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Middle-Indic *tuppa*, Tamil *tuppu*, and the region of origin of some Śvetāmbara Jaina texts

1. Middle-Indic *tuppa* is generally taken to mean “ghee”. The meaning is beyond doubt in, for instance, *Setubandha* 15, 38 (for which, see below, § 5). Turner (*CDIAL* 5864) furthermore refers to Marāṭhī and Gujarāṭī *tüp* “ghee” and Marāṭhī *tupat* “oily”. He suggests a non-Aryan origin for the word. It should be noted, however, that according to Burrow and Emeneau (*DED* 2685) Kannāḍa *tuppa* “ghee” is not a native Dravidian word but a loanword from Indo-Aryan. One of the aims of the present study is to show that Burrow and Emeneau were right, that is to say, Kannāḍa *tuppa* “ghee” and its cognates like Tamil *tuppm*, are indeed Indo-Aryan loanwords. But Turner’s suggestion need not be altogether discarded either, for Middle-Indic *tuppa* is indeed a loanword from the South Indian languages, though not as a word for “ghee” but as a word for a particular red substance. As I will try to show, “ghee” is a later meaning given to the word only after its original meaning had been lost sight of. This process of the “invention” of the meaning “ghee” can in fact be followed in the available texts themselves. The use of *tuppa* as a word for ghee or oil may be taken as an indication of the relatively late date of the text, or at least as an indication of the artificial nature of its language. On the other hand, the occurrence in some North Indian texts of South Indian *tuppa* as a word for a red colour would seem to point to specific regional origin of these texts in Gujarat.

2. First I would like to draw attention to the instances of *tuppa* in Häla’s *Sattasañ*. *Tuppa* is found in the compounds *tuppānanā* (289) and *vannaghaatuppamuhi* (22, 520), which describe a woman who has applied some sort of ointment to her face to mark the fact that she is having her monthly period. While during that time any contact between husband and wife is taboo, for the man this taboo only enhances the woman’s desirability.1 The couple is very careful, though, that the husband does not get stained

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1. See gāthā 480:

`jai loanidam jai amagalam jai vi mukkamajjaam
pupphvaidamsanam taha vi dei hiaasa nivvānam`,

Even if people find fault with it, even if it is inauspicious, even if it involves breaking the rules, seeing a woman in her period gives pleasure to the heart.
by the ointment, as this might expose their transgression or else betray his infatuation. In this situation it is hard to believe that the husband would be afraid of getting stained by plain ghee, which was commonly used as a cosmetic by both men and women. *Vañṇagghaa* in *vañṇagghaatuppamuhī* indeed makes clear that a particular dye is involved as well. The occurrence of *tuppānaṇā* side by side with *vañṇagghaatuppamuhī* would almost certainly rule out the analysis of *vañṇagghaatuppa* as a *dvandva*, i.e. "coloured ghee and *tuppa*." Rather, the meaning "colour" may be assumed to be present in the word *tuppa* itself, with *vañṇagghaa* "coloured ghee" specifying *tuppa* ("*tuppa*, that is, coloured ghee") or explaining how the face has come to acquire its *tuppa* appearance, namely by applying coloured ghee.

*Gaṇthā 22* refers to the special attraction formed by the acrobatics involved in kissing the woman without getting stained by the ointment applied to her face:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āraṇapāmioṭṭham aghaḍianāsam asaṁhaaṇidālaṃ} \\
vañṇagghaatuppamuhī te pariumvanam bharimo,^3
\end{align*}
\]

I still think of how I kissed her when her face [had a *tuppa*-colour through the application of coloured ghee / was (anointed) with *tuppa*, or (a kind of) coloured ghee]: our lips carefully pursed to keep our noses from touching and our foreheads from meeting.

In 520 a woman contrasts her husband's present lack of interest with his former infatuation, which made him defy social conventions:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vañṇagghaatuppamuhīṃ jo maṃ aīārena cumvamto} \\
\text{enhiṃ so bhūsaṇabhūsiaṃ pi alasāai chivamto,}
\end{align*}
\]

That same man who once (flaunted all rules and) when my face [had a *tuppa*-colour through the application of coloured ghee / was (anointed) with *tuppa*, or (a kind of) coloured ghee], kissed me carefully (in order not to get stained), now no longer cares to touch me even when I am decorated with ornaments.

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See also *gaṇthā* 950, and 530:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{loṭ jāraī jārau vaṇñijaṇaḥ hoī hou tam nāma} \\
\text{eḥi nimaśaṇaḥ pāse pūpphavaḥ na ei me niḍḍā}
\end{align*}
\]

If people get angry, let them. If it is blameworthy, so be it. Come, and lie down beside me, o menstruating woman, for either way I can't sleep;

Compare this *gaṇthā* with Hc IV 438:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{soevā pari vārīṇa pūpphavaiḥiṃ samānu} \\
\text{jaggevā punu ko dharaī jai so vēu pamaṇu}
\end{align*}
\]

It is forbidden to sleep with menstruating women but who would survive to stay awake, going by this excitement?

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2. On compounds of this type, a regional word (*tuppa*) being explained by a regular Sanskrit synonym, see Tieken (1994: 235). See also below, § 7.

3. For the reading *vañṇagghaa*, see Tieken (1983: 221-22). *Tuppa* is found in, among other manuscripts, R, S and T; for the variant *līta* adopted by Weber, see § 5 below.
By merely offering the additional possibility of breaking a taboo the woman in 529 defeats all her competitors:

\[ \text{thoram} \text{sueh} \text{ri} \text{nna} \text{m} \text{sa} \text{vattivaggena} \text{pu} \text{pphavaia} \text{e} \n\text{bhuasiha} \text{ra} \text{m} \text{pa} \text{ino} \text{pecchi} \text{una} \text{sira} \text{laggatuppalia} \text{m}. \]

The co-wives shed big tears when they saw the husband’s shoulder stained \textit{tuppa} [stained with \textit{tuppa}], (the shoulder) having touched the menstruating woman’s face.

\textit{Tuppalia} is a past participle formed on the basis of \textit{tuppa} + the possessive/emphatic suffix -\textit{la}, for which, see Pischel (1900: § 595).

The husband in 289 is a fool, asking the woman why she has anointed her face with \textit{tuppa}.. By moving her head she directs his attention to the sanitary napkin she is wearing:

\[ \text{tuppanan} \text{a} \text{ki} \text{nno} \text{acchasi} \text{tti} \text{paripucchi} \text{ai} \text{vahu} \text{ai} \n\text{vinyadhi} \text{ajahanatthalai} \text{lajjo} \text{nा} \text{m} \text{hasi} \text{ai}. \]

The wife, asked why she had her face (anointed) with \textit{tuppa} [had a \textit{tuppa}-face], smiled bashfully, standing there with an extra piece of cloth between her legs.

The above instances allow no conclusion as to whether \textit{tuppa} in \textit{e.g. tuppamuha} is an actual dyeing substance applied to the face (\textit{tuppamuhi} being a compound like \textit{payomukha} “with milk on the surface”) or functions as an object of comparison (like \textit{bimba} in \textit{bimboṣṭha} “lips red like the \textit{bimba}”). Another uncertainty concerns the colour involved. According to the commentaries on the \textit{Sattasaṅ} passages it would be a kind of yellow, the ointment consisting of a mixture of oil and, among other dyes, turmeric: \textit{haridrādivarna}pradhānaṁ \textit{ghṛtam} \textit{varṇagṛham} (Gaṅgādhara) and \textit{varṇapradhānaṁ} \textit{ghṛtam} \textit{kuṅkumaharidrādisadhita} (anonymous π and ξ) (see \textit{Sattasaṅ}, ad \textit{gāthā} 22). However, while in the \textit{Sattasaṅ} turmeric is indeed mentioned several times as a cosmetic or a bathing soap (see \textit{gāthās} 58, 80 and 246), its use was clearly not restricted specifically to the time of a woman’s monthly period. Moreover, the colour of turmeric is proverbially ephemeral (see MW s.v. \textit{haridrā-ra}ga), which would not agree with the stains remaining visible until the next morning in \textit{gāthā} 529 (see above). Apart from that, there is also no evidence that turmeric was applied with oil, which would be too precious to be washed away in the water, as is the case in \textit{gāthās} 58 and 246. For a more definite conclusion concerning the colour denoted by \textit{tuppa} we may turn to the instances of the word in some Jain narrative texts.

3. In \textit{Vivāgasuva} 1, 2, 14 in a description of a condemned criminal led to the place of execution we find a past participle \textit{tuppiya}. The same passage is found in 1, 3, 13 and in 1, 9, 6, in the latter instance \textit{purisam} “a man” having been substituted by \textit{ithiyan} “a woman”. \textit{Vivāgasuva} 1, 2, 14 (p. 734) reads:
tesiṃ ca ṇaṃ purisāṇaṃ majjhagayāṃ egaṃ purisaṃ (itthiyam) pāsaī avaodhayabamdaḥanaṃ ukkhitta- (v.ll. ukkatta-, ukkatta-) kaṃṇanāsaṃ nehatuppiyagattam vajjha-(v.l. baddha-) karakadiuyaniyaccham (v.l. niyathī[a], Panhāvāgarana 3, 16) kaṃṇṭhegunarattamalladaṃ cunnaṃguṇdiyagatam cunnaṃvam vajjhapāṇapiyam tilam-tilam ceva chiṣjamānaṃ kāganimamsām khāviyantam pāvaṃ kakhkhara-(v.ll. kakkharaga-, kakkara-) saeheim hammanāman aneganaranāri-samparivudam caccare-caccare khaṃḍapadahanaṃ ugghosijjamānaṃ ...

“And amidst these people he saw a man (a woman) with his (her, also elsewhere) hands tied behind his back, his ears and nose cut off, his body anointed with ghee, dressed (read niyatha = *nivastra) for the execution with two pieces of karaki-cloth, wearing a garland of red flowers strung on a (the?) rope tied round his neck, his body covered with dust, cunnaṃvam,4 having drunk the last drink, being cut into small pieces, made to emaciate his flesh so that it had become as thin (and wrinkled) as a kāgaṇī,5 a sinner, beaten by hundreds of kakhkharas (?), surrounded by many men and women, being led around the streets, his execution announced by khaṃḍa drums ...”

An embellished version of this passage is found in Panhāvāgarana 3, 16 (p. 663):

tattha ya kharapharasaṇaṇapadahaghaḥḥitakāddagahagadharaḥṭhanisaṭṭhapopalāmaṭṭha vajjha karakadiuyaniyathā suṛattakaṇaṇaviraghahiyavimukkakaṃṇṭhegunavajjhadutta-āviddhamalladaṃ maraṇabhayauppanṇaseyamaṇayeṭhetuttupiyakilinnagattā ...

From the addition of kilinna (Skt kilina) “moistened” it appears that (ut)tuppiya, i.e. (ut)tuppiya (see below) is interpreted as meaning “anointed, given a glossy appearance”, in case by ghee (neha). It is, however, far from obvious what purpose would have been served by anointing this person, about to be executed, with ghee or oil, which otherwise is part of the care of the body. In fact, I have already tried to show above that for tuppa as far as the instances in the Sattasaṭṭi are concerned a meaning “(plain) ghee” does not really make sense. Most likely it would be a word for an as yet unknown colour or a dye.

4. In between cunnaṃguṇdiyagatam and vajjhapāṇapiyam Panhāvāgarana 3, 16 has rayarenubhariyakesā kusumbhagokhiṇa-muddhaya chinnaṇiṇīyaśa ghunnumaṭṭa. The question arises if cunnaṃvam is the result of haplography of cuṇa and ghunnumaṭṭa.

5. The expression kāgaṇī ... is also found in Sūyagada (JĀS) 2, 2, 713: kāganimamsakhaṇītyavyam and in Sūyagada-Nijjutti 75: kappanti kāganimamsagāṇī. Otherwise kāgaṇī is found among the “jewels” of the cakravartin, after mani (e.g. Ṭhānānga (Ladnun) 7, 67), and refers to one of the 72 kalās (e.g. Samavāya (Ladnun) 72, 7). Some of these instances have been discussed by Upadhye (1978). In Pāli kākaṇīkā denotes a small coin practically worth nothing; see *agghanaka “not even worth a farthing” (PTSD, p. 202). The instance under consideration seems to suggest that we have to do with a thin coin rather than a small one.
If so, the instances in Vivāgasuya and Panhāvāgarana would point in particular to the colour red (or to a red substance).

In this connection I may point to the practice to paint a convict’s body red, referred to in the tenth act of Mrčchakatika, in which Cárudatta is led away to the scaffold. In verse X 3 Cárudatta describes his body, “which is smeared with a red fragrant substance” (me šarīram ... raktagandhānuliptam). In verse X 5 he notes that painted red he has been turned into a sacrificial victim (paśu):

\[
\begin{align*}
sarvagāṭresu \text{ vinyastai raktacandananahastakaiḥ} \\
piṣṭacūrṇāvakīnāś ca puruṣo 'ham paśūkṛtaḥ,
\end{align*}
\]

By handmarks of red sandal placed all over my body and covered by powder prepared of grains I have changed from a man into a sacrificial victim.

It should be noted that Cárdatta, like the convict in Vivāgasuya, is decked out with a garland of red flowers: aṃsena bibhrat karavīramālāṃ ... āghātam adyāham anuprayāmi (verse X 21) “Today I am going towards my death wearing over my shoulder a garland of oleander”. Compare surattakanaviragahiyavimukulakarmanthegaṇa in the corresponding Panhāvāgarana passage. In addition Cárdatta is clad in a red piece of cloth. The same colour was also apparently used for wedding ceremonies. See in this connection Mrčchakatika, verse X 44:

\[
\begin{align*}
raktaṃ tad eva varavastram iyam ca mālā \\
kāntāgamena hi varasya yathā vibhāti \\
ete ca vadhayapatādadhvanayas tathaiva \\
jātā vivāhapatādadhvanibhiḥ samānāḥ,
\end{align*}
\]

The blood-red shroud is like a bridegroom’s robe,

This wreath a bridegroom’s garland since we met:

And these dread sounds of doomed men’s drums

Become the festive airs of marriage!

(Translation by van Buiten 1971: 176).

For this double use of a red robe, see also Nāgānanda. Before Jīmūtavāhana climbs on the “execution stone” (tāvat tvaritataram imāṁ vadhyāsilām ārohāmi, p. 53) he puts on a red dress (vāsoyugam idaṃ raktaṃ prāpte kāle samāgatam, IV verse 69; see also on the same page (p. 52): diśtyā siddham abhivāńchitam anena atarkitopanatena raktāṃśukayugalena) which had been given to him for his wedding to Malayavati.

Like the convict in Vivāgasuya, who is cūnnagumdiyagāta, Cárdatta is covered with a kind of powder. Given the fact that the convict is otherwise completely covered in red

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6. As to gandha in raktagandhānulipta, it may be doubted that Cárdatta was for the occasion of his execution anointed with some pleasantly smelling substance. The same applies to candana “sandal” in raktacandananahastaka in verse X 5 quoted below. Possibly gandha and candana merely refer to the appearance of the red stains, that is, smooth and translucent as in the case of unguents, rough and broken as patches of dried-up sandal respectively.
one may question the explanation given by Pṛthvidhara, the commentator to Mṛchakaṭika, according to whom piṣṭacūma is made of black grains (śyāmatanḍulacūrṇaṃ).

For nehatuppiyagāta in the Vivāgasuya passage I therefore venture to suggest a translation “whose body was painted red with tuppa (mixed in) oil / was (painted) a kind of tuppa-red (with coloured) oil”.

4. Finally, I would like to draw attention to tuppoṭṭhā (plural) “who have tuppa-lips” or “who have lips like tuppa” found in Anuogaddāra 22. The colour, which must indeed be red, is actually not the problem here, but the fact that tuppoṭṭhā is found in a description of men, that is, of men painting their lips. The passage is curious anyhow. It describes yogīs who have given up the qualities of śramaṇas (samanagunaṃmukkajogi), have no compassion with the six “bodies” (chakkāyanirankampā), are unrestrained like horses (hayā iva uddāma), behave like unladen elephants (gayā iva niraṃkusā), massage and anoint their bodies (ghaṭṭā maṭṭhā), have painted their lips red (tuppoṭṭhā), and roam around at will without heading the orders of the Jinas (jinānaṃ anānāe sacchaṃdāṃ vihariṇaṃ). In addition, these ascetics who have abandoned the path of the true monks are said to be clad in white robes (pamḍarapadapūranā). This latter description refers clearly to the practice known from the Buddhists, when monks were expelled from the samgha, to take away their coloured monks’ robes and give them white ones instead. The practice is referred to in the Kausāmbi, Sārnāth and Sānchi edicts of Aśoka (odātani dussāni samnaṃdhopayitu), which have been discussed elaborately by Bechtel (1961: 37). The point is that the description makes no sense in the case of the Śvetāmbara monks, who already wear white robes!

5. It would seem that tuppa originally denoted either a red substance or a kind of red colour, that is “tuppa-red” (cf. English moss-green). Subsequently, the meaning of this rare word caused considerable embarrassment. Dhanapāla, the compiler of Pāiyālacchi, and Hemacandra, the compiler of Deśināmamālā, provide a meaning “anointed”; see Pāiyalacchi 233: makkhiyaṃ tuppaṃ, and Deśināmamālā V 22: siniddha’ ... tppo. This interpretation, which seems to have been based on the instances in the Sattasai, has in turn influenced the textual tradition of that text. See in this connection the variant readings litta in Sattasai 22 in K, γ and P [note luppa in ψ and B], and lippa in Sattasai 520 γ and ψ, from tuppax litta. Apparently, however, both Dhanapāla and Hemacandra did not know or overlooked Sattasai 529 (tuppalia) and Vivāgasuya (tuppiya).

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7. For a complete translation of the passage, see Hanaki (1970: 9).
Much more obvious in this respect is the solution forwarded for *tuppiya* in *Vivāgasuya*, which was interpreted as meaning “anointed (with oil)”. See in this connection *Panḥāvāgaraṇa* 3, 16 (p. 663), in which *uttupiya* (that is, *uttuppiya*) is glossed by following *klinna*: *nehuttupiyakilinnagattā*. In the end, *tuppa* has survived as a synonym for plain ghee as used in lamps.8 A case in point is *tuppa* in *Setubandha* 15, 38:

soṇa indaivahāṃ muai sarosāṃ dasānāṃ bāhajalāṃ
abbhuttiaivaṃ nivādai tuppaṃ va takkhaṇaṃ sahūasaṃ,
The moment the ten-faced demon was informed of Indrajit’s death he shed tears mixed with anger: they fell like burning drops of ghee dripping down from lamps which were lighted.

The use of *tuppa* “ghee, oil” was not restricted to purely literary texts, but is also found in a later Jaina text. A case in point is *uttuiya* (< *uttuppiya*; see below) “fed with oil” in *Dasaveyāliya-Nījuttī* 212:

sinḍāra-ras'-uttuiyā moh-a-kaviya-phumphugā hasahastesanī,
Fed with the oil of the śṛṅgāra-rasa and kindled (lit. angered) by delusion fires of straw burn excitedly.

In fact, for the origin of the form *uttuiya* we have to go back to *uttuppiya* found in *Panḥāvāgaraṇa* 3, 16, quoted above. The combination of *tup(p)piya* with the preverb ut- was probably created ad hoc in conformity with the tendency seen in this passage to elaborate and amplify. The factors involved in the loss or omission of one of the two p’s are not clear. Beside a scribal error we should reckon with the possibility of a deliberate “correction”. The double pp might have been associated with the passive stem of the present and was as such reduced to single p in the past participle. *Uttuiya* is connected to *uttuppiya* through an intermediate form *uttuvia*, with single intervocalic p substituted by v, which later, being optional, was deleted. It should be noted that the steps described here, -p- > -v- > -∅-, which represent an historical development in Indo-Aryan, were also available as options to the scribes.

While *uttuiya* in *Dasaveyāliya-Nījuttī*9 seems to have been borrowed directly from *Panḥāvāgaraṇa*, the description of the convict in the latter text seems to have been borrowed from *Vivāgasuya*, of which it is an elaboration. Furthermore, while in *Vivāgasuya tuppiya* was still used in its original meaning, this meaning was no longer known to the author of the embellished version found in *Panḥāvāgaraṇa*, as shown by the “explanation” *klinna*. The fate of *tuppiya* in these three texts allows us to reconstruct a

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8. I have not been able to check the instances of *tuppa* ghee in Apabhramśa, in Puṣpadanta’s *Mahāpurāṇa*, for which, see Shriyan (1969: 256, no 1066).

9. *Tuppa* is also found in *Oha-Nījuttī-Bhāṣya* 307: *tatha vi miu-tuppayaram jattha va jam a-eciyam dosu* (commentary: *snigdhatara*). In the word index s.v. *tuppa* Bollée refers to *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* 2922: *rūkha-silā-tuppa-maddanāisu*, cty: *tuppa iti mrūka-kaḍevara-vaśā-gṛṛādibhiḥ pariṇāmitam*. 
relative chronology, if not of the texts then at least of the passages, in the sense that *Dasaveyāliya-Nijjuti* is later than *Panhāvagarama*, and the latter must be later than *Vivāgasuya*.

6. If my findings concerning the meaning of *tuppa* are correct, the suggestions made so far for the etymology of the word, which all started from the meaning “ghee, oil”, are no longer relevant. The derivation from *tppra*, suggested by Turner *(CDIAL 5864)*, has lost its basis. Like Gujarāti *tūp* and Marāṭhi *tupat*, Tamil and Kannāda *tuppa(m)* “ghee” must be later literary borrowings.

However, starting from a red substance or a red colour (*tuppa-red*), another Dravidian word comes into consideration, namely Tamil *tuppu* and its cognates. Tamil *tuppu* is amply attested in Old Tamil literature.

In *Akanāṟṟu* 9, lines 8-10 it is taken to mean “coral”:

\begin{quote}
tuppin āṇṇa ceṅkōṭṭiyavi  
neytōr mīmicai niṇattīr parikkū  
mattam naṇṇīya vaṅkāṭṭeccirū,  
\end{quote}

The little village on the jungle road, lying on an elevation (of earth red) like coral, resembles a dead body lying in (its own) blood.

Another instance is found in *Kalittokai* 33, lines 3-4:

\begin{quote}
manipurai vayaṅkulūl tupperintavai pōlap  
piṇivitū murukkitāl anikayattutintuka,  
\end{quote}

While the (red) petals of the *murukku* (Sk. *palāśa*), loosened from the buds, fall on the beautiful tank, looking like corals strewn on a pearl-like mirror ... 

Clearly related to this meaning are the many instances in Old Tamil poetry of *tuppu* “enmity, hatred, fighting spirit”. Evidently, these qualities were associated with the colour red. An interesting example is *Purāṇāṉṟu* 380, lines 10-11, in which *tuppu* is found side by side with *cēymai* “redness, hatred”:

\begin{quote}
tupperintörkkē yullāc cēymaiyaṅ  
natpeteṁtōrkkē yankai naṇmaiyaṅ,  
\end{quote}

Those who approach him with feelings of hatred (*tuppu*) he treats with hatred (*cēymaiyaṅ*), those who approach him with feelings of affection, he treats with affection.

Another instance is *Kalittokai* 104, lines 24-25, in which the anger of the red bull (*cēy*) is compared to “hot *tuppu*” (*ventuppīr*):

\begin{quote}
vēyural mentōḷ tuyilpeṟum ventuppīr  
\end{quote}  

10. I have been unable to check the quotation given in *TL* (p. 1970) from *Civakacintāmani* 550, namely *tuppurāl tonjavai cevvāy “with a red mouth with lips resembling coral”, which resembles *tuppoṭṭha* in *Aṉuogaddāra* 22.
cēey cinānāćāg cārpaṇān ...  
He who overcomes his fear for the red bull of hot hatred will lie against the girl’s soft shoulders which resemble bamboo ...

In Purāṇāṇūṣu 30, lines 8-9 the king’s tuppū “fighting spirit” is compared to the stones hidden in the elephant’s cheeks. The stones referred to are pearls, which as pointed out by Hart for Tamil (1975: 250-251) are said to come from the elephant’s tusks (here: the cheeks, that is the roots of the tusks). Apparently, however, the poet mixed up pearls with coral here, the link being that both coral and pearls are “mined” from the sea. 

Purāṇāṇūṣa 30, lines 8-9 read:
kalirukavulaṭutta verikar pōla
olita tuppīṇai yātalīn ...

Because you possess a shining fighting spirit which resembled the dazzling (?)verī stones (kal) hidden in the elephant’s cheeks ...

In Parīpāṭa 21, lines 4-5, however, tuppū seems to refer to a particular red dye mixed in the fluid for tanning the leather for a pair of sandals for the god Murukaṇ:
tuppamai tuvarṃīt turaimaṇaṭi yālūtīya
verinat tōl ...
The hide from the back, which was soaked in an astringent substance (tuvar) prepared with tuppū ...

Gros translates instead: “laissées baigner dans un bassin d’eau astringente [tuvar] comparable [amai ?] au corail rouge [tuppū]”. However, amai-tal does not mean “to resemble” but “to be joined, to abide, to remain”, which accounts for my translation “prepared with”. Tuvar is a tanning substance prepared from the bark of the cassia auriculata (Linn.), which is locally known as the tarvar or tarota-tree11 (< tuvar). It is also used as an astringent in medicine; see MW s.v. tubara with references to Śuśrutasamhitā. This particular substance is used for tanning heavy hides where colour is not of much importance. It gives the leather a yellowish brown colour.12 The reason for adding tuppū, which would result in a red or reddish leather, may be found in the well-known association of Murukaṇ with the colour red. In this connection it suffices to refer to his epithet Cēyōn “the Red One” (see Clothey 1978: 28).

The combination tuppū-tuvar is found once more, namely in Patirṛuppattu 32, line 5: tuppū tuvarpōkap perunkīla yuvappa.

Here, however, tuvar seems to mean “red colour”, for which the TL (s.v. p. 1992-93) quotes tuvaitīlc cēvāy “red mouth with tuvar-red lips”, tuvartīt cēvāy “mouth painted


red" and tuvarātai “salmon-coloured cloth”. In this connection it should be noted that the tanning material tuvar is also used to modify colours. The line from Patitruppattu may accordingly be translated as:

The redness (tuvar) of anger (tuppu) having worn off, the large family rejoiced. Theoretically the compound tuppūt tuvar could also be translated as “the astringent quality of tuppu”. It should be noted, however, that tuppu was basically used to denote a particular kind of red, tuppu-red. While as such the word may originally have denoted a particular red thing or substance (like moss in moss-green), it no longer seems possible to identify this original thing or substance, let alone determine if it was astringent. In Old Tamil tuppu was used to refer not only to coral but also to a red dyeing substance and to rust (see ‘tuppērutal “to become rusty” in TL (Suppl.), p. 318. The meaning “rust” is also attested in Telugu; see below). In this connection it should also be noted that if tuppa in the Sattasaḷ was indeed a concrete substance it is unlikely that it was applied for its astringent qualities. For, if the function of an astringent is to dry the skin, this effect would have been annulled by the ghee or oil with which it was mixed. The practice referred to in the Sattasaḷ seems to have been a custom and not to have had any a practical or medical purpose. It is thus different from the practice of women to apply haldi to the skin, which has an astringent quality (kaḍuṇam in Sattasaḷ 246), serving, amongst other things, as a disinfectant.

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13. A strange passage is found in Setubandha 8, 55, in which the water of the ocean is turned into fragrant red wine. The red colour is said to be due to minerals from the mountain which is used as a churning stick. Tuvara is said to be responsible for the fragrance. It comes from pieces (of bark) of the tuvara-tree which fell into the water:

jāṁ mahāharamahāṁ dhūaadakkaḷahanaasarasapallavārāṁ
dumabhāṅguvarasuraham uppaįjanmamairam va sārasalaiṁ,

The water of the ocean which, churned by the mountain, had taken on the red colour of juicy twigs from the sides of the mountain rich with minerals and had taken on the fragrance of tuvara from the pieces broken off the trees, looked like the wine which arose (at the mythical churning).

Note Hemacandra, who in his own commentary on Deśināmamāṭī 5, 16 mentions a particular juice called tuvara: astu tuvaro rasaviṣeṣa iti sāṁkṣéṣaṁ sāntaṁ nōktaṁ.

14. Compare the meanings of tuvar “astringent” in tuvartal and tuvartutal “to dry, wipe of moisture”, tuvartumṇṭu “towel, as removing moisture” and tuvarppū “withered flower”.

15. In Sattasaḷ 949 the two practices, painting the face red during menstruation and applying turmeric to the skin, seem to have become mixed up, that is, if the paleness of the cheeks is indeed due to the effect of turmeric:

malinavasaṁāna kiavaniṇāṁ āpaṁdugamālapalināṁ
pupphaivānā kāmo aṁgesu kāuho vasai,
Kāma resides bow in hand in the bodies of menstruating women, whose dresses are soiled, who ..., and whose cheeks are pale.

It should be noted that this gāthā is found only in the South Indian recensions (as 647 in Weber’s First Telugu-recension and as 680 in my Third South Indian recension; see Tieken 1983) and may well be a later addition to the text. Apart from that, the present text is unmetrical. The metre may be restored by adopting the reading kaaveniṇāṇa found in the manuscripts Ti and Tp (for which, see Tieken 1983) and in Bhoja’s
Yet another possibility is to interpret tuvar as meaning “hostility” and to translate the phrase in question as “the hostility which is tuppu-red”. However, the meaning “hostility” (Tamil pakai) is attested only in Akarāti Nikaṇṭu, a lexicon (see TL, p. 1992), and may well be the result of an attempt to account for tuvar in the passage under consideration.

7. Besides Tamil (DED 2686), tuppu is found in Telugu (DED 2747, t(r)uppu “rust”) and in Tulu (DED 2931, ṭōpu “red”). This distribution suggests that we have to do with a native South Indian, or Dravidian, word. Its occurrence in the Sattasaḷ may be explained with reference to the close connections the Sātavāhanas entertained with South India (see Dirks 1976: 128-29). It should be noted that tuppa, as a loanword from the South Indian languages, is not unique in the Sattasaḷ. Another instance is sippi in samkhasippi (Sattasaḷ 4). The latter compound consists of a Dravidian word, sippi (DED 2089), which is glossed by the regular Sanskrit word, samkha: “a sippi, that is a ‘conch’” (see Tieken 1994: 235). As already pointed out above, vannaggraatuppamahī may be analysed similarly: “with a face with tuppa, that is, with coloured ghee”.

Apparently, tuppa (the substance and/or the word) travelled northwards via the western part of the Deccan. In this situation it is tempting to conclude that Viṇāgasūya as we now have it, that is with the passages discussed above, hails from Gujarat, an area which was in close contact with Maharashtra.16 At the same time the present text of Viṇāgasūya, and with it that of Paṇṭhōvāgarana, which copied and embellished the Viṇāgasūya passage, and misunderstood tuppa in the process, would be only slightly older than the Sattasaḷ, if not later. In this connection it should be noted that these conclusions regarding place of origin and date by themselves need not cause a surprise as the Jaina tradition itself sets the redaction of the presently available canon approximately one thousand years after Mahāvīra’s death in Valabhi in Kathiawar (Gujarat). Rather, the real issue seems to be whether Viṇāgasūya is a late, western redaction of an earlier, eastern text or is as a whole a late text written in Gujarat. The present study of the word tuppa does not by itself carry enough weight to answer this question. On the other hand, I venture to doubt that the occurrence of so-called archaic Ardha Māgadhī, that is, eastern, features in Viṇāgasūya can be construed as an argument against the latter.

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16. Another “Dravidian” word showing the same geographical distribution is tuvar(a), which is found in Tamil, Malayālam, Kannāḍa, Telugu and Kui (DED 2755, 2756), and in Marāṭhi, Gujarāṭī and Kumauni (CDIAL 5890). The spread of tuppa “ghee” (Tamil, Kannāḍa, Marāṭhi and Gujarāṭī), which matches that of tuppa “red colour”, is of course a different matter, having to do with the histories of the respective literary languages.
possibility, given the persistent cultivation of archaisms within the Jaina tradition seen in other demonstrably late texts.

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**RÉSUMÉ**

Le présent article tente de montrer que le mot moyen-indien *tuppa* s’est vu attribuer le sens de « beurre clarifié » (*ghī*) seulement bien après que le véritable sens du mot fut tombé dans l’oubli. L’emploi de *tuppa* avec ce sens dans le *Setubandha* et la *Dasavyāliyaniijyutti*, par exemple, prouve le caractère artificiel du vocabulaire de ces textes. À l’origine, le mot désignait en fait une teinture de couleur rouge ou, à défaut, une couleur rouge particulière. La répartition des mots apparentés dans les langues du Sud de l’Inde tendrait à montrer qu’on a affaire à un mot dravidien local. L’examen des occurrences de *tuppa* dans la *Sattasaī* de Hāla suggère que le mot a voyagé en direction du nord en empruntant la côte occidentale. Cela indique que les versions actuelles des textes jaina où ce mot apparaît (*Vivāgasīya* et *Pānḥāvāgarāṇa*) proviennent de l’Inde occidentale. Cette étude confirmerait donc la tradition jaina qui place la rédaction de son Canon au Gujerat, environ mille ans après la mort de Mahāvira.