythology, epics, and other works in Sanskrit can be seen in the following cases.

> (*i*) ...*ilankal aliyinan kalirr ittam pol*
>
>   *Kalonku ten tirai meyntu.*[1]

(Like the herd of elephants of the king (Bharatesvara) who had a shining orb, they (clouds) drank water from the sea ...)

Here the elephants of Bharatesvara king,[2] a Jaina mythological figure, is compared to the clouds.

> (*ii*) ...*arumani marakatatt ankanariya*
>
>   *eri nirap ponn ital entu tamarait*
>
>   *tirumakal ival enat* , ... [3]

(She looked as if she was the Lakshmi who was born in the golden lotus which had golden petals, which was born in (a pond in) the mountain made of emerald.

> (*iii*) .. ..
>
>   *per amarul anru perun tataiy olum perop*
>
>   *por amaru ninrav ilaiyonir polivurran.*[4]

(He shone like Abhimanyu who fought without turning his back in the battlefield against his uncle Karna in the great war (The Bharata war).)

Here the king Caccanatn is compared with Abhimanyu who was opposing Karna in the Bharata war.

> (*iv*) *tot ani makalir ponra tunar malark kompar kompi*
>
>   *atavar pola vantum ataintanav aliyirkk olki*
>
>   *utiya makalir polav ocintanav uta rukkum*
>
>   *cetarir cenru pulli cirupuran taliiya tumpi.*[5]

(The bees, like lovers, went to the branches full of clusters of flowers, which were like ladies adorned with flowers. The branches bent down (with the weight of the bees) like ladies who are sulky towards their lovers. The dragon-flies which were like the Cetas went and sat on the higher parts of the branches as if they were helping to appease the ladies by embracing them on the back.)

Here the branches with clusters of flowers are compared to the sulky ladies and the bees to thier lovers. The branches are bending and the dragon-flies are sitting on them like Cetas who help the lovers to remove their ladies' anger.

The character Ceta occurs in Sankrit dramas. He serves as intermediary between lovers and their angry sweethearts.[6] In these examples one cannot understand the simile unless one is familiar with the relevant ideas in Sanskrit literature.

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1 *Ibid*, v. 32.
2 Refer, notes given by U. V. Saminatha Iyer to the Cc. v. 32 in his edition for details of this story.
3 Cc. v. 183. Refer, notes by U. V. Saminatha Iyer to the Cc. v. 183 in his edition for details.
4 Cc. v. 288.   5 *Ibid*, v 852   6 Vidvanatha, *Prataparudriya*, 39.

Tēvar also employs the figure of speech yamaka in his work. The first seven stanzas of the Pūmakaḷ ilampakam contain the figure of speech yamaka. For instance in the following verse,

> kūṭar puliyu muḷaik kōḷariy ȧṟum aṉṉa
> kūṭār meḷiyak kolai vȧṉ niṉaintāṉaiy ȧttik
> kūṭara mālaik kuvi meṉ mulaik kōṭai naḷḷar
> kūṭāra māṭa mayil pōlak kuḷiiyiṉāṟȧ.[1]

(The ladies who wore pearl garlands on their round breasts, gathered like peacocks on balconies and domes to praise the one (Cīvakaṉ) who wielded his oppressive murderous spear against his enemies, who were like male lions and tigers in a cage.)

The first word in all the four lines is 'Kūṭar' and this word has to be analysed in different ways to give different meanings. Thus in the first line 'Kūṭār' should be separated as kūṭu+ār (the one in the cage); in the second line as kūṭār (the enemies) in the third line as kūṭu + āram (with pearl necklace) and in the fourth line as kūṭāram (dome).

In such places, one is reminded of examples from the works of Bhāravi, Māgha and the later Sanskrit kāvya writers.

There are many places where the figure of speech employed obscures the meaning and is thus at best an adornment of doubtful value to the poem. The following verse, which describes the wall of the city Irācamāpuram, serves as a good example of this.

> vayira varai kaṇ viḷippa pōṉṟu maḷaiy ukaḷum
> vayira maṇit tāḷk kaṭavu vāyiṉ mukamāka
> vayira maṇi ñayin mulai vāṉ poṟ koṭik kūntal
> vayirak kiṭoṅk āṭai matiṟ kaṉṉiyatu kaviṉȧ.[1]

(The beauty of the lady wall was such that her face was the door that looked like a mountain with its eyes open with the diamond bolt, and on which the clouds lay, her breasts were the bastion, her hair was the golden flag, and her diamondwhite dress was the moat.)

To describe the beauty of the wall, he uses the figure of speech Rūpaka, and portrays the wall as a lady. Here to understand the beauty of the wall, the reader has first to understand the figure of speech he has employed and the ideas he tries to explain. Only after that can the reader understand the beauty which the author is trying to explain

5. The discussion of the descriptions in the Cc. leads on to the depiction of sentiments, which is achieved mainly through these descriptions and through the speeches and actions of the characters. The importance of Rasa or sentiment has been recognised in Sanskrit in the statement 'vākyam rasātmakam kāvyam'. The concept of the importance given to the sentiment may be traced to the popularity enjoyed by dṛśya

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1 Cc. v. 2328.   2 Cc. v. 105.

kāvyas such as drama (nāṭaka). In Sanskrit the rasa theory was first propounded by
Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra. He deals with rasa in order to indicate how the actors
in a drama or a dancer must portray the sentiments on the stage in such a way as
to captivate and keep the audience *en rapport* with what is going on, on the stage.
He also deals with the rules regarding what must and what must not be shown on
the stage and the combination of sentiments are allowed. As we have seen earlier
there is a great resemblance between the rasa theory of Bharata and the Meyppāṭṭiyal
of Tolkāppiyar.

But unlike in Sanskrit where the later rhetoricians evolved clear–cut definitions
about rasa, dhvani etc., based on the ideas of Bharata, there has been on similar effort in
Tamil. The rhetoricians in Sanskrit extended the ideas about rasa to the Śravya kāvyas
as well and this resulted in the stress on sentiment placed by authors like Daṇḍin,
Bhāmaha, Vāmana, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa. Tēvar appears to have been well versed
in these doctrines unlike the earlier authors in Tamil who wrote epics spontaneously
and not in conformity with rigid rules of poetics.

It was the convention in Sanskrit that a mahākāvya would portray one predomi-
nant sentiment and contain other sentiments which must be depicted in such a way
as to enhance the main sentiment. Tēvar chooses the śṛṅgāra rasa as the main senti-
ment of his work. He names every canto of the poem to indicate one marriage of
the hero Cīvakaṅ. In some cantos the names are based on actual marriages and
in some the names indicate   his union with knowledge (ñānam), earth (maṇmakaḷ),
coronation (pūmakaḷ) and salvation (mutti). Thus naming all his chapters after the
weddings of Cīvakaṅ, Tēvar makes the Cc. a poem of weddings (maṇa   nūl).

The wedding and the marital life of Cīvakaṉ receive descriptions throughout
the book. The love in union known as 'kūṭal' in Tamil and as saṃbhoga śṛṅgāra in
Sanskrit is portrayed elaborately both in accordance with Tamil and Sanskrit literary
traditions. Tēvar dwells on subtle details as amorous glances, dalliance, honeymoon etc.
and in describing them makes full use of his artillery in figures of speech, lilting melody
and alliterative phrases. Sometimes his erudition in the later Sanskrit mahākāvyas
which are full of these figures of speech reaches the point of tedium and detracts
from the beauty of the poem. They hamper the delineation of the exact sentiment he
wants to convey through his verse. For example :

> āṭciy aim poṟiyaḷaṉ uṭampeṉum
> pūṭci niḷ koṭippuṟṟiṉ akaṭṭuṟai
> vāṭ ka ṉōkk eṉum vai eyiṟṟ āṟ aḷal
> vēṭkai nākaṭṭiṉ miṭṭuṅ koḷap paṭṭaḷ.[1]

(She was again affected by the poison that is spread in the teeth (the look
of his sharp eyes) of the snake (desire), which lives in the hill (Givakaṉ's
body which controls the five senses of impelling nature) where the creeper (of
determination) grows),

1 Cc. v. 1292,

This verse which describes the scene in which Patumai who is revived from the effects of the poison due to the snake bite by Civakan, faints away on seeing the face of Civakan, is full of metaphors. Tēvar wants to describe the glance of Civakan as a second snake which bit Patumai again and thereby to bring out Śṛṅgāra rasa. But, the elaborate imagery serves more to show off the cleverness of the poet than to lend clarity and charm to the narration which delineate the rasa.

As we have seen earlier, the union of Patumai with Civakan in the garden is described in accordance with the early Tamil traditions as seen in Caṅkam poems. Her friends arrange the meeting between the two by bringing her to the garden after decking her with garlands, saffron, pearls, etc. They leave her in the garden in a lonely place and go away on the pretext of several errands. When Civakan sees Patumai alone he wonders whether she is a goddess and this wonderment is described according to the early Tamil poetical traditions. The union which takes place between Patumai and Civakan in the garden is narrated in the lines of Iyaṛkkaip puṇarcci (natural union) described in earlier Tamil love poems. After their marriage, Tēyar continues to describe their marital pleasure in nine verses, Civakan's union with Tēcikappāvai and her episode seems to have included to facilitate another description of erotic sentiment.

In his manner of describing the union of lovers, Tēvar differs markedly from the earlier poets like Iḷaṅko. For example, Iḷaṅkō even when he describes the state of Kōvalan, who was intoxicated by the love of Mātavi, says

> maṇa maṉai pukku mātavi taṉṉoṭu
> aṇaivuṟu vaikaliṉ ayārntaṉaṉ mayaṅki
> viṭutal aṟiyā viruppiṉaṉ āyiṉaṉ[1]

(He (Kōvalan) entered the bridal chamber with Mātavi. As he embraced her, he was captivated by her, and became fond of her and did not like to part from her.)

Here in these three lines, he explains the pleasures Kōvalan had and his constant presence with Mātavi. A closely similar situation is discussed in the Cc. when Caccantaṉ is infatuated with Vicayai. But here, Tēvar takes this opportunity to depict the erotic sentiment and describe their pleasures with all details.[2] The same kind of description can be found in the verses in which he narrates the marital pleasures Civakan had with Kāntaruvatattai[3] and with his other wives.

The love in separation called 'piṛital' in Tamil and Vipralmabha śṛṅgāra in Sanskrit is also delineated by Tēvar while describing the states of Kāntaruvatattai, Kuṇamālai, Patumai. and Kēmacari when Civakan leaves them and goes. Particularly the lamentation of Patumai, after Civakan leaves her in the night while she was asleep, proceeds in fourteen verses. She goes to the pet parrot and myna and

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1 *Cilapatikāram*, Araṅkēṟṟukātai, lines 171-174
2 Gc. *vv.* 188-198.
3 Cc. *vv.* 838-841,

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speaks with indignation that they had let him go; asks the swan why it would not bring Cīvakan back, entreats the peacock to tell his whereabouts and addresses inanimate objects like the lamp, the mansions etc. One recalls here the famous observation of Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta,

> *Kāmārtā hi prakṛti-kṛpaṇā́s cetanācetaneṣu*[1]

(Those who in love are incapable of discriminatng between animate and inanimate objects.)

This lamentation of Patumài reminds one of the famous scenes in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Vikramorvaśīya where Rāma and Vikrama lament when separated from Sītā and Ūrvaśī respectively.

The theme which Tēvar has chosen afforded him plenty of opportunities to depict almost all the other sentiments also. This and his eagerness to deal elaborately with such situations contrast sharply with the methods adopted in works like the Cilappatikāram. Ilaṅkō does not depend upon any source book and build up the plot steadily towards the climax of the murder of Kōvalan and the grief and anger of Kaṇṇaki in Madurai. In the case of Tēvar, his idea is to describe the history of Cīvakan which provides him a broad Kāvya tract in which he could cultivate all the sentiments. A typical situation which occurs in common in all the three works the Cilappatikāram, the Maṇimēkalai and the Cc. is that of the hero controlling an intoxicated elephant. The incident is related in all these poems to bring out the heroism of the heroes, Kōvalan, Utayakumāran and Cīvakan. In the Cilappatikāram this incident is related by Māṭalan in the following lines :

> ..   ..   . . *atan kaiy akam pukkup*
> *poy poru mutaṅku kai ven koṭṭ aṭaṅki*
> *maiy iruṅ kunṟin viñcaiyan eyppap*
> *pitart talai iruntu peruñ cinam piṟalāk*
> *kaṭak kaḷir aṭakkiya karuṇai maravа*[2]

(You the kind hearted one, entered its trunk, and remaining between the white curved tusks, stood on its nape like a Vidyādhara on a dark hill, and controlled the furious elephant.)

The description here is picturesque, but still is relegated to the status of a small incident recollected by a minor character, Māṭalan. In the Maṇimēkalai, Udayakumāran controls the wild elephant in Pukār and this is narrated by Cāttanār in the following way :

> *viṭu parik kutiraiyin viraintu ceṉru eyti*
> *kaṭuṅkaṇ yāṉaiyin kaṭāt tiṟam aṭakki*[3]

([He] went on a fast horse and controlled the strength of the elephant which has furious eyes.)

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1   Kālidāsa, Meghadūta, Pūrvamegha, v. 5.
2   *Cilappatikāram*, Aṭaikkala katai, lines 49-52.
3   *Maṇimēkalai*, Paḷikkaṟai pukka kātai, lines 45-46.

The incident is just used by the poet to introduce the hero into the story with a suggestion regarding his valour. But in the Cc , seven verses in the Kuṇamālaiyār ilampakam describe the encounter which Cīvakaṇ had with the wild elephant.1 Though the incident has the significance of making Cīvakaṇ and Kuṇamālai meet under circumstances calculated to cause love in their hearts, this has been exploited by Tēvar for a skilful delineation of the heroic sentiment.

The three battle scenes in which Cīvakaṇ conquers the hunters who stole the cows of the cowherds, the kings who fought against him after the svayamvara of Kāntaruvatattai and Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṇ are places in which Tēvar has evoked the sentiment of heroism by a skilful use of rhymes, alliterations and assonance. The dexterous use of weapons, the anger in the hearts of the warriors, the sternness shown in killing the enemy etc. are described in detail in such a way as to bring out the sentiment vividly.

The battle scene also gives rise to the sentiment of the odious, viz. bibhatsa. The following verse is a good example of a verse depicting this sentiment:

> kuṭar vāṅku kuṟu nırikaḷ koḷu niṇap pūlar cēṟṟuṭ
> ṭoṭar vāṅku kata nāy pōr ṟoṉṟiṉa toṭit tiṉ ṭōḷ
> paṭar tırak koṇṭ eḷunta paravaikaḷ paṭa nākam
> uṭaṉē koṇṭ eḷukiṉṟuv uvaṇap puḷ ottaṉavē.2

(The foxes which were pulling the intestines among the mud of fat, looked like the dogs which were pulling the chain. The birds which took the shoulders (of the dead body) in the sky in order to be relieved from the thought of searching for food, looked like garuḍas up with hooded cobra.)

The verses of this kind remind one of the poems in the Paraṇi literature in Tamil.

In the scene in which Vicayai gives birth to Cīvakaṇ in the burial ground Tēvar scales the peak of Karuṇa rasa. Her desolation is well described in the following stanza :

> paṟṟā maṉṉa ṉakarppuṟamār pāyal piṇañc cūḷ cuṭu kaṭâl
> urṟār illāṭ ṭamiyēṉāl otuṅkal ākāt iūṅk truḷāl
> maṟṟiñ ñalam uṭaiyāy nī vaḷaru mārum aṟiyēṉāl
> eṟṟāy iṭu kaṇṭ ēkāṭēy irittiyāl eṉ iṉ uyirē.3

Adbhuta rasa is brought into play in scenes involving magic spells and in other super natural incidents. The scene in which Nantaṭṭaṇ fights with his enemies in his chariot which is flying in the sky,4 the scene in which Kāntaruvatattai uses Aṅkāmaṇi mantra (a mantra which enables one to fly in the sky) to enable Nantaṭṭaṇ to go

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1 Cc. vv. 977–983.

2 Cc. v, 2242.

3 Cc. v. 310. For the translation of this verse refer supra p. 12.

4 Cc. vv. 793–796.

to Cīvakan who is with his wife Kanakamālai,[1] the transformation of the dog into the celestial Cutañcanan by Cīvakan on pronouncing the Pañcanamaskāra mantra[2] and the scene in which Cīvakan is taken away in the sky in the background of an artificial thunderstorm from Matanan, who was taking Cīvakan to be executed[3] are instances where adbhuta rasa is well brought out.

Bhayānaka rasa (terror) is portrayed in the description of the burial ground where Cīvakan is born.

> vevvāy ōri muḷavakav iḷintār imam viḷakkāka
> ovvāc cuṭukāṭṭ uyar araṅki niḷal pō nuṭaṅkip pēyāṭa
> evvēy maruṅkik irunt iraṅkik kūkai kuḷarip pārāiṭṭa
> ivvārākap piṟappatuvo ituvo mannarkk iyal vēntē.[4]

The speech of Matanan, the cousin of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran when he heard the advice of Uruttiratattan given to Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran asking him not to start a war against the Caccantan depicts the sentiment of anger (raudra rasa).[5] Following the speech of Matanan, Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran expresses his anger in the next three verses.[6] Thus in the following verse, perspiration, reddening of the eyes, derisive laughter etc. which are the symptoms of the sentiment of anger are described graphically.

> nun muttam erriyaṅku mey ellām viyarttu noytin
> van mutta nirai ko nerri vār muri puruvam ākkik
> kann eri tavaḷa van kai mani naku kaṭakam errā
> ven nakai vekuṇṭu nakkuk kaṭṭiyaṅkāran connān.[7]

(Perspiring all over the body and (looking) as though he was studded with pearls, and with a curved eyebrow on the forehead full of (perspiration in the form of) pearls, and with eyes full of the fire of anger, and having broken the gem studdded bangles on his hand, thus said Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran with bōisterous langhter.)

Cīvakan's challenge to the kings after winning Kāntaruvtauttai in the lute competition is worded in a verse full of appropriate rhymes and hard consonantal sounds. The following verse is a good example :

> eṟl cuṭarp paruti munnar iruḷ enav uṭaiṇtu niṅkap
> poru paṭai mannar nuṅkaḷ purak koṭai kaṇtu marr im
> murukuṭaik kaḷalinā ṭun muki mulaiḷ kalappal anrēl
> iru cuṭar vaḷaṅkum vaiyaṭṭ en peyar keṭukav enrān.[8]

(I will first see that you all run away on seeing me like the darkness which is dispelled on the appearance of the sun, and then I will embrace the breasts of the maiden who has beautiful tresses. Otherwise, let my name vanish from this world where the sun and moon revolve.)

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1 Cc. vv. 1713.
2 Cc. vv. 645–952,
3 Cc. vv. 1157–1158.
4 Cc. v. 309. For translation refer supra, p. 12.

5 Cc. v. 257.
6 Cc. vv. 258–260.
7 Cc. v. 258.
8 *Ibid*, v. 773.

The actions and speeches of Cīvakaṉ when he assumes the form of an old man in the Curamañcariyār ilampakam, are replete with the comic sentiment (hāsya rasa).

The above survey makes it clear that Tēvar has taken great pains to mould the events in the story and his descriptions to bring out all the various sentiments. Though his delineation is very effective in most places, his tendency to put in evidence of his scholarship sometimes detracts from the spontaneity of the poem. A typical instance is the situation where Cīvakaṉ tries to cure Patumai from the effects of the snake's poison.[1] Here Tēvar brings out all his knowledge about various snakes and symptoms seen in the body when those snakes bite a person. This is definitely an inappropriate digression which spoils the sentiment and the atmosphere of the situation. The repetition of similar scenes in different places and in some instances, the deliberate introduction of situations to depict a certain sentiment are flaws which mar the overall effect of the delineation of sentiments in the poem.

Now we shall proceed to consider the last point regarding the general structure, the arrangement of the chapters and the metres used in the epic Cc.

The Cc. has been divided into thirteen chapters, named as 'ilampakams'. This division into 'ilampakams' occurs for the first time in this work. Naccinārkkiniyar points out in his commentary at the end of the Nāmakaḷ ilampakam[2] of the Cc. that the word 'ilampakym' is a 'vaṭa col' i e. a Sanskrit word. This division into 'ilampakams' by Tēvar is one of the significant features arising from the interaction of Sanskrit.

In Sanskrit literature, the words 'Lambha' 'Lamba' and 'Lambaka' (vv. ll. 'Lambhaka') are used. The word 'Lambha' (vv. ll 'Lamba') occurs in the Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin.[3] The words 'Lambha' and 'Lamba' appear in the Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa.[4] The word 'Lambaka' is used in the meaning of 'Pendant' as the name of sections in the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva. V. Raghavan in the discussion of the word 'Lambha' in his work Bhoaj's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa says that the word Lambha occurs in the work of Architecture and Painting (Viṣṇudhar-mottara) to name the sections.[5] Further, Lacote in his work "Essai sur Guṇādhya Et La Bṛhatkathā" suggests a new meaning to the word 'Lambha'. This strikes us as being particularly appropriate and relevant to our discussion here.[6] According to Lacote 'Lambha' means 'conquest', specially 'the conquest of women'. He says that this word Lambha is the Prakrit version of the Sanskrit word 'Lābha' meaning 'gain'. As Lacote points out, we also come across the word 'Lambha' in the meaning of 'gain' in Mahā-bhārtata.[7] For example, the word 'rajyalambha' means 'the gaining of a kingdom.'[8] It

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1 Cc. vv. 1285–1288
2 Naccinārkkiniyar, Commentary on Cc v. 408.
3 Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarśa, 1 : 27.
4 V. Raghavan, Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa, Madras, 1963, p. 844.
5 V. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 844.
6 F. Lacote, Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Bṛhatkathā, Paris, 1908, pp. 220 ff.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 222.
8 '..vidurāgamanañcaiva–rājyalambhastataiva ca.' Mahābhārata, 1 : 2, v. 362.

is Lacote's contention that in the Bṛhatkathā, the original intent of the author must have been to name only these chapters relating to Naravāhaṇadatta's conquests of his numerous wives as 'Lambhas', whereas other chapters dealing with the history of Uday- ana etc.might have been named by him differently. Thus it would appear that the indiscriminate use of the term 'Lambha' denoting a chapter of any prose work (kathā) is an abuse originating at a later period. This can also be seen from tne way Daṇḍin dismisses the distinction between Kathā and Ākhyāyikā on the basis of the division into lambhas and ucchvāsas as something trivial [1]

As for the origin of the word 'Lambhaka' Lacote suggests that the adjectival form of 'Lambhaka' is obtained by the addition of the suffix 'ka' to get 'Lambha' and thus each chapter might have been called as ". . . . . lambhaki nāma sargaḥ." By dropping out the portion common to all such titles, i.e. nāma sargah, one is simply left with 'Lambhaka'.[2]

Lacote's suggestion appears to be very apt in the case of the Cc. where as we have already seen,[3] the entire story of Cīvakaṇ, i.e. his education, marriages, attainment of kingdom, coronation and his salvation, has been narrated in the form of a succession of marriages with the bride called Learning, his various queens, with the bride called Kingdom, with the bride called Earth, and with the bride called Salvantion. From this it is clear that Tēvar has borne in mind the Sanskrit tradition described above and has named his chapters relating each of these conqustes by Cīvakaṇ as 'ilampakams'. Vādibhasiṃha also follows this pattern in his works by naming his chapters as Sarasvati lambha etc.

The metres used by Tēvar in his work mostly come under the class of verses known as 'pāviṇams' (supplementary metres) in Tamil. To examine any possible element of Sanskrit influence in the selection and use of these verse patterns and the appositeness of Daṇḍin's remark concerning 'metres pleasing to the ears' (śravya-vṛttaiḥ) to the metres found in the Cc., a discussion of the metrical patterns commonly used in Sanskrit and Tamil becomes necessary.

In Sanskrit, the class of verses called 'Padya', which are of common occurrence, is defined as one that has four lines. It is divided into two kinds, the vṛtta and the jāti. The basic unit which determines the vṛtta is the syllable and in the jāti it is the syllabic instant. A jāti metre is determined by the number of syllabic instants used in each line of the verse. In the vṛtta metres, the syllables are divided into guru (long) and laghu (short). Each line is scanned into 'gaṇas' or syllabic groups. There are on the whole ten gaṇas, viz. ma, ya, ra, sa, ta, ja, bha, na, ga and la. Of these the first eight have three syllables each; one long syllable is designated as 'ga' and one short as 'la'. The different gaṇas are distinguished by different combinations of the short and long syllables. The kind of metre is determined by the combinations of

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1   Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarśa 1 : 27.

2   Locate, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

3   Supra pp. 201, 202.

these groups occurring in the four lines of the verse. According to the occurrence of these gaṇas in the verse, the vṛtta metre is divided into three groups, sama (even) ardhasama (semi-even) and viṣama (uneven). In the sama-vṛtta metre all the lines in the verse have the same combinations of the syllabic groups; in the ardhasama kind, the first and the third and the second and the fourth lines have the same combinations of the syllabic groups; in the viṣama kind of metre each line has a different group of syallabic combination.

In Tamil, four basic verse forms were employed in the earlier days and these are called the Veṇpā, the Āciriyappā, the Kalippā and the Vañcippā. In these metres there is no specific requirement that they must have only four lines as in Sanskrit. The required number of lines in each of these verse forms are different. The basic unit of the metre is however determined on the same principle of long and short syllables and their combinations. Still the method by which they are combined is different from that of Sanskrit. The three main elements of the metre are 'cīr' (foot), the 'taḷai' (the link between two feet) and the 'aṭi' (the line). The cīr (foot) is determined by the number of syllables it contains. There are two main kinds of syllables (acai) called 'nēr' and 'nirai'. These syllables occur either singly or in groups of two, three, four or sometimes even five to constitute a cīr. A 'nēr' syllable group can be either a long syllable or a long syllable followed by a consonant or a short syllable or a short syllable followed by a consonant. A 'nirai' syllable group can be either two short syllables, or two short syllables followed by a consonant or one short and one long syllable or one short and one long syllable followed by a consonant. The first requirement in a kind of verse form is the kind and the number of feet occurring in the lines. Thus Āciriyappā kind of verse should have mostly feet made of two syllables (iyar-cīr). The penultimate line of the verse should have three feet (cintaṭi) whereas the other lines can be of four feet (aḷavaṭi). The final syallable of the final syllable should be one of the following sounds, 'ē, ō, eṉ, ī, ā, āy, or 'ai'.

The other feature which is peculiar to Tamil prosody concerns the 'taḷai', the link between two feet. It determines the relation between the syllables (acai) occurring at the end of one foot and the beginning of the following foot. Thue the 'āciriyattaḷai' (the link which comes in the verse 'āciriyappā') is made up of foot which consists of two syllables followed by another foot of two or three syllables (if it is a foot made of three syllable the last syllable should be 'nēr' acai) with the restriction that the last syllable of a foot and the first syllable of the following foot are of the same kind of 'acai'.

The third feature determining the verse form is the number of lines occurring in it. Thus in an 'āciriyappā' which must contain mostly 'iyar-cīr' the feet made of two syllables and 'āciriyattaḷai' must also have a minimum of three lines. It can be of any number of lines which are more than three with the restriction in the penultimate line and on the final syllable of the final line. A verse cannot be identified as an 'āciriyappā' if it lacks any of these features. Likewise the other main metres, veṇpā, kalippā, and vañcippā are also identified by similar criteria.

When these criteria are fulfilled these four metres produce characteristic musical tones ('ocai') of their own when read. For example, the 'āciriyappā' always has a narrative tone ('ākaval-ōcai'), the 'veṇpā' has a conversational tone ('ceppal-ōcai'), the 'kalippā' has a jumping and trotting tone ('tuḷḷal ōcai') and the 'vañcippā' has got a swinging tone ('tūṅkal ōcai').

Apart from these four main metres, there is also a metre called 'marutpā' which combines the tones the 'veṇpā' and the 'āciriyappā' at the end respectively. This is not very common in the early Tamil literature.

It is apparent that such conditions place severe restrictions on the composer, and it was but natural that there arose a good many deviations from the rules. This gave rise to supplementary categories of verses known as 'pāviṇams'. It is not known at what stage this began or whether Sanskrit elements influenced their evolution in any way. These supplementary metres are classified under the three heads, the 'tāḷicai', the 'turai' and the 'viruttam'. All of them are subject to rules similar to those governing the original 'pā' metres (the main metres) in regard to the feet and the lines. But the rigid and cumbersome restrictions on the links between the feet are mostly lifted in the new verse patterns. This meant considerable freedom for the authors to introduce syllables so as to depict various moods, to set the verse to music and rhythm or to produce desired sound effects. The main requirement for a 'viruttam' is that it should have four lines. We do not know whether this is anything more than an accidental coincidence with the Sanskrit 'catuṣpadi' (stanza with four lines). Alliteration (etukai) and assonance (mōṇai) are essential for this verse form. The relaxation of restrictions on the links meant that the characteristics sound (ōcai) of the earlier metres were lost. But, this was only an advantage. In the earlier poems, a particular kind of verse could echo only a corresponding mood and conversely, to describe a particular mood only the metre appropriate to it could be employed. With metres like the 'viruttams' this was no longer the case and much was left to the inge-nuity of the poet.

In Tamil, the Cilappatikaram, the Maṇimēkalai and the Peruṅkatai are all in the 'āciriyappā' metre. But we find some parts of the Cilappatikāram where the supplementary metres have been employed [1] The supplementary metres are greatly used in the devotional songs of Śaiva saints and Vaiṣṇava ālvārs. The Cc. is the first epic in Tamil with verses couched in the 'pāvinam' metres. Out of the 3145 verses found in the Cc., except 271 verses which are in the 'turai' metre, the rest of the verses are in the viruttam metre [2] The following chart given by Gnānamurthy in his work clearly shows us the various kinds of metres used and their numbers in each chapter.[3] Tēvar who was aware of the requirement 'śravyavṛttaiḥ' (metres pleasing to the ears) for a mahākāvya made effective use of the freedom afforded by the melodious 'viruttam' verses.

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1 A Chidambaranātha Chettiyar, *Advanced Studies in Tamil Prosody*, 3rd edition, Annamalai 1957, pp. 98 ff.

2 T. E. Gnanamurthy, *op. cit.* p. 266.   3 *Ibid.*, p. 266. See next page for Chart.

Serial No.	Ilampakam	Kali Viruttam	Kalitturai	Arucir Aciriya Viruttam	Elucir Aciriya Viruttam	Encir Aciriya Viruttam	Aciriyatturai	Vañcitturai	Oraṭimikku vanta kali Viruttam*	Total
1.	Nāmakaḷ Ilampakam	205	99	157	–	8	–	–	–	379
2.	Kōvintaiyār Ilampakam	25	10	49	–	–	–	–	–	84
3.	Kāntarvatattaiyār Ilampakam	126	4	202	5	3	–	16	2	358
4.	Kuṇamālaiyār Ilampakam	147	26	142	–	–	–	–	–	315
5.	Patumaivār Ilampakam	127	6	113	–	–	–	–	–	246
6.	Kēmacariyār Ilampakam	74	3	68	–	–	–	–	–	145
7.	Kaṇakamālaiyar Ilampakam	131	26	175	–	–	–	–	–	332
8.	Vimālayiār Ilampakam	46	18	35	7	–	–	–	–	106
9.	Curamañcariyār Ilampakam	38	–	59	8	2	–	–	–	107
10.	Maṇmakaḷ Ilampakam	67	15	128	15	–	–	–	–	225
11.	Pūmakaḷ Ilampakem	3	33	15	–	–	=	–	–	51
12.	Ilakkaṇaiyār Ilampakam	82	41	93	4	–	1	–	–	221
13.	Mutti Ilampakam	246	35	262	1	3	–	–	–	547
14.	Kaṭavuḷ Vālttu	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
15.	Avaiyaṭakkam	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
16.	Patikam	–	24	–	–	–	–	–	–	24
	Total...	1317	255	1498	40	16	1	16	2	3145

* Nacciṇārkkiṇiyar calls this verse as "Ōraṭimikku vanta koccaka oru pōku." This classification of verses is based on the forms of verses found in the V Edition of Civakacintāmaṇi by Dr. U. V. Saminatha Aiyar.

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The phrase 'bhinnavṛttāntaiḥ ' in Daṇḍin's definition has been interpreted in two ways as follows : bhinna+vṛttāntaiḥ, meaning 'with rich variety of topics' or bhinna-vṛtta + antaiḥ, i.e. 'ending in verses composed in a different metre.

The tradition of ending each canto with a verse of a different metre has accordingly been observed by authors of such works in Sanskrit. We find that this practice has not been followed by Tēvar except when such a change is also accompanied by a change in the subject matter or the mood of the narrative. His manipulation of the metres is dictated mainly by the need to make the sound echo or depict the sense. His remarkable success in doing this has been dealt with in considerable detail by T. E. Gnanamurthy in his chapter on metre.[1]

To sum up, it is clear from the foregoing analysis that Tēvar has been markedly influenced by Sanskrit literary patterns. It appears that he has made a conscious attempt to follow the principles governing the composition of a mahākāvya set forth by Sanskrit rhetoricians, in the composition of his epic. In doing so, he has however taken care not to depart from the established literary traditions and characteristics peculiar to Tamil. The result of such an effort has been a harmonious blending of the two literary traditions.

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[1]   T. E. Gnānamurthy, *op. cit.* pp. 258–281.

CHAPTER V

THE INTERACTION OF SANSKRIT THROUGH JAINISM

A chapter on Jainism is relevant to this thesis as Jainism provided an important channel for the interplay of Sanskritic elements with features characteristic of Tamil in the Cc. But the question immediately arises whether it is possilbe to detect a similar interaction of Sanskrit on all Jaina works in Tamil. If not, how does the Cc. differ from the other works in this respect ? For that one may ask why the references to Jainism in the Cc. cannot be traced back to the earlier Jain works in Tamil. In other words is it necessary to invoke the interaction of Sanskrit works with the Cc. at all ?

The literary endeavours of Jains in Tamil date back to the post Caṅkam period. Among the Patiṇeṇkīḻkkaṇakku works (eighteen minor poems) the Nālaṭiyār, the Elāti, the Ciṟupañcamūlam and the Tiṇaimālai–nūṟṟaimpatu were composed by Jain authors. These works are mainly didactic in nature and deal with rules of good conduct and the transience of material objects and worldly existence. They presumably had a moral purpose i.e. of guiding people and evolving serial conventions. We also find Jain references in the Cilappatikāram and the Peruṅkatai. In spite of the references to the Jain religious practices etc. found in Cilappatikāram, it was not written primarily as a religious work. The Peruṅkatai though written by the Jaiṅa author Koṅkuvēḷir, contains only a few references to Jainiam and there is no detailed exposition of religious ideas. The Cc. differs from all these earlier poems both by virtue of the period in which it was composed and its subject-matter. It was a time during which Tamil and Sanskrit enjoyed equal importance and the Jains were engaged in religious propaganda. One of their principal means of doing this was through literary works which contained Jain doctrines borrowed freely from works in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The Cc. stands foremost among works of this kind. It can be stated without hesitation that it is a Jain religious work garbed in Kāvya form. It contains the whole body of Jain philosophy, especially in the Muttiyilampakam. To understand these ideas of Jainism as related in the Cc. a knowledge of the earlier Jain works in Tamil and Jain traditions in Tamil land alone is not adequate. It is here that the ideas have to be traced back to sources in Sanskrit and Prakrit.

In some places Tēvar has derived his inspiration from the earlier Jain works in Tamil which deal mainly with Jain ethical ideas. For example in the stanza,

> pōtoṭu nāṇa mūḻkip pūm pukai tavaḷntu mullaik
> Kōtai kaṇ paṭukkuṅ kūntal kurai vaḷi pittōṭ aiyēy
> ētañ cey malaṅka ṇeyttōr iṟaicciyeṇ piruṇ mūḷai
> kōtañ cey kuṭarkaḷ puṇṟo ṇarampoṭu vaḷumpit eṇṟāṇ[1]

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1   Cc. v. 1583.

(Oh, the one who has hair which is smeared with musk, smoked [with aloe] and adorned with flowers! This body is full of pain giving air, bile, mucous, dirt, blood, flesh, bones, liver, brain and trouble giving intestines, nerves, skin and fat.)

Tevar is expressing the same idea which is contained in the following verse in the Nalaṭiyār ;

> kuṭarùn koluvuṅ kurutiyum eṉpum
> toṭarùn narampòtu tōlum iṭaiyiṭaiyè
> vaitta taḷiyum vaḷumpumām marrivàṟṟuḷ
> ettiṟattāḷ iṙṅkōtaiyāḷ[1]

([The body] is entrails and marrow, and blood, and bone, and connecting tendons, and skin, and here and there flesh interposed, and fat. In the midst of these, what sort of a being is she who wears the fresh garlands ?)[2]

Both these verses deal with the general theme of the unclean nature of the human body and it is not necesssary to refer to any other source to understand this.

In contrast to this let us consider another stanza from Cc.

> teḷiv aṟuṭṭ eḷuvar paṭṭār ir eṉmar tiḷaittu viḷntār
> kaḷiṟu kāl utaippaveṉmar kaviḷntaṉar kaḷaṭṭiṉuḷḷè
> piḷḷiṟivi, pèṭi peṇ ṇōy aṟuvakait tuvarppum pēciṉ
> āḷi paṭu cintai eṉṉum āḷi vāy viḷntavaṙṙè.[3]

(In the battle field, seven people fell down unconscious. Sixteen of them fell down after fighting. Eight people were overthrown when the elephant kicked with its leg. If one talks about the neuter sex, which fell down shouting, the female sex and the six non-passions, they fell under the wheel of kind thought.)

This deals with a particular stage (guṇasthāna) in the spiritual progress of Civakaṉ - a stage in which his soul is engaged in destroying his karmas. References such as "eḷuvar viḷntār", "ir eṉmar tiḷaittu viḷntār" cannot be understood except with reference to the Jaina treatises in Sanskrit and Prakrit. There is no evidence available to indicate that there were Tamil books prior to the Cc. which dealt with the philosophical (as distinguished from the ethical and moral) tenets of Jainism Hence Tevar would have had to rely on Sanskrit or Prakrit works for such philosophical ideas.

As Tevar was a Digambara Jain he must have written Cc. only on the basis of earlier Digambara Jaina books. Thus in tracing the influence of Sanskrit Jaina works on Cc. we have consulted only the Digambara Jaina Sanskrit and Prakrit works and their commentaries written before the tenth century A.D. These are (i) the Samayasāra of Kuṇdakunda (2nd century A.D. (?))[4] (ii) Ratnakaraṇdaka-ṣrāvakācāṟa of Samantabhadra (C.450 (?))[5] (iii) Tattvārtha sūtra of Umāsvāmin (3rd century A.D. (?))[6] (iv) Saṛvārthasiddhi of Pūjyapāda (6th century A.D. (?))[7] (v) Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena (9th century A.D.).

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1 Nālaṭiyār, v. 46,   2 Translated by G. U. Pope, Nāladiyār, Oxford, 1893, p. 32   3 Cc. v. 3076.
4 A Williams, *Jaina Yoga, A survey of the medieval Śrāvakācāras*, London, 1963, p. 17.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 17.   6 *Ibid.*, p. 17.   7 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

The ideas from these works are borrowed in the Cc. in two ways, religious and linguistic. We restrict ourselves to the religious section in this chapter. The linguistic aspects will be dealt with in Chapter six.

In most instances it is not easy to find the exact source in Sanskrit from which a particular passage or idea in Cc. originates. But as these ideas are new to Tamil one may conclude that they are from Sanskrit and Prakrit works on Jaina philosophy. There are however a few instances in which the ideas can be traced to Ratanakaraṇḍaka-Śrāvakācāra (Rk.), the Sanskrit work which deals with the duties of a householder. In these cases the passages be a striking resemblance to the corresponding original Sanskrit passages.

As the example quoted earlier illustrates, it is difficult if not impossible to understand many verses in the Cc. containing references to Jainism without a grasp of these Jain doctrines themselves. Hence we shall discuss the fundamental principles of Jainism with reference to their treatment in the Cc. here.

The soul and its relation to the universe form the central theme of Jainism. According to Jainism universe has no beginning or end. It is not created by any God or higher being. Its essential character is never changed though there may be changes in its component parts. It is only subject to its own law (lokasthiti). This universe contains the souls and the non-souls. The soul intrinsically does not have a material nature. Through its actions during the various births it assimilates karmas and thereby acquires material characteristics. The Jain religion envisages that the soul should avoid the inflow of the karmic matter and destroy karmas already acquired. When the karmas are thus destroyed the soul ascends to the top of the universe and there it experiences infinite knowledge, perception, potency and bliss. No other higher being can help the soul to attain the state of perfection. It has to do this only through its own efforts. The souls thus liberated are called Siddhas. They are praised by the Jains not because they have any influence over worldly matters but because they stand as ideals for the others. Therefore the whole idea of Jaina doctrine is to guide the soul fettered with karmas towards freedom from its karmas and to move towards perfection.

The Jaina religious doctrine explained in the Cc. will be discussed under three divisions :

(i) metaphysical ideas—the relationship between the soul and the non-soul.

(ii) ethical and ritualistic ideas and the rules which are intended to pave the way for the soul towards salvation, and the rituals practised.

(iii) theological teachings—the relationship between the soul and the liberated soul.

Most of the metaphysical, ethical ideas and the conduct of a Jaina ascetic are explained in the teachings of the Cāraṇaṉ, Maṇivaṇṇaṉ, the religious advice given by Cīvakaṉ to his wives and Cutaṉmar's answer to king Cēṇikaṉ's question in the Muttiyilampakam. The conduct of a householder is discussed chiefly through the lay

life of Cīvakaṇ and the characters connected with his life. These are explained by Tēvar through stories, similes, teachings given by characters, allegorical expressions and sometimes through religious discourses. In the analysis of the Jaina doctrine as treated in Cc. the techniques which Tēvar has employed will also be mentioned.

Metaphysical ideas

Metaphysics deals with the connection between man and the universe. According to Jainism the universe is divided into the soul and the non-soul (jīva and ajīva). The complete liberation of the soul from the non-soul is the ultimate goal. In this process of the liberation of the soul seven main substances (*tattvas*) are involved. These seven principles as Tattvārthasutram (Ts·) says are

jīvājīvāsravabandhasaṃvaranirjarāmokṣās tattvam[1]

(The soul [jīva], non-soul [ajīva], inflow of kārmic matter into the soul [āsrava], bondage of the soul by kārmic matter [bandha], prevention of the inflow of kārmic matter into the soul [saṃvara], shedding of the kārmic matter [nirjarā] and liberation of soul from matter [mokṣa] are the seven principles.)

These seven tattvas together with merit (puṇya) and demerit (pāpa) are called Navapadārthas. Both merit (*puṇya*) and demerit (*pāpa*) bind the soul and obstruct its progress towards salvation

Soul

Soul is of two kinds, immobile (sthāvara) and mobile (trasa). The souls of mineral bodies of water, of living beings in fire, of air, and of the vegetable kingdom are immobile souls. All souls which have more than one senses organs are mobile soul and unlike immobile souls, can move to an extent determined by the capacity of each soul. All mobile souls have two or more sense organs.

The soul has nine qualities. These are

(i) it lives (jīva)
(ii) it has cognitions, the power of perceiving (darśana) and knowing (jñāna)
(iii) it is immaterial (amūrta)
(iv) it is the doer of all actions (kartā)
(v) it completely fills the size of the body (svadehaparimāṇa)
(vi) enjoyer of the fruit of its actions (bhoktā)
(vii) located in the changing world (samsārastha)
(viii) it is siddha when it attains perfection (Siddha)
(ix) it is of an upward tendency (ūrdhvagati).

The soul has limitless powers. But these powers are veiled when matter binds it. Matter (pudgala) is one of the non-souls, the object which prevents the soul from its knowledge, perception and bliss.

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1 Tattvārthādhigama sūtra of Umāswāmin, ed. by J. L. Jaini, Arrah, 1920, 1 : 4.

Non–souls

According to Jainism these are five non-sentient substances : medium of motion (dharma), medium of rest (adharma), space (ākāśa), matter (pudgala) and time (kāla).[1]

Of the five non-soul substances the principle of motion (dharma), the principle of rest (adharma), space (ākāśa) are motionless and are indivisible. They are devoid of taste, colour, smell and touch.

Space (ākāśa) is the substance which gives the other substances their place. It can be divided into two parts, this universe ((loka) and the universe beyond (aloka). In this universe, soul, matter, space, time, principle of motion and principle of rest find their places and in the universe beyond there is nothing except endless space.

The principle of motion (dharma) helps the moving soul and matter and the principle of rest (adharma) helps them when they are inactive and cease work. These occupy the entire space of the universe. Beyond the universe no object can move as these two substances are absent. The presence of these two substances defines the limit of the universe.

The non–soul, time (kāla), is the substance which causes the modification of the soul and other substances in this universe. Time is also innumerable like the soul. The time is divided into two eras, the ascending era (utsarpiṇī) and the descending era (avasarpiṇī). Each of these eras is divided into six periods of unequal lengths[2] according to the good and bad elements existing in that period. In the ascending era the first period is duḥṣamā–duḥṣamā. This is a period of great chaos and misery. The second period is duḥṣamā which has less misery than the previous period. The third is duḥṣamā–suṣamā, which has more misery and a little happiness. The fourth is suṣamā–duḥṣamā, in which there is more happiness, and some misery. The fifth is *suṣamā*, the age of happiness, and the sixth is *suṣamā–suṣamā*, the age of great happiness. The order of the periods of the descending era is the reverse of the above.[3]

Matter (*pudgala*) consists of an infinite number of minute indivisible atoms called paramāṇu. Thus matter is also innumerable like the soul and the time. Each paramāṇu possesses taste, smell, colour and touch.

sparśarasagandhavarṇavantaḥ pudgalāḥ[4]

These atoms according to certain laws can unite themselves with one or more other atoms and the atoms in aggregate condition are called skandha. This matter is found in two conditions, sthūla (macroscopic) and sūkṣma (microscopic) and each of these is of three kinds, thus constituting six kinds of matter altogether.[5] This matter forms the basis of the bodies, speech, mind, and respiration of the sous.[6]

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1 Ts. V : 1.
2 Jagmanderlal Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1940, Introduction, p. xxvi.
3 *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.
4 Ts. V : 23.
5 Jaini, *op. cit*, pp. 21, 89.
6 Ts V. 19.

The finest of all matter is that of karmas. These form the kārmic body which binds the soul. The kārmic matter fills the entire cosmos and gets united with the soul when the soul is set into motion, i.e. in its material activities.

The above said five divisions of non-souls and the soul together compose the whole universe. These six substances together are called *ṣaddravyas* (six substances).

The characteristic of a substance (dravya) is 'sat' i.e. that it exists,

ṣaddravyalakṣaṇam[1]

Sat is the simultaneous possession of the three aspects, the birth (*utpāda*), the decay (*vyaya*) and the permanence or the continuous sameness of existence (*dhrauvya*)[2] The first two aspects refer to the modifications of the substances whereas the third aspect relates to their nature. The nature of these substances is never changed, only the conditions under which they exist change. For example, if we take the substance soul its essential qualities are never changed. It can be veiled by the contact with other substances but can never be destroyed or changed. To explain this more clearly we quote Dayananda Bhargava :

though the substance changes in appearance, it remains the same in essence, just as a piece of gold is permanent with regard to its substratum, even though it may be changing with regard to its modification like necklace, anklet, ear-rings etc., just as the ocean is permanent with regards to its water but it is ever-changing with regard to its waves rising within it [3]

Among the six substances all except the time (kāla) have constituent parts which are called *pradeśas.* A unit of space occupied by an atom of matter is called a *pradeśa.* The substance which has more than one pradeśa is called body (*kāya*). Time has only one pradeśa, thus it does not have a body. All the other substances namely soul, matter, space, principle of motion, principle of rest, which have innumerable pradeśas[4] are called *astikāyas* (asti + kāya). Since they are five they are often referred to as *pañcāstikāyas* in Jaina doctrine.

The relationship between the soul and karmas

As seen earlier the fine karmic matters which fill the entire cosmos get attracted to the soul through its activities of body, speech and mind.[5] This attraction is known as *āsrava,* the inflow of karmic matter. The inflow of karmic matter can be due to both good and bad deeds. These karmas remains in the soul until they are destroyed by the soul. The results of the karmas of the soul should be experienced in one birth or another. Till it is completely free from karmas the soul goes on taking different bodies one after the another, according to the nature and the effect of karmas in it. Therefore the soul has to undergo numberless births until it reaches perfection.

1, *Ibid,* V : 29.   2 *Ibid,* V : 30
3 Davanand Bhargava, *Jaina ethics,* Delhi, 1968, pp. 51, 52.
4 Ts. V : 8–10.   5 Ts. V : 1–2.

Each of the karmas has four aspects. These aspects are :

(i) the manner of their effect on the soul (prakṛti)
(ii) the duration of their effect (sthiti)
(iii) the intensity of their effect (rasa)
(iv) their quantity (pradeśas)

Once the karma has penetrated the soul, it transforms into eight kinds of karmas, singly or severally as Jacobi says " just like the food when it is digested gets transformed into various fluids".[1] These consist of four destructive karmas and four non-destructive karmas (ghātīya and aghātīya karmas). The four destructive karmas are :

(i) *jñānāvdraṇiya karma*, the karma which obscures the knowledge of the soul.
(ii) *darśanāvaraṇiya karma*, the karma which obscures the perception of the soul.
(iii) *mohaniya karma*, the karma which obscures the right belief and conduct of the soul.
(iv) *antarāya karma*, the karma which prevents the progress or the success of the soul.
    The four non-destructive karmas are :

(i) *āyuṣ karma*, the karma which determines the duration of life.
(ii) *nāma karma*, the karma which determines the factors of individuality such as body, its height, weight, complexion, etc.
(iii) *gotra karma*, the karma which determines the family and the surrounding.
(iv) *vedaniya karma*, the karma which gives pleasure and pain in life.

These destructive and non-destructive karmas are called '*aṣṭa karmas*'. When the soul is free of these eight karmas, it enjoys its natural qualities of infinite perception (*ananta darśana*), infinite knowledge (*ananta jñāna*), infinite power (*ananta virya*) and infinite bliss (*ananta sukha*). In other words, when these karmas occupy the soul they prevent the soul from enjoying its natural qualities.

We shall now discuss the nature of the dectructive karmas. The first two of the destructive karmas namely the knowledge and the perception obscuring karmas are attracted by the soul by the following sinful acts : the depreciation of those who are learned in the scriptures (*pradoṣa*), the concealment of knowledge (*nihnava*), jealousy or envy (*mātsarya*), the hindrance of the progress of knowledge (*antarāya*), denying the truth proclaimed by others (*āsādana*), the deliberate refutation of truth (*upaghāta*). When a man does these things he automatically gathers the knowleage and the perception obscuring karmas. The knowledge can be obscured in five ways :

(i) the obscuration of the knowledge which is transmitted throgh the senses (*mati-jñānāvaraṇiya karma*).
(ii) the obscuration of the knowledge which is acquired by reading or hearing sculptures or by the words of an authority (*śruta-jñānāvaraṇiya karma*).
(iii) the obscuration of the transcendental knowledge of material things. (*avadhi-jñānāvaraṇiya karma*).

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1 Jacobi, H., *Studies in Jainism*, part I, Ahmedabad, 1946, p. 25.

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(iv) the obscuration of the transcendental knowledge of other's mind *(manahparyāya-jñānāvaraṇīya karma)*

(v) the obscuration of the infinite knowledge which is inherent in the soul *(kevala-jñānāvaraṇiya karma)*.

This last karma completely obscures the infinite knowledge of the soul whereas the other four produce only disturbances of different degrees.[1]

The obscuration of the perception of the soul can occur in nine ways. The first four kinds of the obscuration occur when the soul is psychologically and physically active and the other five when the sense organs of the soul are not active, i.e. when the soul is not in a state to perceive anything. The first four are

(i) the obscuration of the physical sight through which the perception is made called *cakṣur-darśanāvaraṇiya karma.*

(ii) the obscuration of the perception which is made through the other four senses and the organ of thinking, known as *acakṣur-darśanāvaraṇiya karma.*

(iii) the obscuration of the perception of the past and material things, called *avadhi-darśanāvaraṇiya karma.*

(iv) the obscuration of complete perception known as *kevala-darśanāvaraṇiya karma.*

This obscures the perception completely whereas the other four only cause disturbances in the perception..

The other five karmas are :

(i) light sleep which obscures perception *(nidrā-karma)*
(ii) deep sleep which obscures perception *(nidrā-nidrā karma)*
(iii) sound sleep which occurs while sitting or standing *(pracalā-karma)*
(iv) intensive sleep which overcomes the soul while walking *(pracalā-pracalā karma)*
(v) somnambulistic condition of the soul in which no perception can take place *(styānagrddhi-karma)*.

The third kind of ghātiya karma the *mohaniya karma* deludes right belief and right conduct. These are called *darśana-mohaniya*[2] and *cāritra-mohaniya karmas.* The right belief-deluding karma enters the soul when it performs acts such as defaming the liberated souls (like Arhat), the scripture (śruta), the Jaina religious order, the religion or the celestial beings.[3] The right conduct deluding karma enters the soul due to its acts of intense passion.

The karma which deludes right belief disturbs the soul in three ways :

(i) the delusion which affects the perfect belief *(samyaktva)*
(ii) the delusion which leads the soul to false belief or hetrodoxy *(mithyātva)*

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1 Helmuth Von Glasenapp, *The Doctrine of Karman in Jain philosophy,* Bombay, 1942, p. 6.
2 Darśana in this context refers to faith
3 Ts. VI : 13.

(iii) the delusion which arises through a mixture of the above two, i.e. having some degree of truth and some of falsity. *(miśra or samyag-mithyātva)*

Cāritra-mohanīya karma obscures right conduct and obstructs the soul from performing acts mentioned in religious prescription. This disturbance of the right conduct is caused through the sixteen passions *(kaṣāyas)*, six non-passions *(nokaṣāyas)*, three sexes *(vedas)*.

There are four fundamental passions, anger *(krodha)*, pride *(māna)*, deceitfulness *(māyā)*, and greed *(lobha)*, each of which is divided into the following four groups according to its intensity in the soul :

(i) *Anantānubandhin* - this exists in the soul for the whole of its life and completely hinders the right belief and the conduct of a soul. •

(ii) *Apratyākhyānāvaraṇa* - this remains in the soul for one year. It hinders renunciation but allows the soul to attain right belief.

(iii) *Pratyākhyānāvaraṇa*-this lasts in the soul for only four months. It only hinders the beginning of complete renunciation but does not obscure right belief and allows the soul to attain partial self discipline.

(iv) *Saṃjvalana* - this rules in the soul for only a fortnight. It allows complete self discipline of the soul but hinders the attainment of complete right conduct.

The six non-passions (nokaṣāyās) are

(i) Acts like laughing and joking *(hāsya)*

(ii) Sentiments of liking towards a certain object, whether proper or improper *(rati)*

(iii) Sentiments of dislike towards a certain object, whether proper or improper *(arati)*.

(iv) Sorrow *(śoka)*.

(v) Fear *(bhaya.)*

(vi) Disgust *(jugupsā)*.

The three vedas are karmas which produce sexual passions and obscure the soul from practising self discipline. They are :

(i) *Puruṣa veda* - this karma produces a desire in a man for union with a woman.

(ii) *Strī veda* - this causes the desire in a woman for union with a man.

(iii) *Napusmaka veda* - the sex desire which arises in all those beings who are neither male nor femal is produced by this.

The fourth ghātiya karma, the antarāya karma, flows into the soul as a result of acts such as obstructing others from doing charity (dāna), from achieving gain (lābha), from enjoying things which can be taken only once (bhoga), from enjoying things which can be taken repeatedly (upabhoga), and making use of their capacities

(vīrya).[1] As a result of these acts the power of the soul is disturbed in five ways :

(i) *Dānāntarāya karma* - this prevents the soul from dispensing alms.

(ii) *Lābhāntarāya karma* – this hinders the soul from receiving things.

(iii) *Bhogāntarāya karma* – this hinders the enjoyment of something which can be enjoyed once, like eating, drinking, etc.

(iv) *Upabhogāntarāya karma* - this hinders the enjoyment of something which can be enjoyed repeatedly like clothing, dwelling, etc.

(v) *Viryāntarāya karma* - this hinders the will power of the soul.

These four ghatīya karmas lead the soul to the worldly miseries and at the same time retard its progress by obscuring its eternal characteristics. Once the soul sheds these four karmas it can easily attain salvation as aghātiya karmas do not stand in the way of liberation. But when these four aghātīya karmas are in the soul it has its bodily existence. The four aghātiya karmas are : Āyuṣ karma, Nāma karma, Gotra karma and Vedanīya karma.

Āyuṣ karma determines the ages of existence of the four kinds of beings. These are Deva-āyuṣ (karma which determines the age of the celestial), Manuṣya-āyuṣ (karma which determines the age of human being), Tiryag–āyuṣ (karma which determines the age of animal), and Naraka-āyuṣ (karma which determines the age of infernal beings). The inflow of manuṣya-āyuṣ karma is caused by slight worldly activities and by attachment to a few worldly objects. The inflow of tiryagāyuṣ karma is due to deceit and that of naraka–āyuṣ karma is due to an excess of sinful activities and attachments.

Nāma karma determines the individuality of the soul. The bad body determining karmas (leading to infernal and animal bodies) come into contact with the soul because of the distortions of mind, body and speech whereas the good body determining karma (leading to human and celestial bodies) flows into the soul because of straightforward attitudes of body, mind and speech. The nāma karma has one hundred and three sub species which are mainly divided into four groups. They are : Piṇḍa-prakṛtis, Pratyeka-prakṛtis, Trasa-daśaka and Sthāvara-daśaka.

Piṇḍ–prakṛti karmas are sixty five in number :

Four karmas which determine the state of existence, of celestial, human, animal, and infernal beings.

Five karmas which determine the classes of being, the one sensed, two sensed, three sensed, four sensed, and five sensed beings.

Five karmas which determine the bodies.

Three karmas which determine the chief and secondary parts of the body.

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1 Ts. VIII : 13

Fifteen bandhana nāma karmas which bind the newly seized matter with the accumulated karmas of the soul.

Five saṃghātana–nāma karmas which bind the scattered matter into one.

Six saṃhanana-nāma karmas which unite the bones of the physical body.

Six saṃsthana–nāma karmas which determine the stature of the body.

Five karmas which determine the colour of the soul, black, blue, red, yellow or white.

Two karmas which determine the two odours, good and bad.

Five karmas which determine the five tastes, bitter, sour, acidic, sweet and astringent.

Eight karmas which determine the eight touches, soft, hard, light, heavy, cold, hot, smooth and rough.

Four ānupūrvi-nāma karmas which cause the soul to go from the place of death to its new birth according to the four states of existence (gati) celestial, human, animal and infernal.

Two vihāyogati-nāma karmas which determine the pleasant gait and the ugly gait of the soul.

Other than the above piṇḍaprakṛtis there are eight pratyeka-prakṛtis, ten trasa-prakṛtis and ten sthāvara prakṛtis[1] and all these together make one hundred and three sub species of the nāma karma.

Gotra karma determines the low or high family, etc. in which the soul is born. The inflow of low family (infernal and animal) determining karmas takes place when the soul indulges itself in the following actions : speaking ill of others (paraninda), self praise (ātmapraśaṃsā), concealing the good qualities of others (sadguṇācchādana) and proclaiming in oneself the good qualities which one does not have (asad-guṇod-bhāvana).[2] The high family (human and celestial) determining karmas flow into the soul through the opposite of the above mentioned acts.

Vedanīya Karma induces the feeling of pleasure and pain in the soul. The karma which causes the pleasure is called *sātā-vedanīya* karma and its opposite is *asāta-vadanīya* karma. In gods and human beings the sāta-vedanīya is predominent. Gods experience pain when their stay in heaven is exhausted and human beings experience pain due to cold, heat, death, accident, etc. Asāta-vedanīya karma is predominant in animals and denizens of hell and they rarely experience pleasure.

The concepts outlined above of ṣaddravyas, navapadārthas, pañcāstikāyas and eight karmas and their effects on the soul are frequently alluded to by Tēvar in his poem. For example in several places where the Jaina deities are praised, the praises are couched in terms which involve the deepest understanding of these philosophical ideas. Thus Tēvar refers to pañcāstikāyas as 'poruḷkaḷ or aintu' in the context

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1 Glassennap, *op.cit.* pp. 16, 17, 18.   2 Ts. VI : 25.

where the cāraṇaṉ Maṇivaṇṇaṉ praises the lord Arhat before preaching the Jaina doctrine to Cīvakaṉ.

... ...

perumāṉ aṟavāḻi vẽutaṉ viri pūṉ tāmarai mᶜṟ
ceṉṟa tiruvār aṭiy ẽttit teḷiyum poruḷkaḷ or aintum
aṉṟiy āṟum oṉpāṉum ākum eṉpāṟ aṟavōrē[1]

(The saints say that those who worship the feet of the lord who wields dharma cakra which rests on the lotus in full bloom, are able to obtain clear knowledge of five astikāyas, six dravyas, and nine padārthas.)

The freed souls are referred to in the Cc. as the souls which have defeated the eight karmas. For example,

..eṉ viṉaiyum akaṟṟi iṉpak kaṭal akkiṭṭ
taru mālaiy[2] allāti yāṉ ṟalaiyiṟ rāḻniu panivēṉõ[3]

(Will I bow to any one with my head other than the Lord Jina who destroys the eight karmas and gives the ocean of joy.)

Cīvakaṉ while praying to the Lord Jina refers to the eight karmas.

kātalāl eṉviṉaiyuṅ kaḻipav eṉṟiy ak kā kātal
ātalāl eṉ viṉaiyuṅ kaḻiyāv eṉṟum araitiyāṟ
... ...[4]

(You expound that the eight karmas will be eradicated by love placed in you and that if the same love is placed in another object they cannot be removed.)

Lord Arhat is referred to as the one who has overcome the ghātīya karmas in two other places. Thus,

Kāti Kaṇṇarinta kāc il taṉi mutir kaṭavuḷ[5]

(The unique old god who has won his ghātīya karmas.)

and

kāti kaṇṇarintu veṉṟa ulakuṇar kaṭavuḷ[6]

(The god who defeated the ghātīya karmas and realised the world.)

In the Muttiyilampakam, when Civakaṉ pays homage to Jina, the king of saints, he refers to him as the one who has overcome the four ghātīya karmas.

.. ..kāti
nālum uṭaṉēy arintu nāṉmai varampākik
kālam oru mūṉṟum uṭaṉēy uṇarnta katuvuḷ[7]

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1 Cc. v. 2814.

2 Though the name "māl" usually refers to Viṣṇu in Tamil literature, here it refers to Arhat, the Lord of Jainas. According to Jaina mythological stories, Arhat is supposed to be the God for the five activities like creation, destruction, etc., the 'ainto ḻilkaḷ'. Therefore the word "māl" here refers to Arhat.—U. V. Saminatha, Iyer, Cintāmaṇi, *op. cit.* p. 483.

3 Cc. v. 961.   4 *Ibid*, v. 1420.   5 Cc. v. 2713.   6 *Ibid*, v. 1240.   7 *Ibid*, v. 3092.

(You, the god who destroyed the four ghātīya karmas and made the four eternal attributes, infinite knowledge, perception, power and bliss as your limit and saw the past, present and future simultaneously.)

The way in which Caccantaṉ, the father of Cīvakaṉ, entrusts his kingdom into the hands of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ and as a result meets his end provides Tēvar with an opportunity to explain in several places these ideas regarding the influence of karmas over the human soul. When Uruttiratattaṉ advises Caccantaṉ not to leave the kingdom in the care of Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ the latter says,

> aḷantu tāṅ koṇṭa arun tavam   uṭaiya nirārkk
> aḷantaṉa pōkam ellām avar avarkk aṟṟai nāḷē
> aḷantaṉa vāḻu nāḷum atuv eṉakk uraiyal eṉṟāṉ
> .. .. [1]

(For the people who had followed strict penance the amount of pleasures they enjoy and the extension of their life span have been measured even at the time of birth.)

Here he indirectly says that according to the nature of karmas the soul will enjoy pleasures and the extension of its life span. The poet comments on the ignorance of Caccantaṉ when he did not listen to the advice of his ministers and says that this was the effect of his karmas.

> iṉamām eṉṟ uraippiṉum   ētam eṉṉāṉ
> muṉamākiya pāṉmai nuḷaitt eḷalāṟ
> .. .. [2]

(Though he was advised that his desires were just like the desires in the previous cases [these are explained in the previous verses] he did not consider the danger he would face, as the bad karmas of his previous births were present.)

When Caccantaṉ has to face the war against Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ he tries to send Vicayai, his queen, away in the flying machine. She is grieved by the situation. He consoles her saying that everything happens according to karmas.

> cātalum pirataṟāṉum tam viṉaip payattiṉākum
> ātalum aḷivum ellām avai poruṭkku iyalpu kaṇṭāy
> nōtalum parivum ellām nuṇṇuṇarv iṉmaiy aṉṟē
> ... ... [3]

(Death and birth are due to one's own karmas. Creation and destruction are also in the nature of things. Therefore being worried and anxious over them is due to lack of right knowledge.)

He explains to Vicayai, before she leaves in the flying machine, how all human relationships are merely temporary and how the soul has to go through numerous births till it reaches perfection.

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1 Cc. v. 213   2 *Ibid,* v. 215.   3 Cc. v. 269.

tollai nam piṟavi eṇṇir toṭu kaṭal maṇalum āṟṟā
ellaiy avv avaṟṟuḷ ellām ēṭilaʼn piṟantu niṅkic
cellum ak katika tammuṭ cēralañ cērntu niṉṟa
illiṉuḷ iraṇṭu nāḷaic cuṟṟāmē iraṅkal vēṇṭā /

(If we count the number of our previous births they are even more than the grains of sand in the oceán. We did not have any connection in those births. We are not going to have any connection in the births we are going to get after this birth. Therefore do not worry over the relationship we had only for two days [i.e. for short period]).

Having considered the interplay of the soul and its karmas and how Tēvar has developed the ideas regarding this poem, we shall now consider the process by which the soul sheds these karmas to achieve salvation. This clearly is the whole theme of the Cc. in which the successive stages of the soul's progress towards salvation are outlined through the life story of Cīvakaṉ. These stages, fourteen in number, are called *guṇasthānas*. These fourteen stages are :

1. *Mithyā-dr̥ṣṭi* (misbeliever)

2. *Sāsvādanʒ-saʼnyagdr̥ṣṭi* (having taste of faith in downfall)

3. *Samyag-mithyādr̥ṣṭi* (Mixture of Right and Wrong belief)

4. *Avrata-samyagdr̥ṣṭi* (vowless right belief)

5. *Deśavirata-samyagdr̥ṣṭi* (partial vow)

6. *Pramatta-saṃyata* (imperfect vows)

7. *Apramatta-saṃyata* (perfect vows)

8. *Apūrva-karaṇa* (new thought activity)

9. *Anivr̥tti-bādara- samparāya* (advanced thought activity – a stage in which gross passions still remain)

10. *Sūkṣma-saṃparāya* (slightest delusion)

11. *Upaśānta-kaṣāya-vitarāga-chadmastha* (subsided delusion)

12. *Kṣīṇa-kaṣāya-vītarāga-chadmastha* (delusionless)

13. *Sayogi-kevalin* (omniscience with vibration)

14. *Ayogi-kevalin* (omniscience without activity)

During the first five stages the soul remains in the householder's stage. Then it ascends to the stage of an ascetic from where it attains salvation.

The birth of Cīvakaṉ in this world is due to his karmas which were acquired in his previous birth. In his previous birth he separated a young swan from its parents for sixteen days and the karmas he acquired from this action cause his separation from his mother for sixteen years in his next birth.[2] Most of his acitons in this birth

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1 *Ibid*, v. 270.   2 Cc. vv. 2859-2888.

are to prevent the inflow of kārmic matter (saṃvara) and to shed the karmas he acquired in his previous birth (nirjarā). A soul cannot shed its karmas at once. It has to prepare itself on the path of renunciation where it withdraws from all the attachments of the material world and abandons all its desires. To reach the path of renunciation religion serves as a ladder in the shape of injunctions and rules of conduct. Jaina religion is made up of right belief (samyag-darśana), right knowledge (samyag-jñāna) and right conduct (samyag-cāritra), which are together known as a *ratnatraya* or *guṇatraya*. These three as Ts. says are the paths to liberation.

> *samyagdaraśanı jñānacāritrāṇi mokṣamārgaḥ*[1]

(Right belief, right knowledge and right conduct are the path to liberation.)

This ratnatraya is often referred to in Cc.

Accaṇanti, the teacher of Cıvakaṇ, when imparting knowledge to Cıvakaṇ says that the souls must have these three characteristics.

> *kō ṇeṛi taḷuvi ninṛa kuṇattoṭu puṇarin māto*
> *nā ṇeṛi vakaiyi ninṛa naleuyirkk amirtam enṛāṇ*[2]

(He said that the ambrosia for the four kinds of souls is the possession of the three guṇas which form the path of Lord Jina).

Before attempting an analysis of Tēvar's explanation of these "three gems" in his work, it is necessary to know what constitutes right faith, right knowledge and right conduct and how these are acquired.

Right faith

Right faith is the cause of right knowledge and right conduct.[3] Samantabhadra in his Ratnakaraṇḍa (Śrāvakācāra Rk.) defines right faith as follows :

> *śraddhānam paramārthānām āpta-āgama-tapobhṛtām /*
> *trimūḍhāpoḍham aṣṭāṅgam samyagdarśanam asmayam //*[4]

(Right faith consists in believing the true ideal, scriptures, and teachers. It is free from three follies and has eight aspects. It is devoid of eight prides.)

Right faith is of two kinds, right faith from the practical point of view (*vyava-hāra-samyag-darśana*) and right faith ftom the real point of view (*niścaya-samyag--darśana*). Right faith from the practical point of view is to have faith in the fundamental principles in Jainism and right faith from the real point of view is self-realisation.

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1 Ts. 1 : 1

2 Cc. v. 374

3 Samanta Bhadra, Ratnakaraṇḍa-Śrāvakācāra, The library of Jaina Literature, Vol. IX. Arrah, 1917, v. 31.

4 Rk. 4.

Sc-18

The three follies which should be avoided in the cultivation of right faith are the devotion to the false divinity, place and teacher. The eight aspects which are necessary to have right faith are :[1]

1. *Niḥśaṅkita*—absence of doubt about scriptures.

2. *Niṣkāṅkṣita*—abstinence from worldly pleasures.

3. *Nirvicikitsita*—to love the person who possesses three jewels without feeling disgust to his body (because Jaina monks are always unclean)

4. *Amūḍhadṛṣṭi*—non-recognition of the authority of the false creeds.

5. *Upagūhana*—removal of the ridicule raised by incompetent people on the path of Jainism.

6. *Sthiṭikaraṇa*-re-establishing the people who deviate from the truth.

7. *Vatsalya*—respecting and loving the co-religionists.

8. *Prabhāvanā*-establishing the glory of Jainism in all suitable ways.

The eight types of prices which the soul should avoid to have the right faith are :

> *jñānam pūjām kulam jātim balam ṛddhim tapo vapuḥ |*
> . . .   .||[2]

The pride about learning, worship, family, tribe power, accomplishments, religious austerity and body. When the soul gets rid of these eight prides and the three follies and has the eight aspects of right faith and belief in the true ideals, scriptures and teacher, it attains the right faith. These things can be achieved by intuition (nisarga) or by tuition (adhigama) i.e. by nature or through the teachings of others or by reading scriptures.[3]

Right knowledge reveals things exactly as they are with certainty[4] – neither insufficiently nor with exaggeration nor falsely. With the aid of right knowledge the soul prevents the inflow of karmic matter and sheds the acquired karman. It is of five kinds. They are :

1. *Matijñāna* —the knowledge acquired by the five senses.

2. *Śrutajñāna*—knowledge acquired by reading scriptures.

3. *Avadhijñāna*—the transcendental knowledge of material things.

4. *Manaḥparyāya jñāna*—the transcendental knowledge of the thoughts and feelings of others.

5. *Kevala-jñāna*—the perfect knowledge which the soul attains when it is entirely liberated from destructive karmas.

With the knowledge of the right faith and right conduct one should follow the right conduct. Right conduct " must be such" as Jaini says[5] "as to keep the body down and elevate the soul." These rules of right conduct form the main part of the Jaina

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1 *Ibid*, 11–18.   2 Rk. 25   3 Ts. 1:3   4 Rk. 42   5 Jaini, *op. cit.* p. 65

ethics Before dealing with what right conduct is and how this is explained in the Cc., we shall describe how right faith and right knowledge have been discussed in the Cc.

When the poet describes Cīvakan, who has attained knowledge from his teacher, he describes his condition through an allegorical expression.

> *kāṭci naṉ ṉilaiyiṉ ñāṉak katir maṇik katavu cĕrttip*
> *pūṭci cāl oḷukkam eṉṉum va yirat tāḷ koḷuvip polla*
> *māṭciy il kaṭikaḷ ellām aṭaitta piṉ varampil iṉpatt*
> *āṭci il ulakam ĕrat tiṟantaṉaṉ alarnta tārāṉ*[1]

(After having locked the door against the bad courses of actions which do not destroy birth, by fixing the jewelled door of right knowledge on the door step of right faith and bolting it with the lock of right conduct, he, the one who wears the full-bloomed flower garland, opened the ways to climb into the bound- lessly happy world which is not ruled by anyone.)

Here the poet describes the right faith as the door–step, the right knowledge as the jewelled door, and the right conduct as the lock. He says that Cīvakan has acquired all these after receiving instruction from his teacher.

In Kēmacariyār ilampakam, Cīvakan explains what is right faith, right know- ledge and right conduct to the brahmin ascetics in the following verse :

> *mey vakai teriṭal ñāṉam viḷaṅkiya poruḷka ṭammaip*
> *pov vakaiy iṉrit tĕral kāṭciy aim poṟiyum vāṭṭi*
> *uy vakai uyirait tĕyāt oḷukuṭal oḷukka mūṉrum*
> *iv vakai niṟainta pŏḷtey iru viṉai kuḷiyum eṉrāṉ*[2]

(He said that [right] faith is to know the truth, [right] knowledge is to know the right things without false ideas and the [right] conduct is to prevent the soul from getting destroyed by torturing the five senses. When the soul is filled with these three, the two karmas[3] will be destroyed.)

In Muttiyilampakam, the right faith is taught to Cīvakan by the Cāraṇaṉ Maṇi- vaṇṇaṉ when the former requests to be instructed. Before teaching the right faith, the Cāraṇaṉ preaches to him about the rare acquisition of the human body,[4] its uncertainty, and its perishing nature.[5] He also explains the misery of the four gatis, hell, animal, human and deva.[6] Cāraṇaṉ explains about these miseries first and then about the right faith, for one can only avoid these miseries by having the right faith. To have the right faith as explained earlier, faith in a true ideal is important. To stress this aspect the

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1 Cc. v. 381.

2 Cc. v. 1436

3 The two karmas are the ghātiya and aghātiya karmas.

4 Cc. vv. 2749–2753

5 *Ibid*, vv. 2754–2761

6 *Ibid*, vv. 2762–2811

Cāraṇaṇ praises the lord Jina and his superior qualities in the following verse first before explaining the right faith.

> ilaṅku cem poṉ eyiṉ mūṉṟ um eri poṉ muttak kuṭai mūṉṟum
> valaṅ koṇṭ alar tūuy aṭiy ēttum vaiya mūṉṟum paṭui mūṉṟum
> kalaṅkāt uyarntav aticayaṅkaṇ mūṉṟuṅ kāmar nūṇ mūṉṟum
> nalaṅ ko ṭimpāṟ kuṇak kaṭalum uṭaiyār uaṉmaiy uṭaiyārē¹

(He who possesses the three golden bands of light, glistening gold triple umbrellas, the three worlds which worship his feet with flowers, the three weapons, the three high unshakeable wondrous glories, the three books, and the good milk-like ocean of virtue, is the one who possesses us.)

Here the three bands of light are Udayatara, Prītitara and Kalyāṇatara and these together are called Prabhāvalaya.² The three umbrellas are Candrāditya, Nityā-vinoda and Sakalabhāṣaṇa, and these indicate the suzerainity of the three worlds. The three worlds are Nāga-loka, Bhū-loka and Śvarga-loka.³ The three spiritual weapons are, right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. The three wondrous glories are Sahajātiśaya (wonderful qualities born with him), Karmakṣayātiśaya (wonderful qualities which come as a result of the destruction of karmas), Daivikātiśaya (the wonderful qualities which are created by Devendra).⁴ These four qualities are connected with the four infinite qualities⁵ which are referred to as "kuṇakkaṭal". The three āgamas are, Aṅgāgama, Pūrvāgama, and Bahuśrutyāgama. After explaining the qualities of the Lord Jina the Cāraṇaṇ also says that the knowledge of five asti-kāyas,⁶ ṣaḍdravyas,⁷ and navapadārthas⁸ are achieved when one worships at the feet of Jina.

> ...   .
> .. .. tiruvār aṭiy ēttit teḷiyum poruḷkaḷ oraintum
> aṉṟiy āṟ um oṉpāṉum ākum eṉpār aṟavōrē⁹

(.. . . . . . . the learned say that by worshipping the feet of Jina, one can get the knowledge about the five things, six things and nine things [astikāyas, ṣaḍdravyas and navapadārthas]).

Following this explanation, Cāraṇaṇ teaches the nature of the people who rea-lised the knowledge in the sacred scriptures.

> periyav iṉpatt iṉtiraṉum peṭṭa ceykaic ciṟu kuraṅkum
> uriya ceykai viṉaip payaṭṭaiy uṇṇum eṉavēy uṇarntavaṉai
> ariyar eṉṉa maki ātum eḷiyar eṉṟav ikaḷātum
> irucār viṉaiyun teḷintārēy iraiva ṉūlun teḷintārē.¹⁰

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1 Cc. v. 2813
2 A. Cakravarti, "Jīvaka Cintāmaṇi", 'The Jaina Antiquary', Vol. XXI, No. 11, p. 28.
3 *Ibid*, p. 28   4 *Ibid*, p. 28   5 Supra, p. 129   6 Supra, 128
7 Supra, p. 128   8 Supra, p. 126   9 Cc. v. 2814   10 *Ibid*, v. 2815

(Those who realise the fact that, Intiraṇ who enjoys happiness and the capricious monkey are only enjoying the fruits of their karmas and those who do not praise Intiraṇ because he is happy and despise the monkey because it is fickle, are people who understood the āgamas of the Lord [Jina].)

After explaining the nature of the people who understand the āgamas of the lord Jina, the Cāraṇaṇ expounds the eight essentials of the right faith and the necessity of overcoming pride, to have the right faith.

> uṟuvarp pēṇal uvaṟpp iṇmaiy ulaiyāv iṇpan talāi niṟṟal
> aṟivar ciṟappiṟkk etir virumpal aḷintōṟ niṟuttal aṟam pakaṟtal
> ciṟiyār inattuc cēṟviṇmai ciṇaṅ kai viṭuṭal cerukk avittal
> iṟaivaṇ aṟattulārkk ellām iṇiyar ātal itu teḷivē 1

(The following are the results of understanding the scriptures and realising their truth : to be devoid of aversion, to have the desire to attend on great saints and to achieve liberation and honour the wise, to be ready to restore the fallen in the right path, to preach dharma to others, to avoid ignorant people, to destroy anger and pride, and to be friendly with co-religionists.)

Having explained the right faith, the Cāraṇaṇ deals with the results of having the right faith. Tēvar borrows these ideas from Rk. and explains them.

> Samyagdarśanaśuddhā nārakatiryaṅnapuṁsakastrītvāni |
> duṣkulavikṛtālpāyurdaridratām ca vrajanti nāpyavratikāḥ ||2

(The people whose minds are purified with the right faith will not observe vows. They will not be reborn in hells or as animals or as neuter or female sexes or in low families. They will also not have physical deformities or short lives or poverty.)

The Cāraṇaṇ expounds this idea found in Rk. in the following lines of the Cc. :

> ceṟiyac coṇṇa poru teḷintār cērār vilaṅkiṟ peṇṇākaṟ
> kuṟukār narakam ōr ēḷum kiḻ mnt tēvar kuḷān tiṇṭār
>
> ....·   ···   ...
> ..   ..   ···   ...3

(People who had realised the facts explained above, i.e. about right faith, will neither be born in the animal world nor as a woman. They will neither go to any of the seven hells4 nor will take birth as any of the three kinds of devas.)

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1 Cc. v. 2816
2 Rk. 35
3 Cc. v. 2817
4 The seven hells and their description and the details about the denizens in the hells are explained in Ts. Chapter III.

The glory of the right faith is explained through the story of the dog changing into a yakṣa in the Cc. Rk. says, even a dog becomes a deva and vice versa from virtue and vice respectively.

> *śvāpi devo'pi devaḥ śvā jāyate dharmakilbiṣāt |*
> ...   . //[1]

In the Cc. the dog which was beaten by brahmins turns into a yakṣa when Cīvakaṇ whispers pañcanamaskāra mantra in its ears.[2] It had its knowledge of the right faith and since it had the right faith, though it was a dog it turned into a yakṣa.

Ethics

Following the discussion of the right faith and right knowledge, right conduct which is the result of the above two will now be discussed. The rules for right conduct form the main part of Jaina ethics. Jaina ethical rules are intended to pave the way for the soul towards salvation. It is difficult for an aspirant to attain the highest ideal of right conduct at once. These rules are evolved in such a way that one can gradually train himself to do this. "Initially" as Williams says, "the lay estate was admitted by the Jina only in deference to human frailty and was regarded in theory as a stage of preparation for the ascetic life."[3] But as days want on, one notices that more importance was given to the lay life in the medieval period than in the early ages. This can be seen in the Cc. which is a work of the medieval period. Here both the householder's and the ascetic's life have been clearly explained through the life story of Cīvakaṇ and the other characters associated with him.

Among the fourteen guṇasthānas, the stages through which the soul passes on its way to salvation, the first five belong to the householder's stage and the soul prepares itself for the ascetic's life in these stages. In the first stage-mithyādṛṣṭi guṇasthāna, wrong belief, passion. lack of self discipline etc. which bind the soul to karmas are in action. When right belief is achieved the soul reaches the fourth stage, the *avirata samyagdṛṣṭi*[4] (vowless right belief) stage. The second and third stages, sāsvādana *samyagdṛṣṭi*[5] (downfall), and samyag-mithyādṛṣṭi[6] (the mixture af Right and Wrong belief) are stages through which the soul falls down to the first stage from the fourth stage, it manifests the four anantānubandhikaṣāyas due to wrong belief when it is in the fourth stage.

From the fourth stage in which the soul conquers its faith-obscuring karmas (darśana-mohanīya karmas) and subdues the anantānubandhi category of passion, and attains right faith, it proceeds to the fifth stage, the *deśa-virata-samyagdṛṣṭi stage*. In this stage the householder destroys the apratyākhyāna karmas and tries to conquer his character obstructing karma (cāritra-mohanīya-karma). To overcome these

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1. RK. 29.   4. Bhargava, *op. cit.* p. 214.
2. Cc. vv. 934–960.   5. *Ibid.* pp. 213, 214.
3. A. Williams, *op. cit.* Introduction, p. XVI.   6. *Ibid*, pp. 211, 212.

karmas the householder observes twelve vows. Samantabhadra defines them as follows :

> *gṛhiṇām tredhā tiṣṭhaty anuguṇaśikṣāvratātmakam caraṇam |*
> *pañcatricaturbhedam trayam yathāsaṅkhyam ākhyātam ||*[1]

(The conduct prescribed for the householder is of three kinds. They are vratas in the form of aṇu, guṇa, and śikṣā. They consist of five, three and four divisions respectively.)

1. The five partial vows (*aṇuvratas*) which are prescribed for a house-holder are :

(i) non-violence (*ahiṃsā*)

(ii) truth (*satya*)

(iii) non-stealing (*asteya*)

(iv) celibacy (*brahma*)

(v) non-possession (*aparigraha*)

These five partial vows are parallel to the absolute vows (*mahāvratas*) of an ascetic. Along with these five partial vows, a householder is also expected to renounce wine, meat and honey.[2]

2. These five partial vows are supplemented by the three *guṇa vratas*, the digivrata, anarthadaṇḍavrata, bhogopabhoga- parimāna-vrata.[3] These three vows are related to the limitation of daily work, food and enjoyment.

3. The third kind of vow, the *śikṣā-vrata*, is of four kinds, the *deśāvakāśika, sāmāyika, proṣadhopavāsa and vaiyāvṛtya*. These emphasise the inner purity of the heart.[4]

Deśāvakāśikavrata is to limit the sphere of one's activity from day to day and for fixed periods.

Sāmāyika-vrata is to refrain from the five kinds of sin for a particular period of time every day. This vow consits of —

(i) *pratikramaṇa* (thinking about the sins committed and repenting for them)

(ii) *pratyākhyāna* (to determine to avoid doing sins in future)

(iii) *sāmāyika karman* (to renounce personal attachments and to develop a common feeling to all)

(iv) *stuti* (to praise the twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras)

(v) *vandanā* (to show devotion towards a particular Tīrthaṅkara) and

(vi) *kayotsarga* (to withdraw attention about body and contemplate on the spiritual self).

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1 RK. 51.

2 RK. 66

3 RK. 67, Ts. 7:21,

4 Bhargava, *op. cit.* p. 102.

Poṣadhopavāsa-vrata is fasting for the whole day on the eighth and fourteenth days of every fortnight.[1]

Vaiyāvṛtya–vow is distributing gifts (dāna) without expecting anything in return, to ascetics of excellent qualities, treating them well and giving comfort to those who are in trouble.[2] This gift (dāna) can be given in four ways : giving food, medicine, means (or means to acquire knowledge, i.e. books) and shelter. Samantabhadra in his Rk. explains vaiyāvṛtya–vow as follows :

> *āhārauṣadhayor apy upakaraṇāvāsayoś ca dānena |*
> *vaiyāvṛtyam bruvate caturātmatvena caturasrāḥ ||*[3]

(Those who have four kinds of knowledge (mati-jñāna, śruta-jñāna, avadhi-jñāna and manaḥparyāya-jñāna) say that giving food, medicine, means to get knowledge and shelter are the four kinds of vaiyāvṛtya vow.)

The fifth guṇasthāna, the deśavirata-samyagdṛṣṭi guṇasthāna, in which the soul remains in the stage of a householder, has also been divided into eleven stages from the viewpoint of the spiritual progress of a householder's life. These stages are called 'pratimās'. They are :

1. *Darśana* – the first stage in which the householder gets his faith in Jainism, its doctrines, and their observance in practical life.

2. *Vrata* – the stage in which the householder starts to observe all the twelve vows – the five aṇu-vratas (partial vows), the three guṇavratas and the four śikṣā-vratas.

3. *Sāmāyika* – the stage in which the householder performs sāmāyika[4] three times a day and therefore he is called a sāmāyika śrāvaka.[5]

4. *Proṣadhānaśana* – the stage in which the householder regularly fasts twice a fortnight and thereby applies himself to holy meditation.[6]

5. *Sa-citta-virata* – the stage in which the householder gives up eating all unripe things, for he is merciful not to kill them.[7]

6. *Rātri-bhuktivirata* – the stage in which the householder gives up taking food at night, as eating in nights causes killing of minute living beings.[8]

7. *Brahmacarya* – in this stage the householder gives up all his sexual indulgences.[9]

8. *Ārambhavinivṛtta* – the stage in which the householder gives up all worldly engagements and occupations.[10]

9-11. The last three stages, *paricitta-parigraha-virata*,[11] *Anumati-virata*[12] and *Uddiṣṭa-tyāga*[13] are mainly preparatory stages to the ascetic life.

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1 Rk. 106. 2 *Ibid,* 111, 112, 113. 3 *Ibid,* 117.
4 Supra, p. 143. 5 Rk. 139. 6 *Ibid,* 140.
7 *Ibid,* 141 8 *Ibid,* 142, 9 *Ibid,* 143.
10 *Ibid.* 144. 11 *Ibid.* 145. 12 *Ibid,* 143.
13 *Ibid,* 147.

In the Paricitta-parigraha-virata stage, the householder gives up the possession of the ten kinds of worldly goods[1] (i) land, (ii) houses, (iii) silver, (iv) gold, (v) cattle, (vi) grain, (vii) maid servants, (viii) man servants, (ix) clothes, and (x) utensils.

In the Anumati-virata stage, the householder gives up giving advice on worldly matters.

In the Uddiṣta-tyāga stage, the householder renounces all worldly attachments and goes to a guru (spiritual teacher), performs austerities and leads an ascetic life.

In the Cc. all these stages are clearly developed through the story of Cīvakaṇ. These stages are so closely knitted with the story of Cīvakaṇ, that one does not even realise that the life history of Cīvakaṇ is only an example through which Tēvar explains the doctrines of Jainism.

Cīvakaṇ attains the first stage, the Darśanika śrāvaka stage, through the teachings of his teacher Accaṇanti. The teaching of Accaṇanti gives Cīvakaṇ the right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. He becomes an ideal householder who is anxious to attain liberation. In this state the poet describes Cīvakaṇ as a person who has opened the door to climb into the boundlessly happy world, after having closed the door against bad karmas, by fixing the door of *knowledge* on the door step of *faith* and bolting it with *conduct*.[2]

The next five pratimās are explained through his life history, starting from the time after his education up to the time he achieved his kingdom and lived as king. Apart from the life history of Cīvakaṇ in this birth, the poet also explains the importance of five partial vows (aṇu-vratas) through the story about his previous birth. These are explained through the preachings of Pavaṇamātēvaṇ (the father of Cīvakaṇ in his previous birth) to Acōtaraṇ (Cīvakaṇ in his previous birth), when he came to know that his son has separated a young swan from its mother. He expounds non-violence, truth, non-stealing, celibacy and non-possession in the following verses :

Non-violence

> *aram periya kūrin alaṅkal aṇi vēlōy*
> *maram puri ko ṇeñcam vaḷiyāp pukut antiṇṭic*
> *cerum periya tivinaikaḷ ceṇru kaṭit ōṭi*
> *urum periya tuṇyam uyirk kolaiyum vēṇṭā.*[3]

(Oh, the one who wears garland and holds the spear, coming to talk of the nature of the bad karmas, they are karmas which enter through the heart of the soul which likes adharma and get accumulated and remain in the soul. When the soul has these karmas in it, it suffers. Therefore killing, [himsā] which is the basic factor for bad karma is not suitable for you.)

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1 Rk. 145   2 Cc. v. 381, supra, p. 137 ff   3 Cc. v. 2868

Sc-19

Truth

> meyy urai viḷaṅku maṇi mēl ulaka kōpuraṅkaḷ
> aiyam ilai niṉṟa pukaḻ vaiyakattu maṉṉum
> maiyal viḷai mā naraka kōpuraṅkaḷ kaṇṭir
> poyy uraiyum vēṇṭā puṟattiṭumiṉ eṉṟāṉ.[1]

(If you speak the truth, your fame will ever be in this world and in your next birth you will acquire the jewelled temples of heaven. Do not speak lies which give you the confusing temples of hell. [Therefore] give up speaking lies.)

Non-Stealing

> muḷari muka nāka muḷaiy eyiṟ uḷutu kīṟa
> aḷavi ṟuyar cey vari vaṇ maṉṉar aṭaṉālum
> viḷaiv ariya mā tuyaram viḷ katiyuḷ uykkum
> kaḷavu kaṭaṉākṉk kaṭintiṭutal cūṭē.[2]

(It would be best to give up stealing immediately because, [when one does it] in this world, the king will kill by piercing him with the tusk of the elephant which has a face like a lotus. [It will also] cause one to fall into hell where one undergoes hardship.)

Celibacy

> maṭattakaiya nallār maṉaṅ kariya māṟṟār
> piṭart talai oḷ vāḷ pōṟ piṟar maṉaikaḷ cēriṉ
> eṭupp ariya tuṉpatt iṭaip patuvar iṉṉā
> naṭukk uṭaiya kāmam viṭuttiṭuta naṉṟē.[3]

(If one goes to the wife of another man thus placing a sword on his own neck, and causes his wife who is innocent [maṭamai] to worry, he brings on himself unbearable worries. [Therefore,] it is better to renounce his lustful inconstancy.)

Non-Posesssion

> teruḷiṟ poruḷ vāṉulakam ēṟutarkkuc cempoṉ
> iruḷil paṭukāl pukaḻ vittilaiy eṉiṉ ellā
> aruḷu naka vaiya nꞌkav aimporiyu naiyap
> poruḷu nakav iṭṭum poruḷ yātum poruḷ aṉṟē.[4]

(If one realises [this, he will know that] the wealth, which is achieved while the world, the grace, and the wealth itself laugh at it and the five senses suffer without enjoying it, is not the real wealth. The real wealth will give one fame in the world and it will also serve as a ladder to reach the golden world in the next birth.)

1 Cc. v. 2869   2 *Ibid*, v. 2870   3 *Ibid*, 2871   4 Cc. v. 2872

In this life Cīvakaṇ strictly observe *ahiṃsā* (non-killing) wherever possible. When he goes to retrieve the cows which were stolen by the hunters from the cowherds, he does not hurt or kill anyone.[1] He controls the elephant which came to kill Kuṇamālai without killing it.[2] In certain circumstances he fights with his enemies either to safeguard himself or to save his country.

Cīvakaṇ observes the different kinds of sāmāyika vratas in several instances. After the fight with the kings to win Kāntaruvatattai, Cīvakaṇ makes a golden image of Lord Arhat. He offers dāna and worships the lord Jīna who destroys sins. The following lines where this incident is narrated shows that he repents over his sins (pratikramaṇa) and determines to avoid sins in future (pratyākhyāna).

pōrkeḻu kaḷattup pāvam pulampoṭu pōkkiṉāṉē[3]

(He removes the sins committed in the battlefield and the aversion caused in the mind after committing sins.)

ceytav ap pāvam ellāṅ tīrttiṭuṅ tīrttaṉ pātam
eytiya cēṭaṅ kūvitt iṟaiñcupu toḻutu vāḻtti. [4]

(He worshipped the lord Arhat, who removes all the sins committed in all births, after obtaining the offerings placed on the feet of Arhat..)

Cīvakaṇ performs vandanā and stuti in a mountain before going to Cittirakūṭam[5] and in the temple in Araṇapātam.[6] In these two places he praises the attributes of lord Arhat.

The aspects of vaiyāvṛtya vow are also explained through the deeds of Cīvakaṇ. Cīvakaṇ imparts knowledge (gift of knowledge) to a hunter[7] and converts hunters who are flesh-eaters to lead a moral life. He explains to them the results of eating flesh and the pains in hell etc. When imparting knowledge to the brahmin ascetics in Cittirakūṭam, Cīvakaṇ explains to them that even right conduct will not save the soul, if it is not accompanied by the right faith. The ascetics in Cittirakūṭam live with their wives as brahmanical faith allows them to lead that kind of life. Cīvakaṇ tells them that one cannot attain salvation when one has wordly attachments, such as having wives. He further says that their efforts to attain liberation are like swimming in the sea with the stone tied around the neck.[8] In addition he explains that even the physical tortures in performing tapas are ineffective and futile without the right faith and right knowledge. He says to them, "if you think that sleeping on hanging swings and eating fruits will destroy the bad karmas, then the bats which hang on the trees and feed on fruits also should be able to eradicate their bad karmas.[9] If you think that feeding on Alli seeds and grass grains and standing in the midst of five kinds of fire (pañcāgni) will help to

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1 *Ibid*, vv. 453, 454	2 *Ibid*, vv. 983, 984	3 Cc. v. 820
4 *Ibid*, v. 821	5 *Ibid*, vv. 1418-1420	6 *Ibid*, vv. 1242-1247
7 *Ibid*, vv. 1233-1236	8 Cc. v. 1426	9 *Ibid*, v. 1429

eradicate the karmas, then the doves which feed on pebbles and live in the hot desert will also be able to destroy their karmas.[1]   If you believe that you can achieve the highest goal by growing long matted hair, bathing in water and sleeping on floors, then the bears in the forest will also attain salvation when they bathe in water.[2]   If you think that giving up a luxurious bed and living in huts and sleeping on the floor can eradicate karmas, then the karmas of the hunters who live in mountains under the same living canditions also will be destroyed.[3] " After elucidating these, Cīvakan explains to them what is right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct and how they assist in the destruction of karmas.[4]

Apart from giving dāna of knowledge, Cīvakan also does other kinds of dānas (gifts). Cīvakan gives auṣadha dāna (gift of medicine) to Patumai who was bitten by a snake.[5] After acquiring his kingdom, he also donates gifts to the temple.[6] He gives hundred villages to burn the lamp in the Jaina temple and four million gold pieces for making pūjā in the temple. After all these, he also gives a hundred elephants and a hundred chariots for the service of temples. The nature of gifts, their importance and the results of giving gifts are also explained by the cāraṇan who preaches Jaina doctrine to Cīvakan. He says that the best kind of gift is like sowing seeds in a fertile land which yields a bumper harvest and the bad kind of gift is like sowing seeds in a useless land.[7]   The best kind of gift is the gift given to the ascetics and the other kind is the gift given to the people of ordinary merit. He condemns giving gifts to sinful people.[8]   The cāraṇan also explains the vaiyāvṛtya vow in detail. Through the explanation of the cāraṇan Tēvar brings out the explanation he borrowed from Rk. Rk says that the hospitality shown to an ascetic should be as follows :

navapuṇyaih pratipattiḥ saptaguṇasamāhitena śuddhena |
apasūna-ārambhāṇām āryāṇām iṣyate dānam ||[9]

(The welcoming of (and the offering good to) holy saints, who do not engage themselves in the householder's work (crushing, grinding, kindling fire and the like), having received them with the nine-fold ceremonies (i) prostrating oneself at his feet, (ii) offering him a high seat, (iii) washing his feet and applying the 'washing' to one's forehead in token of reverence, (iv) worshipping him, (v) saluting him, (vi-viii) preserving one's own mind, speech and body in a state of purity and (ix) offering him pure suitable food) by a layman excelling in the seven (well known) virtues ((i) faith, (ii) contentment, (iii) devotion, (iv) jñana (wisdom) (v) control of greed, (vi) forgiveness and (vii) śakti (energy or assiduity) is called dāna).[1]

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1 *Ibid,* v. 1430	2 *Ibid.* v. 1431	3 *Ibid,* v. 1432
4 *Ibid,* v. 1436	5 Cc. v. 1290	6 *Ibid,* v. 2564
7 *Ibid,* v. 2823	8 *Ibid,* v. 2828	9 Rk. 113

10   Champat Rai Jain, translation for Rk., Arrah, 1917, pp. 52, 53.

Tēvar explains the above through the preaching of the caraṇaṇ as follows:

> toṭikk kaiyāṟ roḷuṭu vāḷttiṭ ṭūmaṇi nilattuḷ ēṟṟip
> poṭip puṇai tukili ṇikkip pukaḷṇt aṭi kaḷiya piṇṟai
> aṭuṭṭa cānt akiliṇ āviy āy malar aruccittāṇār
> koṭuppar uālamirta mūṇṟiṟ kuṇam purint ataṅkiṇārkkē[1]

(If the ascetic (comes to his house), the householder will worship him with hands wearing armlet (the ornament 'toṭi') and praise him. He will make the ascetic sit on the jewelled floor.[2] Then he will wipe the dust on the feet of the ascetic with a fine garment and wash them with water. After that he will worship his feet with sandalwood, aloe, fragrant things and flowers and give him four kinds of food with the three qualities.)[3]

The cāraṇaṇ also explains the fruits of giving gifts. The gift offered to a holy saint will cause the soul to be born in the land of enjoyment (bhogabhūmi),[4] where it can enjoy all its desires. The gift given to ordinary people will cause the soul to be born in the Karmabhūmi, where the men are expected to live by doing various occupations.[5] The gifts offered to people who had not controlled their five senses will cause the soul to be born in various islands, with human body and animal face.

The seventh stage, the Brahmacarya pratimā, comes in Cīvakaṇ's life after he realises the transient nature of the worldly life. Soon after watching the scene where the gardener snatches a jack fruit from a female monkey which got the fruit from its mate,[6] Cīvakaṇ ponders about the unreal nature of this world. He gives up all his desires and enjoyments. The poet describes this stage of renouncing enjoyments and pleasures as follows :

> vēṭkaimaiy eṇṇu nāviṟ kāma venṭēraṇ mānti
> māṭci oṇṟāṇum iṇṟi mayaṅkiṇērk iruḷai niṅkak
> kaṭṭiṇār tēvar āvar kaḷviḷakk ataṇai eṇṟu
> tōṭṭiyāṟ roṭakkappaṭṭa cori matak kaḷiṟṟiṇ miṇṭāṇ[7]

(Having decided that they (the gardener, the female monkey and the male monkey) must be celestials who showed him the guiding light of renunciation in order that the darkness may be dispelled, the one who was enjoying intemperately the exhilerating drink of lust with the tongue of passion abjuring all good deeds, rejected the enjoyment of pleasures like a rut-flowing intoxicated elephant who has been goaded (into the right direction)).

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1 Cc. v. 2827.

2 Here, making the ascetic sit on the jewelled floor means to give him a high seat.

3 The three qualities are purity in throught, word and deed. Naccinārkkiṇiyar, commentary on Cc. v. 2827.

4 Cc. vv. 2830-2840.

5 Cc. v. 2841   6 *Ibid,* vv. 2721-2725   7 Cc. v. 2729

Though the ladies in the palace try to attract him, he decides to renounce the world.[1] After rejecting the desires in pleasures[2] he goes to the temple where he meets the two cāraṇas who instruct him in the Jaina doctrine and tell him the story about his previous birth.

In the last three pratimās Cīvakaṇ prepares himself for the life of an ascetic. He renouces all his passions and his kingdom and goes to his spiritual guide Crīvartamāna cuvāmikaḷ[3] and performs penance.

The ascetic life of Cīvakaṇ and the attainment of his liberation are mainly explained through the answer of the ascetic Cutaṇmar to the questions put to him by the king Cēnikaṇ abont Cīvakaṇ. The rules an ascetic should observe are also preached by the cāraṇaṇ who instructed Jaina doctrine to Cīvakaṇ.

When one renounced all worldly attachments, he reaches the sixth guṇasthāna, the pramatta-saṃyata guṇasthāna and the ascetic's life starts from here. He is expected to observe five mahā-vratas (absolute vows) which correspond to the five aṇuvratas (partial vows) of a householder. The five aṇu-vratas are made as Bhargava says, "keeping in view the social obligations of a householder"[4], but, mahā-vratas are unconditional and absolute. Non-violence, truth, non-stealing, celibacy and non-possession are expected to be observed without any restriction by an ascetic. Mūlācāra, the basic text dealing with the conduct of digambara monks, gives the following twenty eight qualities which a monk should be endowed with.[5]

1–5.	Five absolute vows (*Pañca-mahā-vratas*)
6–10,	Five-fold path of vigilance (*Pañcasamitis*)
11–15.	Control of five senses (*indriyajaya*)
16–21.	Six essential duties (*ṣaḍāvaśyakās*)
22.	Pulling out of the hair (*keśaluñcana*)
23.	Nudity
24.	Non-bathing
25.	Sleeping on the ground
26.	Not cleaning the teeth
27.	Taking food in standing posture
28.	Eating only once in twenty four hours (*Ekabhakta*)

Observing all these twenty eight qualities, an ascetic is also expected to perform penance in order to get rid of his accumulated karmas and to check the inflow of the new karmas.[6] These penances are of two kinds, external and internal.[7] In external

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1   Cc. v. 2732
2   *Ibid*, vv. 2925–2952
3   *Ibid*, v. 3040. Ref. also the commentary of Naccinārkkiṇiyar on the Cc. v. 3040.
4   Bhargava, *op.cit.* p. 152
5   ,,   ,,   pp. 150, 151
6   Ts. 9 : 3
7   *Ibid*, 9, 19–20

penanes the ascetic undergoes physical endurance whereas in internal penances he controls his mind.[1] There are six external penances and six internal penances which an ascetic performs before he attains his salvation. *The external penances are* :[2]

1. *Anaśana* (fasting) – not taking any food for a limited period or till death.

2. *Avamodarya* – eating less than what one wants and this helps the ascetic to overcome the senses and the sleep.

3. *Vṛtti-parisaṃkhyāna* – taking a mental vow to accept food from a householder on certain condition. If the condition is too difficult, the monk will be without food for a long period and thereby he uproots the desire for food.

4. *Rasa-parityāga* - renouncing one or more of the six delicacies, milk, curd, ghee, oil, sugar and salt. This tapas is also to overcome the senses, the sleep, and to study without any disturbance.

5. *Vivikta-śayyāsana*- residing and sleeping in a lonely place.

6. *Kāya-kleśa* – mortification of the body.

The six internal penances are :

1. *Prāyaścitta*-observing expiation of any sin committed consciously or unconsciously.

2. *Vinaya* – showing reverence and having belief in right faith, right knowledge, right conduct and paying respect to superiors.

3. *Vaiyāvṛtya* – offering services to saints.

4. *Svādhyāya* – learning the holy texts,

5. *Vyutsarga* – renouncing the attachment to the body.

6. *Dhyāna*– meditation.

Of all these twelve kinds of penances, dhyāna holds the most important place in asceticism. It is through dhyāna that the concentration of the mind is achieved. Ts. defines dhyāna as follows :

Uttamasaṃhananasyaikāgracintānirodho dhyānam ā antarmuhūrttāt.[3]

(Dhyāna, the concentration of mind, is only possible up to forty eight minutes (antarmuhūrta) and it can be only practised by a man with a good constitution.)

This dhyāna is classified into four kinds, the ārta dhyāna (painful concentration), rudra dhyāna (concentration on terrible things in order to achieve unrighteous gains), dharma dhyāna (righteous concentration) and śukla dhyāna (pure concentration).

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1 Pūjyapāda, Sarvārthasiddhi, Commentary on Ts. 9 : 19-20.

2 Ts. 9 : 19

3 Ts. 9 : 27

4 *Ibid*, p. 202

The ārta dhyāna and rudra dhyāna do not help an aspirant to attain salvation, instead they give bad results and these two are only found in the soul up to the fifth guṇasthāna.

The dharma and śukla dhyāna lead the soul to liberation. By performing dharma dhyāna the soul burns away all the eight karmas and attains the four infinite qualities. While observing dharma, dhyāna the ascetic should feel that his body is different and he should give up all his attachments to his body. Dharma dhyāna leads the soul to heavenly pleasures and indirectly to liberation.[1] The difference between dharma-dhyāna and śukla-dhyāna is as Bhargava says, "in dharmadhyāna, the consciousness of the distinction between subject and object of knowlege persists; whereas in śukla dhyāna all conceptual thinking ceases gradually ".[2]

With the help of śukla-dhyāna the soul finally leaves the body and attains liberation.

Now, we shall see how the soul progresses towards salvation from the sixth guṇasthāna, the pramatta-samyata guṇasthāna, where the ascetic life starts.

In the sixth stage, though the ascetic observes complete restraint, still he is open to such negligence such as pride, enjoyment of senses, passions and sleep. In the four guṇasthānas starting from the fourth guṇasthāna, avirata-samyagdṛṣṭi guṇasthāna, the soul destroys the four anantānubandhī kaṣāyas (anantānubandhī krodha, anantānubandhī māna, anantānubandhī māyā, and anantānubandhi lobha) and the three darśana mohanīya karmas (mithyātva karma, samyagmithyātva karma and samyaktva karma). From the seventh guṇasthāna, the apramatta-samyata guṇasthāna, when the soul ascends to the next guṇasthāna, the apūrva-karaṇa guṇasthāna, it ascends to either the kṣapaka śreṇi or the upaśama śreṇi. These two, the kṣapaka śreṇi and the upaśama śreṇi, are two spiritual ladders which help the soul to either destroy all the karmas or to subside them.

If a soul ascends upaśama śreṇi it could only subside its karmas and it cannot attain the highest state, the mokṣa, for, the subsided karmas once disturbed come up to the surface and hence the soul falls from the height of spirituality it has reached. Even if the soul succeeds in following the upaśama śreṇi it cannot climb beyond the eleventh guṇastāna which is the highest guṇastāna for the soul which follows upaśama śreṇi. If a soul follows kṣapaka śreṇi it can climb up to the highest goal, the mokṣa, by annihilating all its karmas.

As in the Cc. Cīvakan follows the kṣapaka śreṇi, we here explain the progress of a soul which follows kṣapaka śreṇi. The soul which has ascended on the kṣapaka śreṇi to the eighth guṇasthāna reaches the next guṇasthāna, the anivṛtti-bādara-samparāya guṇasthāna. In this stage the soul first destroys the following sixteen

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1 Bhargava, *op.cit.* p. 202

2 *Ibid*, p. 202

karmas :[1] (i) nidrānidrā karma, (ii) pracalāpracalā karma, (iii) styānagṛddhi karma, (iv) tiryag-gati-nāma-karma, (v) naraka-gati-nāma-karma, (vi) ekendriya-nāma-karma, (vii) dvīndriya-nāma-karma, (viii) trīndriya-nāma-karma, (ix) caturindriya nāma-karma, (x) tiryagānupūrvi nāma-karma, (xi) narakānupūrvi nāma-karma, (xii) sthāvara nāma-karma, (xiii) sūkṣma nāma-karma. (xiv) sādhāraṇa nāma-karma, (xv) ātapa nāma-karma, and (xvi) uddyota nāma-karma. After destroying the above said sixteen karmas the soul destroys the eight passions, the four pratyākhyānāvaraṇa karmas (pratyākhyānāvaraṇa krodha, pratyākhyānāvaraṇa māna, pratyākhyānāvaraṇa māyā, and pratyākhyānāvaraṇa lobha) and the four apratyākhyānāvaraṇa karmas (apratyākhyānāvaraṇa krodha, apratyākhyānāvaraṇa māna, apratyākhyānāvaraṇa māyā, and apratyākhyānāvaraṇa lobha). Then the napuṃsaka veda and the strīveda are destroyed. In the end of this ninth guṇasthāna, the soul also destroys the puruṣa veda saṃjvalana-krodha, saṃjvalana-mana, and saṃjvalanamāyā karmas. From here the soul ascends to the tenth guṇasthāna, the sūkṣmasamparāya guṇasthāna, and in here the soul annihilates its saṃjvalana-lobha karma. After this the soul ascends to the next guṇasthāna, the upaśāntakaṣāya-vītarāga-chadmastha guṇasthāna, and from there it proceeds to the twelfth guṇasthāna, the kṣīṇa-kaṣāya-vītarāga-chadmastha guṇasthāna, where the soul first destroys the two kinds of sleep (nidrākarma and pracalā karma). Then the soul destroys the five jñānāvaraṇīya karmas (matijñānāvaraṇīya, śrutajñānāvaraṇīya, avadhijñānāvaraṇīya, manaḥparyāya-jñānāvaraṇīya and kevalajñānāvaraṇīya karmas), the four darśanāvaraṇīya karmas (cakṣur-darśanāvaraṇīya), acakṣur-darśanāvaraṇīya, avadhi-darśanāvaraṇīya and kevala-darśanāvaraṇīya), and the five antarāya karmas (dānāntarāya, lābhāntarāya, bhogāntarāya, upabhogāntarāya and vīryāntarāya). After destroying these karmas the soul ascends to the thirteenth guṇasthāna, the sayogi-kevali-guṇasthāna where the soul becomes a sayogi-kevalin. From here the soul next ascends to the final stage, the ayogi-kevali-guṇasthāna, in which the soul completely annihilates the seventy two karmas[1] which are not hitherto destroyed. In the last moment of this guṇasthāna the soul destroys all the thirteen remaining karmas.[1] Once all the karmas are destroyed, the soul attains liberation, the highest goal of the soul.

The way Cīvakaṉ attained salvation following kṣapaka-śreṇi is depicted through allegorical expressions in the verses starting from 3076 to 3082 in Cc. Though Tēvar does not mention the names of the different guṇasthānaś, the order in which the karmas are eradicated by Cīvakaṉ strictly follows the order of the eradication of Karmas by a soul which follows Kṣapaka śreṇi. The whole process is described as a war between Cīvakaṉ and his karmas. Cīvakaṉ started the war against his foes, the karmas, having right knowledge as his chariot, the idea of saving his soul as his horse, right faith as his elephant, kindness as his infantry, right conduct as the support for his body and the truth as his sword and shield.[2] When he, with

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1 Pujyapāda, *op. cit.* commentary on Ts. 10:2.   2 Cc. v. 3074.

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his army, surrounded the walls of the city of his enemies, the karmas,[1] they came out ready for a war, having sleep as their elephant, food as their chariot, forgetfulness as their horses and diseases with vāta, pitta and ślesman as their infantry.[2] The army of the karmas is described as a big ocean full of sharks. In this fight Cīvakaṇ kills the karmas and ascends towards salvation.

The progress of the soul of Cīvakaṇ up to the ninth guṇasthāna, the anivṛtti-bādara–samparāya guṇasthāna is explained through allegorical expression in the following verse :

> *teḷiv aṟutt eḷuvar paṭṭār īr eṇmar tiḷaittu vilṇṭār*
> *kaḷiṟu kāḷ utaippav eṇmar kaviḷṇṭaṇar kaḷattiṇ uḷḷe*
> *piḷiṟi viḷ ṟēṭi peṇ ṇōy aṟuvakuit tuvarppum pēciṇ*
> *aḷipaṭu cintaiy eṇṇum āḷi vāy viḷṇṭav aṇṟe*[3]

(In the battle fiel I seven people fell down unconscious. Sixteen of them fell down after fighting. Eight people were overthrown when the elephant kicked with its leg. If one talks about the neuter sex which fell down shouting, the female sex and the six non-passions, they all fell under the wheel of kind thought.)

Here, by the expression "eḷuvar paṭṭār" (seven people fell down) the annihilation of the seven karmas, i, e. the four anantānubandhi kaṣāyās and the three darśana mohanīya karmas,[4] is shown. The sixteen people who fell down after fighting are the sixteen karmas[5] which are supposed to be destroyed in the beginning of the ninth guṇasthāna, the anivṛtti-bādara-samparāya guṇasthāna. The eight people who were kicked by the leg of the elephant are the eight passions, the four pratyākhyānāvarṇa karmas and the four apratyākhyānāvaraṇa karmas[6] In the same guṇasthāna, Cīvakaṇ also destroys the female sex and the neuter sex and the six nokaṣāyas.[7] At the end of this guṇasthāna Cīvakaṇ annihilates the puruṣa veda,[8] and the three saṃjvalana kaṣāyas.[9] After that he ascends to the tenth guṇasthāna, the sūkṣma–samparāya guṇa-thāna in which he eradicates also the fourth saṃjvalana kaṣāya, the saṃjvalana lobha. This is explained in the following lines :

> *kuṟōtaṇē māṇaṇ māyaṇ kūrpp uṭaiy ulōpaṇ eṇpar*
> *virōtittu viraḷiṟ cuṭṭi veru varaṭ tākka vīraṇ*
> *niṟōtaṇaiy ampiṟ koṇṟāṇ .   . .   . .*[10]

(Kuṟōtaṇ (krodha), Māṇaṇ (māna), Māyaṇ (māyā) and Ulopaṇ (lobha) who is covetous, came opposing with pointed fingers, (Cīvakaṇ) killed them with the help of (his mind full of) control over passions.)

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1 Cc. v 3075
2 Ibid, v. 3075
3 Ibad, v. 3076
4 Supra, p. 152
5 Supra, p. 153

6 Supra, p. 153
7 Cc. v. 3076
8 Ibid, 3077
9 Supra, p. *153*. Cc. v. 3079
10 Ibid, v. 3080

After this Cīvakaṇ ascends to the next guṇasthāna, the upaśānta-kaṣāya-vītarāga –chadmastha and from there he ascends to the twelfth guṇasthāna, the kṣīṇakaṣāya-vītarāga-chadmastha guṇasthāna. In this stage he annihilates the two kinds of sleep, the nidrā karma and the pracalā karma.[1] In the same guṇasthāna, he with the help of śukla-dhyāna,[2] eradicates the five jñānāvarīṇya karmas,[3] four darśanāvaraṇiya karmas,[4] and the five antarāya karmas.[5] This stage is explained in the following verse :

> puṇari pōr ciṟu puṉ kēḻvīp paṭaiyoṭu pukaiṉṭu poṅki
> uṇarvoṭu kāṭci pēṟ eṉṟ iṭaiyuṟu kokkaḷ ēṟṟār
> iṉar ēri muḷakkam aṉṉa cukkilat tiyāṉam eṉṉum
> kaṇaiy eṟiṉt ukaippa viḻṉtu kāṟ paṭai cūḷappaṭṭār[6]

(The kings Uṇarvu, Kāṭci, and Pēṟu (jñānāvaraṇiya karmas, darśanāvaraṇiya karmas and Antarāya karmas) come blazing with anger, with their army' which had inferior knowledge and fought (with Cīvakaṇ). They all fell down when attacked by the roaring flames of Cukkilattiyāṇam (Śukladhyāna) and lay on the ground surrounded by their infantry.)

At the end of this guṇashāna Cīvakaṇ completely destroys all the ghātiya karmas and ascends to the thirteenth guṇasthāna, the sayogikevali guṇasthāna. After destroying all the ghātiyā karmas, the soul of Cīvakaṇ attains the four infinite qualities and surpasses the three lokas and the aloka and achieves godship. This progress is described in the following verse :

> kātip pōr maṉṉar viḻak kaṇaiy eri citaṟi veyyōṉ
> ōtiya vakaiyiṉ oṉṟiy ulak ucci muḷaittatē pōl
> viti pōy ulaka mūṉṟum viḷuṅkiyiṭṭ alōka nuṅki
> ātiy aṉt akaṉṟa nāṉmaik koṭiy eṭutt iṟaimai koṇṭāṉ.[7]

(Having dispersed the arrows of fire everywhere so that the kāti kings (ghātiya karmas) who were fighting (against him) were destroyed, he the one who is like a sun as mentioned in the āgamas, (spread his lustre all over) as if he had sprung up on the top of the loka. Then he surpassed the three lokas and the aloka and attained godship by taking the flag of four (ananta jñāna, ananta-darśana, ananta-vīrya and anana-sukha) which has no beginning and end.)

In this Arhat stage, the queens of Cīvakaṇ come to worship him and on their request he preaches the Jaina doctrine to them.[8]

After this stage the soul of Cīvakaṇ ascends to the final guṇasthāna, where it destroys all the remaining aghātīya karmas and attains liberation . Tēvar describes this final stage as follows :

> . . . . Viṭu peṟṟāṉ viḷaṅki nāl viṉaiyum veṉṟā.[9]

1 *Ibid*, v. 3080
2 *Cc.* v. 3081
3 Supra, pp. 1²9, 130; Cc. v. 3081
4   ,,   pp. 130;   ,,
5   ,,   pp. 131, 1³2;   ,,

6 Cc. 3081
7 Cc. 3082
8 *Ibid*, vv. 3105-3111
9 *Ibid.* v. 3114

(He attained liberation (mokṣa) by overcoming the four karmas (the aghātıya karmas)).

The soul which is completely free from karmas and which has attained the four infinite qualities and which has no body is called as siddha. According to Digambara Jains this stage of siddha cannot be attained by women and can be only attained by men. First the women have to get rid of their woman-hood and then only can attain salvation. This is explained in the Cc. through the characters, Vicayai, the mother of Cīvakaṇ and the queens of Cīvakaṇ. Vicayai renounced the world before Cīvakaṇ and did penance, but there is no reference in the Cc. to show that she attained liberation. When describing the queens of Cīvakaṇ Tēvar says that after they renounced the worldly affairs, they performed penance, in order to get rid of their life as women.

> ...peṇ piṟapp iṭiyac cinʾiṭṭār [1]

(They meditated to get rid of their birth as women).

As a result of this meditation they gained pure knowledge and destroyed their birth as women and attained the state of Indras.[2]

All the souls which have attained siddhahood are equal. There is no god beyond these souls. The relationship between these souls and the souls which have not attained liberation will be discussed under the sub section "Theological ideas". Before dealing with the theological ideas, it is also necessary to discuss the ritualistic ideas found in the Cc.

Ritualistic Ideas

In the early canons of Jainism no importance was given to rituals The first descriptive mention of Jaina rituals is found in the Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena.[3] It is not known whether these rituals mentioned in the Ādipurāṇa (Ap.) were prevalent among Jainas earlier than the period of the Ap. or whether they were framed by Jinasena in a way similar to the Hindu saṃskāras.[4]

The Ap. deals with fifty three kriyās, in its chapter thirty eight.[5] Although all the ritual mentioned in the Ap. are not found in the Cc., there are references to a few rituals. The kriyās which are found in the Cc. are discussed below.

The kriyā which is performed when naming a child is called Nāmakarman. This kriyā is done on the twelfth day after the child's birth.[6] In the Cc. this kriyā is performed when naming the children of Cīvakaṇ. The astrologers draw their horoscopes calculating the position of the stars with their highest positions, their lowest positions and their relationship with each other. After calculating the horoscopes they named the children[7] on the twelfth day.[8]

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1 Cc. v. 3120	5 Ap. chapter XXXVIII, 50-311
2 *Ibid*, v. 3121	6 *Ibid*, XXXVIII, 57-59
3 Williams, *op. cit.* p. 274	7 Cc. v. 2703
4 *Ibid*, p. 274	8 Naccinārkkiṇiyar, the commentary written on Cc. v. 2703

Lipisamkhyāna kriyā is the kriyā which is made at the age of five when a child starts his education first time.[1] This kriyā is performed when Cīvakan started his education first and this is explained in the following verse :

> *arum ponnum maṇiyu muttum kāṇamuṅ kuruṇiyākap*
> *parant elāp pirappum vaittup paim pon cey tavicin ucci*
> *iruntu pon ōlai cem pon ūciyāl eḻutiy ērppat*
> *tiruntu por kaṇṇiyārkkuc celviyaic cērrtināṟē.*[2]

'(Having placed the trays of rice on which gold, jewels and pearls are being kept to the amount of a Kuruṇi[3] and having sat on the golden seat, the teacher united the young lady (goddess of education) with Cīvakan who wore golden garland, by writing on the golden leaf with the golden needle.)

The rituals performed in marriage are mentioned in the Cc. in the description of the marriage between Ilakkaṇai and Cīvakan. Though Cīvakan marries eight girls, only the wedding which took place between Ilakkaṇai and Cīvakan is described with full details of wedding rituals. According to the Ap. a young man should marry a girl from a suitable family with the permission of his guru.[4] The marriage should be performed in front of the holy fire after making pūjā to Jina.[5] After the wedding for seven days the couple should have no sexual relationship and they should go to a place of pilgrimage if possible. When they return home on proper time they should indulge themselves in sexual pleasures for the procreation of children.[6]

Tēvar follows some of these rules in describing the wedding of Cīvakan with Ilakkaṇai and also borrows some of the ideas expressed in the gṛhya sūtras. Ilakkaṇai whom Cīvakan married was from a suitable family as she was his cousin, the daughter of his uncle Kōvintan. In the wedding, the officiating priests made the altar with newly spread sand, sacred grass (darbha) and sacrificial fuel. They also placed two vessels of water, a pot of incense and a vessel of ghee, in the proper places. These detailed descriptions about making the altar and placing the water, incense, and ghee are not mentioned in the Ap. The water and ghee which are placed in the vessels are for the ceremony of madhuparka.[7] Madhuparka is the first honour that the father-in-law bestows upon the bridegroom.[8] The two vessels of water are, one for the washing the feet of the bridegroom and the other the arghya water.

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1 Ap. *loc. cit.* 102–103

2 Cc. v. 369

3 'Kuruṇi' is a grain measure equal to one marakkāl or eight measures. Madras Tamil Lexicon, Vol. II, Madras, 1962, p. 1054.

4 Ap. *loc. cit.* v. 127

5   ,,   ,,   v. 128

6   ,,   ,,   vv. 131–134

7 Naccinārkkiniyar, commentary on the Cc. v. 2464

8 R. B. Pandey, *Hindu Saṃskāras*, 2nd Edition, Delhi, 1969, p. 211

The priests also placed a golden pot full of fried rice grains, a grinding stone and sacred fuel.[1] The pot full of rice grains is kept for the ceremony of lāja-homa. This ceremony is performed as a symbol of fertility and prosperity.[2] The brother of the bride pours fried grain mixed with ṣami leaves (prosopis spicigera) into the hands of the bride and she offers them with the joined hands into sacrificial fire while the bridegroom recites verses to bring prosperity and unity.[3] Though this is not described in the Cc. in detail the idea of placing a pot of fried rice grains explains the purpose for which it is kept. The grinding stone was kept to perform the ceremony of aśmārohaṇa or the mounting of the stone. This ceremony is performed to make the wife firm in her devotion and loyalty to her husband.[4]

Cīvakan married Ilakkaṇai in front of the sacred fire.[5] There is no mention of Cīvakan going to a sacred place for seven days with his wife or observing celibacy for seven days as mentioned in Ap.

The renunciation of worldly attachments after leading a lay life is called gṛhatyāga.[6] According to the Ap. when a lay man wants to renounce the world, he has to perform pūjā to Jira and after that he should entrust his property to his son and should ask the son to preserve it.[7] Cīvakan did this ceremony before going to do penance. He called all his sons and made Caccantan king and divided his other possessions among his other children.

Theological ideas

According to Jainism all the souls which are free from karmas attain godhood. There is no god beyond these gods. These gods in no way help the souls with karmas. Each soul should shed its karmas with its own efforts and attain godhood. Though these gods do not help the other souls in the path of salvation, still in Jainism prayer and meditation have an important place. The souls with karmas pray and meditate upon the attributes of the freed souls, not in order to paise them or flatter them, but to awaken the latent potentialities of godhood in them,

In the Cc., there are a few places where Cīvakan praises lord Arhat. He praises lord Arhat before he goes to the mountain Cittira-kūṭam.[8] In this prayer, Cīvakan by praising the attributes of lord Arhat tries to see the goal which a soul should reach. The following verse which is one of the verses in his prayers serves as a good example :

> *kātalāl eṇ viṇaiyuṅ kaḻipav eṇriy ak kātal*
> *ātalāl eṇ viṇaiyuṅ kaḻiyāv eṇrum araitiyār*
> *pōtulāyt tēṇ ruḻittup paḻintu vaṇṭu tivaṇṭ ulām*
> *kōtai tāḻ piṇṭik kōmā ṇiṇṇait toḻutēṇē.*[9]

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1 Cc. v. 2464	2 Pandey, *op. cit* p. 218	3 *Ibid*, p. 218
4 *Ibid*, p. 219	5 Cc. v. 2468	6 Williams, *op. cit.* p. 285
7 *Ibid*, p. 285	8 Cc. v. 1426 ff	9 Cc. v. 1420

(You tell me that eight karmas will be eradicated by the love placed on you and at the same time you also tell that if the same love is placed on another object, the eight karmas cannot be removed. Therefore I pray you, the lord, who sits under the piṇṭi tree which is lowered with the swaying flower garlands made of honey dropping blossoms surrounded by bees.)

In the above verse one can see how Cīvakaṉ is trying to realise the necessity of getting rid of karmas, by praising the lord Arhat who has got rid of his karmas.

Most of the prayers we find in the Cc. are prayers which extol the glories and qualities of freed souls. According to Jainism the freed souls are of two kinds, the disembodied and the embodied souls. The disembodied souls are called Siddhas and the embodied souls are called Arhats or Jinas. The Siddhas are of two kinds, the Tīrthaṅkara Siddhas and the Sāmānya Siddhas. Tīrthaṅkara Siddhas are the Siddhas who preached the doctrine of Jainism to the people in their embodied condition after shedding their karmas. The others are Sāmānya Siddhas. The Arhats or Jinas are souls who are embodied though they have attained perfection. They are called Arhats as they are worthy of adoration and worship[1] and called Jina as they had overcome all the five senses and the eight karmas.[2] Jina is also called a Tīrthaṅkara, because, he by preaching the Jaina doctrine helps the human beings to cross the ocean of saṃsāra.[3] Since these souls have human body, the human beings find it easy to worship them. Siddhas who are without any human body can be understood only by yogic contemplation. To perform yogic contemplation the individual must be fit and spiritually qualified.

Apart from Siddhas and Arhats, there are other saints and ascetics who are in their embodied state, but respected and worshipped. They are the Ācāryas, the head of the saints,[4] the Upādhyāya, the teaching saint, and the Sādhu, an ascetic.

These five souls, the Siddha, the Arhat, the Ācārya, the Upādyāya and the Sādhu are called Pañcaparameṣṭhin. The prayer made to these five classes of people are called Pañca-namaskāra or Pañca-parameṣṭhi-stuti. It runs as follows :

namo arihantāṇaṃ, namo siddhāṇaṃ, namo āyariyāṇaṃ, namo uvajjhāyāṇaṃ, namo loe savvasāhūṇaṃ [5]

(I bow to the Arhats, I bow to the Siddhas, I bow to the Ācāryas, I bow to the teaching saints, I bow to all the Sādhus in the world·)

This Pañca-namaskāra mantra is mentioned in a few places in the Cc. In Kuṇ· amālaiyār ilampakam, the dog which was beaten by the angry brahmins[6] turned into a deva when Cīvakaṉ pronounced Pañcanamaskāra mantra in its ears.[7] Tēvar refers

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1 A. Chakravarti, Introduction to Samayasāra, Jñānapītha Moorti Devi Granthamala, English series, I, First edition, 1950, p. cxv.

2–3 *Ibid*, p. cxv

4 J. Jaini, *op. cit.* pp. 2, 80

5 Williams, ,, p. 185

6 *Cc.* vv. 945–947

7 *Ibid*, v. 945

to the Pañcanamaskāra mantra as 'aimpatam'. The following lines relate the incident in which the dog after hearing the Pañcanamaskāra mantra turns to be a deva destroying all its karmas.

> *kaṟṟav aimpaṭaṅka ṇirāk karu viṇai kaḷuvappaṭṭu*
> *maṟṟavaṉ tēvaṉāki..   ..   ..*[1]

(He became deva after having washed all the bad deeds (karu viṇai) by the water of the aimpatam (Pañcanamaskāra mantra) which he had learnt ..)

In the Cc. in some instances, the benediction to lord Arhat alone is mentioned. Caccantaṉ, the father of Cīvakaṉ before sending his wife Vicayai in the flying machine pronounces the benediction to god. Here the god to whom he prays is lord Arhat.

> *iṉpa mikk uṭaiya cīrttiy iṟaivaṉat āṇai kūrit*
> *tuṉpam il paṟavai ūrti cạrttiṉāṉ .. ..   ..*[2]

(He after pronouncing the benediction to lord Arhat, put [her] in the harmless vehicle which was in the shape of a bird.)

Apart from pañcanamaskāra, the Jains also say catuḥ-śaraṇa (four goings for refuge). This is the recourse to the four refuges of the Arhats, the Siddhas, the Ācāryas and the law (of the Jinas) (dhamma). This catuḥśaraṇa runs as follows :

> *aṛhaṃte saraṇam pavajjāmi, siddhe saraṇaṃ pavajjāmi,*
> *sāhū saraṇam pavajjāmi, kevali-pannattam dhammam saraṇam pavajjāmi.*[3]

(I go to the Arhat for refuge, I go to the Siddha for refuge, I go to the Sadhu for refuge and I go to the religion which is pronounced by the souls which attained omniscience for refuge)

This catuḥ-saraṇa is found in the Cc. in the benedictory stanzas. The first verse is the recourse to the lord Arhat, the second to Siddha, the third to the Sādhu and to the Dhamma.[4]

Thus in the course of the discussions in this chapter we have seen how Tēvar has struck a new line in the composition of a peruṅkāppiyam in Tamil with a religious motive. His literary predecessors, Iḷaṅko, and Koṅkuvēḷir, though they were Jains dealt with themes which did not have a religious motive. Accordingly there are only a few references scattered here and there in the Cilappatikāram and the Perunkatai to Jainism which serve as reflections of the social status accorded to the religion in their times rather than as manifest religious propaganda. In the Maṇimēkalai of Cāttaṉār this is no more the case and his poem is full of religious debates employing highly Sanskritised and specialised Buddhist philosophical jargon. The Cc. is a book written with similar motive from the hands of a Jaina author. As we have seen in the course of this chapter, the Cc. displays the erudition of the author in

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1   *Ibid*, v. 951   3   Williams, *op. cit. p.* 186
2   *Ibid.,*v. 273   4   *Cc.* vv. 1–3

the authentic treatises of Jaina philosophy which were all written originally in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The concepts and vocabulary peculiar to the Jain philosophical system have been appropriately adapted by Tēvar to suit his narration and the Tamil language and culture. He has transformed a mere skeleton of Jaina Puranic story into an elaborate 'magnum opus' of Jaina doctrine. The religious and conceptual aspects of the transformation have been explained in this chapter. The linguistic aspect will be dealt with in the next chapter.

*   *   *

Aghātiya karmas

Āyus karma-4

Deva-āyus
Manuṣya-āyus
Tiryag-āyus
Naraka-āyus

*Nāma karma-*103

Piṇḍa-Prakṛtis

Gatis-4
Jātis-5
Sarīras-5
Aṅgopāṅgas-3
Sthāna-2
Bandhana-15
Saṅghāta-5
Saṃsthāna-6
Saṃhanana-6
Varṇa-5
Gandha-2
Rasa-5
Sparśa-8
Ānupurvi-4

Apiṇḍa-Prakṛtis

Pratyeka   Trasa   Sthāvara
Prakṛtis-8 daśaka-10 daśaka-10

Gotra karma-2

Uccair-gotra
Nicair-gotra

Vedaniya karma-2

Sāta-vedanīya
Asāta-vedanīya

Sc–21

Ghātiya karmas

Jñānāvaraṇiya karma-5

Mati-jñānāvaraṇiya–
Śruta-jñānāvaraṇiya-
Avadhi-jñānāvaraṇiya-
Manaḥparyāya-jñānāvaraṇiya-
Kevala-jñānāvaraṇiya-

Darśanāvaraṇiya-9

cakṣur-darśanāvaraṇiya-
Acakṣur-darśanāvaraṇiya-
Avadhi-darśanāvaraṇiya-
Kevala-darśanāvaraṇiya-
Nidrā-
Nidrā-nidrā-
Pracalā-
Pracalā-pracalā
Styānagṛddhi-

Mohanīya-28

Darśanamohaniya

Samyaktva-
Mithyātva-
Miśra-

Cāritramohaniya

Antarāya-5

Dāna-antarāya
Lābha-antarāya
Bhoga-antarāya
Upabhoga-
    antarāya
Vīrya-antarāya

Kaṣāya

Krodha

Anantānubandhi-krodha
Apratyakhyānāvaraṇa-krodha
Pratyākhyānāvaraṇa-krodha
Saṃjvalana-krodha

Māna

Anantānubandhi-māna
Apratyakhyānāvaraṇa-māna
Pratyākhyānāvaraṇa-māna
Saṃjvalana-māna

Māyā

Anantānubandhi-
    māyā
Apratyakhyānāvaraṇa-
    māyā
Pratyākhyānāvaraṇa-
    māyā
Saṃjvalana-māyā

Lobha

Anantānubandhi-
    lobha
Apratyakhyānāvaraṇa-
    lobha
Pratyakhyānāvaraṇa-
    lobha
Saṃjvalana-lobha

No-kaṣāya

Hāsya
Rati
Arati
Śoka
Bhaya
Jugupsā
Puruṣa-
    veda
Strī-veda
Napumsaka-
    veda

CHAPTER VI

SANSKRIT LOAN WORDS IN THE CĪVAKACINTĀMAṆI

As the Cc. is a religious work written in an epic form it has two kinds of loan words in it. One, the Jaina technical terms and the other the non-religious terms. We treat these two kinds of loan words under separate sections. Before starting to analyse the Skt. loan words in the Cc. it is necessary to have a brief knowledge of the growth of Skt. loan words in Tamil literature before the period of the Cc.

From the linguistic point of view the growth of the Tamil language can be divided into three major periods.[1]

    (i)   Old Tamil
    (ii) Middle Tamil period
    (iii) Modern Tamil period

In these three main periods the Cc. was composed in the Middle Tamil period. We trace here the developments in the Skt. loan words in the Tamil literature from the very early time to the period in which the Cc. was composed.

In identifying the loan words, as M. B. Emeneau says, " details of morphology, and of meaning, as well as of phonology must be brought into play.."[2] It is easy to make out a Skt. loan word, for the Indo-European vocabulary of Skt. has been long worked out and established.[3] Therefore, the words which cannot be explained by Dravidian phonetic and etymological phenomena, and which can be traced back to Indo-Aryan etymology, can be noted as Skt. loan words. There are also a few words which appear in the etymology of both the groups of languages, Indo-European and Dravidian and these have discussed by philologists like Burrow and Emeneau.[4]

In the Caṅkam period when the two different cultures, Aryan and Dravidian, got intermingled, many words which the Aryans used in their social life found their

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1 S. Vaidyanathan, "Indo-Aryan loan-words in the Cīvakacintāmaṇi", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 87.4, 1967, p. 430.

2 M. B. Emeneau, *India and Historical Grammar*, Annamalai University Publications in Linguistics, No. 5, 1965, p. 13

3 T. Burrow, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, London, 1946, p. 13.

4 T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1961.
       ,,   ,,   Dravidian borrowing from Indo-Aryan, *University California Publications in Linguistics*, Vol. 26, 1962.   T. Burrow, " Loan words in Sanskrit", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1946, pp. 1-30; "Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit," *ibid*, 1945, pp. 79-120; *Sanskrit Language*, 2nd edition, London, 1965, pp. 372-388.

way into the Tamil language.[1] For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1.	Añjana	Añcaṇam	(The black dye applied to the eyes)	Aiṅk. 16
2.	Kumārī	Kumari	(a virgin)	Pur. 301
3.	Diśā	Ticai	(directions)	Aiṇk. 98
4.	Nidhi	Niti	(wealth)	Akam. 60
5.	Nemi	Nēmi	(wheel)	Kur; 189
6.	Śakaṭa	Cakaṭam	(a vehicle)	Kur. 5; Pur. 102

These words which are used in the social life had equivalent words in Tamil befor ethey came in vogue in Tamil. But, apart from these words, another class of words came into Tamil which included words not prevalent in Tamil before the migration of the Aryans into the Tamil country. These are words which are related to Aryan religion. For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1.	Amarāḥ	Amarar	(the devas)	Paṭṭ. 184, 200
2.	Amṛta	Amiḻtam	(food containing six tastes)	Kur. 83, 201
3.	Asura	Acurar	(demons)	Pur. 174
4.	Āhuti	Ākuti	(oblation)	Pur. 99
5.	Ārādhanā	Ārātaṇai	(the food offered to the gods)	Pari. 6
6.	Ulkā	Urkam	(fire-brand)	Kur. 41
7.	Daiva	Teyvam	(God)	Aiṅk. 76, 4
8.	Tapasvin	Tapaciyar	(ascetics)	Nar 141
9.	Nātha	Nātaṉ	(Rudra the God of Ātirai asterism)	Pari. 8
10.	Puṅgava	Puṅkavam	(the bull, the Śiva's mount)	Pari. 8
11.	Bhūta	Pūtam	(element)	Pur. 369, 17
12.	Mantra	Mantiram	(sacred and esoteric chantings)	Tirumur. 95
13.	Mithuna	Mituṉam	(Gemini)	Pari. 11, 12
14.	Yakṣa	Iyakkan	(a yakṣa)	Pur. 71
15.	Yūpa	Yūpam	(sacrificial pillar)	Pur, 40, 15
16.	Rohiṇi	Urōkiṇi	(The asterism found in conjunction with the moon)	Neṭ. 163
17.	Cāpa	Cāpam	(bow)	Nar. 228
18.	Sandhi	Anti	(evening)	Pur. 2

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1 A collection of the Sanskrit loan-words in the Caṅkam works are given by M. Iracamanikkanar in his *Tamil moḻi–Ilakkiya Varalāru*, Madras, January, 1963.

These Skt. loan-words when borrowed in Tamil are always made of phonemes which are found in Tamil. Tolkāppiyar divides these Skt. words into two kinds.[1] The first kind of loan-words are the words which are made of phonemes which are common to Skt. For example :

Skt.		*Tamil*	
1. Kamalam	(lotus)	Kamalam	(lotus)
2. vanam	(forest)	vaṇam	(forest)

The second kind of words are the words which are originally made of phonemes which are not found in Tamil, but when borrowed from Skt. were altered according to the Tamil grammatical rules. For example :

Skt.		*Tamil*	
1. Sūtra	(aphorism)	Cūttiram	(aphorism)
2. Yakṣa	(a yakṣa)	Iyakkaṇ	(a yakṣa)
3. Bhūta	(element)	Pūtam	(element)

In the middle Tamil period the number of Skt. loan-words used in Tamil literature increased in number. The introduction of Buddhism and Jainism in Tamil land, the Bhakti movement of the Śaiva Saints and the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs, the encouragement and patronage given by the kings who were ruling Tamil land for Skt. and Pkt. studies and the great interest shown by the poets in borrowing Skt. ideas and stories from Skt. literature are the main reasons which caused the increase of Skt. loanwords in Tamil.

The literary works which were composed in the Middle period before the period of the Cc. can be classified into three categories :

(i) The didactic works (The eighteen minor works (Patiṉeṇkīḻkaṇakku works))

(ii) The devotional hymns of the Śaiva saints and Vaiṣṇavs Āḻvars

(iii) The epics, the Cilappatikāram, the Maṇimēkalai and the Peruṅkatai

Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the author of the Tirukkuṟal, one of the eighteen minor works, has freely borrowed ideas from Skt. works such as the Manudharma Śāstra, the Nīti Śāstra, the Āyurvedic treatises and the Kāma sūtra and these ideas are very often expressed with the help of Pkt. and Skt. works, hybrid forms and translations of Skt. phrases. According to S. Vaiyapuri Piliai, out of seven hundred and fifty words used in the Tirukkuṟal, one hundred and fifty are of Skt. and Prakritic origin.[2]

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1 (i) *vaṭa-coṟ kiṭavi vaṭav eḻutt orīi*
  eḻattoṭu puṇarnta collākummē

(ii) *citaintaṉa variṇum iyaintaṉa variyār.*
Tolkāppiyam, Collatikāram, Eccaviyal, Sutras, 401, 402

2 S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Kāviyakālam*, p. 51.

The following are some of the loan-words found in the Tirukkuṛaḷ.

	Skt.	Pkt.	*Tamil*		
1.	Amātya	Amacca	Amaiccan	(minister)	Ver. 381
2.	Ācāra		Ācāram	(conduct)	,, 1075
3.	Āśā		Ācai	(desire)	,, 266
4.	Kāma		Kāman	(God of love)	,, 1197
5.	Kārikā		Kārikai	(acting as agent)	,, 571
6.	Nāma		Nāmam	(name)	,, 360
7.	Pūjana		Pūcanai	(offering)	,, 18
8.	Bhagavan		Pakavan	(god)	,, 1
9.	Bhāgya		Pakkiyam	(luck)	,, 1141

Since the Kuṛaḷ deals with almost all the aspects of life, love, politics, ethics etc., Skt. loan-words in all these fields were borrowed and these words enriched Tamil language and made it more flexible and resilient. Some of the Skt. words found in the Tirukkuṛaḷ are first introduced only in this book.[1]

As Vaiyapuri Pillai says, " the inspiration kindled by Vaḷḷuvar (the author of the Tirukkuṛaḷ) produced a few works very much on the same lines as the Tirukkuṛaḷ."[2] The other works classified under the eighteen minor works are also indebted to Sanskrit literature in their ideas and as a result of it, the number of Sanskrit words in Tamil also increased. We give below some examples which are taken from the Tirikaṭukam and the Ciṛupañcamūlam.

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1.	Udāratā-	Utāratai-	(liberality)	Ciṛupañ. 12
2.	Gati-	Kati-	(way, path)	Ciṛupañ. 94
3.	Śiṣṭa-	Ciṭṭan-	(disciplined man)	Ciṛupañ. 96
4.	Divya-	Tippiyam-	(divine)	Tirikaṭ. 43
5.	Duhkha-	Tukkam-	(worry)	Tirikaṭ. 60
6.	Pramāṇa-	Piramāṇam-	(measure)	Tirikaṭ. 7
7.	Dāna-	Tāṇam-	(gift)	Ciṛupañ. 36
8.	Jñāna-	Ñāṇam-	(knowledge)	Ciṛupañ. 36
9.	Svarga-	Cuvarkkam-	(heaven)	Ciṛupañ. 36 66, 92

In their devotional songs, the Śaiva saints and the Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs tried to use the language of the masses to which Skt. diction added richness. For example the

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1   S. Vijayapuri Pillai, *Kāviyakālam*, p. 51.

2   *Ibid*, p. 88

following line wchich is taken from one of the Tēvārams of Appar has three Skt. words out of five words used in the line.

> *kāla pācam* piṭitt eḻu *tūtuvar*

(The messengers with the noose of Yama [the god of death]).

The three words in italics are Skt. loan–words.

The Cilappatikāram, the earliest eqic in Tamil literature contains many Skt. words and a few Skt. stories. As this epic does not have religous motif we do not find many religious words. The following are some examples taken from the large number of Skt. words used in the Cilappatikāram.

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1. Ankuṣa	Aṅkucam	(goad)	XXII : 49.
2. Iṣa	Ican	(the wealthy one)	X : 186
3. Udaya (giri)	Utaye (māl varai)	(the hill of the rising sun)	V : 5
4. Kavi	Kavi	(the poet)	111 : 33
5. Gaṇa	Kaṇam	(the eighteen Deva gaṇas)	V : 176
6. Gaṇikā	Kaṇikaiyar	(professional actor and dancer, prostitute)	XI : 183, XV : 25, XXII : 106
7. Śāpa	Cāpam	(curse)	VI : 23, X : 233 XXIII : 169
8 Śilātala	Cilātalam	(rock seats)	X : 25,161 XV : 154
9, Śankha	Caṅkam	(conch)	XI;47
10. Śaṅkara	Cankaran	(He that gives) bliss)	X:186
11. Sundara	Cuntaram	(beauty)	
12. Nagara	Nakaram	(city)	IV:84,V, 200 VI 129
13, Madhukara	Matukaram	[honey bee]	XXV:20.

The Buddhist epic, the Maṇimēkalai, which deals with Buddhist doctrine in most of its chapters has imbibed a large number of Sanskrit and Prakrit words and in some parts where the Buddhist philosophy is expounded there seem to be more Skt. words than Tamil words. In the following passage the words in italics are Buddhist philosophical terms.

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1 Appar Tirumuṟai, 5, Paṇṇirutirumuṟaip peruntirattu, collected by P. Iramanatha*pillai*, 1961, verse 608, p. 156.

Cattiya taṉma vikalam āvatu
kāṭṭappaṭṭa *tiṭṭāntattil*
cāttiya taṉmam kuṟaivupaṭutal;
"cattam nittam, amūrttam ātalāl;
yātoṉru yātoṉru *amūrttam* atu *nittam.*
putti pōol" eṉṟāl
tiṭṭāntamākak kāṭṭappaṭṭa
putti amūrttam āki niṉṟe
anittam ātalāṉ, *cātaṉa amūrtattuvam*
nirampi, *cāttiya nittattuvam* kuṟaiyum.[1]

T. Cattiya taṉma vikalam—Skt. Sādhya dharma vi-kala (defective major term)[2]

T. Cattam—Skt. Śabda (sound)

T. Nittam—Skt. Nitya (eternal)

T. Amūrttam—Skt. Amūrta (non-corporeal)

T. Tiṭṭantam—Skt. Dṛṣṭānta (example)

Besides Buddhist Philosophical terms, there are also other Skt. words and Skt. names.

Skt	*Tamil*		
1. Udyāna	Uyyāṉam	(royal gardens)	111 : 52.
2. Citra	Cittiram	(Painting)	111 : 168.
3. Jala	Calam	(Water)	*XXI*V : 47.
4. Tīrtha	Tīrttaṉ	(name of Buddha)	V : 98.
5. Turaga	Turakam	(horse)	VII:, 99 *XI*: 134
6. Nakula	Nakulam	(mongoosē)	*XIX*: 96.
7 Bhagavan	Pakavaṉ	(Lord Buddha)	III:61,*XXIII*:174
8. Purāṇa	Purāṇaṉ	(the ancient one)	V:98
9. Yōjana	Yōcanai	(a distance equal to) four Kādams)	VI:211, Ix:21
10. Varṇa	Varuṇam	(Class)	V:87, VI:56

The Peruṅkatai, the first work in which a Skt. story is used as the theme, contains a good number of Skt. words. For example—

Skt	*Tamil*		
1. Antaḥ-pura	Antappuram	(the female apartment)	41:3, line 31
2. Arava	Aravam	(Noise)	2:10, line 45
3. Vrata	Viratam	(Observance)	2:3, lines 130
4. Kuṅkuma	Kuṅkumam	(saffron)	I:46, line 256
5. Nirmita	Nirumitam	(produced)	2:13, line 16

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1 *Maṇimēkalai*, Tavattiṟam pūṇṭu tarumam kēṭṭa kātai, lines 349–358.
2 Krishnaswami Ayangar. *Maṇimēkalai in its Historical Settings*, London, 1927. p. 216.

The number of Skt. words found in the Peruṅkatai is comparatively very much smaller than what we find in the Cc.

There are two main reasons which necessitated the use of a larger number of Skt. words by Tēvar in the Cc.

(i) As in the case of the Maṇimēkalai, the need to explain religious (Jaina religious terms in the case of the Cc.) concepts involving Skt. technical terms resulted in many of these terms being used as such or in a translated form.

(ii) The employment of the Virutta metre so as to enable the poem to be set to music. The viruttam metre unlike the metres of the 'pā' variety found in the earlier Tamil literature, is governed by the scansion of the lines into syllables, with appropriate use of alliteration (etukai) and assonance (mōṉai) which place relatively more severe constraints on the metrical composition. Thus it became necessary for the author to draw from a much larger vocabulary. This vocabulary included words from Skt. along with their equivalents in Tamil.

The following examples from the Cc. show how one word borrowed from Skt. is used in two or more forms in Tamil :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1. Kṣema	Cēmam	(safe)	670
	Ēmam	(prosperous)	1988
2. Amṛta	Amirtam	(ambrosia)	2827, 1178, 1731
	Amirtu	(ambrosia)	222, 350
3. Hiṅgulika	Iṅkulikam	(vermilion)	2239
	Kulikam		
4. Pratimā			
(Pkt. Paḍimā)	Paṭimai	(image)	2752
	paṭimam	(image)	2642
	Paṭivam	(form)	395, 1166

Now we will analyse the phonological and semantic changes of the words which are not Jain religious technical terms.

Before starting the analysis of the phonological changes in the Skt. loan-words in the Cc., one thing must be borne in mind. The gender system in Tamil and in Skt. are entirely different from one another. Tamil has a natural gender whereas Skt. has a grammatical gender. Therefore when Tamil borrowed Skt. words in it, as a general rule, the Tamil personal endings –n, or –r, or the neuter endings –ai,–m, or i are added [1]

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1 Vaidyanathan *Loc.cit.*, p. 430

Sc–22

The vowel changes :

Since Tamil has most of the counterparts for Skt. vowels, except ṛi, ṝi, lṛi and lṝi, the phonological changes which take place in vowels are comparatively less than in the consonants. According to the phonetic system of Tamil, any vowel can begin a word. Therefore, vowels in the initial position, hardly undergo any changes, unless the letter which follows it exercises influence on it. This is true of the medial vowel also, but they often undergo changes by the influence of the preceding or the following letter, always a consonant or a consonant cluster.

Initial ' a ' :

The initial 'a' in Skt. usually remains unchanged in Tamil words. For example :

	Skt.	Tamil		
1.	agada	atakam	(medicine)	403
2.	añjana	añcaṇam	(collyrium)	1632, 2357
3.	atiśaya	aticayam	(pre-eminence)	2813
4.	adhvan	attam	(path)	1185
5.	anta	antam	(end)	3082
6.	abhaya	apayam	(safety)	2999
7.	amṛta	amirtam	(ambrosia)	851
8.	alakta	arattakam	(red lac)	2459
9.	ayana	ayaṇam	(road, path)	851
10.	asta (Pkt. attha)	attam	(western mountain)	18, 1733, 2022, 2211
11.	astra	attiram	(arrow)	815

(i) 'a' in the first syllable, though often remaining unchanged, sometimes changes into 'e'. For example :

	Skt.	Tamil		
1.	gandha	Kentam	(fragrant smell)	3115
2.	garuḍa	keluḷan	(vulture)	1926
3.	yantra	entiram	(machine)	1614

(Here the initial ' y ' has been dropped.)

(ii) 'a' in the first syllable, if continued by a conjunct consonant, sometimes changes into 'ā'. For example :

	skt.	Tamil		
1.	Kāñcukin	Kāñcuki	(clad in armour)	2862
2.	Nandaka	Nāntakam	(sword)	815

(iii) There is one case in the Cc. where the 'a' in the initial syllable has been lengthened after the elision of the following 'h'. For example :

Skt. mahārāṣtra; Pkt. marahaṭṭa; Tam. māraṭṭam. 2161.

Medial 'a'

The medial 'a' normally does not undergo any changes, but sometimes changes into 'i'. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1. Nimittaka	Nimittikan	(astrologer)	539
2. Pippali	Tippili	(long pepper)	2703
3. Maṇḍala	Maṇṭilam	(circle)	1771

In some cases medial 'a' also changes into 'ai' when it is followed by 'y'. For example :

Skt. Ālaya   Tam. Ālaiyam   abode   897

Final 'a'

(i) The final 'a' often changes into 'ai'. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1. Cāmara	Cāmarai	(a chowry)	429, 2412
2. Nirodhana	Nirōtaṇai	(control over the passions)	3080
3. Darbha	Taruppai	(sacred grass)	2464

(ii) In some neuter nouns the final 'a' changes into 'u'. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1. Amṛta	amirtu	(ambrosia)	222
2. leśa	ilēcu	(easy)	770
3. sphaṭika)			
Pkt. phaliha)	paḷikku	(crystal)	192
4. palāśa	palācu	(a kind of tree, Butea Frondosa)	834
5. dūta[1]	tūtu	(message)	1876

(iii) In one case the final 'a' has become 'i'. For example :

Skt. stūpa   Tam. tūvi   (pinnacle)   531

(iv) In some words the final 'a' is dropped. For example :

Skt. nagara   Tam. nakar   (city)   701

---

1 'Dūta' in Skt. means messenger. The equivalent of Skt. 'dūta' in Tamil is 'Tūtan'. Here the word 'tūtu' which is used in the sense of 'message' in Tamil is not used in the same sense in Skt.

(v) 'a' which comes as the final letter of the word 'hanta' always changes into 'ō'. For example :

Skt. hanta   Tam. antō   1036, 1806

'ā'

Initial 'ā'

The initial 'ā' has always remained unchanged.

	Skt.	Tamil		
1.	ākula–	ākulam	(confusion)	1104
2.	ācāra	ācāram	(good conduct)	2889
3.	ajñā–			
	(Pkt. āṇā)	āṇai	(command)	1087
4.	ādara–	ātaram	(regard)	189
5.	ādi	āti	(beginning)	366

Medial 'ā'

The medial 'ā' often remains unchanged, sometimes shortens to 'a'.

For example

(i)	Skt.	Tamil		
1.	śalākā–	calākai	(iron rod)	669
2.	kalāpa–	kalāpam	(women's zone of beads consisting of sixteen strands)	2069
3.	ācāra	ācāram	(good conduct)	2889

(ii)	Skt.	Tamil		
1.	Kumāri	kumari	(virgin)	368
2.	kalāpa	kalavam	(peacock's tail)	1558, 1982, 2922
3.	pātaka (sin.)	patakar	(sinners)	2783

Final 'ā'

As a general rule the final 'ā' is always changed into 'ai'. For example :

Skt.   Tamil

1. cintā   cintai   (thought)   913, 1124, 1304, 1701

In the following two cases the final 'ā' has been changed into 'i'. Here the 'ā' is preceded by a conjunct consonant in which the second member is 'y'. After the elision of y, the first member of the conjunct consonant has doubled :

	Skt.	Tamil		
1.	Kanyā–	Kanni	(virgin)	98
2.	Ayodhyā	Ayōtti	(a name of a city)	614

'i'

Initial ' i '

'i' in the first syllable of the word always remains unchanged. For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
1. indragopa–	intirakōpam	(cochineal insect)	1819
2. kinnara–	kinnaram	(A class of demi-gods)	660

Medial ' i '

The medial 'i' often remains unchanged, but in one case it has changed into 'u'. For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
1. gāminī–	kāmini	(a mantra which repeatedly pronounced enables one to fly through air)	1719
2. samidhā	camitai	(sacrificial fuel)	
3. paridhi[1]–	paruti	(sun)	2237

Final ' ī '

The final 'ī' always remains unchanged For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
1. śakti–	catti–	(a spear)	144
2. chavi–	cavi–	(beauty)	2484

'ī'

Initial ' ī '

'ī' in the first syllable also remains unchanged. For eample :

Skt.	Tamil		
1. gīta–	kītam–	(song)	1241, 2480
2. śīla–	cīlam–	(conduct	1545, 2392

Medial ' ī '

Normally the medial 'ī' remains unchanged, but in one case the medial ' ī ' has shortened to 'i'. For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
1. dvīpa	tīpam	(island)	503
2. khalīna[2]–	kaliṇam–	(a bit of horse's bridle)	784

---

1 In Skt. 'paridhi' means a halo round the Sun. In Tamil 'paruti', which has come from Skt. 'paridhi', is used as a word for Sun.

2 Khalīna–This word has come from Greek.

Final ' ī '

The final 'ī' always shortens to 'i'. For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1.	kumārī–	kumari–	(virgin)	368
2.	dāsī–	tāci–	(a maid servant)	2002

' u '

The vowel 'u' remains unchanged, be it initial, medial or final. For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1.	uttama–	uttamam–	(best)	753
2.	upādhyāya–	uvātti–	(teacher)	1090
3.	ākula–	ākulam–	(confusion)	1104
4.	kuṭumba–	kuṭumpam–	(family)	1437
5.	madhu–	matu–	(sweet intoxicating drink)	190

In one case the 'u' in the first syllable,[1] has changed into 'o'; this word has been borrowed through Pali.

    Skt. pustaka–   Pali. potthaka–   Tam. pottakam–   (book)   2009

The medial 'u' has changed into 'i' in one case.

    Skt. manuṣa   Tam. māniṭan   (man)   1900

'ū'

The vowel 'ū' also, like 'u', often remains unchanged whether it is initial or medial. For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1.	sūci–	ūci–	(needle)	369
2.	karpūra–	karuppūram	(camphor)	1645

Sometimes 'ū' becomes short whether it is initial or medial. For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1	karpūra– (Pali & Pkt. kappūra)	kappuram–	(camphor)	197
2.	cūrṇa Pkt. cuṇṇa	cuṇṇam–	(powder)	2369
3.	tūlikā–	tukilikai[a] –	(painters' brush)	180, 1107
4.	rūpa–	uruvam–	(form)	1571

---

1 'U' in the first syllable of a Skt. word sometimes changes into 'o' in dravidian languages. This is noticeable even in the other dravidian languages like Kanarese and Telugu. For example

    Skt. guṇa–   Telugu. goṇamu–
    ,, bhujaṅga–   Kan.   bojaṅga–

2 The insertion of 'k' in Tamil (Tukilikai) is difficult to explain.

'ṛ'

Since Tamil has no ṛ in its vowel system, when Skt. words with ṛ are borrowed in Tamil, the letter ṛ undergoes three kinds of changes, i.e. the Skt. ṛ changes into ir, iru, or i in Tamil. For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
1. amṛta -	amirtu–	(ambrosia)	222
2. hṛdaya–	itayam– (Here the initial h is dropped) Kan. hidaya	(heart)	3.123
3. dṛḍha–	tiṭan–	(firm)	1546
4. kṛmi–	kirumi–	(worm)	1154

In one word the ṛ has changed into a, and this word has been borrowed in Tamil from Pkt. e.g. :

Skt. vṛtta-

Pkt. vaṭṭa– Tam. vaṭṭam (circle, round) 677

Pāli. vaṭṭa–

'e'

Skt. 'e', be it initial or medial, often remains unchanged. For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
1. eka–	ēkam–	(alone)	2326
2. kheda -	ētam[1]	(trouble)	1097
3. vega–	vēkam	(poison)	1274

The medial 'e' sometimes changes into 'ai'. For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
1. revati–	iraivati	(name of a nakṣatra)	506
2. videha–	vitaiyam	(a name of a country)	162

'ai'

The initial 'ai' sometimes changes into 'ayi'. For example :

Skt. airāvana Tam ayiravaṇam

'ai' in the first syllable often remains unchanged, but in one word it has changed to 'ey'. For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
1. kaivalya–	kaivalam	(final emancipation)	2741
2. kaitavam–	kaitavam	(deceit)	2873
3. daiva–	teyvam	(God)	241

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1 The word ētam would have also come from the Skt. word 'cheda'. Whether the Skt. word from which the Tamil 'ētam' has come is kheda or cheda the initial letter is dropped here. This dropping of the initial letters is difficult to explain.

'ai' in the initial syllable sometimes also changes into 'ē'. For example :

Skt. vaimānika   Tam. Vēmāṇikar (one who moves   2455
                                          about in a
                                          heavenly car)

The change of 'ai' into 'ē' or 'e' is also found in other dravidian languages and in Pkt. For example :

Skt. saindhava-   Kan. sendava   (horse)
  „ vaiśākha-   „ bēsage   (name of the second lunar month)

This change is also common in Pkt. (Pischel. Rule No. 60)

Skt. aiśvarya   (Pkt.) Amg. esajja
  „ airāvaṇa   „ (Śauraseni) erāvaṇa

'o'

The vowel 'o', whether it is initial or medial often remains unchanged.
For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1.	yojanā-	ōcaṇai	(distance)	338, 1901, 1192
2.	doṣa-	tōcam	(fault)	1784
	Pkt. dosa			
3.	rohiṇi	urōṇi		198

In one case, the 'o' in the first syllable, which is preceded by 'l', has changed into a.

Skt. loka-   Tam. ulakam   (world)   2812

The consonants

Tamil does not have counterparts for most of the Skt. consonants and in most cases these letters are altered according to the Tamil phonetic system. The four kinds of consonants in Skt., the hard, the hard aspirate, the soft, and the soft aspirate are represented only by the hard consonant in Tamil and sometimes even in this consonant changes take place in order to adjust itself according to the Tamil grammatical system. The following are the consonantal changes occuring in the Cc.

The gutturals, k, kh, g, and gh :

The Skt. letters kh, g, and gh, whether initial or medial are replaced by 'k' in Tamil and 'k' remains unchanged.

	Skt.	Tamil		
1	kalyāṇa–	kalyāṇam	(marriage)	784
	śakaṭa–	cakaṭam	(cart)	369
2	khalina–	kaliṇam	(a bit of horse's bridle)	784
	śaṅkha–	caṅkam	(conch)	701
3	gāminī–	kāmiṇi	(a mantra which helps to fly through air)	1713
	svāgata–	cuvākatam	(welcome)	1021
4	ghana–	kaṇam	(heavy)	922
	megha–	mēkam	(cloud)	2476

In one word, the initial kh has elided; e.g. :

Skt. kheda– Tam. ētam (trouble) 2988

In the word 'niyamam' the Skt. 'g' has changed into 'y'. Tamil must have borrowed this word from old Sinhalese.

Skt. nigama– (market place)
Pkt. nigama– (,, ,,)
Pali. nigama (,, town)   Tam. niyamam (village) 2601
O.Sinh. niyama (,, place)

The consonant ṅ always remains unchanged. For example :
Skt. hiṅgulika– Tam. iṅkulikam (vermilion) 2239

The palatals c, ch, j, and jh :

The palatals c, ch, j and jh are replaced by 'c' and 'c' remains unchanged in Tamil. For example :

	Skt.	Tamil		
1	cakra–	cakkaram	(wheel)	2761
	kūrca–	kuccu	(weaver's brush)	615
2	chavi–	cavi	(beauty)	2484
	piñcha–	piccam	(peacock's tail)	2524
3	jana–	caṇam	(people)	828, 1841
	añjana–	añcaṇam	(collyrium)	1632

The consonant ñ always remains unchanged. For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
pañca–	pañca	(five)	1896
kuñjara–	kuñcaram	(elephant)	1840, 2230

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The cerebrals ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, and ḍh :

The cerebrals in Skt, ṭh, ḍ and ḍh, are replaced by ṭ, and ṭ remains unchanged. For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1	śakaṭa-	cakaṭam-	(cart)	363
2	pīṭhikā	pīṭikai	(seat)	2213
3	bhiṇḍipāla-	piṇṭipālam-	(a missile)	2269
	piṇḍa	piṇṭam	(a morsel)	1844
4	dṛḍha	tiṭaṉ	(firm)	1546

The cerebral ḍ has changed into ḷ in the word cūḷāmaṇi and to ḷ in the word keluḷaṉ.

Skt.	*Tamil*		
garuḍa-	keluḷaṉ	(vulture)	1926
cūḍāmaṇi-	cuḷāmaṇi	(an ornament)	786

The cerebral ṭ has changed into ḷ in the word 'paḷikku'. This word in Tamil has come through Pkt.

Skt. Sphaṭika   Pkt. Phaḷiha[1]   Tamil Paḷikku   (crystal)

The consonant ṇ always remains unchanged. For example :

Skt. cūrṇa   Tam. cuṇṇam   (powder)

The Skt. dentals t, th, d, and dh :

The Skt. dental t always remains unchanged and the other dentals th, d, and dh are replaced by t. For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1	tapas-	tavam	(penance)	1545, 2555
	nimitta-	nimittam	(omen)	1129
2	sthaṇḍila-	taṇṭilam	(place designed for the sacrificial fire)	2426
	tīrtha-	tīrttam	(a doctrine)	1247
3	dūta	tūtu	(message)	1876
	nandaka-	nāntakam	(sword)	815
4	dhūma-	tūmam	(smoke)	847
	nirodhanā	nirōtaṉai	(control over passions)	3080

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1   Ref. R. Pischel, *Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages*, 2nd edition, 1965, para **238.**

The consonant n usually remains unchanged in the initial and medial and the final n very often drops. For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
nidhi-	niti	(treasure)	402
nandaka-	nāndakam	(sword)	815

Sometimes the dental n changed to cerebral ṇ.

1	Skt. –ayana	Pkt. Ayaṇa	Tam. Ayaṇa	(walking)	851
		Pal. ayana			
2	„ sunaga	Pkt. suṇaga	„ cuṇaṅkaṉ	(dog)	960

This change always happens in Pkt Therefore this could have been an influence of Pkt.

The Skt. labials, p, ph, b, and bh :

The Skt. labials p often remains unchanged and the other palatals ph, b and bh are replaced by p. For example :

	Skt.	Tamil		
1	paṭṭa-	Paṭṭam	(a head ornament)	472
	dvīpa·	Tīpam	(an island)	503
2	sphaṭika-	paḷikku	(crystal)	192
Pkt	phaḷiha-			
3	bodhi-	pōti	(wisdom)	3ϵ6
	kuṭumba-	kuṭumpam	(family)	1437
4	bharaṇi	paraṇi	(the second nakṣatra)	1813
	darbha-	taruppai	(sacred grass)	2464

p, and b sometimes also changes into v. This kind of change is common in Pkt. dialects.[1]

P–V

1	Skt. pāpin–	Tam. pāvi	(sinner)	761
	Pkt. pāvi			
2	Ski. tapas–	Tam. tavam	(penance)	77, 1545, 2555
	Pkt. tava			

B–V

1	Skt. ṣabara-	Tam. cavarar	(hunters)	1655
	Pkt. savara			
2	Skt. kabandha-	Tam. kavantam	(a headless trunk)	꞉310
	Pali. kavandha			
	O.Sinh. kavaṅdha			

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1 R. Pischel, *op. cit.* Paras. 147–148.

The consonant m usually remains unchanged. For example :

Skt. māna-	Tam. māṇam	(sulk)	2382
,, vimāna-	Tam. vimāṇam	(self moving aerial car)	564

In one case m had also changed to v, like the other p and b.

Skt. pratimā- Pkt. paḍimā- Tam. paṭivam (form)   395, 1166

The consonants y, r, l, and v :

The consonant y often remains unchanged. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
yāma-	yāmam	(night)	1269
ayaṇa-	ayaṇam	(path)	851

Very often the initial y is preceded by a prothetic vowel i.

Skt. yakṣi- Tam. iyakki (Famale yakṣa)   1015, 596, 1178
                                                   1590, 1600, 1658

The initial y has dropped in the word ōcaṇai.

Skt. yojanā- Tam. ōcaṇai (distance)   336, 1901, 1142

r

The consonant r normally remains unchanged, but since r can not be an initial letter in Tamil, always a prothetic vowel a, i, or u is added. For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1	raṅga-	araṅkam	(stage)	2112
	rava-	aravam	(sound)	2526
2	ravi-	iravi	(sun)	2496
	revati-	irēvati	(name of a nakṣatra)	506
	rasa-	iratam	(mercury)	960
3	roma-	urōmam	(hair)	2426
	rūpa-	uruvam	(shape)	1571
	rohiṇī	urōṇi	(name of a star)	198

In one instance the r in the medial has changed to l.

Skt. garuḍa   Tam. kalulaṇ   (vulture)   ₁405

l

The Skt. 'l' also often remains unchanged. But the initial 'l' is always preceded by a prothetic vowel 'i' or ' u ', since in Tamil 'l' cannot stand in the beginning of a word. For example :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1	lakṣya-	ilakkam	(target)	188
	laya-	ilayam	(a musical note)	1269, 682
	leśa-	ilecu	(a small amount)	727, 1258, 770
2	loka-	ulakam	(world)	2812

V

The Skt. 'v' in most cases remains unchanged, be it initial or medial.
For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1 vajra-	vacciram	(hard)	2732
2 varṇa- Pkt. vaṇṇa-)	vaṇṇam	(paint)	1107
3 vrata- Pkt. vata-)	vatam	(religious observance)	378
4 pavitra-	pavittiram	(pure)	2311

In the word pariyāḷam, the Skt. 'v' has changed to 'y'.

Skt. parivāra Pkt. pariyāḷa)	Tam. pariyāḷam (followers)	949

The sibilants :

Since Tamil has no sibilants in its consonant system, when Skt. words with sibilants ś, ṣ and s, are borrowed, these letters undergo certain changes to be adapetd to the Tamil consonantal system. The following changes in the sibilants can be noted from the words used in the Cc.

The sibilant ' ś '

The palatal ' ś ' normally changes to 'c' in Tamil. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1 śunaka-	cuṇaṅkaṉ	(dog)	960
2 śibikā-	civikai	(a palanquin)	2379, 2628
3 śikhā	cikai	(hair)	195

Sometimes the medial ś changes to y and this change is also common in Malayalam. For example :

Skt. śmaśāna- Pkt. maśaṇa-)	Tam. mayāṇam (burial ground)	301

The initial ś is sometimes dropped. For example :

Skt. śaraṇa-	Tam. araṇam	(protection)	777
	Mal. araṇ		
Skt. śmaśāna-	Tam. mayāṇam	(burial ground)	301
	Mal. masāṇa		

The sibilant 'ṣ' :

The sibilant 'ṣ' normally changes to 'c'. For example ·

Skt. doṣa- Pkt. dosa- Pal dosa	Tam. tōcam	(fault)	1784

In some words 's' has also changed to 't'. For example :

Skt. maṇuṣa–   Tam. māṇiṭam   (human being)   1900

The sibilant 's'

The dental sibilant 's', also like the other sibilants, normally changes to 'c'. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1 Sūrya–	Cūriyaṇ	(Sun)	2208
2 Sundara–	Cuntaram	(goodness)	121
3 Sindūra	Cintūram	(vermilion)	86

Sometimes the initial 's' which is followed by a vowel elides. For example ;

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1 sūci–	ūci	(needle)	369
2 samara–	amar	(war)	777

Sometimas the medial 's' changes to 't', and this change is also very common in Malayalam. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*			
1 rasa–	iratam	Mal. iratam	(mercury)	960

In the word kuppāyam the medial 's' has changed to y.

Skt. kūrpāsa–   Tam. kuppāyam   (jacket)   431

The final 's' in Skt. words is always dropped in Tamil.

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1 havis–	avi	(oblation)	1604
2 maṇas–	maṇam	(mind)	367
	(Here the neuter ending 'm' is substituted.)		

The aspirant 'h' :

The initial 'h' is always dropped in Tamil. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1 havis-	avi	(oblation)	1601
2 hāra–	āram	(necklace of pearls)	349
3 hiṅgulika–	iṅkulikam	(vermilion)	2239
4 hiraṇya–	iraṇīyaṇ	(a name of an asura)	1813

The medial 'h' very often changes to 'k' and sometimes it assimilates the preceding nasal also. For example :

Skt. smhai–   Tam. ciṅkam   (lion)   237

The medial 'h' is sometimes elided. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1 rōhiṇi	urōṇi	(name of the third star)	198
2 vrīhi	virṛi	(rice)	89

Conjunct Consonants :

Initially, the consonant clusters of the Skt. loan-words always become a single consonant or broken up by intrusive vowels, i, or u, or a in Tamil. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1 sthaṇḍila	tanṭilam	(place designed for sacrificial fire)	2466
2 sthāla	tālam	(plate)	398
3 sthāna–	tāṇam	(place)	542, 1567, 2823
4 sphaṭika– Pkt. phaliha)	paḷikku Mal. paṭikam	(crystal)	1921
5 dvīpa–	tīpam	(island)	503
6 kramuka	kamuku	(arecanut)	68, 1616
7 svāgata	cuvākatam	(welcome)	1021

(here the intrusive vowel 'u' has been introduced and the initial 's' has changed to 'c'.)

If the consonant cluster has 'y', 'r', or 'l' as the second member in a Skt. word, generally it takes ' i ' as the intrusive vowel in Tamil If the first member is 'k', 'c', 't', or 'p' it doubles. For example :

Skt.	*Tamil*		
1 astra	attiram	(arrow)	815
2 yantra	entiram	(machine)	1614
3 Sūrya	cūriyaṉ	(sun)	2208
4 hiraṇya	iraṇiyaṉ	(a name of an asura)	1813
5 śukla	cukkiḷa	(pure)	3081

In some cases before the 'r' an 'a' is included. For example :

Skt. cakra   Tam. cakkaram (wheel)   2761

If 'r' is the first member of the consonant cluster it takes a prothetic 'u' in Tamil. For example :

Skt. karpūra Tam. karuppūram (here 'p' is also doubled.)

There are instances where in a consonant cluster either progressive assimilation or regressive assimilation takes place.

Progressive assimilation

	Skt.	Tamil		
1	guhya–	kuyyam	(hypocrisy)	253
2	cūrṇa Pkt. cunṇa)	cunṇam	(powder)	2369
3	alaktaka	arattakam	(red lac)	2459
4	pustakam Pkt. potthaka[1])	potthākam	(book)	2009

In a consonant cluster if the first letter is a nasal it changes into a consonant of the group to which the second letter belongs. For example;

Skt.   siṃha   Tamil.   ciṅkam   (lion)   237

The sibilant 'ṣ' is very often assimilated when it comes in a combination with voiceless stops; or sometimes undergoes changes. For example :

	Skt.	Tamil.		
1.	lakṣya	ilakkam	(target)	188
	catuṣka	catukkam	(junction where four roads meet)	112
2.	kṣema	cēmam or ēmam	(a sacred place)	670

Hybrid forms in the Cc.

The term hybrid form is used for the terms constructed with Tāmil and Skt. words, and these forms often function like compounds. In the early Middle Tamil period there are only a few hybrid forms. For example:

oruvantam (Tirukkuraḷ-563, 593)

Tam. oru+ Skt. anta = oruvantam ' certainly '.

This word oruvantam corresponds to the Skt. word ekānta, but the word oruvantam here gives the meaning certainty.

In the Cc. the number of hybrid forms is comparatively high. The following are some of the hybrid forms found in the Cc.

1. añcaṉakkōl –1894.

    Skt añjana   +   Tam. kōl   = a pencil to paint the eyelashes
    (collyrium)   (stick)   with collyrium.

2. aṭṭarakku–468.

    Tam. atta   +   Skt. lākṣā   = melted lac
    (melted)   (lac, wax)

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1. In Prakrit before consonant groups 'u' may become 'o'. 'sta' and 'stha' become 'ṭha'. R. Pischel, *op. cit.* paras. 125-207.

3. anantanāṉmai – 2846
    Skt. ananta   +   Tam. nāṉmai   – the four divine attributes
    (endless)   (four)   obtained by the soul in the
                                                        final state of liberation.

4. araṅkakkūtti – 1557
    Skt. raṅga   +   Tam. kūtti   – a prostitute
    (stage)   (a female dancer,
                                  prostitute)

5. aravattirai – 1766
    Skt. rava   +   Tam. tirai   – the waves which make.
    (noise)   (waves)   noise

6. aruntavar – 1895
    Tam. arun   +   Skt. tapas[1]   – great ascetics
                                 (those who do
                                 great penance)

7. ākulappūcal – 1095
    Skt. ākula   +   Tam. pūcal   – to cry out in confusion.
    (confused)   (cry)

8. iṅkitakkaḷippu – 145
    Skt. iṅgita   +   Tam. kaḷippu   – pleasure indulging in
    (interpretation of   (pleasure)   amorous thoughts.
      internal sentiments
      by external gestures)

9. intiravil–86, 121
    Skt. indra   +   Tam. vil   –rainbow.
    (indra)   (bow)

10. uruṉēmi–2237.
    Tam. urul   +   Skt. nemi   –wheel of a chariot.
    (whirl round)   (wheel)

11. ulakamaṉṉavaṉ–1558
    Skt. loka   +   Tam. maṉṉavaṉ   – emperor.
    (world)   (king)

12. entiravūcal –2774
    Skt. yantra   +   Tam. ūcal   – a swing that swings
    (machine)   (swing)   with the help of a machine.

13. ēkaviṉpam–855, 1657
    Skt. ēka   +   Tam. iṉpam   – pleasure which is unique.
    (one)   (pleasure)

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1 In Skt. ' tapas ' means penance. In Tamil the word ' tavar ' has come from Skt. ' tapas '
meaning the people who perform penance.

Sc–24

14. karumakkaṭal–2741
    Skt. karman   +   Tam. kaṭal   – tke ocean of the fruits
    (deeds)   (ocean)   of deeds

15. karumattevvar–3074
    Skt. karman   +   Tam. tevvar   – enemies in the form
    (deeds)   (enemies)   of fruit of deeds.

16. kannimāṭam–585
    Skt. Kanyā   +   Tam. mātam   – a residence of virgrin
    (virgin)   (residence)   princess.

17. ciṅkanōkku–1569
    Skt. simha   +   Tam. nōkku   – looking over the shoulders
    (lion)   (look)   with neck turned as a lion.

18. kāmakkalam–929
    Skt. kāma   +   Tam. kalam   – the vessel of desire.
    (desire)   (vessel)

19. kāmakkuḷavi–921
    Skt. kāma   +   Tam. kuḷavi   – desire in the form of
    (desire)   (child)   chıld.

20. kāmaṇappaṇai–2505
    Skt. kāma   +   Tam. appaṇai   – the bed of flowers.
    (the God of   (the bed of
    love)   arrows)

21. kuṅkumakkatirkaḷ–2153
    Skt. kuṅkuma   +   Tam. katirkal   – red colour rays.
    (saffron)   (rays)

22. kuṇakkaṭal–2813
    Skt. guṇa   +   Tam, kaṭal   – the sea of virtue
    (virtue)   (sea)

23. kumarippōr–806
    Skt. kumārı   +   Tam. pōr   – tbe first military engage-
    (virgin)   (war)   ment of a prince.

24. kumariyāṭal–2020.
    Skt. kumāri   +   Tam. āṭal   – (i) to perform sacred
    (vırgin)   (play)   ablutions at Cape
                                                     Comarin.
                                                 (ii) to unite with a virgin

25. kōcikanīr–1673
    Skt. kauṣika   +   Tam. nır   – water dropping from a
    (silk)   (water)   silk cloth.

26. kōcika āṭai-1650

    Skt. kauṣika   +   Tam. āṭai[1]   – a dress made of silk cloth.
    (silk)   (cloth, dress)

27. cīlavēli-379

    Skt. śīla   +   Tam. vēli   – a fence made of good
    (good conduct)   (fence)   conduct

28. taraṇikāvalaṇ-1813.

    Skt. dharaṇi +   Tam. kāvalaṇ   – the king.
    (earth)   (protector)

29. tavappaḷḷi-347

    Skt. tapa   +   Tam. paḷḷi   – hermitage
    Pkt. tava
    (penance)   (residence)

30. tāpatappaḷḷi-337

    Skt. tāpasāḥ +   Tam. paḷḷi   – hermitage
    (ascetics)   (residence)

31. tavaviḷakku-2850

    Skt. tapas   +   Tam. viḷakku   – the lamp of penance.
    Pkt. tava-
    (penance)   (lamp)

32. tūpamuṭṭi-558.

    Skt. dhūpa   +   Tam. muṭṭi   – a thurible of incense
    (incense)   (pot)

33. tēcikamuṭi-2549

    Skt. taijasika +   Tam. muṭi   – a bright crown.
    (bright)   (crown)

34. nocitavam-1132

    Tam. noci   +   Skt. tapas   – a little penance.
                 Pkt. tava-
    (little)   (penance)

35. pātāḷa-mu-t-ti-2462

    Skt. pātāḷa   +   Tam. mu + t + ṭi[2] – the submarine fire.
    (lower world)   (three)   (fire)

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1 There is also an opinion that the word 'āṭai' in Tamil could have come from Skt. 'Śāta(ka).' Here ś would have been elided and the final a would have changed to ai.

Note :–This word is found only in Malayāḷam out of all the other Dravidian languages.

2 The word ' muṭṭi ' in Tamil is made like the word ' muṉṉir '. This idea of three fires is **not** found in Skt. As there are only three oceans according to the Tamil literary tradition, **the** fire also would have been numbered as three.

36. puṇṇiyanampi–1639
      Skt. puṇya   +   Tam. nampi   – a person of great merit.
      (merit)   (best one among
                            men)

37. pōkamakaḷir–2173
      Skt. bhoga–   +   Tam. makaḷir   – courtesans
      (pleasure)   (ladies)

38. pōkam-īṉra-puṇṇiyaṉ–362
      Skt. bhoga   + Tam. īṉra + Skt. puṇya
                          – the one who is of great religious
                            merit which produces enjoyment.

39. maṇikkai–839.
      Skt. maṇi   +   Tam. kai   – a handle made of precious stone.
      (jewel, stone)   (hand)

40. matuttaṇṭu–863.
      Skt. madhu   +   Tam. taṇṭu   – a bamboo tube for holding liquor.
      (wine)   (stick)

41. vācaney–622.
      Skt. vāsa   +   Tam. ney   – fragrant ointment.
      (fragrant)   (oil)

Skt. compounds in the Cc.

Apart from the hybrid forms, Tēvar has used also many compounds made of Skt. words in his work. In forming the compounds he has often followed the rules of Tamil euphonic combination. For example, in the compound ekavaṇai, the semi vowel v has been inserted in between the two words to bring them together. In Skt. this compound will take the form ekājñā. But in some places he has also followed the Skt. rules of euphonic combinations. For example :

tevātitevaṉ – tēva-ati-tēvaṉ

cantirōtayam – cantira + utayam.

According to Tamil rules it should have become cantiravutayam. Though there are one or two cases like this, very often Tamil rules of euphonic combinations are followed in making compounds even with two Skt. words. There are two kinds of compounds made of Skt. words in the Cc :

    (i) The compounds which are common to both Skt. and Tamil.

    (ii) The compounds which are not found in Skt. though they are made of Skt. words and are found in Tamil.

Compounds which are used both in Skt. and in Tamil :

1. aṭṭa-maṅkaḷam – 629, 2410, 2428, 2484
   aṣṭa + maṅgaḷa   – a collection of eight lucky things : (a lion, a bull, an elephant, a water jug, a fan, a flag, a trumpet, and a lamp) or (a brahmin, a cow, a fire, gold, ghee, the sun, water and a king).

2. a-lōkam–3082
   a-loka   – portion lying outside loka (Jaina)

3. āti-y-antam–3082
   ādi + anta   – beginning and end

4. āvaṇa-vīti –2118
   āpaṇa (Skt.)
   āvaṇa (Pkt,) + vīthi   – bazaar

5. intira-kumāraṉ – 1253
   indra + kumāra   – the son of Indra

6. irāca-mā-nākam – 1276
   rāja + mahā + nāga   – king of cobras

7. ēka-mā-nakar – 2398
   eka + mahā + nagara   – the city which is unique and big.

8. ēka-v-āṇai – 141
   ēka + ājñā (Skt.)   – sole dominion
        āṇā (Pkt.)

9. tēva-kītam – 2052
   deva + gīta   – celestial music

10. tēva-tuntupi – 2367
    deva + dundubhi   – drums of the gods

11. tēva-ati-tēvaṉ
    deva + adhi + deva   – god of the gods, an Arhat

12. nara-pati – 1617
    nara + pati   – the king

13. muka-vācam – 1055
    mukha + vāsa   – fragrant spices

    (In Sanskrit, the compound 'mukhavāsa' and 'mukhavāsana' are used. Since this mouth perfume is made of five aromatics, the word 'pañca' is also added to the word 'mukhavāsa'. In some instances the word 'mukha' is elided and is used as 'pañca vācam' in Tamil.)

14. pañca-muka-vācam – 2026
    pañca + mukha + vāsa   – the five aromatics

15. pañca-vacam – 1896
   pañca + vāsa   – the five aromatics

16, pāta-mulam – 511
   pāda + mūla   – feet

17. piṇṭi-p-pakavaṇ – 957
   piṇḍi + bhagavān   – the one who is seated under the Aśoka tree
                                     (Arhat).

18. pūmi-tēvi – 2233
   bhūmi + devi   – the goddess of earth

19. pōka-pūmi – 2580
   bhoga + bhūmi   – heaven

20. maṇi-mēkalai – 2384
   maṇi + mekhalā   – a girdle of gems

21. mataṉa-kītam – 1211
   madana + gīta   – love song

22. mā-tavar – 1195
   mahā + tapas   – ascetics

23. kāla-c-cakkaram – 1839
   kāla + cakra   – the wheel of time

24. kuru-kulam–290, 1805, 2605, 3015
   kuru + kula   – the Kuru dynasty

25. cantirotayam – 455
   candra + udaya   – moonrise

26. cala-ñ-cayaṉam – 1673
   jala + śayana   – a bed in water

27. cittira-mā-maṇṭapam–2370
   citra + mahā + maṇṭapa   – a beautiful hall

28. cukkila-t-tiyāṉam – 3081
   śukla + dhyānam   – meditation on pure spirit

29. cuka-tā – 3096
   sukha + dā   – one who gives comfort.

30. tik-kayaṅkaḷ – 1794
   dig + gajāḥ   – the elephants guarding the eight directions

31. kāma-pūmi
   kāma + bhūmi   – the world of enjoyment.

Compounds which are not found in Skt. though they are made of words from Skt. and are found only in Tamil :

1. antara-kumāraṇ – 1264
    antara + kumāra   – a demigod who is in the intermediate space.

This may be the counterpart of the Skt. compound 'vyantara'.

2. uruva-c-cātakam – 1571
    rūpa + jātaka   – science of the shape

3. karpakam-kāma-valli – 1129
    kalpaka + kāma + valli   – the creeper Kāmavalli on the tree Kalpaka

4. kāppiya-k-kavikaḷ – 1585
    kāvya + kavikaḷ   – the poets who compose kāvyas

5. kāma-mālai – 1357
    kāma + māla   – a garland of desire

6. kīta-vīti – 2039
    gīta + vīthi   – an avenue of music

7. catu-muka – 766
    catur + mukha   – four divisions (of army)

8. tava-vīrar – 3104
    (Skt.) tapas = virāḥ   – sages heroic in performing austerities.
    (Pkt.) tava

9. matu-p-pali – 471
    madhu + bali   – the oblation of wine

10. viṇai-vittakaṇ – 1002
    vīnā + vidagdha   – the expert in playing on the (vīṇa) lute

There are also a few Tamil translations of the Skt. compounds in the Cc. For example :

Skt.	Tamil	
1. gṛhadevatā	illurai teyvam	– the domestic deity
2. dvijanmānaḥ	iru pirappāḷar	– brahmins
3. kāmavallī	iṉpakkoṭi	– a creeper found in svarga
4. aṣṭakarmaṇi	eṇviṇai	– a fruit of deeds accumulating in eight ways
5. hṛdayakamala	akappā	– heart
6. śataghnī	nūrruvaraikkolli	– a deadly machine which kills a hundred people at a time,
7. pañcāgni	aḷalaintu	– the five fires : the dakṣiṇa, gārhapatya, āhavanīya, sabhya, āvasathya

There are also several Skt. verbal roots borrowed from Skt. and used according to the Tamil conjugational rules. For example :

	Tamil	*Skt. Verbal root*		
1.	aci-ppa	has—	—laughing	(659)
2.	ilak-ittu	likh—	—having written	(180)
3.	ilaṅkittiṭṭāṉ	laṅgh—,	—jumped	(191)
4.	layasm-ā	laya— (li)	—to disappear	(1256)
5.	kaṇi-tta	gaṇ—	—calculated, decided	(2518)
6.	uti—	udi—	—to rise	(1340)
7.	kuñci-ttu	kuñc—	—having bent	(341)
8.	cīva	jīva (imperative)	—live !	(9)
9.	cēvi	sev—	—having served	(633)
10.	mantiri-ttu	mantra—	—having said the mantra	(2465)
11.	vañci-ttu	vañc—	—having deceived	(1756)
12.	vaṇṇi-ttal	varṇa—	—describe	(2458)
13.	vāci-kkiṉṟāṉ	vac—	—reading	(669)
14.	vitāṉi-ttatu	vitāna—	—extended	(861)
15.	virōti	viruddha—	—opposed	(3080)

Semantic changes :

When words with the same meaning are borrowed from a different language, and are used side by side, a distinction of meaning tends to develop between these words. In some cases, this distinction in meaning seems to be even totally different from the original meaning. A study of the loan-words in the Cc. enables one to observe two kinds of semantic changes in it; one, the development of new meaning which is also common to some of the other Dravidian languages, and the other, the changes which are only peculiar to Tamil. The study of the following words which have undergone certain semantic changes will explain the different kinds of changes.

1. kalyāṇam–784 :

The Skt. word kalyāṇa from which the Tamil word kalyāṇam is derived has the meaning beautiful, excellence, prosperous, luck, etc. This word when borrwed in Tamil, the meaning has been restricted and it specially meant only wedding or marriage. The entrance of this word in Tamil can even be seen in the early Middle Tamil period. For example ;

kalliyāṇan tēvar pitir viḷā...   (*Ācārakkōvai, 48;1.*)

(The marriage, the rituals observed for Tevar, the ceremony for mane people....)

This change is also common in Malayalam and there though the word is used in the sense of fine, lucky, etc., it also has the meaning wedding or marriage.

2. kām¹ṇi–1713 :

The word kāmiṇi is derived from the Skt. word gāmin which means 'the one who goes' (pal. gamika, Pkt. gāmi-one who goes). In the Cc. the word kāmiṇi is restricted only to a certain mantra which helps one to fly through the air when repeatedly pronounced. This restriction in meaning is not found in the other dravidian languages, but it is already in use in the Skt. Jaina texts. Tēvar also must have borrowed this word from the Jaina texts written in Skt. and Pkt.

3. cūlam–3003 :

The word cūlam is obviously derived from the Skt. word śūla which means the trident. Generally it is connected with God Śiva, and considered as his weapon. There are references to this word in the early Middle Tamil texts too. For example :

valaiy uṭaik kaiyil *cūlam* ēnti .   (Cilap. XII. 60)
(bearing the trident in her hand adorned with bangles.)

toṭutta pācattu piṭitta *cūlattu*...   (Mani. VI. 46)
(with a noose which was tied and holding a trident ...)

In Silp. XI. 73 the branched routes are compared with the trident of Śiva.

piṟai muṭik kaṇṇip periyōṉ ēntiyav
aṟai vāy *cūlat* aru neṟi kavarkkum...

(The routes which are branched like the forked mouthed trident held by the Lord Śiva who has worn the crescent moon in his matted hair as a garland)

It is clear from these references that originally the word cūlam was used for the trident.

In the Cc. the lightning rod is denoted by the word cūlam.

cūla neṟṟiya kōpurat tōṟṟamum ..3003

(the appearance of pyramidal towers with lightning rods fixed on them ...)

This usage is not common either in Skt. or in Tamil. The lightning rod must have been in the shape of a trident and that would have made Tēvar call the lightning rod cūlam. This usage of cūlam in the sense of lightning rod is only found in the Cc.

4. tīrttam–1247 :

Tīrttam is derived from the Skt. word tīrtha and it is generally used to denote holy water, a way, a sacred place, bathing place, etc. etc. When this word was borrowed in the Cilappatikāram it is also used in the same sense, i. e. a place of a ceremonial bathing.

tīrttakk karaiyum tēvar kōṭṭamum...   XII. 27

(The banks of the sacred ceremonial bathing place and the temples of the gods.)

Sc-25

In the Cc. this word has been used to denote the sacred āgamās and this is the first time in Tamil this word is used in this sense. In Skt. also it is never used to denote āgamās, but, since the word tīrtha has a sense of holiness, Tēvar must have used this word for the holy āgamās of Jains.

Later on and in modern usage too, tīrttam is very often used to denote water.

5. nāntakam-815 :

The word nāntakam is derived from the Skt. word nandaka, which denotes the sword of Kṛṣna. In Tamil, this word though specifically denotes the sword of Kṛṣna, generally it is used for all swords. In Malayalam too this word is often used for swords, and it is always used with the first syllable of the word lengthened, i.e. nāntakam. In Tamil both forms nantakam and nāntakam are common. In the Cc. nāntakam is used in a general sense to denote swords. For example :

nallavai puriyu māntar nāntakam piḷaittu vīḷā...   815

(The sword will never fall from the hands of people who do good deeds, even under accidental circumstances.)

In modern Tamil both forms nāntakam and nantakam are in use.

6. paruti-2237 :

The word paruti is derived from the Skt. word paridhi which generally means the halo round the sun or moon. It also means a fence, a circle, circumference of a circle, etc. In Tamil, though being used in the original sense as in Sanskrit, very often it is also used to denote the sun. Apart from the word pariti, the word paruti with the medial i being changed to u, is also used. Even in the Caṅkam literature there are references to these two words paruti and pariti in the sense of sun. For example :

vin poru neṭu varaip paritiyil toṭutta..[1]

(Like the sun on lofty hills which reach the sky..)

There are also references to pariti and paruti in Aham. 379 : 7, 229 : 1, 360 : 2, kalit. 26 : 2, puram. 224 : 7, 358 : 1, perumpāṇ. 2, Kaḷavaḷi 4 : 2 in the meaning sun.

Tēvar has used this word paruti in both meanings, the halo of the sun and the sun. For example :

oḷḷ aḷar *paruti* mēḷor *paruti* niṉrataṉaiy ottāṉ. 2203

(he stood like a bright flaming sun over its halo.)

7. vēkam-1274 :

The word vēkam is obviously derived from the Sanskrit word vēga which means fast, speed, passion, etc. In Tamil also it is often used in the same sense except for the usage we find in Cc. 1274. Here this word has been used to denote poison,

aravu kāṉra *vēkam* mikkiṭṭat aṉṟē.   1274

(Alas ! the effect of the poison emitted by the snake was great.)

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1 Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai – line 299.

Tēvar must have used this word for poison since the effect of the poison is very quick. There is also a reference to vega in the Cc. in the sense of quickness. For example :

matiyiṇukk ivarnta vēka māmaṇi nākam..　　　　　　　　982
(the quick snake which tries to catch the moon..)

Linguistic influence through Jainism :

The Cc. is the first Tamil literary work in which most of the Jaina religious and philosophical ideas are elaborately discussed. As discussed earlier in the Vth chapter, Tēvar had to borrow words from Skt and Pkt. Jaina treatises to explain these religious and philosophical ideas. In this effort he has used Skt. terms, Skt. compounds, and compounds made of Skt. and Tamil. In some instances he has translated the Skt. and Pkt. terms and Skt. compounds in Tamil. In a few places he has explained the Jaina philosophical terms in Tamil phrases. These various forms will be analysed below,

Sanskrit words :

	Skt.	*Tamil*		
1.	krodha-	kurōtaṇ	(Here the samjvalana-krodha karma is expressed by the word kurōtaṇ)	3080
2.	māna-	māṇaṇ	(the samjvalana-māna is expressed by the word māṇaṇ)	3080
3.	māyā	māyaṇ	(the samjvalana-māyā karma is expressed by the word māyaṇ)	
4.	lobha	ulōpaṇ	(the samjvalana-lobha karma is expressed by the word ulōpaṇ)	3080

In this word 'ulōpaṇ' the initial u is added as l cannot be the initial letter in Tamil.

In the above four words, Tēvar has added the masculine ending ṇ. Though in Sanskrit these words except māya belong to masculine gender, when borrowed in Tamil they usually take neuter endings, as krōtam, māṇam, and lōpam. The word māya is used with feminine ending, i.e. māyā in Sanskrit will become māyai in Tamil. Here Tēvar would have added the masculine ending ṇ as he potrays these four karmas as soldiers who came to fight against Civakaṇ.

5.	nirodhana-	nirōtaṇai	(obstruction)	3080
6.	virāga-	virākam	(passionless)	3030
7.	ghātīya-	kāti	(the four ghātiya karmas)	3082, 1240
				2713
8.	dāna-	tāṇam	(gift)	2632
9.	gāmini	kāmiṇi	(a mantra which helps one to fly in the sky)	1713

Skt.	Tamil		
10. guṇa	kuṇam	(the three guṇas, samyag-darśana, samyag-jñāna, and samyag cāritra are denoted by the word kuṇam)	
11. jñāna–	nāṇam	(here the word jñānam means samyag-jñāna)	381
12. śrutam	cutam	(sacred knowledge)	3038

In this word, as a consonant cluster cannot come at the beginning of a word in Tamil, the letter 'r' in 'sr' has been elided and 's' has changed into 'c'.

| 13. tīrtham | tīrttam | (the sacred texts) | 1247 |
| 14. tīrthan | tīrttaṇ | (lord Arhat) | 821 |

There are two instances where Tēvar uses Indo-Aryan forms. They are :

1. Skt pracalā	Tam. pacalai	(pracalā karma)	3080
Pali. pacalā			
2. Skt. nidrā	Tam. nittai	(nidrā karma)	3030
Pali. niddā			

Sanskrit compounds :

| 1. aloka (Skt.) | alōkam (Tamil) | | 3082 |
| a + loka | | | |

Hybrid Forms :

1. anantanāṇmai
   Skt. ananta + Tam. nāṇmai   (the infinite four)   2846
2. karumattevvar
   Skt. karma + Tam. tevvar   (the karmas who are the enemies)   3074
3. karumakkeṭal
   Skt. karma + Tam. kaṭal   (the ocean of karmas)   2741
4. kaivalaccelvaṇ
   Skt. kaivalya + Tam. celvaṇ   (the one who has attained emancipation)   2741

Apart from these words and compounds Tēvar has also used Tamil phrases to express the meaning of the Jaina philosophical terms in Sanskrit. For example :

Skt.	Tamil		
1. astikāya	poruḷkaḷ ōr aintu	(the five astikāyas)	2814
2. anantasukha	iṭaiyilā iṉpam	(the infinite bliss)	2847
3. saṭkaṣāya	aṟuvakait tuvarppu	(the six kaṣāyas)	3076
4. pañcanamaskāra	aimpatav amirtam	(the pañcanamaskāra mantra)	941, 947

In the Cc. there are also words which have gained new meanings by the influence of Jainism. These are translations of the Jaina philosophical techanical terms. But these words were already existing in Tamil language with a different meaning. For example : The word 'nanmai' in Tamil means four. But this word is used in the Cc. in the meaning of the four infinite intrinsic qualities which a soul attains when it completely destroys all its karmas. Here the word 'nanmai'[1] is the translation of the Skt, word 'Catuṣṭaya'.

The word 'veṉravaṉ' in Tamil means the one who has won. In Jainism, the one who has won all his karmas is called a 'Jina' (the overcomer of all things) and the word 'veṉravaṉ' is used as the translation of it. Therefore here in the Cc , the word 'veṉravar'[2] specially means the Siddhas.

The word 'kāṭci' in Tamil means a vision, a sight. In the Cc, 'kāṭci'[3] has been used as the translation of the Sanskrit word 'darśana-', and it is used to express the 'darśanamohanīya karmas', which deludes the right!belief. Likewise, the word 'uṉarvu'[4] which is used in the Cc, gives the meaning of the knowledge obscuring karmas (jnānāvaraṇīya karmas) in the Jaina philosophy.

Therefore as a result of the Jaina influence in the Cc., many new words came into Tamil, and also some words which were already existing gained new meanings.

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1 Cc. v, 3082.

2 *Ibid*, v. 956.

3 *Ibid*, v. 3082

4 *Ibid*, v. 3082.

CONCLUSION

The investigations described in the foregoing chapters lead to the following conclusions :

The questions regarding the source and the date of the Cc. have been discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. A comparative study of the Cc. with earlier texts which deal with the story of Jīvaka showed a remarkable similarity between the Cc. and the works of Vādibhasiṃha, the Gc. and Kc. The similarities between these works have been listed and from an analysis of these similarities it is concluded that Vādibhasiṃha has consulted the Cc. By fixing the date of Vādibhasiṃha as the period between the latter half of the 10th century A.D. and the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the lower limit of the date of the Cc. is also determined. Among the other texts, the Up. of Guṇabhadra and the Mp. of Puṣpadanta are earlier than the works of Vādibhasiṃha. It is found that Jīvaka story narrated in the Mp. of Puṣpadanta follows the story of Jīvaka narrated in the Up. of Guṇabhadra. As the date of the Up. of Guṇabhadra (A.D. 897) is earlier than that of the Mp. of Puṣpadanta (A.D. 965) a comparative study of the Jīvaka story narrated in the Up. with the story of the Cc. is described in chapter 3. This comparative study does not provide evidence to definitely fix the Up. as the original source for the Cc. From the Prakrit origin of some of the names of the characters in the Cc. there are grounds to suspect that there could have been a Prakrit version of the Jīvaka story which is not available now and dated earlier than the Up. and the Cc. However, regarding the source of the Cc. there is no doubt that a Sanskrit or Prakrit version of the story, either in a book form or existing in the form of oral tradition, must have inspired Tēvar. Next, an analysis of available external evidence which could help to determine the date of the Cc. is carried out. From this study it appears that the probable date of the Cc. may lie between the latter half of the 8th century A.D. and the early 9th century A.D.

In the fourth chapter we have traced the influence of Sanskrit on the literary style of the Cc. It is pointed out here that definition laid down by Sanskrit rhetoricians for a mahākāvya has exerted a great influence on the composition of the Cc. This can be clearly seen in the way in which Tēvar handles the theme, his versification, the figures of speech and allusions, the descriptions, the structure and the division of the story and the other features such as the invocation, the apologia (avaiy-aṭakkam) etc. It has also been indicated how, in spite of this influence of Sanskrit, Tēvar has not given up established poetical traditions of earlier Tamil poems. He combines the two traditions very effectively.

In chapter V it is shown that the primary aim of the Cc. is to preach the gradual development of a soul towards salvation according to Jainism. This is illustrated through the life history of Cīvakaṇ and Tēvar explains the metaphysical, ethical, and ritualistic concepts of Jainism in the course of his narration. The treatment of the Jaina religious doctrines in the Cc. differs from that found in the earlier didactic works by Jaina authors or in the Buddhistic epic, the Maṇimēkalai. Our discussion in this chapter emphasises how Tēvar's treatment of Jainism in the Cc. is based on a sound knowledge of the original canons in Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The linguistic analysis of the last chapter makes it clear that Sanskrit words have been imported by Tēvar in the Cc. to facilitate his use of the supplementary metres (pāviṇams) and his treatment of the Jaina philosophical tenets. The semantic changes which occur in the Cc. are also shown. The linguistic influence of the Sanskrit on the Cc. is quite considerable and we have listed in our analysis all the Sanskrit loan words and their phonetic and semantic changes.

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