

**JAIN-BUDDHIST CENTRES  
IN THE  
EARLY HISTORY OF KERALA**

**THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT  
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**By  
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation  
'Jain Buddhist Centres in the Early History  
of Kala' is a bonafide record of genuine  
research done by Smt. Padmakumari Amma, B.  
under my supervision, and that no part of  
it has been submitted before, for any  
other degree, diploma or title.

Calicut University,

30.1.1995.

  
Supervising Teacher.

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis entitled "Jain - Buddhist Centres in the Early History of Kerala" has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar title or recognition.

Kozhikode,  
30-12-1995.

  
Padmakumari Amma B.

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## PREFACE

Jainism and Buddhism have played a very significant role in the social and cultural life of South India. They have not exercised an influence on Kerala with the same intensity as they did in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh. The present study is an attempt to examine the extent to which Jainism and Buddhism have influenced the history of Kerala.

I acknowledge my deep indebtedness and heart-felt thanks to Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan, my supervising teacher, who has laboured far beyond the call of duty to clear the manuscript of its errors and to enrich it with his own insights.

I express my gratitude to Dr. M.R. Raghava Varie, who as the co-guide has helped me in many ways.

I also record my thanks to Dr.K.K.N.Kurup. Professor and H<sup>d</sup> of the Department of History, and the staff members of the Department for their encouragements and blessings.

My thanks are due to those relatives and friends who shared with me the stress and strain which I had undergone in completing the present work.

Kozhikodu,  
30 - 12 - 19/.

Padmakumari Amma, B.

**TRANSLITERATION CHART**

(M. Malayalam : D. Devanagari: E. English.)

M.	അ	ആ	ഇ	ഈ	ഉ	ഊ	ഋ	ൠ	ഌ	഍	ഐ	ഓ
D.	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ॠ	ऌ	ॡ	ऎ	॑
E.	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r	r	e	e	o	ō

M.	ഈ	ഊ	
D.	ई	ऊ	:
E.	ai	au	h

M.	ക	ഖ	ഗ	ഘ	ങ	ച	ഛ	ജ	ഝ	ഞ
D.	क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ण
E.	k	kh	g	gh	ṅ	c	ch	j	jh	ṇ

M.	ത	ഥ	ദ	ഢ	ന	ത	ഥ	ദ	ഢ	ന
D.	त	थ	द	ढ	न	त	थ	द	ढ	न
E.	t	th	d	dh	n	t	th	d	dh	n

M.	പ	ഫ	ബ	ഭ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ശ
D.	प	फ	ब	भ	म	य	र	ल	व	श
E.	p	ph	b	bh	m	y	r	l	v	ś

M.	ഃ	ഌ	഍	ഞ	ഠ	ഡ	ഢ
D.	ः	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	॥	॥	॥
E.	ḥ	ḷ	ḹ	ḻ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ

## ABBREVIATIONS

- A,B.O.R.I. : Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental  
Research Institute,
- A.E.S. : Asian Educational Society
- Cerasamrajyam : Cerasamrajyam Onpatum Pattum  
Nurrantukalil.
- Cultural Symbiosis: Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala.
- Elankulam : Elankulam P. N. Kunhan Pillai
- I.A. : Indian Antiquary
- Images of Man : Images of Man: Religion and  
Historical process in South Asia"
- J.B.O.R.A.S. : Journal of the Bombay branch of  
the Royal Asiatic Society, New  
Series.
- J.R.A.S. : Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
- N.B.S. : National Book Stall
- P.I.H.C. : Proceedings of the Indian  
History Congress



- V
- P.S.C.K.** : Political and Social Conditions  
of Kerala Under Kulasekhara Empire.
- Q.J.M.S.** : Quarterly Journal of Mythic  
Society
- R.V.R.I.** : Bulletin of the Ramavarma  
Research Institute.
- S.I.I.** : South Indian Inscriptions.
- S.P.C.S.** : Sahitya Pravartaka Sahakarana  
Sangham
- T.A.S.** : Travancore Archeological Series.
- V.V.R.I.** : Visveshvaranand Vedic Research  
Institute Series

**LIST OF CENTRES**  
( From North to South )

1.	MANJĒSWARAM	J
2.	TĀLAKKĀVU	J
3.	KIṆĀLŪR	J
4.	TIRUVANNŪR	J
5.	ĪSVARANKĪDU	J
6.	ĀLATTŪR	J
7.	PARUVAŚŚĒRY	J
8.	TRIKKAṆĀMATILAKAM	J
9.	KALLIL	J
10.	KIḷIRŪR	B
11.	RĀMAPURAM	B
12.	SRĪMŪLAVĀSAM	B
13.	NĪLAMPĒRŪR	B
14.	KARUMĀḍI	B
15.	MĀVELIKKARA	B
16.	PALLIKKAL-ADḶŪR	B
17.	BHARANIKKAVU	B
18.	KARUNĀGAPPALLY	B
19.	KOḶUVIḷA	B
20.	PUTTŪR	B
21.	TĀLATTUKULAKKADA	B
22.	CITARĀL	J

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# INTRODUCTION

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**CHAPTER ONE**  
**INTRODUCTION**

## INTRODUCTION

The present Kerala State is a coastal strip of land which extends from Manjesvaram to Parassala and lies to the west of the Western Ghats. It lies between  $8^{\circ} 18'$  and  $12^{\circ} .48'$  north latitude and between  $74^{\circ} 52'$  and  $77^{\circ} 24'$  east longitude, comprising an area of 15002 sq miles. The erstwhile princely states of Travancore, and Cochin, and British Malabar have been merged together to form the State of Kerala. Malabar used to be under the jurisdiction of the Madras Presidency. The State of Kerala took its present form after the reorganisation of the Indian States in 1956.

According to Tamil tradition, five out of the twelve divisions of Tamizhakam (Kuttam, Kutam, Karka, v̄en, Pūli) belonged to Kerala.<sup>1</sup> The

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1. V. Kanaka Sabhai - The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago. Madras, p. 15.

See also A.R. Rajaraja Varma, Kerala Paniniyam, S.P.C.S. Kottayam, pp.51- 52



2

Colas, Ceras and Pandyas waged war against one another resulting in the altering of the boundaries of the land from time to time.

Keralolpatti<sup>a</sup>, the traditional chronicle divides the land into four viz, Tuluvam, Mūṣikam, Kēraḷam and Kūpakam and states that the land extended from Perumpuzha to Puthuṭṭanam<sup>2</sup>. But the Parasurama legend does affirm that Gokarnam was the northern boundary. In the present study the name 'Kerala' has been used to denote the whole area covered by the erstwhile British Malabar and the princely states of Cochin and Travancore. Citarāl Temple which lay in Travancore also figures in this study, but Nagarkovil is omitted since the Jain temples are of later date.

The beginning of Kollam Era (825 A.D.) was an age of drastic changes in the political and socio-economic history of Kerala. We start getting

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2. Keralolpatti, (Ed) Herman Gundert, (Reprint. Trivandrum, 1961.)

epigraphic and literary source material, including information about the Jains and Buddhists, from the 9th century of the Christian era. A kingdom with its capital at Mahodayapuram was established under the Cera Perumals and this brought some unity to the region for three centuries<sup>3</sup>.

During the period of the later Ceras, there was an expansion of both agriculture and trade. Centres of trade were developed. Merchant guilds functioned actively and contributed to the economic prosperity of Kerala. Special privileges were given to the followers of different religions in order to enable them to settle and establish here.

A number of inscriptions of this period give valuable information for reconstructing the socio-economic and political history of Kerala. This age

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3. Elamkulam, Studies in Kerala History, N.B.S., Kottayam, 1970, p. 217.

witnessed the establishment of Brahmanical Hinduism as the predominant religion of the land. Saints such as Sundara Murthi Nāyanār , Cēraman Perumāḷ Nāyanār , Kulasekhara Ālwar and Nammālvār produced their devotional literature. It was a period which witnessed the foundation of several temples.

The 12th century brought about changes in the course of history. The Ceras of Mahodayapuram disappeared from the scene, following the invasions from the Colas. This opened up the way for the rule of feudal lords. This made it an age of general unrest. The period from 9th century, to the 16th century which introduced foreign domination, has been a very significant period for Kerala. Within this period, the period of the Cera kingdom, ie. the three centuries between c. 800 A.D. and c. 1100 was the most important for Jain and Buddhist centres, and most of the inscriptions and sculptures and other relics belong to this period only. It is to this period that we refer by

the term 'Early History of Kerala' in this dissertation, though we have incidentally mentioned some developments like the conversion of Jain - Buddhist centres into Brahmin shrines, in the post Cera epoch in which the decline of centres occurred slowly and for which precise dates are not available.

Jain temples exist in the districts of Kasargod, Wynad Kozhikode and Palakkadu. The Citral temple at Kanyakumari and Kallil temple of Perumbavoor in Ernakulam district exist as Hindu temples with Jaina symbols. The followers of Jainism are found at Kasargod, Wynad and Kozhikode districts today. Sufficient evidences are not available to prove the exact age of their temples.

Jains had arrived at Wynad by about the 8th century A.D. The inscription discovered from Tālakkāvu in Pulpalli mentions the establishment of a Jain temple there. It is estimated that its age

was around the middle of 9th century<sup>4</sup>. As far as the other temples are concerned, we have evidences only for their existence in the 17th century. Due to non availability of sufficient evidences, they have to be excluded from this study. The new Jain temples built in Kozhikode have also not been considered here.

Same is the case with Buddhist centres. We have detailed evidence only for the existence of Śrīmūlavāsam Buddha Vihara during the 9th and 10th centuries. But the age of Buddhist idols can be estimated on the basis of the sculptures. All the Buddhist idols we have now are discovered from compounds, rivers or rivulets. None of them has been discovered by excavation. The available idols have been included in the present study on the Buddhist centres.

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4. M.G.S. Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis, Trivandrum, 1972. p. 19

The present study has been divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is Introduction.

The second chapter includes a description about the source materials of the present study, an account of the studies already undertaken in the field during the past and the relevance of the study.

The third chapter discusses the advent of Jains and Buddhists to South India and the role of geographical and economic factors which favoured their extension to Kerala.

The fourth chapter undertakes a survey on the Jain centres. A detailed account of the temples from Manjēswaram to Citarāl has been attempted with the help of sculptured images inscriptions and a few references in literature.

The fifth chapter deals with the Buddhist centres which existed in Kerala. Apart from Srimulavasan Vihara on the sea coast isolated idols have been discovered from several places in central Kerala. Most of them are in broken condition.

The causes for the decline of Jainism and Buddhism in Kerala are discussed in the sixth chapter.

The seventh chapter forms an enquiry into the long term results and legacy of Jainism and Buddhism. A detailed study has been undertaken on their influence upon Deities and Festivals, Ayyappa Cult, Language and Education, Ayurveda, and Architecture and Sculpture.

The concluding chapter presents the history of Jain - Buddhist centres in summary form, pointing out the factors which justified and

empowered a new assessment and trying to project the new or partially new findings for easy reference. Photographs of the Jain temples, idols of Jain Tirthankaras and the idols of Buddha are given.

We have prepared a map of Kerala showing Jain and Buddhist centres.

Appendix I is a collection of Inscriptions which have direct relation with Jainism and Buddhism.

Appendix II is made of extracts from the literary sources.

Appendix III is a list of place names in Kerala, which begin or end with 'palli.'



# BACKGROUND STUDY

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**CHAPTER TWO**  
**BACKGROUND STUDY**

- A. SOURCE MATERIALS**
- B. EARLIER STUDIES**
- C. RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY**

## **BACKGROUND STUDY**

### **A. SOURCE MATERIALS**

The source materials which describe the extent to which Jainism and Buddhism had spread in Kerala, can be divided into two main types.

Archaeological sources: These include inscriptions in stone and copper and monuments in the form of temples and sculptures.

Literary sources. These include Tamil Sanskrit and Malayalam works and place names. We take up first in the case of Jainism and then that of Buddhism for the sake of convenience.

## 1. JAINISM

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

The Archaeological evidences can be divided into two, Inscriptions and monuments. Of these inscriptions are more useful since they are more accurately datable. The Jain inscriptions of Citaral were published by the Government of Travancore in 1908 and 1920. Apart from these no other Jain inscriptions were known till recently. However the 9th 10th and 11th century inscriptions from Tālakkāvu, Kīṅālūr, Tiruvannūr and Ālattūr, which referred to the model of Tirukkūṇavāy have now been identified as records of Jain temples<sup>1</sup>. The sculptures found at Ālattūr confirmed this identification so that we have a complex of Jain temples in the north besides the Citarāl shrine in the south. To this we add the rock-cut shrine at Kallil in central Kerala which was also known for its Jain sculptures. These taken together,

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1. Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. pp. 70-78.

establish the fact of the distribution of Jain temples in different parts of Kerala. Since they did not figure in Sangam literature, they are of the post-Sangam period. They belong to the period of the later Cera kingdom. The particulars of these Jain epigraphs are given below, starting with the Northern zone and moving southwards.

#### INSCRIPTIONS

In 1970, Dr.K.K.N. Kurup of Calicut University discovered an unnoticed Vattēluttu inscription from the vicinity of a temple at Tālakkāvu in Pūtādi village in South Wynad<sup>2</sup>. The text of this inscription along with a study was published by Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan<sup>3</sup>. According to him, the period of the Inscription can be

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2. Kurup, K.K.N., Aspects of Kerala History and Culture, Trivandrum, 1977. p.2.

3. Cultural Symbiosis Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, 1972, p. 19, p.75.

approximately assigned to the close of the 9th century A.D., on the basis of the early characteristics of Vaṭṭeluttu script and the old Malayalam language employed. Its Jaina connection is clear in the statement that "those who obstruct shall be (deemed as) offenders against Tirukkunavāy"<sup>4</sup>

A Vaṭṭeluttu Inscription has been obtained from Kiṇālūr at Balussery 26 kilometres north-east of Calicut. The exact date of this inscription is calculated as 1083 A.D. according to the astrological details given in the inscription. The shape of the Vaṭṭeluttu and the old language present in the text would support this date, as they belong to the 11th century.<sup>5</sup>

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4. For details See Appendix I.A.

According to Dr. M.R. Raghava Varier Tirukkunavāy is a general term for Jain temples and it is not the name of a particular shrine. See. Keraliyatha Caritramanangal, Edappal, 1990, p.85. This need not be true, because Kokasandesam undoubtedly states that Kunavāy is a place near Mahodayapuram. Tirukkunavāy is not a common name. But it is a repeated name in the Jain inscriptions of Kerala, as that of the model for other Jain temples.

5. Cultural Symbiosis. op. cit. p. 20.

The Vattēluttu inscription discovered from Tiruvaṅṅūr, a place within the city limits of Kozhikode is an agreement made in the 4th year, opposite the fourth year of the reign of King Sri Rājaraja, by Pāliyattu Kaṅṅan Kaṅṅan, Governor of Ramavaḷānāṭu, the officers and the Six hundred and representatives<sup>6</sup>

Its Jain connection is now clear from the statement that "The Six hundred shall protect the property of this deity, treating it as equal to Tirukkuṅavāy." It also states that if anybody fails to pay the dues, he shall be deemed as equal to a person who obstructed the property of Tirukkuṅavāy. On the basis of the script employed in it, the period of this inscription may be assigned to the 11th century A.D.<sup>7</sup>

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6. William Logan, Malabar, vol. II, Appendix. XII, Madras, 1951, p. CXXVI. Logan followed other scholars in taking the name of the king as Pala Iramar but this is deciphered as Iraya Irayar and translated as Raja Raja by M.G.S. Narayanan. See Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. p.18

7. Ibid, op. cit. p. 18.

In 1908, the Govt. of India Epigraphist had noticed an inscription at Kavassery Amsom in Ālattūr, Palakkadu District. This Vaṭṭeluttu inscription is damaged at top and is in a very bad state of preservation. It is now kept in the Archaeological museum at Trissur. This record may be placed about the 10th century A.D.<sup>8</sup>. It records an agreement by Nālpattennāyiravar, the two Pattakal, and the Adhikarar of Tirukkunāvāy. Those who steal, mortgage, or extract.... Those who give (this property away ?) shall be deemed as those who commit offences against the deity of Tirukkunāvāy.<sup>9</sup>"

These inscriptions now identified as belonging to Jain temples on account of their textual reference to Tirukkunavay, the great Jain centre of Kuṇavāyil Kōṭṭam of Cilappatikaram fame bring out the early existence of Jain temples in

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8. N. G. Unnithan also holds the same opinion. "The inscription on palaeographic ground, may be placed in 10th century A.D. "Relics of Jainism-Alattur". Journal of Indian History Vol. XL IV ,11. p. 541.

See also, Cultural Symbiosis, p. 18.

9. Appendix, I-D Lines; 1-10



Wynad, Kozhikode and Palakkadu districts and show that they considered Tirukkanamatilakam as their model.

Fourteen inscriptions are found in the cave temple at Citarāl<sup>11</sup>. Three of these have been completely damaged. Two hold only a few syllables. Out of the remaining nine inscriptions five have been deciphered and published by T.A.Gopinatha Rao<sup>12</sup>, and three by K.V.Subramanya Iyer<sup>13</sup> and the last one by R. Vasudeva Potuval<sup>14</sup>. Out of the nine, one is in Grantha script. Another which is comparatively later is in Tamil script. The other seven inscriptions are in Vaṭṭeluttu script. The nine inscriptions mentioned above are found to be extremely relevant with respect to the studies on Jainism.

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11. R. Vasudeva Potuval, Topographical list of Travancore Inscriptions, 1949, pp. 38-40.

12. T.A.S. vols. I and II. Trivandrum, 1908, 1920.

13. T.A.S. vol. I, 1908, pp. 193-94 and vol. II, pp. 125-127.

14. T.A.S. vol. IV, 1923, pp. 147-151.

15. Topographical list of Travancore Inscriptions op. cit. p. 39.

There are historical evidences to prove that some of these inscriptions belong to 9th century A.D. The Āy king Vikramaditya Varaguna has been referred to in three inscriptions. One among them clearly shows that the srikoyil was constructed in the year four opposite to seventeen of the reign of Vikramaditya Varaguna. Varaguna is the immediate successor of Ko - Karunanadataṅkan. It must be the same Varaguna who gave lands to Srimulavasa Vihara. The Paliyam Copper plates in which this donation is described was issued on a Thursday in the solar month of Makara and the lunar month of Pusya, when the naksatra was Mrgasirsa. Swamikkannupillai calculated the date as A.D. 868. Gopinatha Rao assumed that the first year of the life of Varaguna, that is the year in which he was born, must be A.D. 853<sup>16</sup>. Elamkulam thinks that it is A.D. 925 and not A.D. 898 which should be the year of the composition of Paliyam Copperplates. But it is now found that A.D. 898 alone satisfies

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16. T.A.S. vol. p. 276

the astronomical evidences found in the inscription<sup>17</sup>. It can be rightly assumed that the period of the Citaral inscriptions is 9th century.

An inscription of Kollam 540 from the same place declares that certain lands were given for rendering the service of cleaning the premises of the temple of Bhagavati at Tiruccāranam.<sup>18</sup> This record makes it clear that this Jain temple was converted into a Bhagavati temple before Kollam 540 ie. A.D. 1465.

#### MONUMENTS AND RELICS

Temples form the other archaeological sources. There are only a few ancient Jain temples in Kerala. The Metala Bhagavathi temple at Kallil and Tiruccānattu Bhagavathi temple at Citaral were previously Jain temples. The technique of constructing such cave temples is evidently adopted from the Pallava region of Thondaimandalam.

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17. For details see Cultural Symbiosis. p. 12.

18. T.A.S. vol. IV, pp. 149 -151.

These temples provide ample evidences to show that Jains lived and worked as an organised community with considerable wealth in certain parts of Kerala. They also contributed to the development of art and architecture in Kerala.

Sculptures found in the temple sites form the other archaeological sources. The sculptures of Tirthankaras and Sasanadevatas are available in some places in Kerala.

The figures of Adinatha, Chandraprabhanatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira are fixed on a four sided pedestal in the Caturmukha Basti at Manjesvaram. They are depicted in Kayotsatga pose possessing in abundance of serene tranquility of expression<sup>19</sup>. Three small images of Parsvanatha, a Yakshi and a Yaksha have also been discovered from the place. The sculptural peculiarities suggest that they belonged to 10th century A.D.<sup>20</sup>.

19. See plate No. 2

20. Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op. cit. p. 71.

Two idols of Jain Tirthankaras with Sasanadevatas on either side and the tripple umbrella on the top are kept in a small temple at Isvarankodu in Palakkad district. One of them is identified as Mahavira<sup>21</sup> and the other as Aranatha Tirthankara<sup>22</sup>. On the basis of the features of the Sasanadevatas these idols can be assigned to 9th 10th century A.D.

The department of Archaeology, Kerala has collected two sculptures of Jain Tirthankaras from Ālattūr, a village in Palakkadu. They were of Mahavira and Parsvanatha. The idol of Mahavira is now kept in the Archaeology Museum, Kozhikkode and of Parsvanatha in the Archaeology Museum Trissur. The well proportioned Mahavira idol is depicted as sitting in Bhadrāsana posture. It looks very handsome. The lanchana is missing. The Parsvanatha image is in standing position in Kayotsarga posture<sup>23</sup>. It clearly shows the nudity and youthfulness of the Tirthankara image. On the basis

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21. see plate no. 6

22. see plate no. 5

23. see plate no. 7

of the features of the Sasanadevatas the sculpture can be assigned to 9th or 10th century A.D<sup>24</sup>.

An idol of Mahavira was discovered by the Cochin Archaeologist from Paruvassery Palliyara Bhagavathi temple at Kannambra village in Palakkad district<sup>25</sup>. It is seated image in Vitaragamudra and in a meditating posture. Tripple umbrella and the lanchana are clear. On the basis of the features of the Sasanadevatas the sculpture can be assigned to 10th century A.D.

Two Tirthankara images are installed in the garbhagriha of the Metala Bhavathi temple ,Kallil in Ernakulam district. One of them is of Mahavira potrayed as sitting straight in a yogasana posture. Second image is of Adinatha Tirthankara<sup>26</sup>. It is also in a seated posture.

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24. Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op. cit. p.71.

25. see plate no.8

26. T.A. Gopinatha Rao consider it as the idol of Parsvanatha, and later he commented that it was of Mahavira. T.A.S. vol.II, op. cit. p.130  
Stella Kramrisch and M.R. Raghava Varier also consider it as of Parsvanatha.

Arts and Crafts of Kerala , op.cit. p. 70

Keraleeyatha Caritramanagal, op. cit. p. 74.

There is another half-relief of a Tirthankara carved on the over hanging rock, which forms the roof of the temple. This figure is identified as that of Mahavira<sup>27</sup>. The peculiarities of the idol help us to think that this temple belongs to the 9th century A.D.

Three idols of Tirthankaras and one of Padmavathi have been discovered from the Devi temple at Tiruccāranattumalai, at Citaral. The central cell contains the idol of Mahavira<sup>28</sup> in padmasana pose. There is the idol of Parsvanatha standing in Kayotsarga posture in the cell on the left side<sup>29</sup>. Another Tirthankara idol kept on the varanda has been damaged in such an extent that now it is impossible to identify the figure. The idol of Padmavathi<sup>30</sup> in standing position is kept in the right side cell.

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27. T.A.S. vol. op. cit. p. 130

See also Arts and Crafts of Kerala loc.cit.

28. see plate no. 16

29. see plate no. 17

30 see plate no. 15

Half relief figures of 24 Tirthankaras and Sasanadevatas are carved on the polished surface of the northern part of the rock, which contains the temple<sup>31</sup>. The inscriptions in this temple show that this was constructed during the reign of the Ay king Vikramaditya Varaguna, who lived during the 9th century A.D.

#### LITERARY SOURCES

There are not many traditions pertaining to Jainism. Quite a number of stories are in vogue in folklore about the Jain temples and idols in Kerala, but they cannot be accepted as source materials.

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31. see. plate nos. 19, 20 & 21.



## TAMIL

Till recently the great Tamil classic of Cilappatikaram owes taking as the chief source for the history of Jainism in relation to Kerala. First of all, it was placed in the 2nd century A.D. on the basis of the Gajabahu- Cenkuṭṭuvan synchronism and considered as a product of the Sangam age<sup>32</sup>. Secondly, it was accepted as a historical work in which a brother of the Cera king Cenkuṭṭuvan of the Sangam age described the installation of the Pattini Cult in Vanci by the king Cenkuṭṭuvan as an eyewitness of the programme.<sup>33</sup>

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32. " It follows therefore that the two epics Cilappatikaram and Manimekalai written by two friends who were contemporaries of Gajabahu 1 of Ceylon, are the products of the 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D."

Assim Kumar Chatterjee, Comprehensive History of Jainism up to 1000 A.D. vol. I. Calcutta, 1978. p. 120

A. Velu Pillai says: " It is unfortunate that there is controversy about the date of Cilappatikaram . . . . Therefore we can take it that if not in the second century A.D., at least in the fourth century A.D. our country seems to have been referred to as Ilankai". Epigraphical Studies for Tamil. Madras, 1980. p. 58.

33. Cilappatikaram, Vanci Kandham, pp. 657-911.

These assumptions have now been challenged as a result of the examination of old evidence and the discovery of new evidence. Obeyesekere has demonstrated that there were several Gajabahu in Srilanka and that the Gajabahu legend has been living and growing throughout the middle ages<sup>34</sup>. Linguists and literary scholars like Kamil Zvelebil and Vaiyapuri Pillai have noticed significant differences between Sangam Tamil and that of this text and also differences in the style and format of literature<sup>35</sup>. Historians have observed that the social and political conditions reflected in

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34. Obeyesekere shows that Gajabahu the central figure in the Pattini Cult was a legendary character as described in the tradition of the Pattini cult in Srilanka. The Cult of the Goddess Pattini, op. cit. p 520.

35. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Kaviya Kalam , Madras, 1962. p.86.

Kamil Zvelebil and M. Andronov. Introduction to the Historical Grammar of the Tamil Language. Moscow, 1967.

Cilappatikaram are more advanced than that of the Sangam age<sup>36</sup>.

The establishment of the identity of Tirukkunavāy, taken to be the same as Trikkāṇā Matilakam, as the model of several early medieval Jain temples in North and Central Kerala on the basis of epigraphic records, along with the mention of the 13th year the era of Kunavāy in one of the records, leads to the conclusion that the Jain temple was founded only in the 8th century of the Christian era<sup>37</sup>.

36. Kaviya Kalam, op. cit. p. 74.

Scholars have raised some objections regarding the historicity of the text. Dr. M. G. S.Narayanan says " then it is necessary to question, the truth of this statement that the poet was the younger brother of Chera Chenkuṭṭuvan who is described in the text as a contemporary of Gajabahu, a second century king of Ceylon.

Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. p. 22.

Shu Hikosaka categorically states that "As such, we inevitably come to the conclusion that Cilappatikaram does not picture a historical event but is a myth rooted in the culture of the soil.

Buddhism in Tamil Nadu, op. cit.p. 54.

37. "Therefore one is led to place the foundation of Tirukkunavay Jain temple somewhere in the middle of the 8th century of the Christian era" Cultural Symbiosis, p. 20.

Cilappatikaram says that the poem was composed by Iḷaṅkō Adikal at Kuṇavāyir Kōṭṭam, obviously the same as the Jain temple mentioned above.<sup>38</sup> Whether this is a historical fact or not cannot be ascertained but the occurrence of the Vihara name in the text itself shows that it could have been composed only after the vihara was founded. This would compel us to make a fresh assessment of the evidence-value of Cilappatikaram in relation to Jainism in Kerala.

The poet might have been a royal personage. It is quite possible that, following an old literary convention in which great poets like Vyasa and Valmiki place themselves as characters in some ways connected with the plots of their work. The author of Cilappatikaram also incorporated a story connecting him with the royal founder of the Pattini cult in Sangam age. However, it is clear that he conceived and composed Cilappatikaram to propogate and popularise the Pattini cult which was

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38. "kuṇavāyirkōṭṭattaracu turantirunta  
kuṭakkoccēralāṅkōvaṭikatku"

integrated to the Jain creed in South India. Thus the epic of Cilappatikaram brings credit to Tirukkunavay shrine and represents a great effort by a great poet to disseminate the Jain faith in South India.

The story is related to the ancient kingdom and has no relevance for present Kerala except that it was composed by an inmate of Kunavāyirkōṭṭom<sup>39</sup> (Trikkunavāy) in central Kerala.

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39. "The identification of Kunavāyirkōṭṭam as Tirukkunavāy and the discovery of the period of its foundation have an important bearing on the date of Cilappatikaram. If the Jain centre itself was established only in the 8th century at the earliest, the poem written by the inmate of its monastery could not be of an earlier date". Cultural Symbiosis. op. cit. p. 22. The period of this work is found to be stated from 2nd Century A.D. But there aren't any evidence which help us to date the event so ancient a period.

## SANSKRIT

Śukasandesam<sup>40</sup> in Sanskrit is the earliest Sandesakavya of Kerala. The author of the work is Lakshmidasa. The period of the composition of this poem is not clear. The only available proof is that Unnunīlisandesam, a 14th century Malayalam work quotes a line from this work<sup>41</sup>. So it cannot be later than 14th century. It can be assigned to the beginning of 14th century A.D. It describes the place Guṇaka and the temple Trikkaṇāmatilakam in detail, which is the destination of the Suka. The historic relevance of this work is the clearcut evidence it provides about the location of the famous Jain temple Trikkaṇāmatilakam.

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40. Sukasandesam, (Tr.), Parameswaran Namoothiri, N.B.S. Kottayam, 1968.

41. "ittham nānā kuśalamavanōṭāptipūrvam vicāri  
ccāstālōkē vipulamānasāmenru mulpeṭṭu kāṭṭi  
.....  
.....viveṅkam"

Unnunīlisandesam, Kottayam, 1967, sloka, 23.p. 49.

## MALAYALAM

Malayalam language took its present form and identity only after 12th century A.D. Hence all Malayalam works available are those after the 12th century.

Kokasandesam<sup>42</sup> is one of the sandesa kavyas of Malayalam literature. The author of this work is not known. Based on the internal evidences available, it is believed that it has been composed in the beginning of 15th century A.D.<sup>43</sup>

There are some references to Trikkanaṁatilakam temple in this work. Since Brahmins were not allowed to look at the presiding deity of the temple face to face, it can be assumed

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42. Kokasandesam, (ed.) Elamkulam, Kottayam, 1972,

43. Ibid. Introduction. p. 17

that the deity was a non-vedic one<sup>44</sup>. These evidences help us to know about the Trikkanaṁatilakam and its location. These are the available literary sources which support the study of Jainism in Kerala.<sup>45</sup>

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44. "Celvam cērnna kkupakayilakam pukku nī tekku  
nōkki  
cellunnēram tiraviya perum kōyil kāṇām purārēh  
allittārmankuḷalikaḷ kurāl kaṇṇare talli mārrum  
mallikkāṇṇin munayil malarvillāḷiye tōrrumētam.

Cemmē kāṇmānarutu kuṇakattampurāne dvijanmār  
kkenrāl nīyum toluka puramēninru tōla teliñṇu  
pinnekkāṇām catiyil mutirum vāṇiyakkārartammil  
tinnam pēcitteruvilutane vāṇiyam ceyyumāru."

Ibid, sloka 47-48, pp. 57-58

45. There are no direct references about Jainism in other Malayalam literary works. But Kṣapanakas have been mentioned in some works.

"aśrāntam nija vītare kṣapanarāyvaśyauṣadhim  
tīrrināl  
niśrīkatvamurañṇu pōm kuṭilamaikkāṇṇarkku  
kālāntarē"

Valsikatantram (Ed.), K.Ramachandran Nair,  
Trivandrum, 1969, p. 42

"akkam pēcum kṣapanakajanam vītarāy mevumētam."

Unnunilisandesam, op. cit. p.117.

(Continue next page.)



## PLACE NAMES

Place names are another set of source materials. There are a lot of place names in Kerala which begin or end with 'palli'. Generally the meaning of this word is non-Hindu temple. In ancient time palli denotes the presence of Jain or Buddhist temple. Since christian churches and mosques are also termed as palli we cannot come to

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"rōmarāji puṇarppāmpu kāmakṣapanakasvayam  
vaccuṭan viccakāṭṭinra kaittalam nin tanūdaram."

Lilatilakam, (Ed.)Elamkulam, Kottayam, 1962. p.237.

"kṣapanakanitā kānā viccakāṭṭinra vāru".

Padyaratnam, (Ed.) P.K.Narayana Pillai,  
Trivandrum, 1982, p. 107.

The meaning of the word kṣapanaka is "a religious mendicant (especially a) Jaina mendicant who wears no garments. Sir Monier Williams, A Sanskrit English Dictionary p, 326.

But the word kṣapanaka in Malayalam literature means a magician, a philanderer etc. This makes clear the decline of Jainism and the moral degradation of the monks. However, it does not necessarily point to the existence of Kṣhapanakas in Kerala.

any conclusion based on this term. But there are some place names which begin with Jina or sramana which help us to know about the presence of these religions. Following are some examples.

Kiṇālūr	-- Kuṇavāynallūr	Calicut.
Kiṇāyccēri	-- Kuṇavāyccēri	"
Camāṇan kurri	-- Śrāmaṇan kurri	"
Camattikkunnu	-- Śrāmaṇatti kunnu	"
Cinapparaṅṅampu	-- Jina paraṅṅampu	"
Jinantotiṅṅa	-- Jina totiṅṅa	"
Jinanipparaṅṅampu	-- Jinani paraṅṅampu	"
Tiruccāraṅṅam	--Tiru cāraṅṅam	Kanyakumari.
Camravattom	--Śramaṅṅa vattom	Tirur.

BUDDHISM ✓

There is a general impression created by popular modern writers with an anti-Brahmin zeal that Buddhism had been the dominant creed at one time in Kerala. This view has been strengthened by the fact of the association of Ezhavas of Kerala with Srilanka where Buddhism had great influence<sup>46</sup>. However, all available evidence show that Buddhism was confined to certain pockets only in Kerala.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

## INSCRIPTIONS

The Paliyam Copper plates is an important inscripational evidence for the study of

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46. P.K.Gopalakrishnan , Kerala Samskaracaritram. Thiruvananthapuram, 1985,p. 287.

See also , Buddhism in Kerala, op. cit. pp. 132-133.

Buddhism in Kerala.<sup>47</sup> The Āy king Vikramaditya Varaguṇa is the doner of these plates. It is engraved on two copper plates which were found in the house of the Pāliyatt Achan and is in Tamil and Nagari script. The second part of the record is in Sanskrit. It begins with an invocation to Śaudhōdani (Buddha ), Dharma and Sangha. The land was given to the Bhaṭṭāraka of Tirumūlapādam. According to T.A. Gopinatha Rao, the date of this inscription is 863. A.D.<sup>48</sup> Prof. Elamkulam calculates the date as A.D. 925<sup>49</sup>. The date of the Inscription is 898 A.D.<sup>50</sup>

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47. See Appendix. I. G.

48. T.A. Gopinatha Rao agreed the calculation of Dewan Swamikkannu Pillai and accepted 30th December A.D. 868 as the date of the copper plate. T.A.S. vol. I, p. 275.

49. Elamkulam says " The grant was made most probably towards the end of Varaguṇas reign and therefore it was issued on the 29th December 925. Studies in Kerala History op. cit. p. 177.

50. Considering all the facts M.G.S. Narayanan come to the conclusion that " Therefore A.D. 898 which alone is satisfied the astronomical requirements may be found acceptable. Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. p. 11

## MONUMENTS

The Buddha idols are the other set of archaeological source materials. It was T.A.Gopinatha Rao who took up the study of Jain and Buddhist monuments for the first time. He published the photographs and other details of the relics and assessed their significance.<sup>51</sup>

An image of Buddha of 4 feet height was discovered from Ramapuram in Kottayam district<sup>52</sup>. This yellowish granite figure with curly hair and subdued Ushnisha is now kept in the Archaeological Museum, Trissur.

A Buddha idol was discovered from Karumādi in the district of Alappuzha<sup>53</sup>. It is popularly known as Karumādikkuṭṭan. This seated image has a height of 3 feet. The Uahnisha and the jvala on its head are clear. The idol is now placed in a small

51. T.A.S. vol II, pp.125-135

52. See plate.no,22

53. See plate no.23

temple. On the basis of the sculptural peculiarities this can be assigned to 700 A.D.

An image of Buddha is installed near the Krishnaswamy temple at Māvēlikkara in Alappuzha district<sup>54</sup>. The image having 3 feet height is in meditative posture. The Ushnisha, jvala and the robe can be very well noticed, Sculptural peculiarities shows that it belonged to 8th century A.D.<sup>55</sup>

A headless image of Buddha was discovered from Pallikkal, a place 11 Kms. west of Adūr<sup>56</sup>. This seated figure has close resemblences with the image found at Bharanikkāvu.

An image of Buddha is kept in the compound of Pallikkara Bhagavathi temple at Bharanikkāvu<sup>57</sup>. It is an excellent state of preservation, The Ushnisha is pointed and the jvala is clear. Uttariya is a

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54. See plate no.24

55. Studies in Kerala History, op. cit. p. 180.

56. See plate no.26

57. See plate no.25

folded piece passing over the left and ends on the chest. The age of the image can be assigned to 8th century A.D.

A Buddha idol was discovered from Maruthūrkuḷangara near Karuṇāgappally and now kept at Krishnapuram palace Museum<sup>58</sup>. This seated image has a height of 4 feet. Ushnisha and Uttariya are clear.

A Buddha image, which is kept in the courtyard of the Tāzhathu Kuḷakkāda library was discovered from Kallaḍa river<sup>59</sup>. It has 2 1/2 feet height. The face and some parts of body have faded due to the force of the current in Kallada river. The right hand and a portion of the left leg are broken. Ushnisha is a peculiar type. Based on the sculptural peculiarities it can be assigned to 11th century A.D.

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58. See plate no.28

59. See plate no.29

Archaeology department Trivandrum have collected another Buddha image from here. It is reported that it was transferred to Krishanapuram palace Museum<sup>60</sup>. But no such image is found there today. Authorities are not aware of the whereabouts of the image.

It is clear that all these Buddha idols were accommodated in small or big shrines and worshipped at some time or other by the people. However, no traces of the buildings are found today and it is only possible to speculate about the period or periods of their foundation and the causes for their decline. The present writer undertook a field study and visited all the sites in an effort to collect evidence from the relics and traditions and place names.

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60. Kerala State Gazette<sup>e</sup>rs, op. cit. p.221.



## LITERARY SOURCES

## SANSKRIT

The Mūṣikavamśā is a historical Mahakavya by Atula, a court poet of the Mūṣika king Śrīkaṇṭha. The kavya ends after the 15th chapter. Though the first 12 cantos are mythical and legendary in character the last three cantos are of historical importance. Portion from these cantos were published by T.A.Gopinatha Rao with a study<sup>61</sup>. The poem refers to Śrīmūlavāsa Vihara on two occasions. First, king Vikramarāma saved the shrine from the deluge of the rising waves<sup>62</sup>, and

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61. T.A.S. vol.I, op. cit. pp 87-113.

62. "prathitamiha Jinasya sriniketam kadapi  
nmusita jana vipatteralayam mulavasam  
pruthu catula taranga ksubdha velatatanta  
kabalayitumudanva nuddhrtam vyajajrbhe

Musikavamsam, 12-96.

later on Valabha visited the shrine on his way back to his country from the South, where he had gone to assist the Kerala king in his war against the Cola forces<sup>63</sup>. The references about the Cola invasion of Kerala, the protection extended to Śrīmūlavāsa Vihara and the salutation offered by king Valabha to the Sugatha of Śrīmūlavāsa Vihara are important from the historical point of view. The Cola invasion of Kerala referred to in Mūgikavamāsa must have occurred in or about the first quarter of the 11th century A.D.<sup>64</sup> This work is very helpful in throwing light on the expansion of Buddhism in Kerala and the nature of the patronage that the Buddhists enjoyed.

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63. upasṛtya nitya susamṛddha vibhavadharmapāragam  
tatra sugatamatikarunikam sucimulavasajusa  
abhyavantatah

Ibid, 14- 25.

64. T.A.S. vol. II, op. cit. pp.118-117.  
A.Govinda Warriar shares the same view.

K.A.Nilakantha Sastri is disposed to place this invasion in 11th century. The Colas, Madras, 1984, p.223.

M.G.S. Narayanan also made it clear that this must have occurred in 11th century A.D.

Mattavilasa and Bhagavadajjuka are Sanskrit farces attributed to Mahendra, the Pallava king, who ruled during the seventh century A.D. His works were very popular in Kerala. They were adopted for the performance of Kūṭiyāṭṭam by the Cākkayārs of Kerala. The rituals and practices, involved in the conversion of Hindus to Jainism and Buddhism are described in detail in the Malayalam portions used by the Vidūṣaka, in the Cākyār version of the plays. These dramas were popular in Kerala during the Cera period. M.G.S.Narayanan says about the early Malayalam text that "most probably it was composed in the Cera period to suit the reformed Sanskrit theatre of Kūṭiyāṭṭam."<sup>65</sup>

Some passages in the prayer song used in Cāttirakkali, or Śāstrakkali, or Saṅghakkali<sup>66</sup>, a

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65. Political and social conditions of Kerala under the Kulasekhara Empire, Un published Ph.D. thesis, Kerala University, 1972. p. 531.

66. Namboothiri. C.K., Cāttirāṅkam, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur. 1980.

ritual performance by the 18 Sanghas of Nambudiries, refer to the threat of 'Bauddha' rivals and the anxiety of the Brahmins to safeguard their status in the royal court of the Perumal. The tradition is that the Cāttirakkali originated at the time of a crisis when the Perumāl was under the influence of Bauddhas. The Nambudiri Brahmins offered penance to propitiate Siva and as a result they were victorious in the struggle. These traditions cannot be taken as concrete historical material, but the songs allude to some conflict between the Brahmins and a non-Brahmin group- perhaps Buddhists, or Jains - which centred on a Perumal who showed lenience towards the other creed.

#### FOREIGN LANGUAGES

In A.D. 970 - 1039 Al Beruni wrote his account of the coast. He says "beyond Guzarat are Kongan and Tana, beyond then the country of Malibar

which, from the boundary of Karoha to Kulam in 300 prasaings in length. The whole country produces the pan. The people are all Sramanis (Buddhists) and worshipped idols. Of the cities on the shore the first in Sindabur, then Faknur, then the country of Sadarsa, then Jangli, then Kulam. The men of these countries are Sramanies"<sup>67</sup>

The account of Al-kazwni, another Mohehmedian geographer compiled his accounts of India in 1263 - 75. Among other places, he mentions Kulam, a large city in India. He saw Jains or Buddhists here.<sup>68</sup>

These statements have to be examined critically. These Arab travellers visited the westcoast at a time when Brahminical religion was clearly dominated as evident from the inscriptions of the country and its literature. It is possible

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67. Quoted by William Logan , Malabar, vol. I 279.

68. Ibid, p. 282.

that the merchant community of Chettis and Vāṇiyas with whom the Arab merchants came into contact in the harbour areas, were followers of the Jain or Buddhist religion. This could have given the impression that the whole country was Buddhist. Even though the rulers and the chieftains followed the Brahminical religion, the common people could have worshipped their own dieties, and these were common to Hindus, Jains and Buddhists. The travellers accounts are useful in giving us glimpses of the non-Brahmanical creeds though they cannot be taken in the literal sense. The Arab travellers were mainly concerned with the spread of Islam and the expansion of trade and their knowledge was confined to the coastal cities in India.

### PLACE NAMES.

Place names like Puttūr, Puttanāḍu, Puttappally and Puttaccan in Kozhikodu are present in other districts also . We cannot claim definitely that these place names have originated from the term Buddha though they appear to have some connection with Buddhism when they are found in the region where Buddha images have been discovered. The term Palli originally stood for a hamlet inhabited by non- Aryan groups and gradually came to designate a Jain or Buddha or Christian or Muslim shrine. The profusion of such terms in the place names of Kerala must be taken as indicative of a strong undercurrent of non-Brahmin, non-Hindu religious culture among the people. It was on this basis that Jewish, Christian and Muslim places of worship came to be designated by the term 'Palli' in Kerala. So place names can be considered only as a supporting source material.

## B. EARLIER STUDIES

(A number of scholars have probed into the religious beliefs of the people of Kerala. Many of them have pointed out that Kerala had some groups of people who followed the religions of Jainism, and Buddhism. Their remarks were often very casual. Very few have come to definite conclusions on the basis of authoritative evidences. This study is a critical survey of earlier works intended to examine their views on Jainism and Buddhism, point out strength and weakness of arguments and reasses them to prepare the way for a new precise understanding of the subject based on concrete evidences.

It is very difficult to discover the exact proportion of history contained in the legends and traditional chronicles. Kēraḷōlpatti has attracted the attention of a number of historians. The Kēraḷa Māhātmyam of and the Kēraḷa Caritam and works based on them do not deserve serious study as they are obviously attempts to give a puranic halo to existing institutions like temples.



Robert Sewell, whose study is based upon Kēralavisēṣa Māhātmyam, says that a Perumāḷ embraced Buddhism,<sup>1</sup> but does not say anything about the spread of Buddhism in Kerala.

The decision of the British government to compile State Manuals was a turning point in the study of Kerala history. William Logan, the collector of Malabar district was commissioned to write the Manual of Malabar. It is his work which liberated the history of Kerala from the veils of myths and legends. He tried to collect evidences and to analyse them systematically.<sup>2</sup>

'Malabar' the district manual of British Malabar (1887) reveals Logan's deep knowledge of history. Though Malabar was at that time a part of

1. Sewell Robert, Archaeological Survey of South India, Madras, 1884. p. 197.

2. For instance, he divided pre-Portuguese history into two chapters, one dealing with traditional history and the other dealing with history from other sources. His attempt to use archaeological and epigraphic sources was commendable, but he failed in the absence of a definite chronology. However, the bold attempt inspired others later on to explore these avenues further.

Madras presidency, he could penetrate deep into cultural and religious problems of Kerala. In Malabar he discusses Buddhism and Jainism in the context of their prevalence in other parts of India. According to him Jainism existed in Kerala, even during the period of Asoka the Great.<sup>3</sup> He has observed on the basis of the accounts of travellers that Kollam was a flourishing Buddhist centre<sup>4</sup>. The Ezhavas or Tīyas, in his opinion, were the people who migrated from Ceylon. He believed that the term Ezhava can be derived from the term dvīpam, (island).<sup>5</sup> This was a pointer to the existence of Buddhist influence among the Ezhavas of Kerala.

In his capacity as the collector of Malabar, Logan had the opportunity to visit all places and directly examine the records. Since he was

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3. "It is certain that Jain missionaries penetrated as far as Malabar in Asoka's time". Malabar, Madras, 1951, p. 184. The confusion between Buddhism and Jainism could be found in Logan also.

4. Ibid, P. 279.

5. Ibid, P. 110

concentrating on the district of Malabar, he could not attend to the history of Kerala as a whole. Logan did not possess much material for his reconstruction of history before the advent of the Portuguese at the close of the 15th century. With regard to the earlier period, his observations were all based on the interpretation of Keralolpatti legends and the scraps of epigraphic evidence from a handful of inscriptions which were not properly dated or completely deciphered. All the 'history' of the pre-Portuguese period, including his remarks on Jainism and Buddhism, have to be treated merely as mere guesswork and rejected, since they are not based on concrete evidence.

The Travancore State Manual of Nagam Aiya, Cochin State Manual of C. Achyuta Menon and Travancore State Manual of Velupillai were published in 1906, 1911 and 1940 respectively. But they were lagging far behind the Malabar Manual in their analysis of historical facts. The authors of the state manuals of Cochin and Travancore also

suffered from the lack of materials for the early period; and their observations were more guess work. In spite of the fact that a lot of epigraphical and structural evidences were available to him, Veluppillai failed to utilize them.<sup>6</sup> Lack of a proper historical perspective was the cause of the limitation. As for Jainism and Buddhism all these writers tried to interpret the traditional story of the Perumāḷ's conversion to a "Bauddha" religion, found in the Kēraḷōlpatti chronicle. Since the term "Bauddha" has become a common term of abuse for persons with unorthodox views and behaviour by this time, such references do not make any sense.

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6. Achyuta Menon's reference about Buddhism is only this much; "If therefore, the Perumal did become a convert, it must have been to Buddhism." p. 37. He also reported that there were 5 Jains in Cochin. He does not speak about the followers of Buddhism. The Cochin State Manual, Ernakulam 1911, p. 188.

Even though Achyuta Menon reports that, there were only five Jains in Cochin, N. Subramanya Aiyer In the Census report of India 1911, reported that there were 210 Jains and 96 Buddhists there. Subramanya Aiyer, Census of India 1911, vol. XXIII, Trivandrum, 1912, p. xix.

V.Nagam Aiya's Report of The Census of Travancore 1891, states that there were ten followers of Jainism in Travancore<sup>7</sup>. He also stated that there were two Buddhist temples in Kerala, which were later converted into Hindu temples<sup>8</sup>.

S.Ramanatha Aiyer, who published his A Brief Sketch of Travancore, has devoted one of its chapters to Buddhism. He has simply stated that

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7. "There are 10 followers of the creed for the whole state. Seven are found in Periyar and Tekkadi and three in the Taluk of Alangadu". V.Nagam Aiya, Report of the Census of Travancore, Madras 1894, p. 399.

8. Nagam Aiya report that there were two Buddhist temples in Kerala, and were later converted into Hindu temples."The writer has himself seen Buddhistic temples in the country, now converted in to Hindu places of worship. Buddhism itself having been entirely absorbed by Brahmins in to their own faith. One of these undoubted Buddhistic temples stands at Chitalar near Kulittorai and other at Kalakoottam, 10 miles north of Trivandrum,. When I was Division Peshcar of the south, I was called upon to report on the one at Chitalar which I did it in May 1881". But it has already been clarified that the Chitalar temple was a Jain temple and not Buddhistic. The Kazhakkuttam temple was examined in detail, and it is found that the said idol in the temple is of Sasta and not of Buddha. V. Nagam Aiya, op. cit. pp. 399-400.

Buddhism once existed in Kerala and that Citalal temple was once a Buddhist temple<sup>9</sup>.

In Madras District Gazatteers- Malabar and Anjengo, published in 1908, C.A.Innes says that Tirunelli temple must have been a Buddhist or Jain temple.<sup>10</sup> There is no cave temple near Tirunelli. There are no evidences to establish it either as Jain or Buddhist. The only basis for the statement is hearsay. He could neither examine epigraphical evidences nor come to conclusion on the basis of iconography.

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9. He says: " The temple at Chitalal in south Travancore is one of the several instances in point.It was formerly a Buddhistic temple". Ramanatha Aiyar, A Brief Sketch of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1903. p.129 10."A tradition regarding the Tirunelli temple is that Tirunelli representing Vishnu foot, Godavari, his middle and Gaya the head. Just by Gunnika tirtham, is a small cave temple dedicated to siva. The mouth of the temple is closed by a small wooden door, with beautifully carved door posts and lintel. This cave temple almost points to a Buddhist or Jain origin for the temple". Innes. C.A., Malabar District Gazetteers - Malabar and Anjengo, (ed.) Evans. P.B., Madras, 1908. p. 478.

While discussing Vanci, the Cera capital, he says that besides the Vishnu temple, there existed a Buddhist and a Nirgrantha temple also<sup>11</sup>. He had assumed that Vanci was located in present day Kerala. He gives a detailed discussion on the Jain temple at Palakkadu<sup>12</sup>.

T.A. Gopinatha Rao, a renowned epigraphist and Superintendent of Archaeology Department Travancore, during 1908-1916, collected a number of inscriptions and copper plates which are necessary for the formulation of the history of Kerala. The first two volumes of T.A.S., edited by him are very valuable records for the study of the history of Kerala. His knowledge of Vaṭṭeluttu and Tamil literature, and his easy access to all inscriptions by virtue of his status as Archaeological

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11. Vanci, the capital was strongly fortified and on the battlements were mounted various engines to throw missiles upon those who attacked the fort. The king's palace, a temple of Vishnu called Adakamadam or the golden shrine, a Buddhist chaitya, and a Nirgrantha monastery appear to have been the most conspicuous buildings in the town".  
Ibid, pp. 33-34.

12. Ibid, P. 446.

superintendent, rendered his conclusions authoritative. He is also the most prominent among those who studied about Buddhism and Jainism in the light of Travancore inscriptions.

T.A. Gopinatha Rao was the scholar who realized first the need to ascertain the extent of influence that was exerted in Travancore by Buddhism and Jainism. His studies on Huzur office plates<sup>13</sup> of king Karunandaḍakkan and Huzur office plates of Varaguna<sup>14</sup> introduced these Āy kings to the students of history.

His further studies published under the title "Two inscriptions of Vikramaditya Varaguna<sup>15</sup>," clearly explains the relations of Āy kings to Buddhism and Jainism. He studied Nagarkovil temple and Kallil and Citaral temples in detail. He probed deep into the problem of Śrīmūlavāsam with

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13. T.A.S. vol. I, op.cit. pp. 15-37.

14. Ibid, pp. 41-45.

15. Ibid, pp. 275-281.



the help of literary sources like Mūṣikavamsam<sup>16</sup> and made valuable suggestions regarding its location.

With this background, he made a comprehensive study on Buddhism and Jainism in relation to Kerala<sup>17</sup>. He discovered several images of Buddha from central Travancore and explained them. He also pointed out the influence of these religions upon the social life of Kerala. It may be safely asserted that, it was Gopinatha Rao, who laid scientific foundations for the study of Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala.

The following are the main contributions of Gopinatha Rao, with respect to Buddhism and Jainism.

1. The Pāliyam copper plates, which deals with the donation made by Vikramaditya Varaguna to Śrīmūlavasa vihara, was deciphered and published.

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16. T.A.S. vol.II, PP. 87,113

17. "Bauddha Jaina vestiges in Travancore"  
Ibid, pp. 115-130

2. Mūṣikavamsam kavya, which incidentally gives information on Srimulavasa vihara, was discovered and extracts from it were published with English translation and notes

3. Studies were undertaken on the idols of Citaral Jain temple and were identified on the basis of iconography. The Citaral inscriptions containing the names of Guṇantāṅgi Kuṇattikaḷ, Varaguṇa, Ajjaṇandi, Vīranandi Aḍikaḷ and Uttaṇanti Aḍikaḷ and parts of the inscriptions of Nāgarāja temple of Nagarkovil were published. He fixed the period of Varaguṇa and thereby revealed the age in which Jainism and Buddhism received royal patronage.

4. He collected the Buddhist idols found in Travancore and gave their sculptural details.

5. He gave an account of the Kallil Jain temple with photographs of the cave and idols. The limitation of his work lies in the fact that the field of his activity was confined to Travancore alone. Some problems regarding chronology and iconography remained, but Gopinatha Rao's study remains unsurpassed.

K.P. Padmanabha Menon was a researcher who exhibited all the qualities of a good historian. Through his works such as Kochirajyacaritam and Kerala History, he established the fact that history is not confined to legends and traditions. According to M.G.S.Narayanan "It was not written to please the court by praising the administration and tracing the royal pedigree back to Parasurama. The author's patriotism yields place to his passion for finding out the truth about the past<sup>18</sup>. He tried to adopt a scientific outlook on the socio-political problems of Kerala.

Though his Kerala History was completed in 1910, it could be published only in 1924. It has references to a number of Buddhist idols and temples which were discovered from different parts of Kerala. This work which was completed even before the publication of Gopinatha Rao's findings,

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18.M. G. S.Narayanan, "Padmanabha Menon K.P." Historians and Hisoriography in Modern India, Delhi, 1973, p. 375

do refer to the Buddha idols of central Travancore<sup>19</sup>.

None of the Travancore inscriptions were brought to light at the time when he undertook the study of history of Kerala. None of the ancient works related to history and culture were available. Information about sculptural details and iconography was too inadequate. This made him to regard Karumāḍi - kuṭṭan as a Jain idol. He says: "the figure is popularly known as Karumāḍi kuṭṭan and is said to be of Jain origin, while some put it down as a Buddhistic image<sup>20</sup>. He described the Citaral cave temple as a Buddhist temple. He might have been misguided by the report of Nagam Aiya. Evidently he did not consider Jainism and Buddhism as religions to be studied seriously as part of Kerala history.

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19. Padmanabha Menon, K.P., A. History of Kerala, 1924. p. 105.

20. Ibid, p. 105.

New light was thrown on the Citalal temple due to the efforts of K.V. Subramanya Iyer and A.S. Ramanatha Iyer<sup>21</sup>, who were superintendents of Travancore Archaeology. Subramanya Iyer discovered and published the inscription relating to the establishment of Citalal Bhagavati temple. He could discover that, its Śrīkovil was built by Kuṟatti Mūttavāla Nārāṇa Kuṭṭiyār<sup>22</sup>. This was a Devi temple from its very beginning. It was known as Varasundari temple. The inscription of Vijayabhadrā Vipāścī which reveals this fact, was also discovered by him. He made it clear that Citalal inscriptions are fourteen in number as against Gopinatha Rao's view that they were only five. It was Ramanatha Iyer who made a detailed study of the Nagaraja temple at NagarKovil, and the nine inscriptions discovered from there. Gopinatha Rao had given only those parts of four inscriptions which are

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21. T.A.S. vol.IV, 1923.pp. 147-151 and vol. VI, 1928. pp. 153-169.

22. T.A.S. vol.IV, op. cit. pp.147-148.

related to Guṇavīra Paṇḍitan. Ramanatha Iyer's efforts made the study of this temple quite elaborate. However, we are not including the Nagarkoil temples in the present study as they belong to a later period.

K. Ramapisharoti accepted the existence of Jainism and Buddhism and their influence through his articles entitled "Kerala Nataka Cakra"<sup>23</sup> and the "Kulasekharas of Kerala"<sup>24</sup>. It was he who pointed out that Nāgānandam kūttu has a legitimate place in the study of Buddhism in Kerala<sup>25</sup>. His descriptions include an account of the spread of Buddhism and its decline after the period of the

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23. Ramapisharoti.K., "Kerala Nataka Cakra", JBORAS, vol.I, London, 1925. pp. 246-251.

24. "The Kulasekharas of Kerala". Proceedings and transactions of the Sixth All India conference, Patna, 1930. pp. 199-210.

25. "Nāgānandam has been and shall be a very popular drama on our stage, a popularity which may to a great extent be explained by the fact that Kerala was the last stronghold of Buddhism in all India". "Kerala Nataka Cakra." op.cit.p.249.

Kulasekharas<sup>26</sup>. This is not much use today since the conflict between Buddhism and Vaishnavism described by him is entirely speculative and we have no datable record prior to the 9th century in Kerala.

N. Kunjan pillai speaks about the existence of Buddhism in Travancore. He states "In the days of Asoka, Buddhism spread throughout India, and the remains of Buddhistic viharas and chaityas and temples were found from one end of Travancore to the other, from Thovala to Kunnathunad. Buddhism flourished in this land in days of yore"<sup>27</sup>. He

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26."The silent spread of Buddhism and the appeal it always made to the masses gave it a great impetus, so that by about the middle of the 6th century, it got a crowning victory, when it brought about a cleavage in the orthodox fold. From this period till about the time of the Vaisnavite Kulasekhara, Hinduism appears to have been in eclipse . The spread of Buddhism led the orthodox party to mobilise their forces and try as best as they could to check the advance of this alien religion". "The Kulasekharas of Kerala," op.cit.pp. 204-205.

27. Census of India- 1931, vol . XXVIII. Travancore part I, Trivandrum, 1932. P. 351. 2. "Jains are practically non-existing in Travancore and Buddhists have completely disappeared with the exception of a few recent converts to Buddhism who number 64 only ".

However T.K. Velupillai reported that in Travancore state Manuel vol I. P.386, that there were 64 Buddhists and 41 Jains. There is some inconsistency. Ibid. P.351.

observed that there are no followers of Jainism and that conversion to Buddhism has been going on in recent times in Kerala.

These reports contain references to Jainism and Buddhism, and the number of believers in these religions, but they do not have any importance as history. The reference to "the Buddha viharas and chaityas" quoted above is wholly unfounded. M.R.Balakrishan Varier<sup>28</sup>, P. Chidambaram pillai<sup>29</sup> K.G.Sesha Aiyar<sup>30</sup>, and V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar<sup>31</sup> also refer to Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala. Dikshitar's study about "Vikramaditya Varagupa and his Paliyam Plates" is a mere reproduction of Gopinatha Rao's studies.

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28. Pracina Keralam ,Tiruvanathapuram, M.E.1107, pp.138-146 and 260-263.

29. Right of Temple Entry, Nagarcoil,1933. pp.77-87.

30. Cera kings of the Sangam period , London, 1937. pp. 18,85,86.

31. " A Forgotten chapter in South Indian History"and "Aayi country and its kings"- Proceedings of the 9th All India Conference, Trivandrum, 1937, pp.691- 708



Komattil Achutha Menon in his work entitled "Kochiyile Sthalanamangal<sup>32</sup>" stated that the northern temples of Airanikkulam and Kutal Manikyam were Buddhist and Jaina respectively. On the basis of these observations, he has tried to establish the existence of Buddhist and Jaina religions in Kerala. These remarks are also based on some vague traditions, and there is no evidence to support these views.

The D. Litt. Thesis of Dr. P.C. Alexander entitled "Buddhism in Kerala<sup>33</sup>", discusses the Buddhist religion in detail. The study is focussed entirely on Buddhism within the geographical boundaries of Kerala. He believed that Srimulavasam was in Kolathunadu. His study had its own limitations, since being a Christian, he was not allowed to enter the temples. Dr. Alexander did not add much to the facts known and presented by Gopinatha Rao and other scholars.

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32. Achutha Menon Komattil, Kochiyile Sthalanamangal, Trichur, M.E. 1118. P. 96.

33. Alexander. P.C., Buddhism in Kerala, Annamalai University, 1949.

It was Dr. Alexander who made a detailed study of the relation of the temples at Kilirur and Nilamperur with Buddhism<sup>34</sup>. He described the Kilirur Bhagavai temple as a Buddhist temple and stated that on the left side of the main temple, there are two Buddhist idols<sup>35</sup>. This is not correct. The idol kept in the front room of the temple is not Buddhist in character. The half relief found in the rear room is the idol of Pallibana Perumal. Pallibana perumal's name is

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34. Sri. T.K. Krishan Manon had already written about the temple at Kilirur and about the idol of Buddha found there, in his article "Kilirur" published in 1939, But he did not discuss it in detail. See-Speeches and writings of Sahityakusalan. T.K. Krishna Menon, II. Edn, Cochin 1932. pp. 208-211.

35. "There is a big Bhagavati temple at Kilirur on the top of a small hill. Within the temple walls on the left side of the main shrine, there are two Buddhist images stored in a tiled shed. In the front room of this shed, there is a bronze image of the Buddha shown in the characteristic yogic pose under a Bodhi tree".  
Buddhism in Kerala, op.cit pp. 59-60.

written at the bottom of the image<sup>36</sup>. The figure shown as meditating in Padmasana posture under the Bodhi tree was misunderstood to be that of Buddha. The figure is decorated with crown, shoulder bangles and chain and evidently it represents a royal person.

The thesis entitled "The Sucindram Temple", and the work "South India and Srilanka" by Dr. K.K. Pillai examines the question of the presence of Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala. He reports that there are Jain idols at Trimurthy

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36. P.K. Padmanabha Panikkar speaks about the conversion of Pallibana Perumal to Buddhism may be cited here. He too states that an idol was discovered from Nilamperur temple and that it was thrown into the pond. "Perumal Pallivanavar" Kerala Society papers, series 3, 1950. pp. 147- 151

K.C. Cheriyan's remark that the Perumal had embraced Christianity is also based upon the same evidences. Cheriyan K.C., "Pallivanavar" Kerala Society Papers. 1950. pp. 151-155.

The credibility of the story of Pallibana Perumal has not been examined. No attempt has been made to examine critically those things which were heard from the local people.

Hills in Munnar Range<sup>37</sup>. According to him, certain rituals associated with the temple festivals of Suchindram remind us of the persecution of the Jains<sup>38</sup>. Since his study is centred around one temple, he has not bothered to examine the historical origins of the religion.

Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai is foremost among the modern historians of ancient Kerala. He could come closer to historical facts by virtue of his deep knowledge of Sangam and post-Sangam literature, along with the early Malayalam literature, expertise in examining and analysing the available inscriptions and familiarity with other literary works, and historical writings on South India.

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37. "Trimurty Hills in the Munnar range of mountains in north Travancore contains some figures popularly believed to represent Trimurtis. They are really three Jaina figures, in relief seen on the eastern face of the rock" The Sucindram temple, Madras, 1953.p.103.

38. An equally interesting ceremony appears on the night of the 6th utsava. This represents the contest believed to have been held between the Saivaites and the Jaina devotees. It is really a comemoration of the contest between the Advaitins represented by Tirujnana Sambandhar and the Jains. The failure of the Jains and the consequent punishment that befalls them are depicted here. Ibid. P.223.

He has carefully examined all available facts relating to the social, political and cultural life of Kerala. He could reach reasonable conclusions through a balanced approach to many problems related to the history of Kerala. His study on Buddhism and Jainism is part of his attempt to reconstruct the history of what he calls the "Kulasekhara empire".

Most of his works contain references to Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala.<sup>39</sup> He highlights the importance of Paliyam copper plates which speaks about the Ay dynasty and the religious tolerance of Varaguna. Depending on the astrological indications he inferred that the age

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39. "Kerala in the grip of Caturvarnya." Studies in Kerala History, Trivandrum. 1970. pp. 104-112.

"The Ay Dynasty" Ibid, p. 180.

The Second Cera Empire (800-1102), pp. 257-263.

Cera Samrajyam onpatum pattum nurrantukalil, Kottayam. 1970. pp 108-121.

Cila kerala Caritra Prasnannal, Kottayam, 1962. pp. 71-85, 101-109, 214-233.

Annatte Keralam, Kottayam, (Reprint) 1970  
Keralam anchum arum nurrantukalil, Kottayam ,  
 Reprint, 1976, pp 190-202.

Janmisambradayam Keralattil , Kottayam, 1966,  
 p.10.

of Varaguna's inscription was around 926 A.D.,<sup>40</sup> and that Varaguna partitioned his kingdom and took the sanyasa. He endorses Gopinatha Rao's view that Śrīmūlavasam was at Trikkunnapuzha, but the additional evidences broughtout by him are not authoritative. He says that there is a place called Śrīmūlavātam at Trikkunnapuzha even today.<sup>41</sup> There is no such place at Trikkunnapuzha<sup>42</sup> Some local people say that the present idol of Trikkunnapuzha temple was brought from the sea. This too is very weak as an evidence. He had claimed that a Buddhist idol was discovered from Paruvassery near Trissur, but it is found to be a Tirthankara idol.<sup>43</sup> In a passing manner, he speaks

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40. Studies in Kerala History op cit. p. 175 M.G.S. Narayanan has argued this to be inaccurate and established that it was around 898. A.D.

For details See, Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit.p.16.

41. Cera Samrajyam, op. cit. p. 112.

42. The present writer have visited and verified it.

43. Ibid, p. 114. It was Anujan Achan who had misguided him on this point.

also about the Jain centres of Malabar such as Sultan Battery in Wynad. He repeats and elaborates Gopinatha Rao's conclusions in these books.

After P.C. Alexander, it was S. Sanku Iyer who made a special study of the relation of Buddhism with Kerala. The work entitled Keralavum Buddha matavum was published in 1962<sup>44</sup>. Again in 1974 he wrote about the religions of Buddhism and Jainism<sup>44 A</sup>. He evaluated the nature of the idols discovered, references found in Tamil literature, and the available inscriptions. However in his enquiry into the Buddhist centres of Kolathunadu, he gave importance to legends and hearsay. His chief contribution consists of his discovery of Kutiyattom literature as one of the source materials for the study of Buddhism and Jainism,<sup>45</sup> and in his assessment on the basis of this finding.

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44. Keralavum Buddhamatavum, Trivandrum, 1962

44 A. "Buddha Jainamatangal" Kerala Caritram, Kerala History Association, Ernakulam, 1974. pp. 327-370.

45. This was indicated earlier by Ramapisharoti, see "Nataka cakra". JBORAS, vol. I, London, 1925. pp. 249-251.

An authoritative study on the religion of Jainism and the Jaina inscriptions, was conducted by P.B. Desai. His work Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs<sup>46</sup> is the result of a long and painstaking effort, but Kerala occupies only a very minor position in his studies. Citalal and Nagarkovil are the two centres included in his studies. The Kallil temple and the Jain epigraphs and sculptures of North Kerala escaped his attention.

P.K.Gopalakrishnan's Jainamatam Keralattil<sup>47</sup> in which he describes the spread and influence of Buddhism and Jainism, brings together facts already available on the subject. He does not reach significant new conclusions even in this work Keralathinte Samskarika Charitram<sup>48</sup>. He has not taken up the study of the sources. It is a popular

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46. Desai. P.B. Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs, Sholapur, 1957.

47. Gopalakrishnan. P.K., Jainamatam Keralathil, public Relations, Trivandrum. 1974.

48. Gopalakrishnan P.K. Keralathinte Samskarika Charitram, Trivandrum, second Edn. 1991.



work indulging in sweeping statements at the spread of these religions in Kerala.

Sri. A. Sreedhara Menon examines Buddhism and Jainism in detail in his works.<sup>49</sup> He has reported that there were 30 followers of Buddhism in Alleppey. His account is summary and restatement of earlier conclusions on the subject without going into the primary sources.

Among the scholars who wrote about Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala, Sri. A. Balakrishna Pillai, deserves special attention. He had expressed his own opinions on such controversial issues such as Trikkanamatilakam. But he presented his own

49. Sreedhara Menon, A. Kerala District Gazetteers, Alleppey, Trivandrum, 1975.

Sreedhara Menon, A., Kerala History, Trivandrum 1967.

Sreedhara Menon, A. The Legacy of Kerala, Department of public relations, Trivandrum-1983.

Sreedhara Menon, A., Social and Cultural History of Kerala, New Delhi, 1979.

conclusions as historical facts and formulated speculative theories without checking the evidence. The same path was followed later on by such writers as Adoor K.K, Ramachandran Nair<sup>50</sup>, Velayudhan Panickassry<sup>51</sup> and V.V.K. Valath<sup>52</sup> without adding to the existing fund of information based on evidence.

Dr. K.N. Ezhuthachan's Buddha Mathavum Keralavum<sup>53</sup> is a general survey of Buddhism in Kerala.

K.V. Krishna Ayyar examines the question of Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala in his book A History of Kerala<sup>54</sup>. He states that "Buddhism was more popular in the coastal than in the inland districts." According to him Karumadi,

50. Kerala Gazetteers, vol.1. Trivandrum. 1986.

51. Markopolo Keralattil. Kottayam, 1980..

52. Keralattile Sthalacaritrannal,  
Trichur Jilla, 1981  
Palakkad Jilla, 1986  
Ernakulam Jilla. 1991.

53. K.N. Ezhuthaccan, "Buddhamatavum Keralavum", Teranjetutta Prabandhangal, vol. 2, Trichur, 1991, pp. 285-290.

54. Krishna Ayyer, K.V. A History of Kerala, Coimbatore, 1965.

Māvēlikkara, Bharanikkāvu, Pallikkal,  
 Karunāgapalli, Edapally, Dharmapattanam, Mādāyi  
 and Pallikkunnu were the chief centres.<sup>55</sup>

He has combined legends and hearsay information with historical facts and presented it as history in many passages.

L. A. Krishna Iyer writes about two compartmental rock-cut caves at Panniyur Amsom and a simple funerary monument which were discovered by T. Fawcett.<sup>56</sup> This is considered to be the places of Samadhi of certain Sages. "The places where Baudha sages attained Nirvana are still seen at Kutakallu and are rendered unmistakable by the rosary of beads, lamps, arrows and earthen ware founds in them"<sup>57</sup>. But he does not enter into further discussions or produce evidence to support his contention that these are Buddhist relics.

55. Ibid, P. 113.

56. Krishna Iyer. L.A, Kerala Megaliths and their Builders, University of Madras, 1967.

57. Ibid, p. 30.

M.G.S. Narayanan scientifically evaluated the early history of Kerala. His most valuable contributions consists in his evaluation of the contributions of the Kerala kingdom of the Ceras of Makotai through an analysis of the socio-political developments of Kerala during this crucial period from 9th to 12th century A.D. These were the centuries in which Jainism and Buddhism gained some importance. He discovered some inscriptions in addition to the already published ones. He also appreciated the value of literary works which other historians had not realised. His efforts enabled him to arrive at definite conclusions on a number of disputed issues.

The contributions of M.G.S. Narayanan with regard to the study of Buddhism and Jainism are valuable. He fixed more accurately the age of Paliyam Copper plates of Varaguna as A.D. 898. on the basis of the astronomical conditions and other

epigraphical evidences.<sup>58</sup> His findings on the temple at Trikkānāmatilakam form a substantial contribution. He has established that the foundation of Tirukkūṇavāi temple took place around the middle of 8th Century A.D, on the basis of his analysis of Tālakkāvu inscription and other historical evidences. He has given a clear picture of the administrative system of Jain temple in Kerala and the supremacy of Tirukkūṇavāi temples over other Jain temples with the help of inscriptions from Ālattur, Tiruvaṇṇūr and Kiṇālūr which are clearly identified as Jain centres. He rejected the general impression that Jain and Buddhists once dominated all over Kerala and suggested that they flourished in certain isolated pockets, at the same time when the Brahmin settlements established their sway in the economic and political fields of Kerala.

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58. It is 868 A.D. and 925 A.D, according to T.A. Gopinatha Rao and Elamkulam respectively. T.A.S. vol. I. op. cit.p.275. Cila Kerala Caritra Prasnannal, op, cit. p.29.

For details, see Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. p.16.

Dr. M.R. Raghava Varier studied about the Jain temples of Kerala in general and those of Wynad in particular<sup>59</sup>. His report on Wynad is very informative. He gives a detailed account of Varadur Jaladhara inscription and the temples mentioned in the inscription. His studies about Tirukkunavay and the temples at Citaral and Kallil are also noteworthy.

These are the specialised studies on Jain temples in Kerala. He could also establish the relation of Kerala's Jain temples to Karkala. His

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59. "Wynattile Jaina ksetrannal" Mathrubhumi Weekly, (1978).

"Madhyakalarambhattile Keraliya Jainaksetrannal"

"Jainism in Kerala and its contacts with Tamilnadu", Tamil Civilization, vol.III, pp.138-144.

"Socio Economic Functions of Jain temples in Kerala", Svasti Sri, (Dr. B.ch. Chabra Felicitation Volume,) 1984, pp. 173-186.

"Yakshi Cult in Kerala", Mahanirvana Souvenir, Calicut, 1974. pp. 13-22.

Keraliyata Caritramanannal, Edappal. 1990.

Jainism in Kerala, (M. Phil. Dissertation, J.N.U.) 1980.

studies are mainly concentrated on the late medeival Jain centres of Wynad. His identification of the Yakshi cult as a byproduct of Jainism and the study of Yakshi sculptures are extremely valuable.

Anujan Achan and other scholars who discovered Jain temples and images in Kerala have also helped to advance the studies on Jainism and Buddhism in Kerala. Dr. K.K. N. Kurup's discovery of inscription and related Jain relics at Talakkavu also worthy of notice here.

The studies of Mūṣikavamsam kavya by T.A. Gopinatha Rao, K.V.Subramania Ayyer, Dr. Kunjunni Raja, Elamkulam and M.G.S. Narayanan have highlighted the problem of Srimulavasa Vihara.

Sri. N.P. Unni's recent work on Mūṣikavamsa<sup>60</sup> and Raghavan Pillai's translation of the work in Malayalam<sup>61</sup> have added much to our knowledge. The writing of the above mentioned scholars have helped a lot in reconstructing the history of Jainism and Buddhism in Kerala.

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60. "Mūṣikavamsa - A historical study,"  
Journal of Kerala Studies, Vol. V, part-I, 1978  
 pp. 1-6.

"Ganga invasion of Kerala mentioned in the  
 Musikavamsa" Ibid, pp. 315-398.

61. Mūṣikavamsam, Trivandrum, 1983.



### C. RELEVANCE OF PRESENT STUDY

From the foregoing survey, it is clear that most of the previous studies - much of it was not the result of systematic research, but casual enquiry - had been carried out with great limitations.

First <sup>they were</sup>, done by non-specialists who had no training in historical method and no background knowledge about the details of Indian history and especially the history of South India. This is understandable as the history of South India with the details about the spread of the religious centres has attained clarity only by the middle of the 20th century. Epigraphical studies began in Kerala, only in the later decades of the first half of the century and even when Gopinatha Rao prepared his famous essay on Jain Buddha vestiges, the general frame work of early Kerala's history was not settled.

It was only in the middle of this century with Prof. Elamkulam's work that the history of the later Cera period received a recognisable shape, but even then the understanding of this period, which is crucial to the understanding of the history of Jainism and Buddhism in the Early history of Kerala, was viciated by several pre-conceived notions about the manner in which Brahmin settlements came into prominence in Kerala. Vague assertions about the democratic village assemblies and casteless society <sup>c</sup>preluded any scientific understanding about the growth of economic power, political organisation and social influence.

(Prof. Elamkulam was too busy about the study of general questions to take up a special study of Jainism and Buddhism in Kerala) With the work of Prof. M. G.S.Narayanan, the character of social structure and political trends in the later Cera period gained more clarity and more precise information about archaeological and geographical sources also became available.)

The idea that Jainism and Buddhism had taken routes in Kerala society, even during the Sangham period, given currency by journalistic writers guided by their sentiments against Brahmanical domination and interest in anti-caste reform, have to be rejected now. It is clear that Jainism and Buddhism entered Kerala in a big way almost simultaneously with Brahmanism in the post-Sangam epoch only, though all these creeds might have trickled into the land in tiny waves earlier. With the fresh insight provided by D. D. Kosambi, R.S.Sharma etc. on the manner in which landgrants led the way to migrations and the establishment of Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical settlements and the clearing of the forests it is possible to see how Brahmin settlements were founded in Kerala due to the expansion of agriculture, and how Jain and Buddhist settlements were the byproducts of trade, arising out of the prosperity of agrarian centres.

The development of feudal tendencies and self-sufficient village complexes and closed economy must have led to the decline of distance trade along the land routes. It is now possible to

explore the causes and circumstances which led to the descend of Jain and Buddhist centres in the light of such a hypothesis, though the paucity of materials and systematic study for the immediate post-Cera period makes it difficult to test these ideas against contemporary evidence.

Early Kerala history has achieved a certain clarity and certainty enabling intelligent discussion of specific problems; following the work of Professor Elamkulam. (The contributions of Professor M.G.S.Narayanan in relation to the later Cera period and Dr. M.R.Raghava Varier in relation to the post-Cera medieval period have prepared the ground for a fresh meaningful study of the trajectory of Jain and Buddhist creeds on Kerala.) (Evidences of Jains and Buddhists scattered in different parts of Kerala have been collected by different scholars over the years and received critical scrutiny at different hands. Eventhough new evidences of a substantial nature are not forthcoming it is possible to expect that details

which enrich our knowledge of the existing data can be collected and that more extensive documentation of the sources can be achieved through<sup>u</sup> field studies.)

In this context, there is a good case for a new comprehensive study of the relics and records pertaining to Jains and Buddhists in Kerala against the background of the known framework of ancient society and the historical processes at work in this region. Even the careful collection and description of all available sources can present a picture of the manner in which these minority creeds exerted marginal influence on the society and culture of Kerala in the pre modern era. This modest ambition is the lower limit of possibilities while it can certainly be hoped that the clues provided by the present study can reveal new opportunities for a better understanding of certain strands in the evolution of Kerala society especially in the fields of religion, language and literature.

# ADVENT OF JAINISM AND BUDDHISM

Padmakumari Amma. B “Jain-buddhist centres in the early history of Kerala”  
Thesis. Department of History , University of Calicut, 1995

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**ADVENT OF JAINISM AND BUDDHISM**

## ADVENT OF JAINISM AND BUDDHISM

Kerala which lies at the Southern most part of India is distinguished from the other parts of the sub-continent by its peculiar geographical features. The long range of mountains on the eastern side of the State separates it from the neighbouring States of Tamilnadu and Karnataka. A very long sea-shore is another important feature. It has allowed adventurous foreign traders and travellers to Kerala. These features have helped in controlling the migration of people and to maintain its own unique identity by developing its own way of life.

Jainism and Buddhism which were instrumental in bringing about a lot of changes in the social life and the culture of India had their influence upon Kerala also. These religions once flourished in certain small pockets here. Only a few remnants are available here. One may even be led to the



conclusion that they never existed here. Only a thoroughgoing enquiry into the available evidences can enable us to make them a part of history.

#### A. JAINISM.

There is no clear cut evidence to show when and where the Jains reached Kerala first. Bhadrabahu Chandra Gupta tradition says that Jains reached Karnataka by 3rd century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Jainism gained the royal benevolence of Gangas, Kadambas and Rashtrakutas. The Calukyas of Badami also gave patronage to them.<sup>2</sup> Thus Karnataka became the favourite resort of Jainism. Jains from Karnataka must have naturally spread to the Kerala region also in course of time.

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1. Jainism in South India, op. cit. p.26.

2. P. N.Narasimha Murthy, Jainism on the Canara Coast, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Mysore, 1983. pp. 32-44.

The Wynad route, which connects Kerala with Karnataka, was influential in bringing about changes in the life of Kerala. Jains from Sravana Balgola could have reached Kerala through this pass. They settled at Talakkavu, in Wynad, Kinalur and Tiruvannur in Kozhikode District, by about the beginning of the 8th century of the Christian era.

There were famous Jain centres in Tamil Nadu. Kanchipuram was a great centre of the Jains and Buddhists by the time of the visit of Huan Tsang.<sup>3</sup> Anamalai, Kazhukumalai and Sittannavasal were great Jain centres. Jainism was able to exert considerable influence over the people under the able leadership of Kundakundacharya.<sup>4</sup> Several kings had adopted the Jain faith and promoted its propagation in Tamil Nadu.

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3. Nilakanta Sastri K.A. "Malakuta of yuan churang." Proceedings and transactions of the Sixth All India Conference. Patna, 1930. pp. 202.

4. Kundakundacharya Pravacanasara, (Ed). A.N. Upadhye, p. 12.

In the ancient days, Kerala remained a part of Tamilakam. The dynasties of Cera, Cola and Pandya ruled over Tamilakam. They tried to extend their boundaries by defeating one another. It helped the people to come closer and to exchange their customs and traditions. The mountain passes at the eastern side of Kerala enabled people to travel between Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Palakkad in the north Aruvamozhi in the south are the main passes which provided the opportunity for co-operation among Tamilians on both sides of the Sahya mountains. The Jain settlement of Ālattūr in Palakkad district must have been connected with those in Kongu region. There were also other routes through Kumāli and Dēvikūlam which brought the people together. These helped to spread the changes which affected Tamil Nadu and to communicate the ideologies that developed there to Kerala.

It is possible that Jainism spread to Kerala from Tamilnadu through Kumāli and Dēvikūlam also.

The Kallil temple of Perumpavoor in central Kerala is an example of such settlement in Kerala. Kallil could have been the connecting link between the people of TamilNadu and Kodungalloor which was the capital of the Mahodaya Ceras.

Another route to Kerala from Tamil Nadu was Aruvamozhi pass. Citarāl, in the Taluk of Vilavankode in the District of present Kanyakumari was a very big Jain monastery. It was through Aruvamozhi that the Jains reached here. Inscriptional evidences are there to show that this centre was in touch with other Jain centres of South India.<sup>5</sup> In brief, we may say that Jainism

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5. On a stone lying near the Ayyanar Temple in the Sub- Registrar's office compound at Kazhukumalai, there is an inscription having the reference of Tiruccāraṇattumalai.

"śrī kōṭṭūr nāṭṭu ,ciru 1 tali caṭaiyan koṭṭiyai,  
ccārtti tiruccāraṇattukkuṭṭattikal ceyvitta paṭimam"

S.I.I.vol. V, Archaeological Survey of India,  
Mysore, 1986. p.123.

See also

"śrī kōṭṭurnāṭṭu perumparrur kuttankāmañci catti  
tiruccāraṇattu kkuṭṭattikal ceyta paṭimam".

A.R. no. 37 of 1894. Ibid. p.123.

came to Kerala from the states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu through the mountain passes which served as trade routes. This is understandable since the Jains and the Buddhists were largely trading communities which spread from one trade centre to another along with the expansion of trade.<sup>6</sup>

Coorg, which is situated at the North eastern border of Kerala, had been ancient seat of Jainism. Tradition maintains that the religious zeal of Samprati, the grandson of Asoka who had conquered Ujjain and Deccan opened up new avenues for the Jain monks in Maharashtra, Sourashtra, Andhra and Coorg.<sup>7</sup> Jainism was for a long time the favourite religion of this region. There is every chance of the spread of this religion from Coorg to Kerala in due course.

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6. Moti Chandra, Sarthavaha , New Delhi, 1986.

7. Jainism on the Kanara Coast, op. cit.p. 37.

## B. BUDDHISM.

Buddhism had spread in Tamil Nadu around the 3rd century B.C.<sup>8</sup>. Asoka refers to Cola, Pandya and Keralaputo as Pratyanta rajyas.<sup>9</sup> Buddhists from Magadha might have reached South India, and entered Tamilnadu at least by the 3rd century B.C. According to Mahavamsa, Buddhism had gained prominence in the island of Sri Lanka by the end of the 3rd century B.C. during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa. So it can be inferred that Buddhism might have spread to Tamil Nadu earlier, since it was the possible land route to Sri Lanka, unless it travelled exclusively by the sea route.

Sri Lanka which lies on the south of Indian sub continent had been in constant contact with

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8. Dr. Shu Hikosaka, Buddhism in Tamil Nadu A New Perspective, Madras. 1989, p.4.

9. Romila Thapar, Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, (1992) p. 251, 256. Asoka 13th Sasana and 9th line.

main land.<sup>10</sup> The people of Sri Lanka who were well - versed in navigation maintained close relation with the people of the mainland through trade. These traders from Sri Lanka might have come to the shores of Kerala also and brought the Buddhist religion through the sea route. Jainism was established in Sri Lanka around the 4th century B.C. itself. Mahavamsa describes the administrative reforms which had taken place in Sri Lanka during the reign of Pāṇḍukābhaya around 4th century B.C. The Jains had been so well-settled during those days that the Ajivaka sect was able to construct the temple called Pāṇḍukābhaya temple.<sup>11</sup>

Buddhism gained prominence in the island later by the end of 3rd century B.C., during the reign of Dēvānāmpiya Tissa, the grandson of Pāṇḍukābhaya. Thus it can be seen that the

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10. See for details. K.K.Pillay, South India and Sri Lanka, p. 2.

11. Mahavamsa tika, (Ed) Shreedhar Vasudev Sohini. Navanaland Mahavigara 1971. pp. 241,258.

religions of Jainism and Buddhism were established at Sri Lanaka in the very ancient period and that it provided with the opportunity for their spread to Kerala later, through the people who came from there.

There remains no proof of Buddhism on any land route from Tamil Nadu or Karnataka to Kerala. It appears that the Buddhists came to Kerala through the sea. It is clear from the fact that the remnants of Buddhism have been found only along the sea-shore and in those places where the Buddhists could reach through sailing. This indicates that the Buddhists who came to Kerala were from Ezham or Ceylon, especially since there is a considerable population of Ezhavas in Kerala.

Most of the Buddhists and Jains were traders. Their business interest also led them to travel extensively. While the Buddhists settled down in the trade centres of Kollam, Alappuzha and Kottayam districts, the Jains spread over along the routes



of land trade. No Buddhist images have been found in those districts where Jainism was prevalent. The traditions about the "Pallibāna Perumāḷ" found in Kēraḷōlpatti might contain some historical truth about a king who showed leanings to one or the other of these non-Vedic creeds. The association of the name of Vijayaraga with a shrine in Kiṇālūr (Kuṇavāynallūr) where a Jain centre flourished may be related to this episode, but there are no detailed or concrete evidence. From the Āy king Varaguṇa's Paliyam plates containing the donation of land to Śrīmūlavāsa Vihara and the Muṣikavamsa references to Valabha's patronage of the same Vihara we may justly infer that some of the minor chieftains of Kerala like the Āys and the Mūṣhakas had been more sympathetic than the Perumals to these creeds in early times<sup>12</sup>.

Thus we may conclude that it was the growth of Jain centres in Karnataka that led to proliferation to their northern parts of Kerala,

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12. See Appendix. I- F and II-C.

and similarly it was the growth of such centres in Tamil Nadu which led to the creation of Jain outposts in central and southern parts of Kerala. While the spread of Jainism was accomplished through the land routes of trade along the mountain passes, the spread of Buddhism was the byproduct of sea trade with Sri Lanka. In both cases the trading groups who brought them to Kerala were attracted by the prosperity of the land achieved through the rise of agrarian corporations established by Aryan Brahmin immigrants who came from the North, along the Western Coastal route. There was apparently no great conflict between the unorthodox creeds and the Vedic Brahmin creed in Kerala since the former did not pose any threat to the latter, but existed as minority religions enjoying the patronage of some of the Brahminised rulers on a smallscale . They never rose to positions of great political or economic power and they gradually dwindled in size and strength, when the Brahmin settlements became increasingly self sufficient in course of time.

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# JAIN-CENTRES

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**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**JAIN CENTRES**

## JAIN CENTRES

Jainism in Kerala has a long history of about one thousand years. It must have arrived in Kerala soon after it spread in other parts of South India. Now there is only a very limited number of the followers of Jainism in Kerala. Kasarkod, Wynad, Palakkad pass and Aruvamozhi pass are the routes which led the Jains to Kerala from the neighbouring States of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. The existing temple relics reveal the fact that the Jains have come to Kerala through all these routes. Since they were mostly traders, it can be assumed that they might have established themselves in the important centres of trade in Kerala.

The inland trade was different from the sea trade in the case of Kerala. The South Indian traders usually dealt with the collection and sale of luxury articles like precious stones. Therefore Jain colonies are found near the urban

centres and on the routes leading to them. This is the reason why the most important Jain monastery, the rules of which others followed, was established in Tirukkunavāy, near Mākōtai, the Cera capital. Thus it is understandable that Jains acquired importance only after the later Cera kingdom was founded.

#### KĀSARAKŌḌU DISTRICT

The present district of Kāsarakōḍu at the northern part of Kerala was a part of Karnataka. Though, as a result of the reorganisation of States, Kāsarakōḍu became part of Kerala, the people continue to maintain their Karnataka heritage. Kerala and Tuḷunāḍ have a long history of close cultural contact and it lead to the development of a mixed culture. No evidences are available to ascertain the exact period in which

Jainism spread to Kāsarkōḍu. Newly discovered Jain images from Mañjēśvaram shows that Jainism was present in Kāsarkōḍu during 9th 10th century A.D.

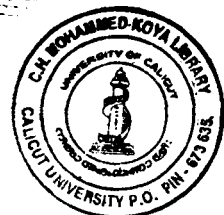
954.83 PAUJ<sup>TH</sup>

#### MAÑJĒŚVARAM TEMPLE

Mañjēśvaram is a place at the northern most part of Kerala. Though it falls within the borders of Kerala state, culturally it forms a part of Karnataka. All the historical influences felt on the south Canara were shared by this place. It had grown into a centre of trade during the very early period. The temple at Mañjēśvaram and Caturmukha Basti at Bankramañjēśvaram are the remains which show that Manjesvaram was a centre of Jainism during 9th 10th century A.D.

Mañjēśvaram temple is a very ancient Jain temple. It has Garbhagriha, Śukanāsi Navaraṅga and Mukha Maṇḍapa. The temple which is 48' long and 18" wide is in a ruined condition. The main

NB - 2503



idol of the temple is Parsvanatha, standing in the Kayotsarga posture under a five-headed serpent. It is flanked with Sasanadevatas. It shows deep meditation. The sculptural peculiarities and the features of Yaksa and Yakshi reveal that it belonged to 10th century A.D,<sup>1</sup>

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1, Stella Kramrisch clearly states that the images found at Manjesvar temple belongs to 10th century A.D. These sculptures have resemblance with the idols found at Alattur. She says: "Jaina images in stone of this period (10th century A.D) have also been recently come across at Manjeswaram in the northern most boundary of Kerala, with long ear lobes, shaven head and well sculptured cover of a five-headed serpent and with Yaksa on the right and Yakshi on the left."

Stella Kamrisch, Arts and Crafts of Kerala, Cochin, 1970. p. 71.

The present writer visited the temple in 1990 and interviewed Mrs. Sunanda Devi, who conducts pooja there.

See plate. 3.



## CATURMUKHA BASTI

Caturmukha Basti is situated on the top of a hill, two furlongs towards the west of Osangadi, a small town at Benkramanjesvaram. This temple is known as Caturmukha basti, because four Jain figures of Adinatha, Candraprabhanatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira are fixed on a four sided pedestal<sup>2</sup>. These standing images have four feet height and they are in Kayotsarga Posture. Three small stone images of Parsvanatha, a Yaksha, and a Yakshi have also been discovered from this place. The idol of Yakshi deserves special attention. It has eight hands each with different weapons. The Yaksha has four hands, and each hand possesses a weapon. The foundation is square in shape. It is placed on a

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2. See plate no. 2

raised platform over which the walls have been built. It has four faces and doors on each side. Each entrance is approached by a flight of steps. These architectural peculiarities also made it clear that it belongs to the 9th-10th century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

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3. Stella Kamrisch states that these idols belong to 10th century A.D. She adds: "A more noteworthy sculptured image of Jaina has been noticed at Bangramanjesvar quite recently. It is called Caturamuka Basthi (four feet height) because four Jaina stone images are fixed on a four sided slab. Three small stone images of Parsvanatha, Yaksha and Yakshi, seven inches in height, have also been discovered in this place. These images have the essential marks of a Jaina figure viz. long hanging arms, the Srivatsa symbol; mild form (Prasanta Murthi) youthful and beautiful body and nudity". Ibid. PP. 71-72.

## WYNAD DISTRICT

Wynad is quite different from the other parts of Kerala. It is situated about 100 Kms. east of Kozhikode in an altitude of 700 to 1200 ft. above sea level. It is an extension of the Deccan plateau high above the level of the rest of land in Kerala and culturally also close to Karnataka. The landscape and climate differ from other parts of Kerala.

## TĀLAKKĀVU

There are no evidences by which one can establish the earlier home of the Jains who are found in Wynad. Circumstantial evidences seem to strengthen the view that they came from Karnataka. Following the route along the side of

river Kabini which flows from west to east, they might have reached Pulppalli and settled there<sup>3 A</sup>.

A Vatteluttu inscription discovered from Tālakāvū at Putadi near Pulpally reveals the connection of Tālakāvū Jain temple with Trikkāṇāmatilakam, which was the most important Jain centre of ancient Kerala. The script and language of the inscription would suggest that they settled here in the 9th 10th centuries of the

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3 A. The Tālakāvū inscription clearly shows that Jains have settled at Wynad during 9th 10th century A.D.

For details, see Cultural Symbiosis, op. cit. p.19. See also M.R.Raghava Varier, "Yakshi Cult in Kerala" Mahavir Nirvana Souvenir, Calicut, 1974. p.20.

Christian era. Today we find neither Jains nor Jain temples there<sup>4</sup>.

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4. Sulttan Battery can be considered as an ancient Jain centre. The Tirthankara image exhibited in the Department of History, Calicut University, is from Kidanganad Basti, in Sulttan Battery. On the basis of the sculptural peculiarities of the Sasanadevatas figured on both the sides of the image reveals that it can be assigned to 9th 10th century A.D. It was brought from the office of the Executive Engineer, Calicut where it was brought from Wynad. The Annual Report of the Archeological Department, Madras discloses this fact. "The excutive engineer west coast division brought to the notice of this department that while cleaning the jungle near Sultan Battery in Wynad, certain images were found and requested to know how they were to be disposed of. The place being one of importance in as much as it was once occupied by the Jains, he was requested to send them to the Madras Museum. The report adds" some sculptured Jain stones from the Jain temple at Sultan Battery were brought down to Calicut by the Executive Engineer and placed in his office at Calicut. Some of them are in granite or soap stone. They are all fragmentary and represent pieces of large Jain image with carved canopy. Several smaller images and parts of a pointed arch shaped slab, carved with numerous small images representing Jain Tirthankaras. They were found when cleaning the dense jungle which grew round the large temple at Sultan Battery and which had to be cleared when some recent rapairs were done to the temple." Annual report of the Archaeological department southern circle-Madras, for the year 1910-11. Madras, 1911, p.2.

In 1970, Dr.K.K.N.Kurup of Calicut University discovered a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription from the vicinity of the Tālakāv̄u Devi temple. This inscription as deciphered by the Govt. Epigraphist, was published by Mr. Induchudan in 1970.<sup>5</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan published the text with necessary corrections and a study. He pointed out that this inscription is related to a Jain temple<sup>6</sup>.

The year given in the inscription is the 137th year of Tirukkūṇavāy ("Tirukkūṇavāy tēvarkku cellānira yāntu orunūrrumuppattēlu"). On the basis of the internal evidences, M.G.S.Narayanan determined the age of the inscription as follows. "This record which may be assigned to the close of 9th century,....., since it not only quotes the authority of Tirukkūṇavāy, but also employs the era of Tirukkūṇavāy foundation"<sup>7</sup>. In the light of this inscription he is led to the

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5. Induchudan.V.T. The Indian Express, Saturday 11th July.1970.

6. M.G.S.Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit.p. 75.

7. See Appendix, I-A

conclusion that ~~Tiurkkunavāy~~ temple was built around the middle of the 8th century A.D. It is clear that the inscription itself is related to a donation to a Jain temple.

Since Tirukkunavāy was a famous Jain temple, the inscription's reference to the construction of it implies that Tālakkāvu also was a Jain temple. The rules of Tirukkunavāy provided was the model for Tālakkāvu temple, as it is stated "those who obstruct (the properties of Tālakkāvu) shall be deemed as offenders against Tirukkunavāy"<sup>8</sup>.

The authorship of the inscription is attributed to an organisation called "Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar". The same group called Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar made the agreement referred to

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8. Ibid. Lines; 10-12.

The rules of Mūlikkaḷam Vishnu temple governed the Hindu temples during this period. for eg: Kaviyūr inscription which was formulated in 4051 Kali era ((A.D. 952) T.A.S. Vol I. P.407.) Thrikkakkara inscription of Bhaskara Ravi which belonged to 2+29-year. T.A.S. Vol. III. P. 153.

See also Studies in Indian History, op. cit. pp. 336-340

M.G.S.Narayanan, Foundations of South Indian Society and Culture, Delhi, 1994. p.186.

in Ālattūr inscription. It may be inferred that Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar was the organisation responsible for controlling and assisting the Jain temples in Kerala. This is also another indication of the fact that Tālakāvū temple was a Jain temple. The temple was given "Kuḍampāṭi, 24 potis and Nakarapporai 12 potis".<sup>9</sup> for the maintenance of a lamp. By donating land towards the expenditure of the temple, it was meant that the necessary income could be obtained through agriculture. This merchant organisation must have purchased the land thus donated, suggesting that a small Jain community was eventually settled there, consisting of some cultivators, functionaries of the temple and worshippers at the temple.

The importance of such a settlement in the middle of the forest along a difficult route for travelling merchants can be understood easily, as D.D.Kosambi had pointed out in the case of the earlier Jain-Buddhist viharas in the ghat regions

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9. Poti is the measure of land of 2640 square yards. (Tamil lexicon-Vol V P. 2919.) One poti is about 489 acre. The area of total land donated to this temple is 36 poti, ie 17.604 acres



of Maharashtra.<sup>10</sup> The caravans were in need of safe places to be used as shelters for men and animals travelling with precious commodities. A small community of fellow-religionists could give the caravan groups a sense of security and protection from wild animals and tribal people. The forests of this northern region of Kerala are described in earlier Tamil Sangam literature as the home of wandering Marava robbers and wild elephants<sup>11</sup>. Several herostones also tell the story of encounters between traders and robbers.<sup>12</sup> The Varadur inscription<sup>13</sup> of 17th century and the Unniccirutevi caritam,<sup>14</sup> a Manipravala kavya of 14th century show that trade centres continued to

10. D.D. Kosambi Introduction to the study of Indian History, p.324.

See also Motichandra Sarthavahan (Tr.). Kottayam, 1968. p. 118.

11. Elamkulam, Keralam ancum arum Nurrantukalil p.22

12. Studies in Kerala History, op. cit. pp. 16-17.

13. Raghava Varier, M.R., "Varadur Jaina inscription and a note on Jainiam in Waynad" 1975.

14. Unniyacci caritam, Trivandrum, 1970. pp.16-21.

flourish in Wynad in late periods also. The Jain temples of the later medieval period show such early centres as Tālakkāvu multiplied due to the patronage of successive waves of Jain immigrants who settled down there.

There is a refernce to Nagaram or trade centre, besides the reference to Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar. This would indicate that the Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar were associated with a trade centre as in other parts of South India.<sup>15</sup>

As far as Wynad is concerned, external trade has always remained important. It was famous throughout history for commodities such as Pepper, Cardomom and for woods like Teak and Sandalwood. The transportation of these materials is facilitated through the river Kabani. The development of Wynad as a commercial centre in this period continued through centuries and the Jain immigrants played an important role there.

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15. See Epigraphica Carnatica. Vol. II. P. 327.

## KOZHIKODE DISTRICT

The inscriptions discovered from Kiṇālūr near Balussery and Tiruvaṅṅūr near the city of Kozhikode, show the existence of Jain settlements and temples in kozhikode district. Moreover, the names of compounds, in and around Kozhikode reveal the presence of jains<sup>16</sup>.

## KIṆĀLŪR

Kiṇālūr is 29 kilometers north east of Calicut near Balussery. No Jain temple exists there today. But it can be seen that a Jain temple once existed at Kiṇālūr. In 1897, Logan, the author of Malabar Manual had found a ruined Jain temple there<sup>17</sup>. Now the exact location of the temple is not clear. Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan made a detailed search to find out the location. But it

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16. N. M. Namboodiri gives a number of compound names in Kozhikode such as Camanattikunnu, Pattini, Cammanarkurri, Cinaparampu, Jinariparampu, Jinantotica. etc. A study of place names in Calicut district, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Calicut University, 1988. p. 316.

17. Logan, Malabar 11. APP. XXI P. CCCXXXIII.

could not be traced. He saw a foundation and a few old stones in a compound called Ampalaparampu and guessed that, it belonged to the Jain temple.

. A Vatteluttu inscription discovered from Kīṇālūr throws light upon the Jain centre there. This inscription was first published in 1901<sup>18</sup>. Without any comment. M.G.S. Narayanan made a fresh decipherment of the text and made some corrections<sup>19</sup>. Analysing the contents of the inscripts he made it clear that this belongs to a Jain temple.

It does not begin with praises of Tirthankaras, which is the common feature of Jain inscriptions in many parts of the country. It does not say anything about Trikkuṇavāy Jain temple, nor does it state the authority of Trikkuṇavāy temple over the temple there.

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18. S.I.I. Vol. VII; P. 74.

19. Cultural Symbiosis op. cit. P. 76-77.

Kiṇālūr is the shortened form of Kuṇavāynallūr which is mentioned as the name of the temple three times in the text of the inscription. Moreover, the shrine is called a 'palli' a term used for non vedic centres of worship like Jain or Buddhist or Christian or Muslim shrines in Kerala. The place name Kiṇālūr itself therefore indicates its relation to Tirukkuṇavāy Jain temple. The donor of the inscription was Ārpankuñci alias Kurumporai. The name of the temple was Vijayarāgēśvarattu palli. Vijayarāgēśvara was a Cera king who is referred to in the Tarisāppalli copper plates<sup>20</sup> of Sthanu Ravi. There is epigraphic evidence to show that "The Cera king Vijayaragesvara is the son-in-law of Sthanu Ravi."<sup>21</sup> Vijayaraga who appears as prince in Tarisāpalli inscription which recorded a grant to the syrian Christian church of Tarsa in

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20. T.A.S. op.cit. Vol II.P. 80.

see also Cultural Symbiosis P. 88.

21. M.G.S. Narayanan, Political and Social conditions of Kerala under the Kulasekhara empire; op.cit. p.(83)

Kollam, was famous for religious tolerance. It is significant that the present temple was one built under the supervision of Vijayarāga.<sup>22</sup> The term palli which indicates a non-vedic temple also shows its Jaina connection. The tenancy rights of the properties donated to Vijayarāgēśvarattupalli were entrusted to a woman called Cāttanārukkaṭi of Tiruvañcikkulam. This relation of the temple to Tiruvañcikkulam also points towards its prominence through the association with the royal family through the connection with Vijayaraga.

The date of the inscription is given as the 189th year of coronation of tirukkāliyapāṭārar. It was issued on a wednesday, Makaravyāzha in the month of Mēḍa and the star in Aviṭṭom. Sthanu Ravi came to the throne in 844 A.D. Therefore Vijayaraga, who is mentioned as koyil Adhikārikal

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22. A temple called Jayaratesvara was referred to in Sukasandesam see sloka 70; It is situated south of the famous Trikkaṇāmatilakam. The same Vijayaraga might have constructed this temple.

in the Tarisāppalli plates of Stanu Ravi, must have lived the second half of the 9th century. The inscription was written 189 years after the construction of the temple ie. sometime in the second half of the 11th century. On the basis of the astrological indications in the text. Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan calculated the year of the inscription as 1083. A.D.<sup>23</sup> From this we may infer that the temple was built in the year 894. A.D., during the life time of Vijayaraga. .

In the 11th century A.D. the temple was patronised by the ruling family of Kurumporainād, a member of which, named Ārappan kuñci was the donor of the inscription. Properties were donated to the temple for daily pujas and festivals. It had thus become the nucleus of social life in the locality. The expenditure of the temple was met from the income obtained from landed property used

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23. Cultural Symbiosis, op. cit. p. 20.

for cultivation. Jains who were traders by profession seem to have gradually taken to agriculture in this region. Though the farmers were mainly men, the women were also involved in it. The karapmai granted to Kunṅan Cirunangai reveals this aspect of the social structure.

Punishments were awarded to the Karālar of tenants who defaulted in the payment of temple dues. Defaulters have to pay a penalty of three times the amount. If one fails to pay the dues for one year, he was to lose the right over the property.

The inscription refers to certain groups like Ezhunūruvar and Mūvāyiravar. They were made responsible for the maintenance and supervision of the temples and temple properties. Ezhunūruvar obviously refers to the security force of Kuṅumporaināḍu and the Mūvāyiravar must be a group of devotees or traders associated with the temple.



There is a reference to the performance of Kūttu in the temple.<sup>24</sup> It is for the entertainment of the people. Besides there were rituals such as Tirubali, Cāntu, Kuṭa, Candanam and Pallittāmam associated with temple worship. In brief, it may be said that Kiṇālūr was a Jain centre right from the beginning of the 9th century A.D. and had become prosperous by 11th century A.D.

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24. Ibid. p. 76.

## TIRUVANNŪR

From the early times, Kozhikodu had become a Jain centre. The names of a number of places in and around the city are sufficient enough to establish its connections with Jainism<sup>25</sup>. This is proved conclusively by an inscription in Vatteluttu from the vicinity of the ancient Siva temple at Tiruvaṅṅūr<sup>26</sup>.

The Jains were attracted to this area by virtue of its commercial importance. The notes of travellers reveal the fact that it was the main centre of pepper trade in later times.. Pepper was brought to Kozhikodu from Wynad where it was produced in plenty. The Jains were one among the traders of this commodity. The Jain centres at Tālakkāvu in Wynad and Kiṅālūr near Balussery were commercial centres. While Tālakkāvu is situated on the bank of a tributary of river Kabani which links Wynad with Mysore, Kiṅālūr is on the bank of river Korappuzha. Such a location facilitated

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25. Madhavan Namboothiri. N., A study of place names in the Calicut district, op. cit. p. 316.

26. See Appendix I- C

the movement of commodities. The Kozhikodu rejoins was easily accessible to all trade centres of production in Wynad. It was convenient to reach Beypur through the river Chaliyarpuzha. One could reach Elathur through the bank of the river Korappuzha. There were two relatively ancient routes through the banks of the river Korapuzha and the river Kallāipuzha<sup>27</sup>. Two localities in Kozhikodu which are known by the name Kinachery<sup>28</sup> are present in the above trade routes. The name of these places indicate the route followed by the Jains.

Tiruvaṅṅūr was a centre of Jains in Kozhikodu area. It is situated 4 kilometers south east of modern Kozhikodu city, the medieval headquarters of the Zamorins.

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27. see for details: N.M. Namboothiri, Samuthiri Caritrathile Kanapurangal, Sukapuram. 1987.P.52.

28. Kinachery is the shortened form of Kuṇavāycheṛy. Kuṇavā is the famous Jain centre in Kerala.

The ancient Siva temple with a Srikoil of Gajaprista type, was close to the Zamorins palace but it is missing from the list of temples where the Zamorins used to worship<sup>29</sup>. The Vaṭṭeluttu inscription discovered at this place proves the existence of a Jain temple around the 11th century A.D.<sup>30</sup> and this was probably converted into a Siva temple in the same way as the temple at Trikkaṇāmatilakam was changed into a Siva temple<sup>31</sup>. This inscription is of an unusual and important type. Pāliyathu Kaṇṇan Kaṇḍan, the governor of Irāmaṅgaṇād and his officials including the Arunnūṛruvar alias Nilalōr decide to reject the claim of Kaṇaiyapaḷḷi Yakkan Cellan that he is entitled to receive a payment of gold from the temple because there is no precedent for such action. There is no mention of the participation of Ūrāḷar and Paraṭai in charge of the temple in the decision as in the case of other Brahmanical

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29. See N.M. Namboothiri, Samuthire Charitrattile kanappurangal, op.cit. PP. 46-49.

30. M.G.S, Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit.p. 70.

31. Kokasandesam.sloka no.47.Though it was a Siva temple, this work of the 14th century mentions that Brahmins did not offer worship in front of the the shrine.

temples of the age. The occurrence of the term 'Palli' in the family name and 'Yakkan' in the personal name of the claimant to the gold of the temple are significant as 'Palli' usually denoted a non-Brahmanical shrine and 'yakkan' (yaksha) was a part of a Jain cult in South India. This would suggest that the temple was being taken over by the governor from the claimant who was a Jain and his claim for the gold of the temple was not admitted. The landed properties of the temple are now placed under the protection of Arunnūruvar alias Nilalōr and they are specifically authorised to receive a protection fee from the Ūrālar and asked to maintain a perpetual lamp (Nandāvilakku) and to preserve the properties according to the rules obtaining in Tirukkūnavāy. As in the case of Tālakkāvu and Kiṇālūr earlier, this reveals the affiliation of the temple to the great Jain temple of Tirukkūnavāy near the capital in Kerala. The contents of the record used therefore go to show that this is a document related to the take over of a Jain temple and as such is of unique importance.

The inscription does not contain any clear indication about its date. It does not base itself upon any event such as the establishment of a particular temple in order to determine its date as we find in the cases of Tālakkāvu and Kiñālūr inscriptions. It does not contain astronomical hints pertaining to its date. The period is given as the fourth year against the fourth year of Rajarajan's reign, M.G.S. Narayanan suggested that this Rajarajan is the Cera king Rajarajan<sup>32</sup>. He was the successor to the Cera king Rajasimhan. The reign of Rajasimhan was between 1028 to 1043. A.D<sup>33</sup>. Thus the period of Rajarajan can be calculated as 11th century A.D<sup>34</sup>. The characteristic features of the Vaṭṭeluttu

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32. M.G.S.Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. p.72.

33. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, Studies in Kerala History, 1970. p.243.

34. M.G.S. Narayanan has found that the period of the inscription is also during the middle of the 11th century . op.cit. p. 18.

script, and the linguistic peculiarities are also in agreement with the above date<sup>35</sup>.

William Logan, published this inscription on the basis of the text prepared by Dr. Gundert<sup>36</sup>. This was followed by its publication in South Indian Inscriptions<sup>37</sup>. For a long time there was no information regarding the stone on which the inscription was engraved. M.G.S. Narayanan re - discovered it in 1960 from the vicinity of the collector's bungalow at Kozhikodu. Then he published the text with a study. At present the inscription is preserved in the archaeological museum at Trissur.

The supreme authority on the matters relating to the temple was now vested with the council

35. Ibid, P. 18.

36. No 220 of 1895. See Malabar. vol. II. 1987. Appendix XII PP. CX XII. No.4.

37. South Indian Inscriptions, vol.V. 1926, No 784. P 338.

called Arunūrruvar<sup>38</sup>. They were to take care of the properties of the temple and maintain the daily worship from the revenues of the temple. They had the power to punish the ūrālan<sup>39</sup>, for their offences in temple affairs and for stealing the property of the temple. It also states that those who violated the property should be considered to be those who destroyed the property of Trikkunāvāy. Thus the council enjoys full freedom with regard to all matters concerning the temple.

38. According to M.G.S. Narayanan "The bodies of Nurruvar of the districts, corresponded to the Ayiram at the centre and varied in strength from district to district." M.G.S. Political and Social conditions of Kerala under the Kulasekhara Empire. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Kerala University, 1972. P. 124. The sixhundred of Eralanadu, Ramavalanadu, Valluvanadu, Kilmalainadu and Venadu are known to Kerala history. "Their duty is to protect the endowments and properties of the institutions with in the territory as and when they were called up on to do so." P. 126

T.A. Gopinatha Rao says that " in all probablity arunurruvar refers to a community of sixhundred persons whowere holding control over the affairs of a particular nadu or division of a country.

See the expressions found in Tharesāpalli inscriptions"(arunūrruvarum aiñcuvannāvum mañikkirāmavum irakṣikkakkaṭavar)T.A.S.vol.II.p.81 and in Thiruvalla copper plates, "arunūrruvarunkūṭi aṭṭikkūṭuttān",T.A.S.vol.II.P.192.

39. Here it is with a fine of 25 kalanchu gold. See,Appendix I C, Line.14



## PALAKKAD DISTRICT

Palakkad had a cultural history that is quite different from the other parts of Kerala. It is singularly diversified and interesting in its physical aspect. The most striking feature is the extensive gap, known as 'Palakkad gap'. This peculiarity is described as: "This remarkable opening with the lofty Nilgiri hills and the Anamalas on either side, overtopping the ranges by several thousand feet, the numerous projecting off-shoots of the main chain separating the taluk from the neighbouring Coimbatore district with this heavy forests, extensive ravines and jungles. Stretching westward the forest-clad up lands and the gradually succeeding flat rice fields fringed with high palmyra groves and the numerous mountain torrents and small rivers all combined give an enchantment to the scenery"<sup>40</sup>. These enabled people to travel across the border between Tamilnadu and Kerala.

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40. Malabar, II. App. XXI, 1951, p. cccixxxxix.

Jainism had spread in the Konga area of Tamilnadu in an early period. On the basis of a reference found in the tenth chapter of Mahavamsa, the Ceylonese chronicle, Dr. Desai comes to the conclusion that "It also points to the possibility that the Tamil land might have come into contact with the creed of lord Jina by the period of the 4th century B.C. or even earlier"<sup>41</sup>.

Palakkad is very close to Kongunad. Jainism was prevalent in Kongunad from the very beginning of Christian era. According to Arokiyaswamy, "There can be no doubt that the Kongu region was the real centre of Jainism at the commencement of the Christian era; and kept this distinction with her for a long time, even to the close of the VIIth century, when Mushkara, one of her kings, is mentioned in inscriptions as the great protector of the Jains and the builders of the Mokkaara vasti at Lakshmisvar"<sup>42</sup>. The spread of Jainism in Kongunad enabled its expansion to Palakkad.

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41. Desai P.B., Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs, op. cit. p. 26

42. Arokiya swamy. M., The Kongu Country, University of Madras. 1956-P.158.

Today there is only one Jain family and one Jain temple in Palakkad town. The temple situated at Jaina medu in Vaḍakkēthara village on the bank of the river Kalpāthy is comparatively new. Innes describes the Jain temple and the two Jain settlements which existed there as follows: "The few remaining Jains say that their temple is about 200 years old.... two large settlements of Jains one at Muthupattanam, which dealt in pearls and one at Machalapattanam (in which the present temple stands.) which dealt in jewels.<sup>43</sup>"

A lot of forest products of the Western ghat are also available there. Transportation to interior areas is made easy through rivers, Kalpāthy, Kannādipuzha and Kollamkode which are the tributaries of Bharatapuzha. These factors make Palakkad a commercial centre.

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43. Innes. C.A., Madras District Gazetteers Malabar and Anjengo, Madras, 1908, P. 446.

## ISVARANKŌḌU

On the bank of the Kollamkōḍu puzha, there is a place called Velikkad, 18 kilometres away from Palakkad in the Palakkad Mannarghat route. Isvarankōḍu compound is on the western side of Velikkād junction. Now it is owned by Shri. Muṇḍakkal Achutan. On the north - western corner of the compound, there is a small building of the size of 6 ft x 4 ft. In this house which has tiled wooden roof, the idols of two Tirthankaras are kept. The inmates of the house regularly offer pujas to these idols.

One of the idols found here is quite different from all other idols seen in Kerala .It is in Padmasana in Vitaraga posture and on either side, Sasanadevatas are carved. It has the mukkuda, the common symbol of Tirthankaras. The figure of a tree has been carved above the umbrella. There is no lanchana whereby the Tirthankara could be identified<sup>44</sup>. Half of the

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44. See plate no. 5.

pedestal is placed below the level of the ground under concrete covering. So it is not possible to examine whether there is any mark or symbol on it. It has a height to 2 1/2 feet inclusive of the pedestal. The facial expression is graceful and the body is well proportionate. According to Dr. M.R. Raghava Variar, the idol does not mean to represent a particular Tirthankara, but only the ideas of Tirthankaras in general<sup>45</sup> and hence it is Piṇḍikkāḍavul. The tree shown above the umbrella

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45. Raghava Variar Keraleeyata Caritramanangal, Sukapuram, 1990.p.76

P.B. Desai reports that in Cholanandipuram in Tirukkivil taluk of the South Arcot Dt. there is an epigraph of 10th century, dated 2nd year of the Chola prince, Ganderaditya MummudiChola and registers the grant of village Panappadi for the worship of the Jain deity Piṇḍikkāḍavul consecrated on the hill and for the maintenance of the ascetics engaged in austerities. "Piṇḍikkāḍavul means 'the god of the Asoka tree and this may be identified with the Jina in general with out specific reference to any Tirthankara in particular.

P.B.Desai. op. cit. pp.49-50.

This view need not necessarily be true. It is possible that this kind of half relief might be portrayed on walls or pillars of Jain temples, but when Tirthankara images are for worship, they must be properly identified. Eventhough Pindi means Asoka, Piṇḍiyan denotes Jain and Piṇḍikkāḍavul is Arhat.

Tamil Lexicon, vol. V ,p.2657.

seems to point out that it is the idol of Aranatha or Mallinatha<sup>45 A</sup>.

The other idol is more attractive<sup>46</sup>. The face is round and shows deep meditation. There is no lanchana to identify the Tirthankara represented. The mukkuda is quite clear. Prabha has been carved around the image. On either side of the idol above its shoulders, the figures of Chauri bear are carved. Pieces of stones have begun to fall. Parts of the legs are also damaged. The total height of the idol including pedestal is 2 1/2 feet. On either side of it there are lions shown as standing on their rear legs. But merely on this basis we cannot claim it to be of Mahavira, for these lion figures are not found in the place where lanchana is to be found. Though half of the

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45 A. For details see , Jaina Iconography, op. cit. pp. 53-55

46. See plate no. 6.

pedestal is above the ground, no symbols are found there. It is likely that the lanchna carved there have been worn out. We may consider it to be the image of Mahavira from its general features, but nothing can be said with certainty.

At present there are no followers of Jainism here. Isvarankōdu compound once belonged to Kongad Swarupam. The Jains have a settlement at Punathilakkulathu 3 kilometres away from this place.

It is not possible to assign the age on the basis of the idols of Tirthankaras. The art of sculpturing Tirthankara figures had a religious mission to serve. Their figures are exactly same in all times. But there are no such rigid rules for the figures of Sasanadevatas. They are to be noticed in the lowest corner of the image. It is possible to determine the age on the basis of the sculptural features of Sasanadevatas<sup>47</sup>.

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47. For details see, Bhattacharya, B.C., Jaina Iconography, op. cit. P. 67.

There is a significant resemblance between the sasanadevatas sculptured on the idols found at Alattur and Paruvassery on the one hand and the Sasanadevatas of Isvarankodu. They very much agree with one another in respect of the prominence allotted to the Sasanadevatas, their position above the shoulders of the Tirthankara figures, their appearance above the knees, the pointed crown and the ornamentation. These idols are also similar in respect of the lion figures which are engraved on both the sides. The idols of Alattur are assigned to 9th-10th century A.D.<sup>48</sup> Hence the age of the idols of Īsvarankōḍu also can be assigned to the 9th-10th century A.D. These idols indicate the fact that Isvarankodu was a centre of the Jains in the 9th-10th century A.D.

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48. See, N.G. Unnithan, "Relics of Jainism Alathur" op. cit. P.540

See also, Cultural Symbiosis, op. cit. P.18.



## ĀLATTŪR

Ālattūr is 22 Kilometers away from Palakkad on Palakkad - Trissur route. There is a compound called Pallikkulam at Kotapuram, in the village of Kavaṣṣery. Till recently, the ruins of a Jain temple including the idols were scattered in the compound. Even today it remains a jungle with granite beams, pillars and slabs. Its Jain connection is attested both by epigraphical and sculptural evidences. In 1908 The Government of India Epigraphist had noticed a Vatteluttu inscription there. Now it is placed in the Archaeological Museum at Trissur. In 1960 the Department of Archaeology had collected two sculptures of Jain Tirthankaras from there. They were of Mahavira and of Parsvanatha. The idol of Parsvanatha is now in the Archaeology Museum at Trissur, and of Mahavira in the Archaeology Museum, Kozhikodu.

The idol of Parsvanatha is shown below a five headed serpent<sup>49</sup>. It is shown in standing posture and has a height of 3 1/2 feet. Meditating in Kayotsarga position, the image looks very handsome. The body appears to be tall and thin. The face is round and the shoulders are straight. The hands which reach the knees and the well proportioned body, clearly show the nudity and the youthfulness of the Tirthankara image. The hands and legs are damaged, and patched up with pieces of iron and cement. The nose and the lips have disappeared.

The second image is that of Mahavira, seated in a graceful Bhadrasana posture. It is very well proportioned. The Tripple umbrella is clear. Sasanadevatas figure on both the sides. The Lanchana is absent. Stella Kramrisch gives details

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49. See plate no, 7, N.G.Unnithan reports that "Instead of a seven hooded or five hooded cobra above Parsvanatha, a three hooded cobra alone is seen "Relics of Jainism Alatur". Journal of Indian History, vol,44 ,p. 540. The image kept in Trissur Musuem clearly shows that the serpent is a five hooded one. Though this cannot be understood from the plate same here.

of this image.<sup>50</sup> An idol of a Yaksi, most probably of Padmavati, should have been present in Alattūr. N.G. Unnithan reports: "At Alatur, broken parts of female figures have been noticed, which suggest another instance of the availability of the Yaksini figures in centres of Jainism in Kerala.<sup>51</sup>" Local tradition says that there was a 'Paraccikkal,' the stone image of a Paraya lady. The whereabouts of this idol are unknown. Even though the features of the Tirthankaras are the same every where, the sasanadevatas will help in fixing the period of the sculpture, Based on this the sculptures can be assigned to 9th or 10th century.A.D. The names of the neighbouring places are sufficient to establish that it was once a Jain settlement. The hill adjacent to Pallikkulam (the tank of palli) is called Pallikkunnu. (the hole of palli) The importance of this place is revealed

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50. Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op. cit. p. 71.

51. "Relics of Jainism-Alatur" Journal of Indian History, vol. 44. p. 541

by a Vatteluttu inscription discovered by the Department of Archaeology in 1908<sup>52</sup>.

It is now kept in Trissur Archaeological Museum. This was deciphered, and published by M.G.S. Narayanan in 1972.<sup>53</sup> This is fragmentary. As it is damaged at top, crucial data regarding the date and purpose are missing. This inscription seems to record an agreement by Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar and the athikarar of Tirukkuṇāvāy Tevar. The group called Nālapettēṇṇāyiravar must have had great importance in the administration of Ālattūr temple.

The Alattur inscription clearly shows once again that Tirukkuṇāvāy temple was of supreme importance. Any obstruction for cultivation the lands of Ālattūr temple is equivalent to the

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52. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, 1960. p. 70

53. Cultural symbiosis, op.cit. PP. 73,74  
The non-vedic temples, especially Jain

obstruction for cultivation or the lands of Tirukkuṇavāy temple.<sup>54</sup>

The non - Vedic temples, especially Jain temples, were known as Pallis<sup>55</sup>. The Inscription calls the Alattur temple as palli. The lands which belonged to the palli were called Paḷḷikalambhumi and Uḷaikkalambhumi. They were leased out to tenants for cultivation, more or less like the lands of the Brahmin temples.

The portion on which indications for date might have been inscribed is lost. Hence the date has to be determined on the basis of the nature

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54. Iva kavaravum, paṇaiyam vaikavum  
taṇḍama.....  
r koṭuppālarāyil avarkaḷ,  
Tirukkuṇavāy Tēvariṭai..."

See, Appendix.I- D, Lines: 8-10.

55. Jainism in South India". op. cit. p. 79.

of the Vattēluttu character and the peculiarities of language employed. According to the epigraphist of the Government of India<sup>56</sup> it belonged to the 10th century A.D. N.G. Unnithan who made a detailed study about Ālattūr<sup>57</sup> also came to this conclusion. Stella Kramrisch who made a study on the sculpture in Kerala remarks that "from an inscription discovered in this place it is gathered that these two Jain images belong to the 10th century A.D."<sup>58</sup> Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan also agrees with this view.<sup>59</sup> All these facts clearly shows that Ālattūr was a Jain centre under the Cera kingdom of sathakatini in Kerala.

Maṅipravālam is a peculiar literary style which was popular in early Malayalam. A particular

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56. Annual Report of Epigraphy, 1960. No. 238

57. "Relics of Jainism Alattur", op. cit. P.541.

58. The Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op. cit. P.71.

59. Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. P.18

kind of Maṅipravālam is referred to as Ālattūr Maṅipravālam<sup>60</sup>. Unnūnilisandesam, a kavya of 14th century A.D. also states that Alattur is famous for Ayurvedic treatment.<sup>61</sup> It is probable that the Jains who were interested in education and treatment, were connected with these developments.

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60. Lilatilakam (ed) Elamkulam,  
Kottayam, 1972 P. 288.

61. "Ālattūrkkum cila muṛimarunnunṭu kaippuṇyamilla."  
Unnūnilisandesam, (Ed.) Elamkulam,  
Kottayam. 1970. p. 112

## PARUVASSERI

There is a village called Kannambra, between Vadakkāñcēry and Tēnāri in the Trissur - Palakkadu route. When we proceed 2 kilometres from Kannambra junction along the paddy field towards south we reach the valley of a hill. At the top of the hill, there is a very old Devi temple known as Paruvaṣṣeri Palliyara Bhagavathi temple. Beyond the Mukhamāṇḍapa there is the Śrīkōil. It is a temple with granite foundation, white washed walls and tiled roof. The foundation seems to be very old.

The idol installed in the Garbhagriha is that of a Yakshi. The Pujari said that it has the height of about 9 inches only but nobody except the Priest is permitted inside. There is a metallic mask of 2 1/2 feet in front of the idol. A figure of Kālī who cut the head of Dārūka is figured on it. Hence the identity of the yakshi idol cannot be established. On the north - eastern corner of the



temple, there is a temple without roof of 6 feet length and 4 feet width. The image of a Tirthankara is installed there<sup>62</sup>. It is seated in Vitaraga Mudra and in a meditating posture. The tripple umbrella is clearly seen over the image. It is flanked with Sasanadevatas. There is the lanchana of Tirthankara on the pedestal. Since the Balipitha (altar) is just in front of the pedestal, the lanchana is seldom visible. I was given permission to examine the lanchana on the pedestal. A figure of lion is carved as lanchana. and it becomes clear that, the image is of Mahavira. When it was discovered by the Cochin Archaeologist, in 1936, he considered it to be a figure of Buddha<sup>63</sup>. He states: "Paruvaṣṣēri is a

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62. See plate No. 8.

63. See also "Buddha image at Paruvassery" R.V.R.I. Bulletin, vol. IV, part II. P. 118.

hill tract about 21 miles to the east of Trichur. . . . . Within the compound of the Paḷḷiyarakkāvu temple is a small shrine, wherein is a seated image of Sasta, in the form of Dhyani Buddha".<sup>64</sup> This was clearly a mistake. On the basis of the features of the sasanadevatas, the Jain sculpture can be assigned to the 9-10th century. A.D. M.G.S. Narayanan has rightly included in the list of Jain centres. "It is from the sculptures left behind in Ālattūr, Kallil, Paruvaṣṣēri, and Citarāl that we get a clear picture of the Jain forms of, worship which prevailed in the Cera period in Kerala."<sup>65</sup> In view of the Mahavira image it may be inferred that the Yakshi figure also was part of the Jain temple. It must have been converted into a Hindu temple at some later stage.

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64. Anujan achan, Annual report of the Archaeological department Cochin state, for the year 1112 M.E., 1936-37. Ernakulam. 1938. P 12.

65. Political and Social conditions of Kerala under Kulasekhara Empire, op.cit. P.

## ERNAKULAM DISTRICT

Very few remains of Jainism have been discovered in the Ernakulam District. Kōtamaṅgalam and Münnār regions of Ernakulam are connected with the districts of Madurai, through Bodinaikannur pass. This enabled the traders of Madurai to come in to contact with Kerala. This was one of the main trade routes in Kerala, and was also the shortest route from Tamilnadu to Mahōdayapuram, the Cera capital. It can be reasonably believed that Jains who were traders, might have arrived and settled here from the Jain centres of Tamilnadu such as Anamalai, Pukal<sub>u</sub>r and Tirupparankun<sub>ṅ</sub>am.

## KALLIL TEMPLE

T.K.Velu Pillai took the Kallil temple to be a Buddha temple.<sup>66</sup> K.P.Padmanabha Menon also mentions the Kallil temple as a Buddhist or Jain temple.<sup>67</sup> T.A. Gopinatha Rao was the first scholar who made a detailed study about this temple<sup>68</sup>.

Mētala is a town situated 13 kms south-east of Perumbavur. There are two small hills to the east of this junction. Kallil temple is situated on the top of the second hill. It is one of the most important cave temples of Kerala. It was fully renovated about a hundred years ago. The temple

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66. T. K. Velupillai writes "There is a boulder at this place which seems to rest on a rock without proper support. Buddhist pilgrims frequent the place to see the rock cut temple. Travancore State Manual Vol.IV, 1940. P.765.

67. "The Rock cut temple at Kallil about 8 miles to the east of Alwaye in Travancore state shows distinct traces of Buddhistic may be of Jain origin". History of Kerala, op.cit; p.106.

68. Gopinatha Rao. T A S. Vol.2,op.cit. p. 130

and its properties belong to the Pisarotis of Metala. It is unknown how the Pisarotis got the right over the temple. One end of a big rock remains on another rock in a slanting position, and the other end almost touches the ground. Thus a cave was formed. It has an area of 60 sq.ft. Its one end has a height of 10 feet. The idols were installed conveniently and during renovation that portion has been separated by stone slabs to construct a garbhagriha. The portrait of Kāliyamardana is engraved on the outer side of the southern wall. The balipīṭha in front of the garbhagriha is very old. The mukhamāṇḍapam is a new addition. Buildings have been built on both sides of the mukhamāṇḍapa for convenience<sup>69</sup>.

There are three idols in the garbhagriha. Two are those of Tirthankaras made of stone and one is that of a Goddess made of Pancaloha. The Goddess, the idol of which has a height of 2 1/2

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69. see plate no.9

feet, is the main deity now. Behind this idol, there is an idol of Jaina Yakshi. According to the Pujari it has a height of 6 inches. No one is permitted to see that idol, except the pujari of the temple. So it is not possible to identify the Yakshi. Gopinatha Rao stated that it is of Padmavati<sup>70</sup>. Stella Kramrisch is also of the same opinion<sup>71</sup>. According to Dr.M.R.Raghava Varier, it is the idol of Siddhayika<sup>72</sup>. These statements have only guess value, since no one has seen it. Nothing can be said with certainty except that it is the idol of a Jaina Yakshi.

Just behind the idol of the goddess, there is an idol of a Tirthankara. Part of it is hidden by the idol of the Goddess. It has a height of about 2 1/2 feet inclusive of the pedestal. The stone on which the idol is carved has now become part of the

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70. T.A.S. Vol. 2, op. cit. p.130

71. Arts & Crafts of Kerala, op.cit.p.70

72. Keraliyatha Charithramanagal., .op.cit . p. 74.

rear wall. The idol is portrayed as sitting straight in a yogasana posture with vitaragamudra. It reveals deep meditation. Shoulders are straight. The mukkuḍa is clearly seen on the top. A lion, the totem peculiar of Mahavira is figured on the pedestal. Worship is now performed to this god in the belief that it is the idol of Siva. Both the idols of Goddess and Mahavira are installed as facing towards the east. The third idol in the garbhagriha is facing towards north. It is being worshipped as Vishnu, Only a side view is possible. It is hidden from day light. Gopinatha Rao took it to be of Parsvanatha but after a detailed examination he commented that it was of Mahavira.<sup>73</sup> But again he reiterated that it is of

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73. " I believe, however that it is perhaps not Parsvanatha, but only a replica of Mahavira; for, it has over its head the tripple umbrella and not a hood of the cobra, which distinguishes Parsvanatha from the other Tirthankaras." T.A.S. vol. 2, op. cit . p.130

Parsvanatha., for reasons unknown to us. Stella Kramrisch<sup>74</sup>, and Dr.M.R.Raghava Varier<sup>75</sup> also believed it to be of Parsvanatha. However their conclusions are based upon circumstantial evidence only.

The idol is not that of Parsvanatha. The mukkuda on the top of the figure of Tirthankara may appear to be the head of a serpent in dim light. It is this misunderstanding which led the above scholars to conclude that it was of Parsvanatha. With the help of Sri.Venu Namboodiri, the pujari of the temple, I had the opportunity to examine the idol thoroughly. The idol is 2 1/2 feet high inclusive of the pedestal, and it is artistically perfect. The stone used for this idol is darker than the one used for the idol of Mahavira. It is on Padmasana with vitaragamudra and on both sides the sasana devatas are carved. Lions

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74. Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op.cit.p. 70.

75. Keraliyatha Charithramanagal, .op.cit . p74.



standing on its rear legs are carved on both the sides. The mukkuda above the idol projects towards the front. After repeated examination it was found that the lanchana on the pedestal is that of an animal. It has close resemblance to the figure of a bull. The pujari also admitted that it is so. Thus the idol misunderstood to be that of Parsvanatha is of Adinatha.

There is another half-relief carving of a Tirthankara figure on the over-hanging rock which forms the roof of the temple.<sup>76</sup> The figure is incomplete. The main characteristics of Jina images, the tripple umbrella, the lanchana, the sasana devatas, or any other symbols such as Asoka tree, svastika etc. are absent. Facial expression is not contemplative. The belly is bulging, a trait, which is not found in any other Tirthankara figure. The hands are not straight but they are thick and proportionately short. Even then

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76 . See plate No. 10.

Gopinatha Rao, considered it to be the figure of Mahavira.<sup>77</sup> Stella Kramrisch also believes that the figure is of Mahavira.<sup>78</sup> But there are no evidences in support of this view. In the present form, this does not look like a Tirthankara figure. This is believed to be that of Brahma today.

The gulika stone usually found in the southern side of the temple is kept in the eastern side. Now it is worshipped as Naga Yakshi.

There is an attempt to carve the figure of a Tirthankara on an isolated rock found two meters north-east of the cave temple.<sup>79</sup> This has not been reported earlier. Only the outline has been made with the help of chisel. The Padmasana posture is also incomplete. It may be inferred that the builders had a master plan beyond the present structure.

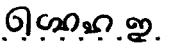

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77. "On the facade of the cave and on the front of the over hanging rock is also a figure of Mahavira carved but not completed."

T.A.S. vol. II op. cit. P. 130

78. Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op. cit. p. 70

79. See Plate No. 11.

Fifty meters north of the main cave temple, there is another cave. It was formed by one rock resting over three stones. On the eastern side of this cave, there is sufficient space for a man to stand erect. The figure of a Yaksha is carved on the northern side of the rock at the right side of the cave<sup>80</sup>. It can be assumed to be of Kubera Yaksha. He is the protector of the northern regions. He bears gems, decorated hair, and pot-belly. The local people worship it believing it to be of Siva. There are a few letters engraved on a rock which is lying in the cave, Part of the rock is peeled away three lines above the letters. Just above the broken part, we can see some indications of the carving of letters. It appears that it was an inscription of at least three lines. Surviving part read as......... There is a mark  to indicate that it is concluded. On the northern part of the small cave, a yantra has been portrayed on

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80. See plate No. 12.

a rock. On the whole, it appears that, there was a huge plan behind the construction of Kallil temple.

No evidence is available to determine the age in which this temple was constructed. No room has been built in the rocks, and there is any pillar to support the roof. The idols are consecrated within the natural cave. This makes it impossible to determine its age on the basis of cave architecture. This temple is not very large. It implies limited resources. These peculiarities help us to think that this temple belongs to the 9th-10th century A.D.<sup>81</sup> Stella Kramrisch who made a study of the sculpture in stone found in Kerala is of the opinion that it belongs to the 8th century A.D.<sup>82</sup>

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81. "The roundish face, the straight shoulders, the limbs in proportion to the trunk all indicate the characteristics of 9th century sculpture."

Rock-cut temples of Kerala, Dept of Public Relations, Trivandrum.

82. The Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op. cit. p.70.

See also The Administrative report for the year 1965-66, Ernakulam. 1967.p.4.

## TRIKKAṆĀMATILAKAM

Trikkaṇāmatilakam was one of the most ancient Jain temples in Kerala. This temple got its name from the place name Kunava<sup>83</sup>. Matilakam means the temple<sup>84</sup>. Hence Trikkaṇāmatilakam means the "holy temple of Kuṇavā. The temple was situated on the southern side of the Kuṇavāy town. The term Gunaka is the Sanskritised form of Kuṇaka or Kuṇavāy<sup>85</sup>. Early Maṇipravāla works refer to a place

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83. Some scholars tried to segment Kunava as Kuna and Vay. Kuna means the east and Vay means the bank. See V.T.Induchudan, The Golden Tower, Trichur, 1973, p.6.

But Kokasandesam clearly states that Kunava is the name of the place.

" Celvañcērnnakkunakayilakam pukku nī tekkunōkki ccellunnēram tiraviya perunkōyil kānām purārēḥ".

Sloka 47. p. 57.

84. H. Gundert, A Malayalam and English Dictionary, Mangalore, 1872, p. 781.

85. This place is referred to as Gunaka and Gunapura in Sukasandesam.

"gunapurasattim" sloka no. 71 and

"gunakamuhasali visalam" sloka no, 74

called 'Gunaka' or 'Kuṇavāy', which was a big trade centre<sup>86</sup>. The prosperity of Kuṇaka has been described in Śukasandesa of Lekshmidasa and in Kokasandesam of an anonymous author. From all these it may be inferred that Kuṇaka was a very important centre of trade during 12th and 13th centuries.

There are references about Trikkaṇāmātilam<sup>ka</sup> in medieval literature. Sukasandesa a Sanskrit work compiled around the beginning of 14th century<sup>87</sup>, refers to the temple at Kuṇaka as a Siva temple. Kokasandesam, a Maṇipravala work compiled around the beginning of 15th century<sup>88</sup> also considers it

86. This has been described in Unniyaccicaritam a campu kavya of the 2nd half of the 13th century as .

"Kollavibhūtim Kollum vibhavā  
nūru maṭaṅṅu koṭuṅṅallūrilu  
mēre vilāṅṅina paṅṅupayātā,  
Kuṇavāy kuṇamapi kuṇapam dadhati  
Vaḷḷuvanagarappalli jayanti  
Putavīṭin pukaḷ vilṭtina sōbha  
mandīkṛta maṅgalapura mahima"

Unniyacci caritam (Ed). Narayana Pillai. P.K. Kerala University, Trivandrum, 1970. pp. 17-19.

87. Kunjunniraja. K., Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, University of Madras, 1980. P.227.

88. Kokasandesam, op. cit.P.17.

to be a Siva temple. From these it can be seen that Trikkaṇāmatilakam had been treated and worshipped as a Siva temple at least from 14th century A.D.<sup>89</sup> That it was a Jain temple before 14th century is proved by the inscriptions discovered from several parts of Kerala such as those found near Tālakkāvu temple at Pūtādi in Wynad, Kinālūr near Balussery, Tiruvaṅṅūr Siva temple near Kozhikode and Kāvaśśēry in Ālattūr. All these Vatteluttu inscriptions clearly suggest that Trikkāṇāmatilakam was a Jain temple and that it served as model for other Jain temples in Kerala.

The most important epigraphic evidence for the date of Trikkāṇāmatilakam is found in the Tālakkāvu inscription. This inscription provides us with valuable evidence about the construction of the Trikkunavāy temple. Till this discovery the only information was that Trikkāṇāmatilakam was an

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89. K.G.Krishnan has identified this place with ruins of Gopapuram near Alattur in Palakkadu district. see. "Tirukkunavay and the Inscription from Alathur" Journal of Kerala Studies, vol.I. 1973, pp. 27-32.

early Jain temple. The date of the foundation of the temple and the period during which Jainism had flourished remained unknown. The Tālakkāvu inscription refers to the era of Tirukkūṇavāy temple in giving its own date: "Tirukkūṇavāy tēvarkku cellāninrayāṅṅu Nūrrimuppattēlu"<sup>90</sup>. This means that the construction of the temple took place 137 years before the date of the inscription. "This record which may approximately be assigned to the close of the 9th century on the basis of the early characteristics of Vaṭṭeluttu script and old Malayalam language employed is more important than the other two....."<sup>91</sup> It may be inferred from this that the foundation of Trikkūṇavāy temple took place during the middle of the 8th century A.D. The use of local eras based on the foundation of a Nagaram or a temple was common in Kerala<sup>92</sup>.

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90. Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit., p. 75.

91. Ibid. pp. 19-20

92. P.S.C.K. op. cit. p.



Those who obstruct the rituals at Tālakkavu were to be regarded as transgressors against Tirukkūṇāvāy.<sup>93</sup> Ālattūr inscription of 9th 10th centuries also explains the authenticity and supremacy of Trikkāṇāmatilakam over other Jain temples in Kerala.

As Jainism declined, the Jain temples were converted into Siva temples and Devi temples. While the temples at Citaral, Kallil and Paruvassery became Devi temples, those at Trikkāṇāmatilakam and Tiruvaṇṇūr became Siva temples. The period in which Trikkāṇāmatilakam became a Siva temple is not known definitely.

In any case it had become a Siva temple before the beginning of 14th century A.D. However, the memory of this conversion was alive even during the beginning of 15th century, since Kokasandesam says that Brahmins are forbidden to worship or look at Trikkūṇāvāy Tevar from inside the shrine.<sup>94</sup> This

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93. Ibid - P.75.

94. "Cemmē kāṇmānarutu Kuṇakattampurāṇe dvijanmār, kkenṇāl, niyūm toluka puṇame ninru tōḷa telīṇṇu".

sloka.48, P.58

indicates that it was different from the usual type of Brahmanical temples. Most probably the memory of the Jain association must have caused this problem for the Brahmins. It had certain non-Vedic elements and that the conversion took place not long before the 15th century A.D.

Sukasandesa and Kokasandesam help us to locate Triikkanamatilakam. The theme of Sukasandesa consists of a dream experienced by the hero, that he was suffering from separation at Ramesvaram after being separated from his wife, and that he sent a message through a parrot, which came near him. Starting from Rāmēśvaram, the parrot flies northwards in Kerala. On the way to its destination, the bird saw Cūrṇi river (sloka, 66) then the palace of Cēramān (68), and Jayarātēśwaram temple (70), the Kāli temple (71), and Nadakkāvu (72) and then it enters Gunaka<sup>95</sup>.

Kokasandesam contains a detailed account of the places from Triprañnotu of Malabar in the North

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95. Appendix no. II- A ,

upto the city of Kollam in the South. The poet narrates the journey of Koka from Kollam to Trikkāṇāmatilakam and from there to Tiruvañcikkulam. It describes Kākkatturutti (45), and Maccāḍiyāṇḍankulam (45) as places north of Guṇaka and Vāṇiyarteruvu, (48) Camp of Ēranāḍu prince (49) Kōtaparampa (53), Kurumbakkavu (55), Ciṅgapuram temple (58) , Mahōdayapuram and Tiruvañcikkulam (58 & 75), Palace of Cēraman (76), and Cūrṇṇi river (79) after Guṇaka<sup>96</sup>. It is also mentioned that Matilakam would be visible from quite a distant place as one enters Guṇaka. It indicates the exact location of Gunaka near the city of Mahōdayapuram<sup>97</sup>.

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96. Appendix no. II- B

97. Kokilasandesa of Uddanda, a Sanskrit kavya of 15th century refers to Mahōdayapuram, the destination of the messenger in Jayantamangalam on the banks of the Cūrṇṇi river.

"sā ca prēkṣya saridanupadam yatra kalmaṣitāyam  
majjan mähōdayapuravadhū kandhakastūrikābhih  
raktaḥ padmaḥ kuvalayavani sāmyamāpadyamāna  
vijñāyantē sphuṭamahima dhāmōdaye jṛmbhamāṇe".

Kokilasandesa, (ed.) N.P.Unni, Trivandrum, 1972,  
(sloka 89) p.79.

<u>Sukasandesa</u>	N	<u>Kokasandesam</u>
(South to North)		(North to South)
<hr/>		<hr/>
Sloka No.		Sloka No
	Kākkatturutti	45
	Maccāḍiyāṅṅankuḷam	45
74	Guṅaka and Matilakam	47
72	Naṭakkāvu / Vāṅiyar Teruvu	48
	Camp of the Ēranāḍu prince	49
	Kāmapuḷa and Kōtaparamba	53
71	Kurumbakkāvu	55
	Ciṅgapuram temple	58
	Mahōdayapuram / Tiruvaṅcikkūḷam	58-75
70	Jayarātēśvaram temple	
68	Palace of Cēramān	76
66	Periyār / Cūrṅṅi river	79

## S

There has not been any serious attempt to conduct excavations in order to discover the relics

of this famous temple. An archaeological investigation conducted in 1970 discovered certain foundations which can be regarded as the relics of this temple. M. G. S. Narayanan says: "Recent archaeological investigation in this region conducted by the Archaeological survey of India, in which the present writer also participated<sup>P</sup>, brought out portions of a medieval citadel wall and the foundations of an early medieval temple of about the 8th or 9th century. Two Rajaraja coins of the 10th century were also recovered from this place."<sup>98</sup> Kokasandesam contains an account of the vāṇiyar teruvu on the Southern side of the temple. It was characterised by the shouting of people who were experts in cheating others. This teruvu was the centre of traders called Vāṇiyar in Kuṇavāy. Most probably the Vāṇiyar centre was the relic of the Jain settlement of the place.

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98. Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. pp. 21-22

## SOUTH TRAVANCORE

## CITARAL

Citaral is a village in the Vilavancode taluk of the erstwhile princely state of Travancore. Vilavancode stretches across the country from the sea-coast to the foot of the hills. It is bounded on the north by Neyyārrinkara, on the east by the mountain ranges, on the south by sea, and on the west partly by sea and partly by Neyyārrinkara taluk. Āruvāmoli pass is the best entrance to Travancore. The trunk road from Tinnavelly to Trivandrum passes through it. This pass has played a great part in the history of Travancore.

Kulittura is the headquarters of

Vilavancode. Tāmrappāṇi river or Kuḷittura river flows through this place. This river is formed by the union of Kōthayar and Paraliyār. Paraliyār takes its source from Mahendragiri. It flows a south-western direction, and reaches the sea at Tēngāpaṭṭanam. The places like Tiruvaṭṭār, Munchira and Vilavancode lies on its bank. Kōthayar rises on the southern entity of the Muthukuḷivayal and it joins with Paraliyār above the town of Kuḷittura. In the plain, the streams are favourable for transport. Thus Kuḷittura became a stratagic place in Travancore.

The alluvial soil brought by this water current made this place fertile. The people are mainly agriculturalists. The chief crops are coconut, paddy tapioca and other food grains. The people had to depend on other places for clothes and other necessities. This attracted traders to this place. The facility for transportation of commodities made this an important centre of trade.

The Jains who came to Travancore from Tamilnadu through Aruvāmolī established their centre at Nagarkovil. The Nagaraja temple of that place belonged to the jains. They set out from there both by land and river and reached Kulittura, and established their centre at Citaral. The river Anantanar which flows from there joins in Kōthayār at Tiruvattār. This facilitated easy transportation of commodities between Nagarkovil and Kulittura. Kulittura was prosperous by virtue of its nearness to Nānjinādu which was known as the storehouse of rice in Kerala. With the additional facility for transportation the place soon emerged as one of the main centres of trade in South India. No Jains are found here today. The temples at Tiruchāraṇam and Nagarkovil were converted into Hindu temples. The Jains who were here might either have left the place or accepted



Hinduism,<sup>99</sup> Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram and Madurai districts of Tamilnadu which are on the boundary of Kerala were jain centres from very ancient times. A large number of inscriptions are preserved in the jain centres of these places, such as Vellimala, Kalukumala, Ānamala Alvarmala, Azhakarmala, Karungalakkudi and Uttampālayam. on the basis of antiquity of language and paleographical evidences, it may be assumed that these places had

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99. Gopinatha Rao reports, "There were two jaina houses situated to the south of the (Nagarkoil) temple, belonging to the sthanikas mentioned above; They might have perhaps be the remnants of a large colony of Jains which might have once existed in Nagarkoyil." T.A.S. Vol II. (reprint) p. 128. It shows that there were Jains in Travancors even in 1908. Travancore State Manual reports that, there were Jains in Travancore in 20th century. It says the population of the state is composed mainly of Hindus, Christians and Muhammadans. "Besides these, there are a few minor sections which follow Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Animism, Buddhism, Sikhism and Judaism." (p.369) It adds, of the population of the state Jains are 41 and Buddhists are 64 in number. It says "Buddhism has had a few converts from the Ilava caste during the last sixteen years. The Jains and Zoroastrians, though the total number of the two classes put together is only 54, have also shown a small increase". Velupillai. A., Travancore state Manual, p. 391.

become Jain centres around the 3rd century B.C.<sup>100</sup>. Tiruccāṇattumala in Travancore had become famous as a Jain centre along with the above places. There are two references to a lady teacher called Tiruccāṇathu Kurattikal in the South Indian Inscriptions.<sup>101</sup> It shows that the teachers of this centre were so famous that they were referred to in the records of the centres at far away places.

Tiruccāṇattu mala was relatively closer to the Jain centre at Kalukumala, situated in Kōyilpetṭi taluk of the district of Tirunelveli. The Jain temple is located in a natural cave of a steep rock. There are several beds with inscriptions in the old Brahmi alphabet. Depending

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100. P.B. Desai, op.cit. p. 64.

101. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. V  
Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, 1986  
A.R. No. 35 of 1894 No 324 and 326 p. 123.

See Appendix. I. F.

on the alphabets of inscriptions, and the features of language, it has been assigned to the 3rd century B.C.<sup>102</sup>

The sculpture of Tiruccānattumala shows the close resemblance with the rock cut sculptures at Kalukumala. The figures of Kalukumala are carved on the over hanging rock. Small and large figures are mixed up together. Neither lanchana nor Sasanadevatas are carved on the small figures. The figures of Tirthankaras are beautiful and lively. However, the figures of Yakshis are given special prominence. The crowns over their head, ear-rings and other decorations are similar to those in the figure of Yakshi found at Tiruccānattumala. Thirthankaras are in kayotsarga posture while Yakshis are given a lasya mood. Even the lion facing front are similar in both places.

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102. P.B. Desai, op.cit. p.64.

The name Tiruccāṇattu mala indicates the Jain connection of the place. A section of Jains are called Cāraṇas. They were Jains who attained miraculous power through rigorous practices<sup>103</sup> Desai points out this peculiarity, "Cāraṇas were a class of sages who had attained mastery over nature." He also states that "according to another sense of the word Cāraṇas which connotes a Jaina ascetic, this hill might have been selected as a suitable place for the performance of austerities by a large number of Jaina monks."<sup>104</sup>

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103. None of the renowned Sanskrit dictionaries give the meaning of the word 'Cāraṇa' as a group among the Jains. Monier Williams (393), Apte and such scholars take it to mean wandering actor, or singer etc., depending on a vedic school. The term appear in some of the medieval literature. "Cāraṇa- rāyitu Cāttirarellām" UnnicciruteviCaritam, p. 34.

"Cāraṇasiddhasura  
strīnāmapi cārutayum" unniyacci Cariyam , p.33.

104. Ibid, p.64

On the north western side of the hill, there is a natural cave. This has been subsequently transformed into a temple by suitable constructions<sup>105</sup>. It draws our attention by the artistic excellence of its carvings and the abundance of idols. The figures of Tirthankaras and Yakhsis are portrayed on the polished surface of the northern part of the rock which contains the temple. The sculptures in the wall are arranged in two rows. on the top, there are small figures of ten Tirthankaras. The tripple umbrellas over the head of these small images are disproportionately big. The figures in the second row are more prominent: On the extreme right, there is the beautiful figure of the image of Ambika Yakshi of Digambara sect. There are two children on her right side. The right hand is in the pose of Varada Mudra. The left hand is hanging freely. There is the crown on her head and big kundalas on her earlobes. On the right, there is a large figure of a lion facing in front. The figure is

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105. See plate No. 13.

standing on a lotus seat and it is life-like.<sup>106</sup>

The next figure is that of Mahavira<sup>107</sup> seated beneath the triple umbrella. The Sasanadevatas and lanchana are clear. After this there are seven small figures of Tirthankaras. The small figures do not have lanchana or

106. Gopinatha Rao considers it to be Padmavati. He writes: "The figure of Padmavati devi on the left of this is standing upon a padmasana. Like the Hindu Sakti, Durga, she has also a lion, her vehicle, on her right, at the top corner. On the right stands a female dwarfish figure, an attendant carrying something in a bowl, which she keeps in her left hand. On the left of the devi stands two short male figures in reverent attitude, it is not easy to guess whom these figures represent."

TAS. vol . II, op.cit. P. 127.

P.B. Desai rightly identifies it as Ambika. He writes "she has two hands, the right in varada pose, and the left is hanging free. A lion with massive head facing the front is seen on her right. Below the hand of the lion is a female attendant standing. Two children smaller size are standing her side on the left. I am inclined to think that this deity must be Ambika, the yaksi of Neminatha. Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs.

op. cit. p 69.

According to the rules of Jaina iconography, the Digambara image of Ambika is described as riding up on lion, but bearing to hands with a bunch of mangoes and a child. The Jaina Iconography, op. cit. pp. 103-104.

107. Desai identifies it as Neminatha and writes "The seated image on the proper right may be Neminatha." Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs, op. cit. p. 69.

Sasanadevatas. Then there are the standing figures of Parsvanatha and Padmavati. The figure of Parsvanatha is tall and graceful and is in Kayotsarga pose. It is well-proportioned and exhibits the beauty of the human figure. A serpent with three hoods has been carved above the image of Parsvanatha. The image of Padmavati is also beautiful. It also wears a crown and ear ornaments. She is depicted as wearing loin cloth. Her right hand is lifted and left one rests on her lip. The next image is that of one meditating in vitaraga mudra posture. Though the Sasanadevatas are clear, the lanchana is missing. Then there are four more small figures of Tirthankaras. Regardless of the fact, whether they are small or big, there are 24 Tirthankara figures on that rock, and probably each one represents a Tirthankara. Some of these figures were probably carved according the interests of different devotees. Five among them have short inscriptions in Vatteluttu character, below their seat, giving the name of the persons

who got them carved there. The temple consists of garbhagriha, Maṇḍapa, Varanda, balipīṭha and kitchen. The garbhagriha is divided into three cells.

The central cell contains the idol of Mahavira<sup>108</sup>. It is in padmasana with Vitaragamudra. It holds the cropped hair, long earlobes and is naked. The eyes are closed and in deep meditation. Sasanadevatas figure on both sides. It is seated on a simhasana under the triple umbrella.

Below the Sasanadevatas two lions standing on rear legs are depicted on both sides. In the cell on the left side, there is the idol of Parsvanatha, standing in Kayotsarga posture and this is also being worshipped<sup>109</sup>. On the right side is the idol

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108. see, plate no. 17.

109. See plate no. 18.



of Devi<sup>110</sup>, the main deity of the temple. Another Jaina idol is kept on the varanda of the temple<sup>111</sup>. It is in Yogic posture under the triple umbrella. It has been damaged to such an extent that now it is impossible to identify the figure. On the top of the rock, just above the central shrine, there is a brick structure which was built over the rock. Owing to the impact of oceanic winds it has been destroyed. T.A. Gopinatha Rao reports that Jina idols were plastered on it<sup>112</sup>, but no indication of a figure remains today.

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110. Gopinatha Rao reports that the original one was a plaster figure. He says "The temple was recently broken in to by thieves and the plaster images were all destroyed." Fortunately the pretty stone images of Mahavira and Parsvanatha have been spared and are at chambers of the central shrine. T.A.S. vol. I. op.cit. P. 284.

111. See plate No. 19.

112."On the top of the over hanging rock, immediately above the central shrine is built a brick gopura with here and there a Jaina figure." Ibid, p. 284.

See plate no. 14.

Today it is regarded as a Devi temple. Pooja is offered daily to Mahavira, Parsvanatha and the Devi. Since it is a cave temple, and the figures are carved on stone, its Jain character has not changed.

There are fourteen inscriptions in Citaral temple in which seven are in Vaṭṭeluttu character, one in Grantha, and one in Tamil. Three of them are completely damaged and the remaining two have only some syllables.

The most important inscription which provides us with information regarding the temple and the age of its construction is the Vaṭṭeluttu inscription carved on a rock at the southern side of the Bhagavati temple.<sup>113</sup> This inscription tells us about the age of the reign of Ay King, Vikramaditya Varaguna<sup>114</sup>. There are three

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113. See. Appendix I- E.1  
See also T A S. Vol. IV. p. 147.

114. Svasti Śrī. Kōvikkiramātitta varakuṇarkku yāṇ(ṭup) patinēlu etir (nālu).  
Appendix. I- E 1.

inscriptions which shows the connection with Varaguna.<sup>115</sup> Thus it reveals the close intimacy of Varaguna with the temple which was a part of the Āy kingdom. This inscription states that the Srikoil of Tiruccāranattumala was constructed during 17+4th year of the reign of Varaguna. The one who constructed it was Kuratti Mūttavāla Nārāna Kuttiyār. Besides, the metallic lamp and gold flower have also been offered by her to the Goddess. It can be inferred that the temple at Tiruccāranattumala was constructed during the reign of Varaguna. The period of Varaguna's was 883

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115. The king Vikramaditya Varaguna referred to in the inscription of Citalal, and the Varaguna mentioned in Paliyam copper plates are one and the same. But Desai misunderstood this Āy king as the Vikramaditya Varaguna of the Pāṇḍya line. He writes."One inscription of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Vikramaditya Varaguna records a gift of golder ornaments to the Bhatariyar of Tiruccaranattu malai". Desai, op.cit. p. 69.

A.D.<sup>116</sup> Since the inscription states that "In the month of Phalguni of this year i.e. the fourth opposite the seventeenth of (the reign of ) king Vikramaditya Varaguna". It is clear that the Citalal temple was built in the 9th Century A.D.

The main deity of the temple at Tiruccāṇattumala, from the very beginning is the Devi. Hence inscriptions speak of it as Tiruccanattu Paṭāriār.<sup>117</sup> Paṭāria is the feminine gender of Paṭārar. There is also another

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116. The Paliyam inscription, which was made in the 15th year of Varaguna's reign, is the basis for determining the age. On the basis of the astrological indications and other evidences M G S has established that the age of the inscription is 898 A.D. See Cultural Symbiosis op. cit. p. 13 Gopinatha Rao who published the copper plates estimated its age as 868 A.D. with the help of Swamikkannu Pillai. T A S. Vol. I. op. cit. p. 187 Prof, Elamkulam. estimated it as 925 A.D. However historical evidences make it clear that the age of the inscription was 898 A.D.

117. Appendix I-E 2.

See also. T A S. Vol. I. op, cit. p. 287 and Vol. II. op.cit, F.N.,P. 125.

inscription which shows that it was a Devi temple.<sup>118</sup> This is engraved on a stone, now forming one of the steps leading to the pond in front of the Bhagavathi temple. It is in Sanskrit verse and in Grantha alphabet. It records that one Vijayabhadrā Vipāścī set up the stone entrance to the shrine of the excellent deity. " May this excellent door-post of stone caused to be made in the shrine of the Goddess Varasundari." It follows that the deity of the temple was known as Varasundari. among the people of the place.

Another Vaṭṭeluttu inscription recorded as belonging to the 28th year of Varaguṇa, mentions an offering made by a devotee called Guṇantāṅgi Kurattikal. She was the disciple of Arattanēmi Paṭārar of Pērāyakkūti. From this it appears that there was one more centre of learning within the region which was under the domination of Āy kings.

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118. Appendix I- E2.

See also. T A S. Vol. IV. Trivandrum, 1923. P.148.

The four of the remaining Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions, refer to the names of devotees who got the idols engraved on the rock. They are Vikramaditya Varaguṇa, Achaṇandi, Uttanandi and Vīranandi. The Āy king Varaguṇa is famous as the author of Paliyam copper plates. Since he was successor to Karunandadakkan, who built the Parthivasekharapuram temple, it can be inferred that he was a follower of Hindu religion. His contribution to the Jain temple reveals the cultural climate in the country which favoured an eclectic attitude in which dogmatic sectarian approach gave way to a policy of tolerance.

The most important Jain Āchāraya of South India was Ajjanandi. The inscription simply mentions "Achaṇanti Caivitta Tirumēni."<sup>119</sup> It is interesting to note that he was not confined to any of the centres. He was the Āchārya in the monastery of Kurandi Tirukkattām Palli, a huge monastic establishment of the Jains in the Tamil

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119. Appendix. No. I-E.

country.<sup>120</sup> Inscriptions referring to this monastery are available from Śramaṇamalai, a long range of hills, about 8 kilometers west of Madurai, Paḷḷinandam, a hamlet to Tiruchchuli in the Aruppukkōttai Taluk of Rāmanāthapuram and Kalukumalai in the Kōvilpaṭṭi Taluk of Tirunelveli district. Kattampally monastery of Jains which belongs to the reign of the early Pāṇḍya monarch Mārancatayan (768-815. A.D.) may be said to have had its centre at Kurāṇḍi in Vēmbunād. The most important teacher of the Jains was Ajjanandi. This image is carved on the Śramaṇamalai below which is a label inscription "Sri Accanandi". Ajjanandis mother Guṇamatiyār is also mentioned in one of the Śramaṇamalai inscriptions.

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120. "The famous Jain teachers were "mostly natives of Tiruccāraṇam and Kurāṇḍi. Both of which are villages in South Travancore. The former is identical with Citaral and belongs to the reign of the early Pandya monarch 768-815.A.D.while the later is situated in the Agastyesvaram taluk and continues to bear the same name. Some of the Jaina monks who made settlements in the mountain fastness of the Madurai district came from Kurandi. T A S. Vol. IV. P. 146.

There is no clear evidence to determine the period of Ajjanandi. On the basis of the paleographical features it is assumed that he lived around 8th to 9th century A.D.<sup>121</sup> Kāṭṭāmpalli<sup>122</sup> Uttananti Adikal of Tirunetum purai was the one who got another image engraved. There was also Vīranandi Adikal, the Āchārya of Tirunarumkonda monastery, who set up an idol. Narumkonda is in the taluk of Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot district. It was a Jain centre from very ancient times. A number of inscriptions have

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121. P. B. Desai says "But on consideration of the palaeography of the epigraphs related to him, he might be assigned approximately to the age of the 8th and 9th century A.D." Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs, op. cit. p. 63. See also "Kurandi Tirukkattampally An ancient Jaina monastery of Tamilnadu." Campaka Lakshmi.R., Journal of the Epigraphical society of India, Vol. II. p. 84.

122. Kāṭṭāmpalli does not appear to be the name of a place. While Ajjananti was the Āchārya of Kurandi kāṭṭāmpalli, Uttananti Adikal was the āhārya of Nēdūmpurai Kāṭṭāmpalli. The terminology may indicate the Jaina temples situated on hills. The term, kāṭṭāmpalli gives such an impression.



been discovered from this place. Desai describes the place in the following words: " From the inscriptions engraved on the rocks by the side of this cavern, it is gathered that there flourished in the period of the 9th century A.D. on these hills are two pallis of Jaina monastic institutions and a shrine dedicated to the god Caturmukha. The latter appears to have been attached to the monastery called Kīlaippalli.<sup>123</sup> Vīranandi Adikal had relations with Mēleppalli monastery. One of the monasteries indicated by Desai may be Mēleppalli. Here, one thing deserves our special attention. The inscriptions tell about the Āchāryas and nuns who built temples, got images engraved and made offerings including gold to temples. But how could they manage to get the required money when they are freed from all worldly attachments and have devoted their lives to institutions of learning ? Quite understandably,

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123. P.B. Desai, op. cit. p. 92.

the only source for them was the income from the properties of temple and donations from devotees. Such income could have been used freely by the chief priest or acharya. They must have collected such donations to be used for other temples. Nārāyaṇa Kuṟatti who managed to construct the śrikōvil of Tiruccāraṇattu temple had enough resources to spend a large amount. From this, it becomes clear that there existed a system in which the temples were made prosperous, and it was common for them to render help to other temples.

Another Vaṭṭeluttu inscription is on the four faces of a pillar built into the steps leading to the kitchen<sup>124</sup>. Its date is M.E. 540 Medom (1365 A.D.) This record made certain lands available for enjoyment to the female members of the family of Danmaṣeṭṭi Nārāyaṇan Kāli of Tirukkudakkarai for rendering the services of cleanig and other temple services. It clearly

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124. See Citaral Inscription of M.E. 540 Lines  
12-14

states the name of the temple as Tiruccāraṇattu Bhagavati Kovil<sup>125</sup> .

On the boulders of the South West of the Bhagavati temple there is a Tamil inscription. This is comparatively new. The period of this inscription is given as M.E 425 mesha (1250 A.D) and M.E. 440.(1265 A.D.) The content of this record is the provision for the requirments of the temple of Bhagavati. This inscription shows that Tiruccāraṇattu temple had already been converted into a Hindu shrine. During the period of these inscriptions, worship was conducted according to the practice of Hindu religion. From all these facts it becomes clear that Tiruccāraṇattu mala was famous as a jain centre during the period from 9th to 13th centuries A.D. Certain peculiarities common to South Indian Jain temples are revealed in Tiruccaranattu temple also. Tirthankaras are the

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125. Before the conversion, the goddess is termed as Tiruccāraṇattu Bhaṭārar

venerable deities of Jainism. They do not worship other deities, But in South India where the mother goddess cult prevailed, Jainism underwent certain changes. There began to develop an interest in worshipping Goddesses. Thus they tended to exalt the Yakshis, who were regarded purely as Sasanadevatas to the Tirthankara. The figures of Yakshi at Tiruccāranattumala and Kalukumalai have been given extreme importance. Even in the Varasundari temple of Tiruccaranam Yakshi was consecrated and worshipped. Paṭāriyar became the venerable deity of South Indian āchāryas. Lady teachers were found paying more attention to the affairs of the temple. Thus Mūttavāla Nārāyaṇa Kuṭṭiyār builds the Śrikōvil. Gunanṭhaṅgi Kurattikal offers lamp-stand and golden flower. These facts reveal the recognition accorded to ladies in matters of rituals and worship.

The above survey of the Jain centers would enable us to draw some conclusions about the nature of the Jain community in Kerala even though many

details are not available. This religion appears to have reached the country from the great centres in Karnataka and Tamilnadu with traders who established temples at several points along the trade routes. By the time of their advent Brahmanism was firmly established as the dominant creed patronised by the Cera kings. Therefore Jainism could not penetrate easily into the rural agricultural countryside. The distribution of the few Jain temples illustrates their dependence on merchants in these pockets. Therefore they could flourish only as long as the flow of Jain merchants continued. This would explain their decline and gradual conversion into Siva or Devi temples. When the travelling traders did not come in large numbers the Jain temples must have lost their clientele and got impoverished. In their decadent condition it would have been possible for the local inhabitants to transform them into Hindu shrines, either by purchasing or confiscating the properties and making slight alterations to the

idols and structures. Occasionally the Jain images were replaced or covered, but sometimes they were removed to give place to Hindu images. As there was no Jain laity in the pockets, the transition must have been rather smooth and quiet. The drying up of land trade invariably led to the disappearance of Jain centres of worship, leaving only a few inscriptions and idols to remind post-entry about the existence of Jain temples. The absorption of Jainism into the Hindu fold was made almost inevitable when the visit of Jain worshippers from other lands terminated.

# JAIN-CENTRES

Padmakumari Amma. B “Jain-buddhist centres in the early history of Kerala”  
Thesis. Department of History , University of Calicut, 1995

**CHAPTER FIVE**  
**BUDDHIST CENTRES**



## BUDDHIST CENTRES

A number of Jain temples have been discovered in the north of Kerala as well as in South Travancore. We have noticed that some of the present Hindu temples betray the evidence of their Jain past, but such evidences are not available in the case of Buddhism. A few Buddha images have been discovered from the districts of Alappula, Kottayam, Kollam and Pattanamtitta all in central Kerala. Most of these images are in broken condition. It is the right hand of the figure which is found to have been broken in most of the cases. This might have been caused by the weight of the extended hand or through mischief done by hostile people. The local people have the

impression that these images represented evil spirits, and that everything in the vicinity of Buddha will perish. Consequently wherever Buddha's images were found, the local people used to throw them into wells or rivers. Such practices made it impossible to realise the true extent of early Buddhist influence in Kerala.

It is curious to note that while the people in Kerala believed the Buddha shrines or images to cause misfortune to them, the opposite belief that Brahmanical shrines or images could ensure prosperity also existed. Perhaps these two beliefs were complimentary and related, and born out of the actual experience of the people. The defeat of Buddhism through the rivalry and spitefulness of the Brahmins might have been at the bottom of this experience, but this can only be mentioned as a matter of inference.

## KOTTAYAM DISTRICT

The District of Kottayam is situated between the Idukki district on the east and the Vēmbanād lake on the west. This district is bounded by the Ernakulam and Idukki districts in the north, the Pathanamthitta district in the south and the Alappuzha district in the west.

Though the eastern side of Kottayam is mountainous area, it is connected with Tamilnadu through the Bodinaikkannur pass, Tevarāṁ pass and Kambam pass. These passes opened new routes which enabled the traders to get into the interior forest regions and to collect forest produce. Availability of forest resources made Kottayam prosperous. The Vēmbanād Backwaters connects it with the port of Cochin at present, and they might have served the same purpose for Kodungallur on earlier times. Rivers like Periyār, Mīnachalar and Maṇimalayār made the land fertile and facilitated easy transportation of goods and commodities. The Buddhists who were keen on trade must have

discovered the importance of waterways and established their centres in the Kottayam region also. This fact is proved by the discovery of a Buddhist idol from Rāmapuram and the image of Pallivānavar found in the Kilirūr temple.

#### KILIRŪR

Kilirūr is situated on the bank of Minachal river 8 kilometers east of the present Kottayam town. The present writer visited the place on (18-10-93) for a personal inspection of the site. The Kilirūr Bhagavati temple is situated on a small hill<sup>1</sup>. Within the compound there are two temples facing the opposite direction. The goddess whom people address as Karthiyayani Devi is installed in the main shrine. In the other shrine, which is known as Tevarnada,

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1. Tradition says that these temples were constructed by Pallibānaperumal at the time of his stay at Kilirūr.

there is an image of Vishnu,<sup>2</sup> made of Panchaloha. It is believed that this idol was brought from Kodungallur by a Perumāl for his personal use. In the back room of this temple there is an image of Pallivanavar, the Perumal who was converted, in to Buddhism according to tradition. It is a big idol in half relief made of limestone and seated in Padmasana under a Bodhi tree. It is depicted as

2. T.K. Krishna Menon writes "the srikovil of this temple is not as usual, with other temples in the form of a circle of square. It is 40 feet east to west and 25 feet north to south..... There is a large figure of Buddha done in clay in one room and an image of Annapurneswari in another. Speeches and writings of Sahitya kusalan T.K. Krishna Menon, op. cit. 1932. p. 20.

Dr. P.C. Alexander considered it as a Buddha image. He says: "In the front room of this shed there is a bronze image of the Buddha shown in the characteristic yogic pose under a Bodhi tree". Buddhism in Kerala, op.cit. p. 60. Being a Christian he was not able to verify the attributes of image in person. This led him to make a wrong identification. Sanku Aiyar also considered this panchaloha idol as Buddha. He described it as "an image sitting under a Bodhi tree, which resembles the image of Neelamperur and states that it is an idol Sugata". Keralavum Buddhamatavum, op. cit. p. 51.

This is not correct. The Panchaloha idol now found at Tevarnata is not of Buddha. Boddhi tree or any other characteristic feature is absent here.

wearing crown, bangles and other ornaments which clearly shows that it is not Budha. This image is of Pallivāṇavar. At the bottom, it is written as Pallivāṇavar in Malayalam script. The presence of the Buddha like idol made some scholars to think that Kilirūr has some connection with Buddhism, but they cannot be taken as clear evidence.

#### RĀMAPURAM

Rāmapuram is a small village, in Minachal Taluk, situated on the Palai - Kūttāṭṭukulam road. An image of Buddha of 4 feet height has been discovered here<sup>3</sup>. It is a yellowish granite

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3. see plate no. 22.

See also Administrative Report of the Archaeology Department for the Year 1974-75, Trivandrum, 1976.p.5.

figure. Both the hands along with the left leg have been demolished. This image is with curly hair and subdued Ushnisa. Uttariya is also clear. The present writer visited this place on 17-10-93 and found that this is the only evidence available to prove that Ramapuram was a Buddhist centre. On the basis of the sculptural peculiarities it can be assigned to 9th century A.D. It is now exhibited in the Archaeological Museum, Trissur. This helps us to think that there were Buddhist centres in Kottayam in early times.

## ALAPPUZHA DISTRICT

Alappuzha district which was a part of the erstwhile Travancore state is bounded in the north by the Ernakulam district, in the east by the Kottayam and Pathanamthitta districts, in the south by the Kollam district and in the west by the Arabian sea. It is an area of rivers and lakes. Paddy fields and coconut plantations are in plenty. Rice is the most common crop in the region.

Mountains are absent here. It has a long sea coast stretching along its west. Parallel to the sea are lakes and backwaters with several openings to sea. This helped to develop natural ports, which made Alappuzha a trade centre in the modern times. This district was a flourishing Buddhist centre of ancient Kerala, with the harbours on the sea connecting with Srilankan traders and the backwaters connecting it with inland trade with eastern high ranges. According to many scholars, Srimulavasam, the most important Buddhist temple of Kerala, patronised by the Musakas of the North and Ays of the South alike,



was located on the seacoast somewhere in this district. However, it is described as having been swallowed by the sea at an early date. Since no visible traces of the temple are obtained, and since the location itself is in controversy, it is not included here. We are incorporating a separate section on Srimulavasam.

#### NĪLAMPĒRŪR

Nīlampērūr is situated about 10 K.ms. west of Kottayam, close to the back waters of Vēmpañādu. There is a legend that Pallibāṇa Perumāl, a king of Kerala who had been converted to Buddhism, breathed his last at this temple. There are differences of opinion as to whether Pallibāṇa Perumāl embraced Buddhism or Christianity. The early historians believed that he became a Buddhist. Keralolpatti states that the converted Perumāl went to Mecca. There is another argument that since he went to Mecca he was converted to

Islam. Vidvan P.K. Padmanabha Panickar discusses Nīlampērūr temple and Pallivāṇavar<sup>4</sup>. He assumes that Pallibāṇa Perumāl accepted Buddhism. It has been already admitted that the idol of Perumāl found at the time of renovation of Nilamperur temple in 1068 M. E. (1893 A.D) bears the cross symbol. He further says that another idol had been found when the floor of the temple was dug, and that the idol was left at the temple pond. He says, "The man who supervised the repairs of this building is still alive, and he says that another statue had been thrown into the tank a few yards north of the temple"<sup>5</sup>. The study by Sri. K.C. Cherian is an attempt to establish that the Perumal embraced Christianity. He describes: "The manager of the temple, "engaged four Christian labourers to excavate the floor. Two of them are still surviving. When about two feet of the earth of the floor was removed, to their dismay they came

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4. See "Perumāl pallibanavar" Kerala Society Papers series 3-1950, pp. 147-151. See also Panikker's letter to the Editor, Ibid, pp. 155-56.

5. "Pallivāṇavar," Ibid. p. 148

across a curious metal statuette of Pallivānavar a precious treasure indeed, conveying many historic associations along with it... The spade then struck against some thing very hard, and when the loose earth was carefully removed, a granite slab (about 6 ft by 3 ft) was exposed, and the ornamented bas relief cross was seen sculptured on it like St. George cross on The Union Flag. A Christian testifies that there was yet another granite cross at the head of the tomb about a foot height<sup>6</sup>. After discussing all these facts he came to the conclusion that the Perumāl finally became a Christian monk. Dr. P.C. Alexander has discribed this problem in detail<sup>7</sup>. On the basis of the half relief at the Kilirur temple he said that Perumal had embraced Buddhism initially and finally got converted into Christianity<sup>8</sup>.

In any case, there is a definite connection of Nilamperur temple with Pallibāna perumāl, who was most probably a Buddha soverign. There are lots of remains which are related to the Perumal. There

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6. Ibid., p. 152.

7. see Buddhism in Kerala, pp. 50-61

8. Ibid, p. 59

is a tomb on the left side of the temple. According to the natives, it is the tomb of the Perumāl. There is a custom of requesting the permission of the Perumāl to conduct the Keṭṭukālca ceremony, associated with the annual festival of the temple.

The place where the temple is situated is called Pallipattikkal, ie. the gate of the Palli. Goddess Kartyayani, is known as Palli Devi. Sanku Aiyer is of opinion that the image of goddess here is that of Tara of the Buddhists<sup>9</sup>. The Goddess Tara is not at all different in appearance from Hindu Goddesses. It is quite possible that this Goddess was converted after the Hindus took over the temple.

The image worshipped as Vishnu at a minor temple is a bronze image of Buddha<sup>10</sup>. It is in meditating

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9. Keralavum Buddhamatavum, op. cit. pp. 49-50.

10. P.C.Alexander describes: "...no worship was being offered to the Buddha image. But now the Buddha image is being worshipped as that of a Hindu deity and even the fact that it was originally a Buddha image seems to have forgotten."  
Buddhism in Kerala, op. cit. p.61.

Dr. Raghava Varier considers it as a Jain temple. It is not correct, because the image is clearly that of Buddha.

See. Keraliyatha Caritramanangal, op.cit. p. 94.

pose in Padmasana with eyes closed. Hands are in vitaragamudra. Ushnisa is pointed and clear. The presence of such an image help us to think that Nilamperur was a Buddhist centre.

### KARUMĀDI

Karumādi is a village about 2 Kms. south east of Ambalappuzha. It is surrounded by paddy fields and fertile lands. I have visited this place on 4-8-93 and collected first hand information.

An image of Buddha was discovered at Karumādi in the district of Alappuzha<sup>11</sup>. It was

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11. See Plate no. 23  
T.A.S., vol. II, op. cit. p. 121.

For details see also, The Travancore State Manuel, vol. IV, Trivandrum, 1940, p.694.

Emily Gilchriest Hatch, Travancore A Guide Book for the Visitor, Madras, 1933, pp. 43-44.

It was misunderstood as a Jina image. See. K.P. Padmanabhamenon, History of Kerala, op.cit. p. 105.

See also Kuruppamvittil K. N. Gopalapillai. Keralamahacaritram, p. 99.

Gopinatha Rao made it clear "that Karumadikkuttan is a Buddha and not a Jaina."  
T.A.S., vol. II, p. 121.

under the waters till recently. It is now installed in a small newly constructed temple. The image is known as Karumāḍikuṭṭan. It is three feet in height and is seated in the Yogasana posture. Its left hand is broken and lost. The Ushnisha and the Jvala on its head are clear. It is not being worshipped. A legend that Karumāḍikuṭṭan is a Parayan turned into stone, kept the people away from worshipping there<sup>12</sup>. On the basis of the sculptural peculiarities, this can be assigned to 700 A.D.<sup>13</sup> It leads us to infer that there existed a Buddhist temple somewhere around Karumāḍi village.

#### MĀVĒLIKKARA

Māvēlikkara is the southernmost part of Alappuzha district, on the banks of the river Achankovil. There is an ancient temple known as Krishnaswami temple at Kōṭṭakkakam, Māvēlikkara. About 50 metres away from the temple towards east,

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12. A. Sreedhara Menon, Kerala Gazetteers Alleppy, Trivandrum, 1975, pp.605-606.

13. 2. Studies in Kerala History, op. cit. p. 180.

there is an image of Buddha. It was discovered from the compound near the Māvēlikkara Guest house. It is in a very good state of preservation. It faces the south and is being worshipped by the local people. The image in meditative posture, is 3 ft. high.<sup>14</sup> T.A.Gopinatha Rao described the features of the image. "It is nearly 3 feet height.....The upper cloth which is worn in the upavita fashion comes behind the body and the left arm, therefore it is that the sculptor in this and other instances has left the stone uncut, while in the corresponding interspace between the right arm and the body it is cut"<sup>15</sup>. The Ushnisha, Jvala and

14. See Plate No. 24.

P.C. Alexander, Sanku Aiyar and Adoor Ramachandran Nair said that its height is Two and half feet. Gopinatha Rao, had rightly pointed out that its height as 3 feet. T.A.S. vol. II pp. 121.122.

15. T.A.S. vol. II, p.122.

P.C.Alexander states that "Artistically it is one of the most perfect images of the Buddha in South India". Buddhism in Kerala, op. cit. p.70 K.P.Padmanabha Menon refers to it as a standing

figure. "There is an image of Buddha standing on the road side between Mavelikkara and Kandiyur". History of Kerala, vol. IV, op. cit. 105.

the robe can be very well noticed. Present writer visited the place on 6-8-93. for a personal verification. On the basis of peculiarities it can be assigned to 8th century.A.D.<sup>16</sup> The image makes it clear that Buddhism had an important place in Māvēlikkara.

#### BHARAṆIKKĀVU

Bharaṇikkāvu, 8 Kms. south of Māvēlikkara was a seat of Buddhism. Paḷḷikkara Devi temple is situated on the side of the Māvēlikkara Kaṇṇānam road. I have visited the place on 10-10-93 for verification. There is an image of Buddha sitting in Bhadrāsana, within the compound of the temple on

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16. Studies in Kerala History, op.cit. p. 180.

See also K.P.Padmanabha Menon, A History of Kerala, vol. IV, 1986, p. 105.

T.K.Veluppillai, Travncore State Manuel, vol. IV, p.702

Elamkulam, Cila Keralacaritraprasnannal, Kottayam, 1963, p. 221.



its northern side<sup>17</sup>. It is known among the local people as Ilanjimūṭṭil Kaṇṭan Kumāran. Gopinatha Rao describes: "It is very elegantly executed and is in an excellent state of preservation, its total height including the pedestal is about two feet".<sup>18</sup>

The Ushnisha is pointed and the Jvala on the head is clear. Uttariya is a folded piece, passing over the left and ends on the chest. Artistically it is very close to that of Māvēlikkare Buddha. The image can be assigned to 8th century A.D.<sup>19</sup> It is said that this image was discovered from the pond of the temple about 200 years ago. It is installed towards south and is being worshipped by the locals.

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17. plate No, 25.

18. T.A.S. vol.II, op. cit. p. 122.

P.C.Alexander reports that the Buddha image was installed in a tatched shed.  
see, Buddhism in Kerala, op. cit. p. 70.

see also Keralavum Buddhamatavum, op. cit. pp.65-66.

and Samskarattinte Nalikkallukal, p. 97.

19. Studies in Kerala History. op. cit. p. 180

## ADOOR - PALLIKKAL

Adoor is a place in the present Pathanamthitta district very close to the Kallada river. A headless image of Buddha<sup>20</sup> was discovered from a plot which was covered by jungle, at Pallikkal which is about 11 kilometers west of Adoor. It is a seated figure in Padmasana posture. Ushnisha is clear. Gopinatha Rao describes the image as follows: "In this image, which is not dissimilar to the Bharanikkāvu one, the characteristic feature is, the Padmasana upon which it is seated. The petals of the lotus are sculptured in a low relief (both the adhaḥpadma and ūrdhvapadma)"<sup>21</sup>. The cloth worn by it is shown running over the two ankles, the chest and the shoulders. The folded portion of the cloth is thrown on the left shoulder and descends down the

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20. See plate No. 26.

21. T.A.S. vol. p. 122.

See also Buddhism in Kerala, pp. 71-12.  
and Keralavum Buddhamatavum, op. cit. p. 66.

chest. It has close resemblances with the image found at Bharanikkavu. The local people called it as 'Paḷḷikkal Putharachan'. The Archaeology Department has fixed a new head for it and it is now kept in the museum at Thiruvananthapuram.<sup>22</sup>

The sculptural peculiarities shows that it belongs to the 8th century A. D. The place from which it was discovered is known as Puttarkāṭu, and the nearby pond is named as Puttarkuḷam. All these facts reveal that the place had connections with Buddhism from early times.

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22. See plate No. 27.

## KOLLAM DISTRICT

Kollam is situated on the sea shore on the north of Thiruvananthapuram district, to the south of Alappuzha and Pathanamthitta districts and on the west of Western ghats.

The main river in Kollam district is Kallāḍa river or Punalūr river. It takes its origin from Kulathūpuzha. After flowing through virgin forests it reaches Punalūr. After flowing through the taluks of Koṭṭārakkara and Kunnattūr it falls into the Aṣṭamuḍi lake. It has an outlet to the sea at the western end, which is known as Nīṇḍakara bar. It has sufficient depth for ships to sail through, This functions as a natural harbour.

The soil is alluvial. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people. Coconut is in plenty. Nearly one third of the land area of the district is covered by reserved forests. Sandal

wood, Pepper, Wild cardamom and oil seeds are available there. These commodities attracted the foreigners to Quilon. Their vessels can be anchored at Aṣṭhamuḍikāyal safely. From there they can travel up to Punalur by country boat. Forest produces can be transported easily. These peculiarities made Quilon a great trade centre. It developed its eastern trade to such an extent that it became the emporium of the Chinese trade.

Kollam (Quilon) town was the head quarters of the Southern administrative division of the Cera kingdom, which was known as Vēṇād. Sukasandesā refers to Kollam as the Kulapuri of Kupaka kings<sup>23</sup> Unnulisandesam gives a detailed description of this place. It states that Kollam is the capital of Vēṇād.<sup>24</sup>

Kollam was the most famous trade centre and the largest port on the western coast of Kerala. From early times it had trade relations with Western Asia especially in Pepper and Teak

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23. "kūlē bhāntīmiha kulapurīm kūpakādhiśvarāṇām  
lakṣmī sakṣatkṛtisamucitē paśya ratnākarasya"  
Sukasandesā op.cit. sloka, No. 54.

24. Unnulisandesam op.cit. I 69,70,71.

wood. The Syrian copper plates which carries the signatures of Syrian Christians, Jews and Arabs, reveal its importance as an international trade centre. Sulaiman reports that in his time the Chinese ships came to Siraf and taking their cargo, they sailed to Mascat and then they departed for the Indies, and first they touch at Kaulcammali ie. Quilon<sup>25</sup>. Nagam Aiya states that according to "the record of the Tang dynasty (618 A.D to 913 A.D) Quilon was their chief settlement and they gave it the name Mahlai<sup>26</sup>. Most probably these records belong to the second half of the 9th century as the Kollam era begins in 825 A.D., marked the foundation of the city. Mahuan also reported about the business agents present at Quilon<sup>27</sup>.

Marco Polo notices the presence of Jews and Christians along with Chinese. The Jewish traveller Benjamin Tudela describes the prosperity

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25. Sulaiman Renaudot, Account in Renaudot Ancient Accounts, pp. 1-38.

26. Travancore, op.cit. p. 244.

27. "Mahuan Account" JRAS. pp. 346-47.

of trade in Quilon<sup>28</sup>. All these facts clearly show that Quilon continued to be a flourishing centre of Chinese trade.

It is not surprising that Buddhism, probably imported from Srilanka, had a foothold in this area, as proved by the discovery of the Buddha image. In fact the Chinese traveller Mahuan described this part of the country as populated by followers of Buddha.

The idols discovered from Kollam were not found in the state of their being installed in temples. All of them were found in neglected conditions either in rivers or in compounds. The natives found them by chance and erected somewhere. All the idols except those found at Marutūrkuḷaṅgara and Puttūr were damaged. It is possible that the Buddhist idols were either broken or thrown into the rivers when Buddhism declined. However, the discovery of Buddha idols at different places reveals the presence of Buddhism in Kollam district.

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28. Extract from Mr. Asher's Translation of the Travels of the Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, given in India, pp. XLVI-L.

## KARUNĀGAPPALLI

Karunāgappalli is the headquarters of Patanāyar kuḷāṅgara. It is 23 kilometres north of Kollam town. The name of this place evolved from the Hindu temple Karunagappan. An idol of Buddha had been recovered from a pond which belonged to Pallikkal family in Marutūrkuḷāṅgara near Karunāgappalli<sup>29</sup>. This house is situated on the banks of a small river called Pallikkal river. Hence this Buddha image is popularly known as Pallikkal Puttar.

It was brought to Karunāgappalli and placed on the road side under a Bodhi tree. When the National High Way was broadened the image was shifted to Krishnapuram palace museum, Kayamkulam.

The idol is made of black stone. The image is in a good state of preservation. It has a height of 3ft. The pedstal on which it must have originally been seated is now lost<sup>30</sup>. Sitting in Padmasana with Vitaraga posture it shows deep

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29. See plate No. 28.

30. For details, see T.A.S., vol. II. p. 123.



meditation. Ushnisa and Uttariya are clear. Face is round. Body is loose with a slight bending. Shoulders are projected. These features show its relationship with the style of sculpture found in the images of 8th or 9th centuries at Anuradhapura in Srilanka.

On the basis of the sculptural peculiarities it can be assigned to 8th century A.D.<sup>31</sup>. It shows that Karunāgappalli was a Buddhist centre and had Buddhist temples there.

#### KODUVILA

Koduvila is located on the banks of Kallada river, three kilometre east of the point where it confluences with Aṣṭamudi Backwaters. Big boats can easily pass through here since it is quite deep. The place is very fertile and full of coconut trees and vast rice fields.

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31. Elamkulam. Cerasamrajyam, op.cit. p. 111.

The people are farmers and commodities such as rice, pepper and banana are produced here abundantly. But they had to depend on the people of other places even for the essential requirements such as common salt and cloth. This helped its development as a centre of trade.

There is a ferry called Idiyakkaḍavu, at Koḍuvīla. In 1980 a Buddha image of two and a half feet height has been found from the Vēlanceruvil compound belonging to a Christian family. It is not mentioned in any previous study. The stone image seated in Padmasana and in deep meditation was placed on the road side near the bridge which connects Koḍuvīla and Maṇḍrotturuthu,. Ushnisha is clear. Nose and the right hand were broken and lost. Uttariya was worn in upavita style. Present writer visited this spot and examined the features of the idol and identified it as a Buddha image on 10-7-1991. On 10-11-93, I visited again for taking photographs of the image. By the time the image was lost. On enquiry it is learned that there arose a communal riot in 1992 and some

miscreants threw this idol in to the Kallaḍa river. This sculpture had close resemblance with the Buddha image found at Bharanikāvu. On the basis of this similarity, we can assume that this also belongs to 9th century A.D. The presence of the image indicates the fact that Koḍuviḷa was a Buddhist centre during 9th century.A.D.

#### PUTTŪR

Puttūr is a place 7 Kms. west of Koṭṭārakkara in the Koṭṭārakkara Kāyamkuḷam route. It is on the bank of Kallaḍa river and it is a commercial centre. The soil here is fertile. People are agriculturists. Paddy is the main crop. Spices, pepper, ginger and arecanut are cultivated here. These must have attracted traders to this place.

This was a Buddhist centre. There is an old Devi temple in the centre of the Puttur town in a ruined condition. A big banyan tree stands on the roadside, to the east of the temple. An image of Buddha of about 2 feet height was placed under this

tree<sup>32</sup>. It was there up to 1970. The name of the place Puttūr itself may be considered in this background. Prompted by the belief that everything will perish wherever its vision falls, the local people carried it away and immersed it in Kallada river at Nāṅkaḍaṅgu ferry.

#### TĀLATTUKUḶAKKAḌA

Tālattukūḷakkāḍa is situated about 12 Kms. north west of Koṭṭārakkara, on the bank of the river Kallada. It is about 10 Kms above Nāṅkaḍaṅgu at Puttūr. There is a Devi temple on the north western corner of a big ground. The temple is built in granite, wood and tiles. There is a banyan tree on its western side. Local people consider this place as an abode of Māṭan, an evil spirit. For a long time an image of Buddha

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32. Present writer is familiar with this image. I visited this place several times in connection with the enquiry.

remained there unnoticed. The image which is missing is described as follows: "It is very elegantly executed and is in an excellent state of preservation than the two images discovered from nearby taluks. It is about 3 feet in height and seated in the Padmasana pose. Its right hand is broken".<sup>34</sup>

Huge stone slabs and other remnants of an old construction have been found in the Panayañcēri compound, next to the present temple. It is evident from the fact that this place acquired its name as Tēvarukunnumpuram, the hillock of God, that this place name shows that even though the present one is a Devi temple, the main temple of that locality was a Deva temple most probably a Buddha temple.

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34. Kerala State Gazetteer, op.cit.p 220.

As per records of the Archaeology Department, this was transferred to Krisnapuram palace museum. But no such image is found there today. The authorities of Krisnapuram museum said that the image was taken to the Trippunithura palace museum. There is no trace of it in this museum also.

Recently another Buddha image was discovered from this place<sup>35</sup>. It was found at Ceṭṭiyārēttu Kaṭavu, a ferry in Kallaḍa river. It is two and half feet high, which is seated in Padmasana. The nose and lips have been damaged. The right hand, and part of the left leg are broken and lost. The eyes are closed in meditation. The ushnisa is of a peculiar type. It is like a knot over the hair. Uttariya is Upavita type. There is another knot in the waist also. On the basis of these features it can be assumed that this image belongs to 8th 9th century A.D. This Image was exhibited in the front-yard of the library at Tālattu Kuḷakkāḍa. Present writer visited this place on 16-11-93 for enquiries and personally verified the evidences.

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35. See plate . 29.

This idol which was discovered in 1985 has not found entry in the records of Archaeology Department.

The architectural peculiarities of the present Devi temple are note worthy. It is quite different from other temples of Kerala. It is quadrangle in shape, which has only one hall with the idol installed in one corner. There is no separate garbha griha. It helps the people to go very close to the idol and worship. These features are of a non-vedic temple. The walls are built in wood. The tiled roof has got three storeys. Two coiled serpents are carved on the fence made of granite slabs. It is also noticeable that from this place alone more than one idol of the Buddha have been discovered.

## SRĪMŪLAVĀSAM

Srīmūlavāsam was the most well - known Buddhavihara in Kerala. It is T. A. Gopinatha Rao, the eminent epigraphist, who presented an account of this ancient Vihara. He published the Paliyam Copper plates<sup>36</sup> and Extracts from the Mūṣikavamsam<sup>37</sup> and made a detailed study on the Bauddha and Jaina Vestiges in Travancore<sup>38</sup>. Gopinatha Rao made it clear that Buddhism had spread in Kerala to such an extent that it could maintain a vihara of great celebrity. The following evidences about Srimulavasam are available.

1. The statement as seen on the image of Lōkēśwara discovered by Monsieur Foucher.<sup>39</sup>

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36. T.A.S. vol. I. (2nd Edition) op.cit pp. 275-283.

37. T.A.S. vol. II pp. 87-113.

38. T.A.S. vol. II, pp. 115-130.

39. Quoted by T.A. Gopinatha Rao, T.A.S. vol. II, part II (1919), p. 117.



2. Paliyam Copper plates of Vikramaditya Varaguna, which states that the Ay king had donated some land for Śrīmūlavāsam.<sup>40</sup>

3. Mūṣikavamsam, a kavya in Sanskrit written by Atula<sup>41</sup>, which contains references to the Vihara.

T.A.Gopinatha Rao states "That Śrīmūlavāsam was of great celebrity in ancient times is proved by the discovery of an image of Lokeswara by M. Foucher in Gandhara bearing the following short inscription on it "Dakṣhiṇāpathe Mūlavāsālōkanātha"<sup>42</sup>. But H.Sarkar differs from him on the basis of his information from the Cambridge University Manuscripts. According to him the statement "Dakṣhiṇāpathē Mūlavāsa Lōkanātha" is inscribed under the painting of 1015 A.D., which portrays

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40. T.A.S. vol. I p. 277. See also appendix II.G. lines 1-6

41. Raghavan Pillai, K. (Ed) Musikavamsam, Trivandrum, (1983) .

42. T.A.S. vol. II, op.cit, p. 117.

Buddha with four hands accompanied by Tara and Bhrkuti.<sup>43</sup> However, neither H.Sarkar nor any other scholar has disproved the statement of Foucher about the image of Lōkanātha found in Taxila. Therefore we take it for what it is worth. After all Foucher's discovery is not telling us anything that is previously unknown. The existence of Mulavasa in Dakṣiṇāpatha is otherwise known from other sources.

Paliyam Copper Plates were discovered by T. A. Gopinatha Rao from the Paliyath house. They are incomplete. The first side of the first plate now available is the last part of the Tamil portion of the document. The Sanskrit portion begins on the second side of the first plate. The prasasti part of the same is quite interesting. The dynasty of Varaguna, the greatness of his dynasty, his respect for the Buddhist religion, are given in detail. It is recorded "on a Thursday in the Mṛigaśirṣa

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43. Sarkar, H., An Architectural Survey of the Temples of Kerala. (1978), p. 51.

naksatra in the month of Pausya, when the Sun was in the Makararāsi, the king granted the land"<sup>44</sup>. The land was thus donated by Varaguna was placed under the protection of Virakota by the king". It may be inferred that it is the Cera king who appointed Virakota because the Vihara lay in the Cera territory<sup>45</sup>. The donor Varaguna, was the successor of Ko Karunandaḍakkan the famous Āy king and was known as Vikramaditya Varaguna.

Mūṣikavamsam is complete in 15 chapters. It refers to Śrīmūlavāsa Vihara on two occasions. The genealogy of Mūṣika dynasty has been described from its foundation to the coronation of Śrīkaṇṭha, the patron of the author Atula. Its historical significance is attested by the fact that it refers to the places like Marupuram, (13-26, p. 266)

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44. Appendix. II. G. Lines 1-6

45. Ibid. Line. 25.

Acalapaṭṭaṇam (11-79, p.218) Mārāhi (14-66, p. 300) and Valabhapaṭṭaṇam (14-69, p. 300) ; to certain important temples like Ahirāṇēśwara (11-69, p. 217) Cellūr (13-59, p. 274) and Kharavanam (15-38, p.314) ; and to kings like Validhara (12- 90, p.252\_) Ripurāma (12-93, p.252) Vikramarāma (12-95, p. 254) Vlabha (13-1, p.260) Rāmaghaṭamūṣika ( 14-51, p.296) and Śrīkaṇṭha (15-1, p.304). It is stated that Rajavihara, a Buddhist shrine was established by Rajavarman, the son of Vinayavarman. The location of this temple is not mentioned in the work. The two references of Śrīmūlavāsam in this work led to a discussion on two points;

1. Was Śrīmūlavāsam a Jaina shrine or a Buddhist Vihara?
2. Where was it located ?

According to N.V. Krishna Warrior, the first reference of Mūṣikavamaṣam about the deity of

Śrīmūlavāsam is as Jina.<sup>46</sup> In another instance it is stated that "Valabha obtained the blessing of

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46. He quotes the sloka as

"Prathitamiha jinasya srī nikētam kadācit,  
muṣitajana vipattērālayam mūlavāsam."

N.V yute gaveshana prabandhangal, Calicut. 1989. p. 78.

N.P. Unni also gives the text as

"prathitamiha jinasya srīnikētam.....".

"Mūṣikavamsa - A historical study". The Journal of Kerala studies. vol. V. 1978. p. 389.

T.A.Gopinatha Rao read this sloka as

"prathitamiha janasya srīnikētam....."

T.A.S. vol. II. p. 93.

But he gives the meaning as a temple of Jina. He writes. "In the reign of this king the sea began to encroach upon land and was almost submerging the temple of Jina." T.A.S. vol. II pp. 111-112.

K. Raghavan Pillai accepts the reading as "prathimiha janasya" and did not connect it with jina. Mūṣikavamsam, p. 254.

Jaina great men of that place....."<sup>47</sup> Such references found in the Muṣikavamsam points to its relation with the Jains. Varaguna who donated land for Srimulavasam made another donation to the Citaral temple, which is famous as a Jain temple. Considering these facts, he claims that there is a possibility of Śrīmūlavāsam to be a Jain temple<sup>48</sup>. Krishna

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47. "Pratigr̥hya ca pravara Jaina jana kṛta jayāśiṣa"ḥ (sarga 14- sloka 26.) T.A.S. vol. II. p. 100.

Raghavan Pillai reads this as follows.

"pratigr̥hya ca pravara jaina kṛtamati mahā jayāśiṣaḥ", p. 288.

According to N.P. Unni it is

"pratigr̥hya ca pravara jainamuni jana kṛta jayāśiṣaḥ". Which means Valabha obtained the blessing of Jaina monks. "Mūṣikavamsa A Historical Study" p.390.

and N.V. Krishna Warrior gives it as

"pratigr̥hya ca pravara jaina jana kṛta...jayāśiṣaḥ. N.V.yute prabhandangal, op. cit. p.79.

Any way the word Jainajana is present in this sloka.

48. Krishna Varrier, N.V., "Śrīmūlavāsam Buddhaviharamo Jainavihāramō". N.V yute Gavesana prabandhangal, Calicut, 1989. p.80.

warrior find his support in the hearsay that there was a Jain temple between Rāmantaḷi and Azhikkal. He suggested that the term "s̄rīmūla ghoṣa viharādhipatīna" occurring in the Aryamanjusri mūlakalpa may be a veiled reference to this place<sup>49</sup>.

The second reference mentions the same deity as Sugata (Buddha)<sup>50</sup>. Such terms as 'jinasya' and 'jainajana' were being used to denote Buddhists also. It is clearly stated that Valabha was saluting the merciful Sugata. Paliyam Copper plates also made it clear beyond any doubt that it was the son of Śudhodhana whom the donor praised.<sup>51</sup> Scholars are generally in favour of identifying it as a Buddhist

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49. Krishna Varier N.V., Caritram, vol. 17, p.20.

50. "upasrtya nitya su samrddha,  
vibhava gurudharma viṭṭamam  
tatra sugatamati kāruṇikam  
śuci mūlavāsajūṣa mābhyavandata".

Mūṣikavamsam, sarga 14- sloka 25.

Gopinatha Rao gives the reading as  
"vibhava gurudharma pārāgam" T.A.S. p. 100.

51. T.A.S. No.12, (1912 ) p. 190.

shrine. Since Sugata and Jina are also synonyms of the Buddha, it may be safely concluded that Śrīmūlavasam belonged to the Buddhists.

The available evidences are not sufficient to identify the exact location of Śrīmūlavāsa Vihara. One view holds that it was between Kodungallur and Paḷḷikkunnu, north of Kaṇṇūr. Scholars like Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer<sup>52</sup>, A. Govinda Warier<sup>53</sup>, P.C.Alexander,<sup>54</sup> S.Sanku Iyer,<sup>55</sup> K.N.Ezhuthachan,<sup>56</sup> N.P.Unni<sup>57</sup> and K.Kunjuni Raja<sup>58</sup> support this view.

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52. Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer, Kerala Sahityacaritram vol.1, pp.176-77.

53. A. Govinda Warier "Glimpses of the History of Arts in Malabar", QJMS vol. XIX 1929, p. 223. also supported this view.

54. Buddhism in Kerala op. cit. p. 84

55. Keralavum Buddhamatavum, op.cit.p. 58

56. "Buddhamatavum Keralavum", Tiranjetutta Prabandhannal, vol.II, Trissur, 1991. p.288.

57. "Musikavamsam A Historical Study", Journal of Kerala Studies, vol. V. 1978, p.392.

58. The contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, Madras, (Second Edition) 1980. p. 57.



The internal evidence provided by the Mūṣikavamsam offers two clues regarding the location of the place. The theme of this kavya is related to the history of North Malabar. Since Srimulavasa Vihara is referred to twice, they argue that the monastery might have been located within the Musaka country on the north of Putupaṭṭanam in Malabar.

There is the narration of the reaction of Vikramarama on hearing the news about the frightening tides rising to swallow up Śrīmūlavāsam'.<sup>59</sup> The king confronted the sea with sword in his hand and pacified the wrath of the ocean by constructing a wall of rocks.<sup>60</sup> Here the king confronts the sea only because Śrīmūlavāsam is a part of his country. This

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59. "vrajatigatimamartyāmiśvaresmin jagatyah  
sapadi tadanu janmā janmabhājām purōgah  
abhavadavani cakrē vikramōd ghātanāmā  
kṛtamatiratharāmaḥ sōmavamsā pradīpah."  
sarga 12, soka 95.

60. "Sapadi ca samudantam sannisamyāttakōpah  
paribhavamiva śatrōratmano nantarasya  
Pratijaladhi sa durādudyatāśih pratasthē  
na khalu jagati dhīrah svasya paśyantabhūmim."  
Mūṣikavamsam, sarga 12, sloka 97.

is made clear by saying that the king looks upon the transgression of the sea in the likeness of an invasion by the enemy, If the event had not happened in Kōlattunādu, the king could not have gone to face it. This reference may be taken as indicating the location of Mūlavāsa within the Musika country.

On hearing the news about the invasion of Colas, King Jayamani sent his nephew Valabha to the South in order to assist his friend, the Kerala king. While relaxing after a tiresome journey and before joining the Kerala army, Valabha came to know that Vikramarāma had conquered his country after killing Jayamani<sup>61</sup>. Suddently he returned to the Musika country. On his way he worshipped Sugata of Śrimūlavāsa Vihara, who was extremely merciful.

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61. "Atha vikramōpahitarāma,  
pada viracitāhvayam ripum  
praptamala padapi vaśyavarāḥ  
padamāsu rāmaghaṭa mūsikāśrayam".

sarga 14, sloka 18.

This implies that Śrīmūlavāsam is a place far from the captial of Kōlattunāḍu. It points to the fact that the Kerala kingdom was on the south of Mūṣika country and Śrīmūlavāsa Vihara was located somewhere in the territory of Kerala kingdom. Ceras ruled the kingdom from their capital at Kodungallur. This strengthened their view that Śrīmūlavāsam was located in Kolattunadu between Kodungallur and Elimala.

On the basis of the references in Mūṣikavamsam Dr.P.C.Alexander says that "from the geographical details mentioned in the Mūṣikavamsa the Musika country can be unmistakably located in the territory surrounding the Ēlimala hills.<sup>62</sup> Rāmaghaṭa Mūshika might have sent Valabha from Ēlimala. He thinks that on his way to the Cera country Valabha might have visited and saluted Sugata at Mādāvi (Mādāyi) and that Śrīmūlavāsam was a temple somewhere around

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62. Buddhism in Kerala, op.cit., p. 84

Mādāyi.<sup>63</sup> To establish this he quotes Colonel Yule, "Referring to the town of Maḍāvi or Mādāyi in the country of Ēli, Colenel Yule says that a Buddhist Vihara is spoken of in an old Malayalam poem as having existed at the place" . Unfortunately we do not know anything about the Malayalam poem referred to here. In another context Dr. Alexander says "the Mūsikavamsam mentioned Kollam on the bank of the river Prathana as the capital of the kingdom. This can be identified as Pantalāyani Kollam in North Malabar".<sup>64</sup> It seems that Dr. Alexander is a bit confused regarding the location of the capital of Mūsika Kingdom. It does not sound right to say that Valabha who will be in the capital, with great difficulty ,travelled towards south and reached Madayi which is located on the north of Pantalāyani Kollam.

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63. Ibid. p. 86.

64. Ibid. p. 84.

K.V.Subramanya Iyer also has wrongly identified it as Pantalayani Kollam. See. JRAS. 1922. p.172.

According to Śuranāṭṭu Kunjan Pillai, Śrīmūlavāsam might have existed on the shores of the western sea at Dharmadam near Tellicherry.<sup>65</sup> His own impression is that Dharmadam was originally Dharmapaṭṭanam. N. V. Krishna Warriar holds the view that it was situated between Ramantāli and Azhickal.<sup>66</sup>

We do not have any evidence to show that a very famous Buddhavihara ever existed anywhere in North Malabar. There might have been a group of Buddhists associated with the vihara and in the surrounding places, which leads to the building of some more Buddhist temples. But no such temple is found in Kōlattunāḍu or anywhere in Malabar. It is also difficult to believe that a renowned Buddhavihara remained on the sea shore without any Buddhist temple in the surrounding places.

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65. Kunjan Pillai, P.Suranattu, 'Musikavamsakavya', Vijnana Kairali, (1975 April), pp. 855-60.

66. Krishna Warriar, N.V., "Srimulavasam Buddhaviharamo Jainaviharamo". Vijnanakairali (1947 December ) pp.602-607.

The events such as the donation of land to a temple some where in North Malabar by a king of Ay kingdom in the extreme south, the appointment of Virakota, evidently a Cera prince for its protection and preservation of the document in the Paliyam house in Cochin are not reconcilable. Hence the view that the Śrīmūlavāsa Vihara was in Kōlattunādu need to be re-examined. The three facts mentioned above can be explained easily on the basis of the assumption that Śrīmūlavāsam was located some where near Cochin and Kodungalloor.

An important historical event referred to in Mūṣikavamasa is the Cola invasion of Kerala.<sup>67</sup> This must be a reference to the invasion of Kerala in the early years of his reign by Raja Raja Cola because this is mentioned before the enthronement of

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67. "atha kēraḷam prati sa cōla nṛpatimabhiyātu  
mutthitam  
sahyakṛta matiramum valabham prajighāya rāmāghaṭa  
mūṣikēśvaraḥ".  
sarga 14, sloka 7.

Śrīkaṇṭha in the Muṣaka country and event with which the kavya is closed. According to an inscription of Bhaskara Ravi, 58th year, Kaṇṭhan Kāri Varman and Rajendra Cola were contemporaries<sup>68</sup>.

Raja Raja ascended the throne in 985 A.D. His first aim was to reduce to utter subjection the Pandyas and the kings of Kerala and Ceylon. Hence he assumed the title 'mummudicoladeva'. Ceras were aware of the danger and they strengthened their army in the southern border at Kantalur and Vizhinjam.

Raja Raja's first military achievement was "the campaign in the Kerala country of which the result was summed up in the phrase Kāntalūr sālai kalamaṛutta..."<sup>69</sup> Elamkulam writes : "before the 4th year .....Raja Raja fought a pitched battle with Ceras. Kantalur also was attacked towards the close of the year 999. Raja Raja destroyed the military

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68. M.G.S.Narayanan, Kerala caritrattinre Adisthana Silakal, Calicut, 1971. p. 85.

69. The Colas, op. cit, p. 169.

centres at Kantalūr, Vizhiñjam and other places at South Travacore".<sup>70</sup>

The Cera country was ruled over by Bhaskara Ravivarma during this time. Nilakantha Sastri adds: "the Cera king at this time was Bhaskara Ravi Varman Tiruvati, (A.D.978-1036) whose inscriptions have been recovered from different parts of Travancore".<sup>71</sup>

It is clear that the Musika king sent his crown prince to assist Bhaskara Ravi. He did this most probably because he was a feudatory of the Cera king or at least an ally.

On his way to the South, he went a long distance<sup>72</sup>. At one stage, a messenger from his own country caught up with him and conveyed the news about the tragedy of his uncle's death at the hands

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70. Studies in Kerala History, op. cit, p. 236.

71. Ibid, p. 169.

72. "Samatītya mārgamatidīrgham  
anatibahubhih prayanakaih  
kvāpi nṛpatitanayah sahasā  
vihitōpakaryamathā sadma aikṣata".  
sarga 14, sloka 14.



of an enemy.<sup>73</sup> This passage clearly indicates that he had gone out of his country into the neighbouring county of Cera. It was on his way back home from this place that he visited Mūlavāsa Vihara.<sup>74</sup> The scholars who located Srimulavasam in Kolattu Nadu have done so without knowing the historical background and details of the Cola invasion from other sources and the details mentioned in Mūsikavamsa kavya. From these it is clear that Srimulavasa could only be located outside the Kōlattu Nadu in the Cera country. This agrees very well with the appointment of Cera prince Vira Kota<sup>75</sup>.

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73. "Nija maṇḍala.....va  
vesa nigadita vipattimāgatam  
kṛtanṛpati tanayaya laghu  
pratiharik atha puruṣam nyavēdayat".

sarga 14, sloka 15.

74. "vihita praviṣya gaḷitāśru  
lulita nayanah pranamya saḥ  
svargamupagata mamuṣya gurum  
nijagada rāmaghaṭa mūṣikāvaram".  
sarga 14, sloka 16.

75. Paliyam Copper Plates  
Appendix I, G. line 25.

T.A.Gopinatha Rao , who brought Mūṣikavamsam to the notice of scholars , is of opinion that Srimūlavāsam was situated at the sea-shore somewhere near Trikkunnappuzha or Ampalapuzha. He says : "from the fact that all the Buddha images are found in Central Travancore, I am inclined to think that the famous Buddha temple of Srimulavasam must also have been situated on the sea-coast very near these places say near Trikkunnappuzhai or Ambalappuzhai"<sup>76</sup>. He has stated that according to the local tradition the present temple at Trikkunnappuzha got its idol from the Srimulavasam temple, which was submerged in the sea. This view has also been approved by Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai<sup>77</sup>, and M.G.S.Narayanan<sup>78</sup>. They have furnished additional evidences also. Geographically Trikkunnappuzha has a possibility of submerging in the sea. It has been

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76. T.A.S. vol. II, p. 123.

77. Kunjan Pillai, Elamkulam, Studies in Kerala History, pp.260-278.

78. Cultural Symbiosis, op. cit., pp. 9-16.

said that the present Siva temple at Trikkunnappuzha was once shifted from the sea-coast to a safer place. The original site of the temple had been submerged in the sea. It is possible that Śrīmūlavāsa Vihara also got submerged in the sea.

This view is based on two facts: the route of Valabha to Kāntalūr was via Kollam and a number of Buddha idols have been discovered from the neighbouring places of Trikkunnappuzha and Ambalappuzha. It has been suggested that the Buddhist temples of Kollam District were situated close to Trikkunnappuzha. "This place Tṇālattukūḷakkāḍa in Koṭṭārakkara Taluq falls within half a minute of the latitude and longitude of the Earth, where the other two images of Buddha (Paḷlikkal and Marutūrkuḷāṅgara) were also discovered, all in the belt which comes within the famous Buddhist Vihara of Srimulavasam"<sup>79</sup>. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai reports that still there is a place by name Srimulavatam near

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79. Kerala State Gazetteer, op. cit. p. 220.

Trikkunnappuzha. Based on these facts the above mentioned scholars came to the conclusion that Srimulavasam was situated at Trikkunnappuzha.

The present writer has made efforts to verify the accuracy of the above contention. It is true that the local people speak of their view that Srimulavasam Buddhavihara once situated at Trikkunnappuzha and that on the submersion of the land, the idol was recovered from the sea. They say that it is the same idol which is installed at the present Sasta temple at Trikkunnappuzha. It is also claimed that the female idol kept close to the main deity of the temple is that of Tara Bhagavathi. Further, according to the older generation the sea which is only half a furlong away now was more than one kilometre away during their childhood. They think that this is an evidence to support their belief in the submersion of Srimulavasam centuries ago.

It is revealed that there exists no such place called Śrimūlavātam<sup>80</sup>. The main deity of the temple is Śāsta and not Buddha. The idol found in front of the temple does not resembles Buddha. It is also disputable whether the sea gradually withdrew or the land got submerged at Trikkunnappuzha. According to I.C. Chacko the first alternative is more probable<sup>81</sup>. He says: "At Vazhappalli near Changanacherry there have been found some marine fossils including a coral reef below the recent deposits overlying the Varkalay beds. This shows that, after the submergence of Kalpithancode and after the consequent extinction of the Varkalay lake as a separate body of fresh water, the sea extended atleast as far east as

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80. There is a school called Srimulavilasam. But it is so named for the memory of Srimulam Tirunal, a king of Travancore. Perhaps he mistook this as a place name.

81. Chacko, I.C., "The scientific basis of the tradition that Parasurama raised Kerala from the sea" R.V.R.I. Bullitin, vol. XII, p. 6.

Changanacherry"<sup>82</sup>. They also argue that placenames such as Kadapra and Kaduthuruthi near Changanacherry got their names because they were situated on the line of the old sea-coast. V. Kanakasabhai states that "this led me to the startling discovery that in Ptolemy's time the sea-coast was along the eastern shore of the backwater, and that neither the backwater, which extended at present to over 40 miles from Changanacherry, to Pallippuram, nor the long strip of land which forms its western bank; and on which now stand the flourishing sea-ports of Cochin and Alleppey, was then in existence"<sup>83</sup>. On the basis of these facts they concluded that a vast area of land has now formed part of Arabian sea.

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82. But in the same paper Chacko made a contradictory statement that he had identified "Barkaare of the periplus with our modern porakad, a village a little to the South of Ambalappuzha. This was an important trade centre until less than a century ago". see p. 12.

83. Kanakasabhai, V., The Tamils Eighteen hundred years Ago. p. 19.

However it is almost certain that the S̄rīmūlavāsam was located some where in central Travancore, surrounded by Buddhist relics and lying on the route from Kōlattunāḍ to Kāntalūr S̄alai. The only possibility at present is to keep the question open while provisionally accepting the views of historians like Elamkulam. We may only note that S̄rīmūlavāsam was located some where in the vicinity of Trikkunnappuzha.

# BUDDHIST CENTRES

Padmakumari Amma. B “Jain-buddhist centres in the early history of Kerala”  
Thesis. Department of History , University of Calicut, 1995



**CHAPTER SIX**  
**DECLINE**

## DECLINE

Buddhism and Jainism have almost disappeared from Kerala in the modern age. There are no records with regard to the exact period or the specific causes of their decline. Kēralōlpatti claims that it is Brahmins who had divine powers uprooted Buddhism from this land.<sup>1</sup>

An important factor behind the decline of Buddhism and Jainism was the Bhakti movement. It embraced both Tamilnadu and Kerala during the 9th, 10th century A.D. The Alvars and Nayanars of Tamilakam and Kulasekhara Alvar and Cheraman Perumāḷ Nayanar of Kerala went into the midst of

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1. "Sāstrikaḷum Budhanmārumāyi vādam ceytu, Budhanmāruṭe uktivinu avar tōlkukayum ceytu. Perumāḷ avaruṭe nāvu muṭiccuḷ sēṣamuḷlavare nāṭṭilninum kalavūtum ceytu". Sastri argued with the Buddhists. Buddhist failed. Perumāḷ cut the tongue of the Buddhists and driven away from the land. Keralolpattiyuḷm marum. (Ed. Gundert) Kottayam. 1992. p. 168.

common people and stirred them up through the stories and songs relating to the goodness of Hindu Gods. People were made intoxicated with Bhakti.

The development of philosophical movements in the South led to a clear rejection of the Buddhist and the Jain ideologies by the learned strata of the society. Brahmin Philosophers like Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya and Madhvacharya vigorously attacked these heterodox religions with their respective systems of Vedantic thought. They defeated the Buddhist and Jain scholars in public debates.<sup>2</sup> This led to the utter humiliation of these religions in the sight of even common men.

During the early days, several kings of South India had made generous grants to Buddhists and Jains. The properties received as Pallichandam Virutti, helped the growth of the Sanghams. In Kerala, kings like Vikramaditya Varagupa, and

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2. Keralolpatti refers to the debate conducted at Trikkariyur. This is described in detail in Cattirankam

Rāmaghaṭa Mūsika gave liberal contributions to them as mentioned earlier. It seems that petty kingdoms like Āy and Mūsika patronised these religions. No records are available to show whether any other king after them had given such grants. On the other hand there are several records relating to the grants to the Hindu temples.<sup>3</sup> This resulted in the growth of Hindu religion and the decline of the Buddhist and the Jain religions.

Conflicts among the followers of these religions were another cause, and the intensification of these conflicts put an end to their growth. These developments are described in

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3. All the other records of the Cera period numbering about 130 are of this category. The Huzur office plates, Mitrananda puram copper plates, the inscriptions of Manalikkaraī and the record of Vira Ravi Varma are clear evidences to this fact.

See. T.A.S. vol. II pp. 16,131-158;  
T.A.S. vol. III p. 1-21,65-66.

Sanskrit works like Mattavilasa<sup>4</sup> and Bhagavadajjuka<sup>5</sup> by the Pallava king Mahendra Varman. The Cākyars of Kerala used these works in Kūttu and they composed seperate āttaprakaras for them in which these passages are elaborated. That is an indication that these Cākyārs of Kerala were acquainted with the conflicts and the degeneration of Jain and Buddhist culture. They could have added those passages only if they imagined that the natives of Kerala who found the audience would apperciate such comments . This shows that the contents of the above mentioned works were applicable to the Buddhists and Jains in Kerala also.

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4. Mattavilasa, (Madras 1981).

5. Bhagavadajjuka (Madras 1978).

Changes which took place in the socio-economic conditions of ancient Kerala, may be cited as factors influencing the decline of these creeds.

The expansion of Brahmin settlements led to the growth of feudal tendencies in society which caused the decline of these creeds. After dealing with this problem in detail, Kesavan Vetuthat, rightly pointed out that "in analysing the social significance of the Brahman settlement it has been shown that it created a typically feudal society, heirarchically graduate according to birth and occupation and with the brahman contact as the point of reference in fixing social and ritual status.<sup>6</sup> Brahmins were placed on the top of the caste heirarchy. They became land lords. Common people turned out to be dependants of them. The supremacy of Brahmins in society contributed to

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6. Kesavan Veluthat, Brahman Settlements in Kerala, (A.D. 1100- 1500), M. Phil. Dissertation. J.N.U., 1978.

the deterioration of the position of Jains and Buddhists in Kerala.

The Jains and Buddhists were responsible for opening some new markets and trade routes connected with land trade. But this trend was arrested soon afterwards. From the 9th century A.D. the Jews Syrian Christians and Arabs grew into formidable forces in the trade centres of Kerala and sea trade became more important than land trade. In the medieval period land trade in the form of long distance trade between different regions dried up in the sub-continent as a growing feudal order gave rise to small self-sufficient units with a closed economy and only coastal trade centres involved in sea trade flourished. Syrian Christians were given permission to enter trade in a big way with Kollam and Kodungalloor as their centre. They were also permitted to build churches, and propagate Christianity. The kings helped them generously. Necessary help was given by the kings to the Arabs

also.<sup>7</sup> These developments might have led to the decline of Jains. Their limited machinery was attuned to land trade and did not permit them to enter into the field of West Asia and European trade. As for the Buddhists who were involved in sea trade with Srilanka, the political anarchy and confusion which developed in that country might have contributed to their decline. The submergence of Srīmulāvāsam in the sea accelerated the process and sealed their fate in Kerala.

The Jain and Buddhist communities in Kerala were basically the community of the traders. Therefore, when land trade stagnated, the Jain centres where the temples were kept alive by donations from the caravans, lost their prosperity.

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7. "Three Inscriptions of Sthanu Ravi" T.A.S. vol.II, part I, pp. 60,86.

See also. The Muccunti Mosque Inscription, Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. pp. 95,96.



Gradually the temple must have become deserted and neglected, and some of them were taken over by Brahmanical groups and converted into Hindu temples. Similarly in the case of the Buddhist centres on the seacoast, which were obviously the offshoots of the seatriade with Srilanka, the Cola imperial wars of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries created anarchy in the island and caused the disruption and decline of their trade and commerce. Bodhisatva Avalōkitēśvara of Śrīmūlavāsa vihara, the protector of sailors and merchants became incapable of ensuring the prosperity of seatriade. Perhaps the encroachment of the sea described in the Muṣikavamsa kavya also increased and swallowed the temple in course. Therefore the Buddhists of Srimulavasam in central Kerala spanned out to the neighbouring villages where they got isolated and stagnant, without the support of incoming rich traders from Srilanka, and surrounded by the hostile Hindu community. this must have led them gradually to get absorbed in the Hindu community of Ezhavas engaged in toddy tapping and petty trade.

There might have been no difficulty for the Jain temple priests and temple servants to join the Hindu fold. Having developed in the same circumstances, the followers of these religions worshipped the same deities. So most of them might have returned to Hinduism<sup>8</sup>. But, though Hindus accepted those who had returned, they were given only an inferior status. There is a strong opinion that the Pisharati community of Kerala is the product of such reconversion. They have their own customs and rituals which are quite distinct from those of other Hindus.

It is said that the Cākyars, who present the forms of art such as Kūttu and Kūḍiyāṭṭam, came from the Śākya origin. The term 'Cākyār' can be derived from the word 'Śākya' means Buddhists<sup>9</sup>. Cākyārs who are proficient in Sanskrit language are goods scholars in Prakrit also. These made us to

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8. The Cult of Goddess Pattini, op.cit. pp. 519, 520.

9. Gundert, A Malayalam and English Dictionary, Mangalore, 1872. p.352.

believe that Cākyārs were the followers of the Buddhism who went back to the Brahmanikal fold at some stage.

The popular view about the origin of the Ezhavas, a strong community in Kerala, is that their ancestors were Buddhist emigrants from Srilanka<sup>10</sup>. The term Ezhava is derived from the word Simhala.<sup>11</sup> The land of Simhala was also referred to as Ezhattunadu<sup>12</sup>. Another term which is used to denote this community is 'Tiyya'. This

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10. Buddhism in Kerala, op. cit, p. 126.

11. A Malayalam and English Dictionary, op. cit, p.121.

Some scholars derive this term from 'Ulava'.  
Sarvavijnana Kosam, Vol. IV, Trivandrun, 1978.  
p. 559

See also P.K. Gopalakrishnan Keralathinte Samskarika Caritram, Trivandrum, 1991. p. 290.

12. Malayalam Lexicon, Vol. II Trivandrum, 1970  
p. 463.

is from 'Tīva', the corrupted form of 'Dvīpa'.<sup>13</sup> They are intimately connected with coconut trees which are the main source of agricultural crops in Kerala.<sup>14</sup> This assumption is based not on concrete evidences but only in stories and traditions.

Several Devi temples of Kerala like Kallil and Citaral were once Jain temples. This change was another consequence of conversion to Hinduism by the Jains who lost their patrons under changed circumstances.

When Buddhism declined some of the Buddhists of Kerala might have migrated into Sri Lanka. The grounds for this inference are as follows:

1. "The Kerala families effectively controlled the Western, Southern, and Northern parts of the central provinces of Sri Lanka for more than 50

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13. A Malayalam and English Dictionary, op. cit, p. 462.

14. "Images of man:" op. cit , p. 52.

years. According to Obeyesekhere, they were originally merchants from Vanchi and probably came to Sri Lanka about 1100 A.D<sup>15</sup>.

2. The climatic conditions of Ceylon are like those of Kerala and so it was the most suitable place for those who went away from Kerala. Alakakonar and the Mehnavar families who had great political influence in Ceylon, are immigrants from Malabar.<sup>16</sup>

Kerala chieftains, and very likely other Kerala immigrants, were well established in the area of the Western, Southern and Sabargamuva provinces by the middle of the 14th century.

A section of people in Jaffna still maintains the system of matrilineal succession. Hair-style on the front side of the head which was a custom followed exclusively by Keralites has also been found in Jaffna. The thōda worn by the women and

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15. The Cult of Goddess Pattini, op.cit., p. 526.

16. Ibid, p. 527.

See also. M.D. Raghavan, India in Ceylonese History, Society And Culture. Madras. p.150.

Kadukkan worn by the men reveal the Keralite influence. South Indians wear dhotis in a peculiar manner, and the same style is found to be in practice at Jaffna. There are also similarities in cooking and the preparation of curries by the Keralites and the people in Jaffna. The marriage customs followed by the communities in Jaffna is exactly similar to the practice in Kerala. Both are known by the term Sambandham. These similarities must be due to the migration of Buddhists from Kerala to 'Sri Lanka.'<sup>17</sup>

On the basis of the above facts it can be inferred that the Buddhists and Jains who were forced to leave Kerala made a silent withdrawal, so that the only traces of their pockets are confined to converted or neglected shrines or scattered images, along with a few inscriptions which recorded the gifts received in happier times.

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17. K.K. Pillai, South India and Sri Lanka, pp. 163, 166.

See for details Ibid 152-156.

# LONG TERM RESULTS AND LEGACY

Padmakumari Amma. B “Jain-buddhist centres in the early history of Kerala”  
Thesis. Department of History , University of Calicut, 1995

**CHAPTER SEVEN**  
**LONG TERM RESULT AND LEGACY**



## LONG TERM RESULTS AND LEGACY

It is possible to understand the process of the decline of Jain and Buddhist shrines from the evidence of the distribution of these non-Vedic centres. In the case of Jainism they are placed on points along the land routes of trade, leading from Karnataka and Tamil Nadu into Kerala. These routes culminated in the capital city of Makotai and therefore the Jain centre adjacent to Makotai became the most important among all those found in Kerala. Those little shrines must have existed chiefly to cater to the religious and worldly needs of the travelling Jain merchants and must have maintained themselves with the revenue from their donation. When those Jain traders ceased to come for periodic visits, due to the disruption of trade following the disappearance of the Cera kingdom, the Jain temples were neglected and withered away. Similarly, in the case of the Buddhist vihara of

Śrīmūlavāsam and its satellites, they were located on the sea shore and dependent on the patronage of the visiting Buddhist traders from Srilanka. When trade with Srilanka declined after the fall of the Kerala kingdom, they too lost their clientele and the rational for existence.

This kind of decline appears to have followed an all India pattern which we find throughout except in areas like Karnataka where the Jains or Buddhists were able to establish themselves in authority and have agricultural communities with vast landed property which could compete successfully with the incoming Brahmin settlements. While the Brahmin temples had hereditary trustees who were members of landed families, the Jain and Buddhist shrines were managed by monks without heirs to take over from them and enjoy vested interest in property. When the monks grew old and died out or migrated, the shrines were neglected if the senior monk had not succeeded in training new

monks or attracting some from faraway shrines. Where the Brahmins established themselves as advisors in the royal courts, competition from that side found the Jains and Buddhists with their ascetic habits, wanting in strategy and initiative. Rulers also found the Brahmin settlement more useful in terms of agricultural prosperity and revenue. The lay population which worshiped in Jain or Buddhist shrines could easily switch their loyalty to other Gods and Goddesses.

After the decline of Jainism and Buddhism, their temples were converted into Hindu temples. The original idols of these temples which could be lifted were thrown away into the nearby ponds and rivers. These activities could have totally wiped out the traces of a particular religion. And yet they have left indelible mark on the customs and manners of the people of Kerala.

Jains and Buddhists have exercised their influence upon many aspects of the life of Kerala

including language and literature. They made significant contribution to the educational system, and for the development of the native methods of treatment. The history of Kerala will remain incomplete if it excludes an inquiry into their valuable contributions.

Jainism and Buddhism have maintained more or less similar views about life. They are very close to one another with regard to their religious observances and philosophy. It was precisely due to this reason that the common people could not distinguish clearly between these religions. They were known under a common title "Sramanas."

We have not attempted to identify separately the influence of Jainism or Buddhism. We have examined the contribution of the culture of Sramanas for the social and cultural life of Kerala except where the influences can easily be traced to one or the other of these religions.

## DEITIES AND FESTIVALS

Brahmanical Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism which appeared in India developed under similar circumstances. Consequently all of them recognised more or less similar deities. Some of them added further deities depending on their own particular point of view. While Bodhisatvas and Tirthankaras are worshipped respectively in Buddhism and Jainism, Hindus worship Vishnu, Siva, Indra and other deities. The subordinate deities are almost the same to all these religions. The similarities found in their worship point towards their influence over one another. For instance the Yakshi cult probably taken over by the early Brahmins, Jains and Buddhists from tribal creeds, and highly developed in South India in the early medieval period, became part and parcel of Brahminical Hindu religion and is still popular in Kerala.

## THE WORSHIP OF YAKSHAS AND GANDHARVAS

From the very ancient times Indians believed in such powers as Yakshas and Gandharvas. They are conceived to be possessing supernatural powers, and are placed between man and God. They were referred to even during the period of Rigveda.<sup>1</sup> Atharva Veda speaks of Yakshas and their chieftain Kubera<sup>2</sup>. GrihyaSutra identifies Yakshas and Gandharvas as

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1. Rig Vediya Khila Sukta Sangraha, V.V.R.I. Vol. II. p. 2427.

2. Atharva veda, 3,27,4

In those days Kubera was neither worshipped nor was he considered to be the deity of northern direction. He was supposed to be a thief who stole the properties of Aryans. The presiding deity of the north was Soma.

See for details, Joshi J, Minor Vedic Deities, University of Poona, 1978. pp.100- 101.

Kubera was looked upon as the king of Rakshasas and the Lord of Robbers and evil doers.

See Aswalaya Grihya Sutra, Vol. I, pp. 213,242

mere spirits<sup>3</sup>. According to Brahmanas(Satapatha Brahmana) Yakshas were wandering beings.

Yakshas and Kinnaras are referred to in the Kamrarudropanishad<sup>4</sup>. Yakshas and Gandharvas in Nripasinha purva tapini Upanishad and Yakshas, Rakshasas. Bhutas and Pisacas in the Maitri Upanishad. Hence Yakshas and Gandharvas have been given only an equal place with the evil spirits in these Upanishads. In the epic literature, they were looked upon as the embodiments of intense passion. They were beautiful and were experts in music, and supposed to visit the earth for sexual satisfaction in such exercises as jalakrida. They tempt the beautiful women of earth, and attract them. They exhibit their miraculous powers through the performance of wonderful deeds and win people to their side. The Hindus have developed fear and

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3. V.V.R.I. Vol. 10

4. Ibid.

hatred towards these beings, and worship them to avoid trouble.

In Jainism Yakshas came to be conceived as the subordinate deities. In sculptural representation a Yaksha would usually be depicted on the right side of the Jina and a Yakshi on his left. Yakshas great and small were vegetation deities directly controlling and bestowing fertility and wealth in abundance upon their devotees. Gradually they became famous and the objects of worship. In South India temples were constructed for the worship of Yakshis like Padmavati and Ambika<sup>5</sup>. Thus the Yaksha cult gradually became prominent in South Indian Jainism.

Different kinds of Yakshas are found in Jain religion, but most of them are saviors, merciful to the devotees. Some of them are cruel and

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5. Desai, P.B., op.cit. p.40



mischievous towards human beings. They are supposed to help people in trouble and protect them from disease, such as small pox, cholera and plague. <sup>6</sup>. There are stories which refer to ladies who have no issues worshipping Yaksha for offsprings. The story of Gangadatta is an example. <sup>7</sup>

Ganapati is one of the important deities worshipped by the Hindus. Any new venture is to be started with the worship of Ganapati. And yet there is a view that this deity belongs to the race of Yakshas. He is the protector against all obstructions and is being worshipped as the leader of Ganas or Bhutaganas. Ganapati is devoid of the human charm attributed to the other Hindu deities. His pot belly and the peculiar posture point towards his relation with the race of Yakshas<sup>8</sup>. The elephant-like figure of Yaksha found at Amaravati

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6. Sarma, J.P., Jaina Yakshas, (Meerat, 1989), p.56

7. Ibid,, p. 55

8. Ibid., p. 36

may be regarded as the original form of Gaṇapati<sup>9</sup>. There is a claim also on the part of Buddhism for him. In the early Buddhist scriptures, we come across a Lord of Gaṇas, who has broad elephant like ears and long nose. These evidences are taken as a clue for the relation of Buddhism and Jainism to Gaṇapati.<sup>10</sup> Today this son of Lord Siva is a popular Hindu deity.

According to the Buddhist Pali sources, there are a number of classes of Yakshas and they rank between men and supernatural beings. Some are tree - spirits whose cult seems to have originated primarily from the woods and secondarily from the legends of the sea-faring merchants<sup>11</sup>. They possess supernatural powers, ability to transport

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9. Ibid, p. 39

10. Ayyappan & Srinivasan, Guide to Early Buddhist Antiquities, (Madras, 1952) p. VIII

11. Sharma, J.P. op.cit., p.47

themselves to any place with their well-supplied palaces, capability of transforming themselves into any shape, form or colour, capacity to do miracles and render themselves invisible. The female Yakshis are usually fierce and full of spite and vengeance, addicted to man and beast murder. Harita, the wife of Panchika is considered to be the mother of Yakshas. People prayed to her for offspring. But they begin to destroy the children of Rajagraha by means of smallpox<sup>12</sup>. It is clear that, Buddhists and Jains found both good and evil among the Yakshas.

In Kerala, people were aware of Yakshas and Gandharvas from early days as we find references in the medieval Manipravalam literature<sup>13</sup>

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12. Sharma, J.P. op.cit (1989), p.48

13. Yaksha : Anantapuravarnanam, 38-1:

Yakshi : Unnihilisandesam, 1.2-2 ,

Gandharva : Unnoyaccicaritam, Prose 7-27,

Gandharva : Anantapuravarnam, 41-1

They were regarded as dwellers on Pala trees and Banyan trees. It was believed that they wander freely during the nights and deceive people. They would approach young men assuming the form of beautiful women and ask for lime. Once attracted towards their heavenly beauty, they take the men with them, enjoy their flesh and blood and throw away the bones and hairs. These Yakshis are believed to have the power to create an impression about the existence of beautiful mansions at any place<sup>14</sup>. The stories of these Yakshis are so common that such phrases as the 'World in the story of Yakshis' are quite popular. It is also believed that they could enter the body of human beings. This impression about Yakshas and Gandharvas were created by Jains and Buddhists who had fear and hatred towards these sprits.

In Hindu temples of Kerala Yakshis and

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14. Eitihyamala, ed. Kottarattil Sankunny, Kottayam, 1974, p.460.

Gandharvas are installed outside the main temple. They are worshipped as subordinate deities. In normal conditions, they would not be worshipped since they produce only hatred in the minds of man. And yet if they are worshipped it must be due to some outside influence. It may be due to the impact of Jains that the people of Kerala came to recognize Yakshas and Gandharvas as subdeities to be admitted into the temples.

Many of the Yakshis in Jainism are the deities of cholera, small pox and plague <sup>15</sup>. They distribute epidemics in the midst of the people. This attribute of the Yakshis can be found attached to the concept of Māriyamma or Durga. People believe that the spread of smallpox is a manifestation of the power of the Mother Kāli. The presence of Vasūrimāla at Kodungallur and Valiya Kūnambāyikulam, near Kollam, could be the result of

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15. J.P.Sarma, op.cit.p. 55

a blending of ideas relating to Kāli and the Yakshis. In this connection it is to be noted that a male deity is also present in the name of Vasūrimādan in the Devi temple at Pallikkal near Kottarakkara. The Vasūrimāla situated north west of Kodungalloor temple is believed to be that of Kannaki, who was one of the incarnations of Durga<sup>16</sup>. It is interesting to note that Vasurimala is the presiding deity of smallpox and cholera. There is also a view that the original forms of such Hindu Goddesses, as Minakshi and Durga were that of Yakshis<sup>17</sup>. Dr. Ayyappan is of the view that our Goddess Sridevi is derived from a minor folk deity seated on lotus<sup>18</sup>. Hindus appear to have taken possession of the Buddhist and Jain temples when these religions declined in Kerala. This kind of

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16. Raghava Menon K.N., "Vasurimala and Kannaki", Bulletin of Ramvarma Research Institute, vol. IX, Part I 1973, pp. 52-53

17. Sarma, J.P., op.cit. p.100

18. Aiyappan, A., op. cit. p. VIII

a change made it possible to accept these temples as Devi Temples. The process is illustrated by the fact that the Citalal temple where Mahavira is the main deity is now considered as a Devi Temple<sup>19</sup>. The Jain temple at Kallil is also considered to be a Bhagavati temple. It was a simple process to transform the Jaina Yakshi into Bhagavati. Kālīka, the Sasana devata of Abhinandanadeva, Mahakālī, the devata of Sumati Tirthankara Chanda the devata of Vasupujyadeva and Ambika the devata of Neminatha have become synonyms for Kali<sup>20</sup>.

It is also argued that Buddhism was responsible for the presence of more Devi temples and for the spread of Devi worship in Kerala<sup>21</sup>.

There are Kāvus associated with the Devi temples in Kerala. As far as worship is concerned

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19. T.A.S., Vol.I.p

20. Amarakosa, op. cit. p. 74.

21. Alexander, P. C. op. cit. p. 75

these Kāvus have an equal status with the Brahmanical temples. The trees and plants of these Kavus are regarded as divine. No one would naturally dare to cut them off, or to destroy them, though things are changing due to commercial influence today. Atharva veda states that vegetation springs from the umbilical cord of a Yaksha called Varuna. Yakshas are generally recognised as the deities of vegetation and fertility cult. <sup>22</sup>. It may be inferred that the Buddhists and Jains who consider trees and plants to be worthy of worship were responsible for the widespread and deep-rooted worship of Kavus in Kerala.

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22. J.P. Sarma, op.cit. p. 67

Serpents were associated with Hindu deities also. Siva is decorated by serpents. Vishnu is related to the serpent in many ways. The serpent worship did not exist during the Vedic period. It was a later development. Though serpents are the ornaments of Siva. They serve only to provide him a fearful image.

See Ferguson, Tree and Serpent Worship, Delhi 1971. P.72



Many of the Kāvus in Kerala were considered to be the abode of serpent Gods. Each family (tharavādu) has got its own serpent deity possessing large powers for good as well as for evil. In the middle of this Kāvu there is a circular or semi circular shrine where the Nagaraja and Naga Yakshi were installed.

Buddhists and Jains also worshipped serpents. The accompanying deities of Parsvanatha are Dharanendra, the god of serpents, and Padmavati who is the princess among the serpents.

Following are the chief among the reasons to believe that the worship of serpents in Kerala was influenced by Buddhists and Jains.

1. The idols of Nagaraja (king of serpents) and the Naga Yakshi are installed and worshipped in houses. The term Yakshi or Nagayakshi denotes its Jaina connection.

2. People used to worship at Pāmpumēlkkāvu and Mannārasāla for offspring and for securing the prosperity of their progeny. The Jains used to observe the worship of serpents as well as Yakshis in relation to fertility cult. Moreover Yakshas and Nagas are closely related, and both are associated with water cosmology<sup>23</sup>

According to Fergusson, the popularity of Vishnu, along with the worship of Tulasi which is an extension of plant worship, may be ascribed to the influence of Buddhists<sup>24</sup>.

The early Jains and Buddhists had started the practice of reciting stories and reading scriptures as part of their activity to promote their teachings among the people. It is quite likely that

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23. J.P.Sarma, op. cit. p.8

24. Fergusson, op.cit. p. 70

the Hindus imitated these methods when the importance of Vedic rituals gave way to the worship of images in temples and they felt the need to attract and educate the common people.<sup>25</sup> Similarly the cross-legged posture, called chammanakkāl seems to be related to Chamana or Śramaṇa, but these influences must have had their origin quite early, and are not specially related to Kerala. What is specific to Kerala is the popularity of these things among the people.

## FESTIVALS

Onam is the national festival of the Keralites. It is being celebrated by all without any distinctions of religion or caste. There is a tradition about this Keralite festival. Mahabali, an emperor of the Asuras, became the lord of all

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25. J.P. Jain, Religion and Culture of Jains, op, cit. p. 114

three world. There was complete equality. The Gods who became jealous of the reign of Mahabali approached Vishnu with a request to solve their problem. He assumed the form of Vamana and approached Mahabali and requested for three feet of land. The king agreed, Vamana measured the whole of earth and heaven within two feet. Mahabali bowed his own head for the third feet. While he was being pushed down Mahabali sought a boon from Vamana, that he be permitted to visit his land and his people once a year. Thus on the day of Onam Mahabali makes his visit every year.

The story of Mahabali is narrated with a difference in Jain literature. There was a king called Jayavarmen in the city of Visala in Avanti. Bali was chief among his four ministers. One day a Jaina saint called Akambara reached Visala. Bali accompanied the king who went to meet the saint. Bali was defeated in debate. The king who became unhappy exiled Bali. Then Bali reached Hastinapuri

where he was appointed as minister. During these days, the Saint Akambara reached Hastinapuri to observe his Caturmasya. Seeing that it is the right opportunity to take revenge against the saint, Bali arranged a sacrifice of Agnihotra. Realising the danger that was in store for the saint Akambana, another Jaina saint called Bhrajishnu sought help from the saint Vishnu, through a devotee called Pushpak deva. The saint Vishnu approached Bali in the form of a dwarf with a request that he wanted a piece of land measuring three steps. When Bali agreed, the saint began to extend his frame upwards and downwards and then measured the whole of earth in one feet and the sky in the second feet. Bali then bowed his head, and the saint Vishnu sent him down to the nether regions<sup>26</sup>. It is possible that both religious groups played a part in popularising the theme.

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26. Krishnakanta Handiquit, Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, (Sholapur 1968)pp.417 - 418

Gopinatha Rao had given a detailed account of the festival of Keṭṭukālcca and suggested Jain - Buddhist influence<sup>27</sup>. During the annual celebrations in the temples, in and around Kollam, a peculiar car festival is performed, which is locally called 'Keṭṭukālcha'. The main item is the exhibition of the God or Goddess on the back of decorated elephant. Besides the elephant there would be horse and charriot. The presence of elephant horse and chariot will remind us of the four-fold army excluding infantry. But this festival has nothing to do with defence or offence. The fact that this practice is found only in the districts of Kollam and Alapuz<sup>h</sup>a points towards the influence of Buddhism<sup>28</sup>.

It is compulsory that, there should be an elephant for the celebration of 'Keṭṭukālcca'.

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27. T.A.S. Vol. II. pp. 124.

28. T.A.S. Vol. IX Part II (Trivandrum, 1915)p. 124- 125

Generally the elephant is given importance in the festivals and celebrations in Kerala. The elephant has been given extreme importance in the Vadakkunnatha temple at Trichur. It is accompanied by Umbrellas and Chamarams. Elephant is regarded as an important animal by the Buddhists. The importance that has been given to elephant at Ajanta and Mahabalipuram is an evidence for this conclusion<sup>29</sup>. These are important for both the Buddhists and the Jains. Umbrella is found engraved on the icons of Buddha and the Tirthankaras. Umbrella and the chamara are given prominence at the Ajanta cave<sup>30</sup>. In the prominence of elephant and in the performance of Kuḍamāṛṅgam (change of umbrellas) at Trichur which is an unusual practice. There was probably a trace of the influence of Buddhism and Jainism also.

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29. Dhavalilkar, M.K. Ajanta a Cultural study, (University of Poona 1973), p.125

30. Ibid., pp. 151-188

The 'horse' which is used for the festival is created with two upright poles to which are tied a cross piece of wood and is covered with cloths. This 'Kudirai' has five tiers at the bottom and seven tiers in the upper part. The top would look like a tower. The tiers of the structure are similar "to the seven umbrellas secured to Buddhas and is generally seen surmounting dagobes."<sup>31</sup> How has such a structure made with different levels come to be known as 'horse' (Kutira)? It has nothing to do with the animal horse. The natives have nothing to say about this name. of the idol. This structure agrees with Kutira which means cottage or hut. The Malayalam term Kutira might have been used due to a misunderstanding of Kuṭīra, the parkrit form of Kuṭīra. <sup>32</sup> This is further strengthened by the fact that the structure constructed during the Buddha

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31. T.A.S. Vol.II, PartII, p.124.

32. Pischel, R., A Grammer of the Prakrit Languages, (Delhi, 1981) p.87.



poornima festival corresponds to Kutria, and Kutira of Kerala similar to this 'charriot'(Teru) which is also made of wood and clothes. The 'teru' which is tied to the pieces of wood and covered with clothes carried on the shoulder of men, has close resemblance to the temple of Nepal.<sup>33</sup> These structure are known as Tēru probably because they are connected with the practice of exhibiting the idol of Buddha and Tirthankaras in chariot in the car procession.<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to note the close relation which the practice has to the religious rituals of the Śramaṇas, and remember that such festivals are found only in the region with the Buddha sculptures.

Keṭṭukālcca is commonly known as Ārāṭṭu (consecration through bathing). In Jainism and Buddhism, the idols are taken in the chariot and carried to a place where they are consecrated in

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33. T.A.S. Vol. II, Part II, p.124.

34. Jain, J.P., op.cit., p. 114.

water and brought back for further special poojas<sup>35</sup>  
 Even though kettukālcha has nothing to do with  
 the consecration in water it is known as Ārattu,  
 probably because Kettukālcca has its origin in the  
 practices of Buddhists and the Jains.

The Jains recognize different kinds of mantras  
 (chantings) and yantras. The holy signs and mantras  
 like the triratna (three-jewels) which are engraved  
 in pieces of metals are worn by them in their  
 bodies. This practice is prevalent in Kerala too.  
 The Yantras are mainly used for defence against the  
 harm caused by evil spirits. One cannot ascertain  
 the extent of Buddhist and Jain influence on this  
 defence mechanism known as Raksha. It is a  
 permanent practice in the temple at Maṇṇadi during  
 uccabali festival to receive and wear these  
 Rakshas. This may be due to the impact of Jains  
 who give extreme importance to the 'Yantras',<sup>36</sup>.

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35. Ibid., p. 114.

36. Jain Jyothiprasad, op.cit p.117

The Kollam era or Malayalam era starts from the first of Chingam in South Kerala. The month of Chingam is the same as that of Śrāvāna. According to the Jaina calender Śrāvāna is the first month of the year. This practice might have influenced the order of months in the Kerala calender.

Many scholars are of the opinion that the religions of Buddhism and Jainism had played considerable role in shaping the life and outlook of the Keralites. Dr.P.C. Alexander says, "..... The fact that Kerala produced a Sankara is very significant in estimatiang the influence of Buddhism in the country"<sup>37</sup>. Sankara was born in Kerala and saved Hinduism from the attacks of both the Buddhism and Jainism. He refuted Buddhism through a sharpening of the very doctrines of Buddhism. This reveals the influence of Buddhism and Jainism on Sankara.

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37. P.C. Alexander , op.cit. p.160

Sankara was born in Kerala, and due to the close resemblance between his Advaita philosophy and the Buddhist philosophy he came to be known as 'Prachana<sup>n</sup> Buddha'. This may perhaps reflect an indirect relationship of the philosophy of Buddhism and Advaita, and Sankara might have imbibed this during his childhood in central Kerala.

The vegetarianism adopted by certain sections of people seems to be the contribution of Jainism and Buddhism<sup>38</sup>. The geographical peculiarities of Kerala favours non-vegetarianism, for the land is blessed with very long sea shore and a lot of rivers and back waters, which offer fish in plenty. The forest of the eastern side of Kerala is favourable for hunting animals and taking their meat as part of food. The midland is ever green and it is helpful in feeding cattle, which also makes meat accessible to the people easily. Hence

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38. Ibid., p. 160

nonvegetarianism ought to have been a natural attitude in Kerala. A deviation from this natural attitude must have been the result of some external influence. It is quite reasonable to assume that if any section of people were influenced to opt vegetarianism, it must be that of the Buddhists and Jains who regard Ahimsa as the supreme duty of man. However in the case of Kerala such an influence seems to be improbable, because, the people who opted for vegetarianism were brahmins. It was easier for the Buddhists and Jains to influence the non-Brahmins, rather than Brahmins who were their bitter enemies. Even the community of the Ezhavas considered to be Buddhists in the past, are also non-vegetarians. Hence it should be assumed that Brahmins adopted vegetarianism as a part of their own religious reformation which was an outcome rather than as contribution of the Hindu revivalism.

## AYYAPPA CULT

Ayyappan or Śāstāvu is one of the principal deities of Keralities. Sasta is worshipped under the names of Ayyan, Ayyappan, Śrībhūtanāthan, Cattan and Hariharaputran. Ayya or Ayyappa is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word Arya<sup>39</sup>. Śāsta or Cāttan is derived from Sartha, the caravan leader<sup>40</sup>. The term Śrībhūtanatha shows that he is the leader of Bhutas. Hariharaputra tells the story behind the birth of Sasta<sup>41</sup>. Vishnu masquerades as Mohini to

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39. Fred. W. Clothey, "Images of man:" p. 37.

40. S.Vaidyanathan, Indo - Aryan Loan Words in Old Tamil, Madurai, 1971, p. 154.

Amarakosa gives the meaning of Sasta as one who laid down instructions. Amarakosa, Kottayam, 1983. p. 59.

41. Ayyappan is being praised as the prince of Pantalam and prince of Pandya. It is difficult to say how far these claims could be substantiated by actual history.

recover ambrosia from the demons. The story is that Sasta is the child born to Mohini by Siva.

Keralolpatti states that Parasurama enshrined Śāsta temples for the protection of the eastern hills in Kerala<sup>42</sup>. The Śāsta temples like Śabarimala, Āryaṅkāṅ, Kulathūpuza, are very well-known<sup>43</sup>. Śāsta is a subdeity in those temples too where other Gods are principal deities<sup>44</sup>. The following may be the reasons of the popularity of Śāsta cult in Kerala.

42. Scharia Zacharia, (Ed) Gundert Keralolpattiyum mattum, (Kottayam 1992)p.157.

According to the narration of Keralolpatti Sabarimala temple is one among those temples which were founded by Parassurama . But then the question arises as to how the Sasta of Sabarimala could be regarded as one hailing from the royal family of Pantalam. According to the Ayyappa songs and stories related to him states that the king of Pantalam had got him as a child and later established relations with the king of Pandya.

43. T.K.Veluppillai, The Travancore State Manual, op. cit. p. 585.  
see also Buddhism in Kerala, op. cit. p. 109.  
and " Images of Man." op. cit. p.34.

44. Studies in Kerala History, op. cit. p. 259.

1. Śasta is considered as the protector of villages.
2. All are equal before Sasta irrespective of caste, religion or other social difference, which only Sasta can claim among Hindu deities<sup>45</sup>.
3. Some rituals must be observed to appear before and worship Sasta.
4. Ayyappan is a solution to the rivalry among the Saivites and the Vaishnavites.

These peculiarities attracted more and more people and made them into followers.

Śabarimāla temple is the most famous among the Śasta temples in Kerala. After observing penance for forty one days beginning from first of the month Vrichika, the devotees offer prayers in this temple. The devotees are thrilled by the journey through the forest. The Sasta of Śabarimāla is known by such names as Maṇikaṇṭhan<sup>46</sup>, Pampavāsan,

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45. V, Narayana Pillai, " Sasta Cult in Travancore". Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, vol. XVIII, Calcutta, p. 113.

46. "The Sasta Cult in Travancore". op. cit. p.38.



Ponnampalavāsan, Pulivāhanan etc. These names have got connection with the legendary life history of Sāsta of Śabarimala<sup>47</sup>. A number of stories about this deity are prevalent. The stories about the connection of Śabarimala Sāsta with the king of Pantalām and that of Pandya are prevalent. The king of Pantalām still retains his dominance in Śabarimala.

One prevalent view is that the Sāsta and the Buddha are the same<sup>48</sup>. The main reasons for this arguement are:

1. The pilgrims to Sabarimala shouts "Śaraṇam". This practice is an imitation of the three fold 'Śaraṇam' of Buddhism relating to Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.
2. Sasta is regarded as a synonym for Buddha<sup>49</sup>.

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47. RamaRaja, Sri Ayyappan Caritam,

48. Buddhism in Kerala, op. cit. p. 122.

see also "The Sasta (Aiyandar) Cult in Tamilnadu" op. cit. p. 28.

49. Amarakosa, op. cit. p. 59.

3. He is popular by the name Dharmaśāsta.  
The term 'Dharma' of this name denotes the Dharma of Buddhism.
4. Those who go to Sabarimala observe strict discipline including Ahimsa, Asteyam and Brahmacharyam.
5. Like Buddhist temples the Sasta temples are located in solitary and peaceful places.
6. Some of the Śāsta temples give prominence to the treatment of the sick. This points towards an influence of Buddhism<sup>50</sup>.

On basis of the above arguments, they try to prove that the present Sasta temples are converted Buddhist shrines.

However there is no positive evidence to establish either the identity of Śāsta with Buddha or to say that Sasta is a Hindu version of Buddha.

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50. N. Kunjan Pillai, Census of India, Travancore, Trivandrum, 1932, p.334.

The shouting of 'Śaraṇam' by the pilgrims to Śabarimāla has nothing to do with the three fold Saranam of Buddhism. Such identity cannot be established merely on the basis of the term 'Śaraṇam'. In the recitations of Buddhā Śaraṇam, Dharmam Saranam and Saṅgham Śaraṇam, the most important terms are Buddhā, Dharmam, and Saṅgham. The recitation "Svāmiye Śaraṇam Ayyappa" is totally unrelated to these three concepts. Any devotee can look upon God as his Śaraṇam (refuge). So Buddha cannot be identified with Śāsta just because of the term 'Śaraṇam'. The term Śāsta is given as a synonym for Buddha in the Amarakośa<sup>51</sup>. But the presence of the term Sasta among the synonyms of Buddha does not prove that Sasta is identical with Buddha .

The reasons are:-

1. The images of Śāsta do not show any resemblance to the images of Buddha.

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51. Amarakośa, op. cit. p.

2. Śāsta is derived from the root 'Śas' which means one who rebukes, protects, etc. , so any protector can be called as Śāsta.
3. Vishnu has Śāsta as a synonym in 'Vishnu Sahasranamam' "Ajo durmarshanaśśāstā"<sup>52</sup>.
4. The term Śāsta is used to denote Gaṇapati also. In the context of the description about the greatness of the place Errumanur, it is said that  
 "Tatvam vijñāya taddēvaḥ  
 Śāstāram prahiṇōttataḥ."<sup>53</sup>
5. Even the name Vināyaka is used for Buddha.  
 "Sadabhijñō dasabalodvyavadi Vināyaka".<sup>54</sup>
6. Sankaracharya who is known as the destroyer of Buddhism includes Sasta among the subordinate deities at the

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52. Iswarananda Saraswathy, Sastavinre Mulatatvam.  
 Trichur, 1962, p.11.

53. Knowing the circumstances of these days, the Lord sent Sasta to Kailasam to bring Parvati. The term Sasta in this context possibly meant Ganesha and not Buddha.

54. Amarakosa, p. 58

Siva's abode in Kailasa, in his Padadikesastavam. Obviously,

Sankaracharya would not say that Buddha is present at the abode of Siva.

7. There were no Śāsta temples outside Kerala. If Śāsta is identical with Buddha, he would have found prominence in many places where Buddhism had greater influence. Though Śāsta temples are found everywhere in Kerala, Buddhism had no influence in many parts of the land. This shows that Buddha has no direct connection with Śāsta.
8. Śāsta had relation with the Vedic religion too. It is an essential prerequisite for the scholars of Tiruṇavaya who appear for the 'Kadavallūr Annyōnyam' should observe at least twelve days of Bhajan in the Ayyappa temple at Camravaṭṭom. They worship Ayyappa through the chanting of

a verse from Rig Veda.<sup>55</sup>

9. Śāsta is one among the deities included in the Tantra Samuchaya<sup>56</sup> along Siva, Vishnu, Sankaranarayana, Ganesha, Subramoniya and Durga.

10. As usual there is a Gayatri Mantra for Śāsta also.

Bhūtaṅnāthasya vidmahē  
 Bhavaputrāya Dhīmahī  
 Tanoha Śāsta Pracōdayāt<sup>57</sup>

It cannot be argued that the term 'Dharma' which constitutes the first part of the name 'Dharma Śāsta' stands for the concept of dharma in Buddhism. Establishing Dharma is the supreme goal of all Hindu Gods. It is also the foremost among the ideals of human existence (Purusharthas)

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55. From a conversation with M.P. Sankunny Nair Rtd. Professor of Malayalam.

56. Narayanan Namboodiripad, Chennas, Tantrasamuchyam (Kunnamkulam 1968)p.82

57. Arunachalam M. "The Sasta (Aiyandar)cult in Tamil Nadu", Madras, 1977/ p. 44.

according to Hindu religion. Hence there is no point in saying that Śāsta is identified with Buddha just because he is associated with the quality of dharma.

Buddhism teaches ahimsa to be the supreme dharma. On the other hand it is said that the Vedic religion approves himsa through its practices of sacrifice. It is not reasonable to argue that the pilgrim to Śābarimala accords a very important place for ahimsa, This practice should be understood merely as a virtuous deed which they perform in order to save themselves from the possible dangers of a journey though a horrible mountain path. Moreover himsa has been recognised as a sin even by the Vedic religion.

It is also not true to say that, Śāsta is Buddha, because Śāsta temples are situated in peaceful and solitary places. There is no positive evidence to show that the places like Śābarimala, Achankōvil, Āryaṅkāvu, Kuḷathūpuzha etc. were the places where Buddhism flourished. In Kerala

Buddhism was propagated and spread only in the coastal areas. It had no organisational strength or influence in order to enable it to penetrate in to the interior or high ranges of the land. Hence the argument that Śāsta is Buddha, does not carry any weight because Śāsta temples are located in forests on the eastern side.

The available stories and images of Ayyappa help us to differentiate between Śāsta and Buddha.

- i) Ayyappa is said to have two wives called Pūrṇa and Puṣkala. But Buddha had only one wife named Yaśōdhara.
- ii) The image of Ayyappa is half naked and decorated with ornaments such as chain, ring etc. Buddha is absolutely undecorated.
- iii) Ayyappa wears a crown, while Buddha carries Ushanisham.
- iv) Ayyappa is known as an armed man with deep knowledge of martial art. He is depicted as a soldier who saved and



renovated the fortresses of Talappāra and Inchippāra. Buddha was unarmed and devoted to the principle of Ahimsa.

- v) Ayyappa had a number of servants like Vāvar, Talappāra Swami, Karuppa Swami, and Mālikappurattamma. Many of these followers were addicts of toddy. There is no indication that Buddha would have anything to do with these people.
- vi) Śāsta sits in a posture which is not seen in any image of Buddha.
- vii) Śāsta is not closely related to Banyan tree. He used Banyan tree to keep the arrow. But Buddha is intimately related to Banyan tree.

These features therefore prove that Sasta had no relation with Buddha.

The temple at Śabarimala is different from the other temples of Kerala in some respects. To cite a few of them:

1. It is located in a place where one could reach only with a lot of difficulties.
2. The chief subordinate deity of Śabarimala is Vāvar<sup>58</sup>, and he belonged to the Muslim community. The legend says that Ayyappan made Vāvar his servant after defeating him in a war. The other deities include Kaṛṭha Swami and Mālikappurattamma<sup>59</sup>. These subordinate deities present at Sabarimala are found nowhere else.
3. When a devotee begins his austerities, he is regarded as an Ayyappa. The 18 steps leading to the temple have been worshipped with great devotion.
4. There is a practice of worshipping an imaginary place called Ponnambalamēdu. The Makarajyothi which makes its appearance

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58. Buddhism in Kerala, op. cit. p. 63

59. Sastavinte Mulatatvam, Trichur, op. cit. p. 27.  
see also "Images of Man:" op. cit. p. 54.

at Ponnambalamēḍu is related to this temple.

5. Mudra Dhāraṇam is a ritual which is observed by an austere devotee of Ayyappa. This practice is not found in relation to any other temple.
6. Gurubhuta Sannidhyam: The pilgrims go to Sabarimala temple in groups. There is a leader for each group, and this leader is known as Gurubhuta. All devotees in a group are bound to obey the leader in all things during the pilgrimage.
7. Austerity: The devotees are required to observe strict discipline. He should be careful, about such aspects as purity, celibacy, non-injury and non-attachment to worldly enjoyments. No other temple insists on such a strict discipline.
8. Irumuḍikkeṭṭu: No one is permitted to pass through the 18 steps leading to the temple without irumuḍikkeṭṭu. This is a peculiarity of Śābarimala temple.

9. The practices like Peṭṭatullal, Pambāsadya and Azhipuja are found in no other temples of Kerala.
10. No women between eleven and fifty are allowed to worship Ayyappan at Sabarimala temple.

The facts cited above show that Sasta is a God who is quite different from the concept of God as usually held by the Keralites. It is well known that S̄asta is regarded as a Pāṇḍyan prince. This connection with the land of the Pandyas and the term Ayyappa, indicate that S̄asta is related to the Ayyanar who is the protecting god of TamilNadu.

Ayyanar is represented with human form in a sitting posture with a red skin, a crown on his head and pearls in his locks. On his forehead he wears the sacred ashes, pearls on his hands, feet and the whole body are full of jewels and ornaments. In his right hand he holds a sceptre to indicate that he is the chief among the village Gods. Round his body and his left leg he wears a

kind of belt called bāhūpaṭṭai, which is also used by sages and others when they sit. Garlands hang down from his shoulders. The upper part of his body is uncovered, while the lower part is covered with a motley garment. Aiyandar's two wives Puranai and Putkalai are represented as having natural bodies of a yellow colour with crowns on thier heads and flowers in their hands<sup>60</sup>. This description is equally applicable to the Sasta idols of Kerala.

Following are the common features that connect Sasta and Aiyandar:

1. The Synonyms of Sāsta of Kerala and Aiyandar of Tamil Nadu are almost the same<sup>61</sup>
2. Both Sāsta and Aiyandar are Hariharaputra. The story behind the origin is same.
3. Both of them are wearing crown and all sorts of ornaments<sup>62</sup>.

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60. " Sasta Cult in Travancore", op. cit., p.237

61. Sasta : Aiyandar, Aiyappan, Dharma Sāsta, Aiyandar, Aiyandar; Aiyappan, Sāsta, Sāttan and Hariharaputra.

62. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol II, Intro, p.40

4. The image of Śāsta as found in the Vattavila temple near Pāṅgōdu in Trivandrum district is quite similar to an image of Ayyanar as riding a horse which was discovered at Rāmēswaram<sup>63</sup>
5. In some Śāsta temples Śāsta is found to be sitting with two wives Pūrṇa and Puṅkala<sup>64</sup>
6. Both of them are protectors of villages.
7. Aiyānar was called also Dharma Śāsta, because he was always the protector of Dharma on earth<sup>65</sup>.
8. Aiyānar and Perun Cāttan are worshipped in the Sangam Age<sup>66</sup>.
9. Kaṛuppuswāmi is the lieutenant of Śāsta and Aiyānar<sup>67</sup>

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63. Sastri, H.K., South Indian Images, op. ci. p. 23

64. Achankovil temple.

65. Arunachalam M. op.cit. p.17

66. Sāttan enshrined in a place called Pidvur had great fame in the sangam age Ibid. p. 22

67. Ibid. 44.

10. Śāsta and Aiyanar are warriors.

From the facts given above it is clear that it is Aiyanar, the village deity of Tamil Nadu, who is elevated to Sasta and has been included in the orthodox pantheon in Kerala. Hence Sasta cannot be identified with Buddha. While there is ample proof of Jain shrines which were converted to Hindu temples, there is rather little definite proof of specific Sasta shrines which had Buddhist antecedents.

However, the association of the terms Dharma and Śaraṇa, indifference to caste hierarchy, and the non-Vedic practices of Śāsta temples like that of Śabarimala, located on the trade routes may suggest the influence of Buddhism on the Sasta cult. In this sense it may be claimed that although the attempt to identify Śāsta and Buddha is unhistorical, some traces of Buddhist influence in the Śāsta cult, both at the conceptual level and the level of rituals, are undeniable.

## LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

The impact of Aryan influence on Kerala is very high. Intermingling of societies which have different cultural and linguistic tradition causes cultural and linguistic diffusion. In contact situations, spoken varieties of language tend to diffuse more or show a maximum degree of acculturation. The variety of Sanskrit that influenced Malayalam during the process of Aryanisation is a significant factor from this point of view. Functionally Sanskrit was more accepted for literary activities. The influence of Old Indo-Aryan comprises both Vedic and classical Sanskrit and is many sided. Sandesakavyas Campus, Bhanas and other literary forms were experimented in Malayalam due to their influence. The process of borrowing from Indo-Aryan might have started even during the Sangam age, and must have been accelerated by the migration of Brahmins and the foundation of 32 gramas in Kerala. During the period of the Cera king, Sanskrit became the chief



medium of literature and many kāvyas and nātakas were composed in Kerala. The Jains and Buddhists had also been adopting Sanskrit as the medium of their sacred literature. Therefore it is possible to infer that, along with the Brahmins in Kerala, the Jains and Buddhists were also responsible for the spread of Sanskrit in Kerala. Especially among the lower classes like Ezhavas. The mastery of Sanskrit by some Ezhava families who were practicing Ayurvedha must be attributed to the influence of Buddhism in Kerala.

Indo-Aryan influence is attested in the vocabulary, grammar and syntactic structure of Malayalam. Middle Indo-Aryan, consists of all the Prakrit languages. Prakrit languages have had a more extended application on common man's language. The influence of Prakrit on Malayalam is attested by the introduction of a consciously developed theatre. Kuttu, Kudiattam and Pathakam exhibit heavy influence of Sanskrit language along with the Prakrits spoken by the women and low-class characters. The influence of Prakrits on Malayalam

could partly atleast be the result of the influence of Jainism and Buddhism in Kerala. It would be logical to say that it was Prakrit, the spoken language of the immigrant people, that influenced the evolution of Malayalam more than Sanskrit.

Historically speaking Buddhism and Jainism were responsible for some revolutionary changes in Indian educational system in India. They started Viharas which were the centres of education and learning open to the people of all castes, Only including the outcastes and wild tribes. There is no direct proof of such activities by the Buddhists and Jains in Kerala, but some traces of their impact are noticed here and there.

There were renowned Viharas in Kerala too. Citalal of South Travancore was a well known jaina centre. This centre, which was being looked after by Ajjanandi Kurattiyār and Aravana Adikal, attracted many scholars from all over India <sup>1</sup>. This

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1. T.A.S. Vol.I.op. cit. pp. 283-87

shows that Citalal was a great Jain centre of education. Śrīmūlavāsam which was a noted Buddhavihara in Kerala drew great attention in olden times. <sup>1</sup>. The scholars who used to visit it, might have been responsible for carrying its fame even to the distant land of Takshasila, indicated by the presence of a Bodhisatva image in that place.

The Brahmanic system of education exerted great influence in Kerala. They established several Vedic schools called salas for training the youth but sudras were naturally kept away from these institutions. In spite of this, Ezhavas of Kerala a community belonging to Sudra caste, mastered Ayurveda and Jyotisha through the medium of Sanskrit. It is therefore certain that teachers other than Brahmins must have helped them to achieve this and it is likely that Buddhists and Jains were involved in this programme to educate laymen. Buddhist monks from Sri Lanka might have been responsible for introducing the Ezhavas to Sanskrit language and training them in Ayurveda and

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1. T.A.S. Vol. II. part. II. 1919. p.117

Jyotisha. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that Ezhavas claimed to have come from Sri Lanka to Kerala<sup>1</sup>.

The term 'Namōstu Jinatē,' meaning 'praise to Jina', used to be the first sentence to be uttered by a child initiated to reading and writing in Kerala. This address is noteworthy, even though it has been replaced by 'hari śrī gaṇapatayē namaḥ'. In recent times this indicates that the Buddhists and Jains who worshipped Jina were responsible for the propagation of the education of Ancient Kerala.

In Kerala the traditional primary schools were known as eluttupalli and the rest of the schools as pallikkutam. Palli which means a non Hindu shrine figures in these term due to the influence of Buddhism and Jainism, who had used their temples as centres of instruction for the people.

The common folk have been using the words 'āśān' and 'vādhyār' to refer to teacher, more than

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1. Buddhism in Kerala, 1949. p. 123.

the term 'guru' which was common in vedic system to denote teacher. Ācārya and upādhyāya were the terms used by Buddhists and Jains to denote teachers. Brahmins also used the terms Vādhyār, which denoted a Nambudiri dignitary enjoying sacerdotal privileges and acting as priests or hierarchs among the Nambudiries. They also used the term Ācārya for teachers within their caste. To Jains, Ācāryas were ascetics who headed and governed the congregation. Buddhism is full of such practices. The upādhyāyas were ascetic teachers who were engaged principally in learning and teaching the scriptures, and who stressed the idea of the individual responsibilities of the teachers for the training and conduct of his students. Ācāryas and upādhyāyas claimed high status in Pancanamaskara of Jains. The Malayalam term asan is a tatbhava of ācārya. Vādhyār is derived from the term upādhyāya.

The high percentage of literacy in the traditional society of Kerala, which formed the

foundation for modern achievements in the field, was in some parts at least, derived from the activity of Jain and Buddhist traders along with Syrian Christian traders, who became the substitutes for the Vaiśyas in the Varṇa system, and unlike the orthodox Vaiśyas, mingled freely with the common people.

## ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

There were structural Jain temples at Trikkaṇāmatilakam, Ālattūr, Tiruvaṇṇūr, Kiṇālūr, Tālakāvū and Mañjēśvaram. But all of them except the Manjesvaram temples have perished completely. We can see only a jungle with some deserted granite slabs at Ālattūr. Nothing can be found at other sites. The surviving structural temples also underwent modifications. The Caturamukha Basti at Mañjēśvaram had been renovated with the help of M.K. Nambi Raj trust recently. The Jain temple at Tiruvannur near Kozhikode has been changed in to a Siva temple. No evidence of its Jain origin is available. No proof is found in other temples which have been proved to be originally Jain temples. Eventhough the Archaeology Department have conducted an investigation at the site of the famous Trikkaṇāmatilakam temple, only a portion of a medieval citadel wall and an ancient foundation

of an early medieval temple were found them<sup>71</sup>. Due to the absence of evidences we cannot come in to any definite conclusions regarding the architecture of Jains in ancient Kerala.

The Caturmukha Basti at Manjesvaram shows that the Caturmukha style of temple architecture was started in Kerala during 9th century A.D. This Basti is square in shape. It is built on an elevated land. Garbhagrha is a raised platform over which the wall has been built. It denotes four images of Tirthankaras placed on one and the same pedestal back to back so as to face the four cardinal directions. It therefore presupposes that not only the sanctum in which such a Caturmukha is installed but also the enclosing wall should have four doors facing the four images. Around this shrine there is a currampalam. It had a mukhamandapa also. Eventhough this temple had been renavated in recent times, The basic pattern continues and it exhibits the influence of Chalukya

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71. Cultural Symbiosis. op.cit. p.21.



style on Kerala temples<sup>72</sup>.

Jains have left only two cave temples in Kerala, one Kallil<sup>73</sup> near Perumbāvūr and the other at Citaral in Kanyakumari District. These are natural caves with Jina idols. Cutting of hard rocks or trenching are limited to the minimum. Kallil temple has no pillars and, thus there is no chance of their exhibiting Pallava or Pandya style in architecture. At Citaral they have entrenched a small chamber in which the idols are installed. These cave temples are unconventional

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72. Narasimha Morthi reports about two Caturmukha Bastis in Kanara Coast, one at Gerusoppe and the another at Karkala, which are very close to Manjesvaram. Jainism on the Kanara Coast, op. cit. pp.502-503.

73. The Kallil temple which was a natural cave temple has been modified in to a structural temple by constructing walls with granite slabs. The Garbhagriha is made of walls constructed by setting together of idols. These factors diminished the prospects of acquiring a clear knowledge about the architecture of this temple also.

in style.<sup>74</sup> Unlike the technique of free cutting or carving down of segmented parts of standing rocks it shows the technique of converting open halls trenched into cells cut deeply in to the rock wall.

Brick masonry is another feature of ancient Jain architecture. The structure built above the cave temple at Citara<sup>75</sup> exhibits their skill in developing the bulding materials and the expertise in using them. Gopinatha Rao had pointed out that this brick structure had Tirthankara figures plastered over it. This ruined structure reveals the art of temple construction during those days.

Not even a Buddhist temple, or the stones with their own distinguishing marks used for the

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74. K.R. Sreenivasan states this peculiarity. "Like wise there are those at Kallil, Trikkur, Kottukkal, Ailurpara, Tuvarangadu and Bhutapandi, the last two to the south of Vizhinam, near Kanyakumari. Some of these cave temples are unconventional in so far as the relationship between the orientation of the temple and the placement of the dvarapalas and other attendant niche-deities are concerned."

Temples of South India, Delhi, 1971. pp. 59-60

75. See plate no. 14.

construction of temples, are available from Kerala. And yet the idols were found in an abandoned condition. These idols are the only available means left for the study of Buddhist art in this region.

#### SCULPTURE

Stone images of Tirthankaras have been discovered from different places between Mañjēsvaram in the north and Nāgarkōvil in the south. These idols, both big and small, help us in understanding the nature of the art of Jain sculpture. The details of measurement and appearance of the Jain and Buddhist images are given in the chapters on Jain and Buddhist centres, as far as they are available.

We find it difficult to ascertain the artistic value of the Tirthankara idols. They maintain the same shape and form at all places and

in all times. They have been made on the basis of the rules prescribed by such works as Pratisthasaroddhara, Kalpasutra and Rupamandana<sup>76</sup>.

The images of Jina must be skilfully prepared so that it may satisfy the artistic taste of the devotees, and should enable them to imagine the infinite through a visible symbol. According to tradition, the distinguishing features of Tirthankaras are the long hanging arms, the srivatsa symbol, the mild facial expression, youthful body and nudity. The other peculiarities of the Jaina iconography are serenity, dignity, calm, rythm, proportion and restraint. All the images have a lanchna which differentiates them from each other.<sup>77</sup>

The four standing figures of Tirthankaras carved on the four sides of a rock at Caturmukha

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76. The Jaina Iconography, op.cit. pp.

77. The Jaina Iconography, op.cit. pp. 34-64.

Basti, which are three feet in height are well proportionate. The figures carved in meditative Kayotsarga posture reveal the Chalukya style which was prevalent in northern Kerala<sup>78</sup>.

Pallava style is clearly seen on the idols of Tirthankaras found at places like Īśvaraṅkode, Ālattūr and Citaral. The special features of Pallava style include round face, well proportionate body and the long hands and legs.

The most beautiful among the discovered idols of Tirthankaras are of Īśvaraṅkōde. They are quite lively to the minute details. These are noteworthy for their closed eyes, high noses, somewhat fat lips, compact body and round face in deep contemplation. Body is well proportionate. The expertise of artist can be seen in the figures of Sasanadevatas carved on either side of the idols<sup>79</sup>.

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78. See plate no. 2.  
For detail see section on Caturmukha basti, Chapter IV.

79. See plate no. 5 & 6  
For details see section on Isvarankodu, Chapter IV

They are simple and smooth in style. The pointed crown, the ear rings, the ornaments, and the presentation of the figures above the knees inform us about the influence of Pallava art in Kerala. The idols and Sasanadevatas found in the north and south of Kerala are almost the same.

The half-reliefs exhibit the artistic talent of ancient Kerala. Citalal temple is rich in half-reliefs<sup>80</sup>. It reveals the minute attention given to the figures of different measurements. The figure of Ambika Yakshi, with pointed crown<sup>81</sup>, big ear-rings and cloth around the waist is more attractive. It gives us information about the ornaments and style of clothing prevalent during those days. This half-naked figure is in lasya mood and slightly bent body. It exhibits female charm. The figure

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80. See plate No. 19.

For details see section on Citalal, Chapter IV.

81. See plate no. 20.

of Parsvanatha and Padmavati<sup>82</sup> which are found near the above figure also demonstrate great artistic skill. It has striking resemblance with the Parsvanatha figure found at Alattu. Even the very small figures in Citaral are capable of expressing meditative mood.

The figure of lion found at Citaral reveals the skill in carving the animal figure<sup>83</sup>. It is depicted as facing towards front side. The lanchna found below the Mahavira figure at Paruvassery also reveals a tendency to carve out head only. These figures of Tirthankaras, Yakshis and the lion resemble the carvings on the rock of Kazhukumala. The sculptures at Citaral illustrate a common style followed in South India.

The figure of Mahavira and Adinatha at Kallil temple also show its connection with Pallava art . Two other figures are quite unusual. One of them

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82. See plate No. 19  
For details see section on Citaral, Chapter IV.

83. See same plate.

is found on the facade of the overhanging rock<sup>84</sup>. It was generally held that the figure represented Mahavira<sup>85</sup>. But it has no signs of a Tirthankara. The facial expression is not that of serenity. It has a pot belly which does not suit a Tirthankara figure. Hence this incomplete figure does not appear to be that of a Tirthankara. A beautiful figure of Yaksha is carved on a rock in the small cave on the northern side of the temple<sup>86</sup>. This decorated figure ornamented on its head and body, also has pot-belly. This made us infer that the above mentioned figure also represented a Yaksha.

Only stone images of Buddha sitting in Padmasana position are discovered from Kerala. All these images are damaged. Even though the images are different in size and style they are capable of

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84 T.A.S. Vol. II. op. cit. p. 130  
see also; Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op.cit.p. 70

85. See plate no. 10.  
For details see section on Kallil, Chapter IV.

86. See plate no. 12.



revealing the style of Buddhist art. The images found at Rāmapuram, and Karunāgappally have subdued ushnisha<sup>87</sup>, while the images found Bharanikkāvu and Māvēlikkara<sup>88</sup> possess pointed one. Ushnisha of Karumadikuṭṭan<sup>89</sup> is peculiar one. Tālattukulakkada<sup>90</sup> Buddha has another type having an additional knot. The uttariya is also depicted in different style. In all other features they are very much similar and they show the Anuradhapura style of 8th and 9th century A.D.

The skills employed in the building of these Jain temples and the Jain and Buddhist idols must have enriched the experience of artisans in Kerala and contributed to the growth of architecture and sculpture as illustrated in the Hindu Brahmanical temples.

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87. See plate nos. 22 & 28.

88. See plate nos. 25 & 24.

89. See plate no. 21.

90. See plate no. 29.

## AYURVEDA

Ayurveda is a system of medicine prevalent in India from very ancient period. It became popular along with the spread of Vedic religion. The Rig Veda tells us about scholars who had sound knowledge about the herbs and their medicinal values. They are described under the title 'Bhishak'<sup>91</sup>. Yajur Veda<sup>92</sup> and Atharva Veda<sup>93</sup> describe the nature of different diseases and the method of treating them in great detail. It is

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91. Rig Veda, Mandala. 10, Astaka. 12, Suktas. 161, 162 & 163.

92. "May I know the herbs, that were born three years ago in the earth, that pervade all the 107 vital parts of the body of the patients".

"O physicians imbued with manifold wisdom and deeds protect my body from disease, with medicines, having hundred and thousand growths, cure your bodies as well. Know the innumerable vital parts of your body. O mother thou shouldst also do like this".

Yajurveda. (Ed.) Devichand. Chapter XII, 75 & 76, Delhi, 1980, p. 141.

93. Atharvaveda, (Ed.) William Deweight Witney, vol. II. Delhi.

clear that the scholars of the Vedic age had some understanding of medicines and their effect upon the human body. The renowned teachers like Caraka, Susruta and Bhela enriched the Ayurvedic system with a scientific authority in later times.

The Edicts of Asoka show that physicians were recruited for the treatment of men and animals. It was the followers of Buddhism were responsible for the popularity of the Ayurvedic system throughout India.

There is some evidence about the visit by the Ayurvedic Physicians and the physical and mental treatment they rendered in Kerala<sup>94</sup>. Many of them either hailed from Ceylon or had close contacts with that country. A number of families belonging to the Ezhava community of Kerala believed to have migrated from Srilanka, were traditional practitioners of medicine. This is the reason why some hold that Ezhavas were originally Buddhists who came from Ceylon. Their relation to

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94. Sarvavinjana Kosam, vol. III, Trivandrum, 1979. pp. 182-183.

Buddhism is indicated by the fact that, inspite of being non-Brahmins, they could learn Sanskrit and memorize a Sanskrit work like Ashṭāṅga Hridayam. It is difficult to imagine that the Brahmins taught them because the Nayars who were closer to Nambudiris were not enjoying this privilege. The Buddhist might have helped in bring about a close relation between temples and medical treatment, as this is found chiefly in that part of Kerala where the Buddhist centres were located.

Koduṅgalloor Devi temple in Triṣṣūr District, Choṛṇanikkara temple in Ernakulam District and Tiruvizha temple near Shertalai are famous for the treatment of lunatics.

Añcukōyikkal Śāsta temple, and Koḍumaṇ temple of Kollam district are famous for the treatment for hydrophobia.

Takazhi temple and Maṇṇāraśāla temple are famous for the treatment of leprosy and pāṇḍu.

Mannady temple in Pathanamtitta taluk is famous for Yantras believed to protect the devotees from diseases.

These Kerala temples were not only places of worship but also a centres for medical treatment like the Buddhist viharas themselves.

Rasachikitsa (treatment by mercury) is popular in Kerala. Most of the native physicans are quite familiar with it and practise it. The system was expounded by Nagarjuna, a Buddhist monk known for the science of metallurgy and chemistry. He declared that poverty, disease and even death could be abolished from the face of the earth if mercury could be processed properly.

Rasē sidhē kariṣhyāmi

Nir dāridryam idam jagat

Rasē sidhē karishyāmi

Nirjarāmarāṇam jagat<sup>95</sup>

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95. Sarvavinjana Kosam. Vol. III. Trivandrum, 1979, p.176

In Kerala as in other parts of India, the Ayurvedic physicians are known as vaidyas. The term vaidya is derived from 'Vidya'.

The Ayurvedic system of treatment has assumed great importance in Kerala, much more than other parts of India. It would appear that Buddhism imported from Srilanka, has played a significant role in making Ayurveda as the indigenous system of medicine in Kerala.

The Ashtāṅga Hridayam of Vagbhatacharya has received a recognition in Kerala which neither Caraka Samhita nor Sausruta Samhita could receive. The scholars of Ayurveda consider Ashtāṅgahrdayam as containing all the essence of Ayurveda. It is quite possible that the work has been able to attain such high status due to the efforts of the Buddhist monks. It is believed that the important parts of Ashtāṅga Hridayam and Ashtāṅga Sangraham were compiled by Vagbhatacharya

while he was in Kerala<sup>1</sup>. It is further said that he compiled his prominent works during his stay at Shertalai in the district of Allepey. The disciples of Vaghatacharya continue to live in Kerala and propagate his science. The Buddhist tradition of cultivating the study of herbs for treatment culminated in the scholarship of Itti Vaidyar who contributed in a substantial way to the preparation of Hortus Malabaricus organised by the Dutch governor Henric Wanreed in the 17th century. Thus it may be claimed that though Buddhism had a foot hold only in the central region of the Kerala coast, the traditions of medical sevice which they imported from Srilanka and preserved jealously through adversity and changing vicissitudes of fortune survived in the countryside and surfaced with modern period in a form which is almost unrecognizable.

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1. Ibid. vol.II. 1978.p. 504.

# CONCLUSION

Padmakumari Amma. B “Jain-buddhist centres in the early history of Kerala”  
Thesis. Department of History , University of Calicut, 1995



**CHAPTER EIGHT**  
**CONCLUSION**

## CONCLUSION

The climate and natural produces of Kerala have always been an attraction to outsiders. The Brahmin settlers are known to have established their 32 traditional settlements by the beginning of 9th century in Kerala. They did not have to encounter the opposition of earlier Jain or Buddhist settlers as in the case of some regions of Andhra and Karnataka.

The known Jain and Buddhist centres in Kerala, as identified with the help of inscriptions and relics, were established only after the Brahmin settlements. They did not form part of a chain of agrarian settlements like those of the Brahmins in Kerala, but took the form of small pockets at certain points on the trade routes in the case of Jainism and one big religious institution on the seacoast near the chief harbour in the case of Buddhism. It is quite probable that only a small number of priests, servants and tenants were settled near the shrines with landed property for

their maintenance. Trade provided the rationale of their existence, and agriculture was only of secondary importance. They were the byproducts of the trade activity by the Jain and Buddhist groups who started using the land route and sea route to reach important centres like Kodungallur and Kollam in Kerala.

With the support of the small chieftains of Kōlattunādu and Āynādu they flourished as long as the Cera kingdom prospered and its trade and commerce remained active. With the disappearance of the Cera kingdom and the spread of anarchy and feudalism, long - distance trade collapsed and the trade routes were left unprotected. They gradually disappeared when the visits of Jain traders from Karnataka and Tamilnadu and Buddhist traders from Srilanka became infrequent, their religious centres on the land routes and coastal harbours languished in poverty and gradually they were transformed into Hindu centres, and their servants and tenants either migrated or switched

their loyalty to Hindu Gods and their shrines. This, in brief, is the story of the rise and decline of the Jain - Buddhist centres in Kerala.

Jainism.

The Jains arrived here from the neighbouring kingdoms of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. The Jains who came from Karkala and Mūdubidure of Karnataka established their trade centre at Benkra Mañjēśvaram. Caturmukha basti and Mañjēśvaram temples provide evidence to show that the Jains had once settled in this area. The other Jains who entered Kerala from Mysore conducted their trade camping in Pulppaḷḷi and surrounding areas in Wynad district. The inscription discovered from Tālakkāvu stands as proof of their settlement at this place. Some of them came further to the lower plains through Wynad ghats and settled at Kiṇālūr and Kozhikode. The Kiṇālūr and Tiruvaṇṇūr inscriptions furnish evidence for this. All these centres are situated on the important trade routes leading from the interior of Karnataka to the harbour towns of Kerala.

It was the Jains from Koṅgunadu who came to Kerala and settled at Palakkad. They spread to Maṅṅārkkād and formed a settlement at Īśvarāṅkode. This is proved by the idols discovered there. The Jains who spread further to the west founded their trading centres at Ālattūr and Paruvaśśēry. The historical significance of these places is attested both by the idols and inscriptions. It may also be inferred that these Jains had their aim to reach Mahōdayapuram, the capital of the Cera kingdom, after camping at Trikkaṅāmatilakam where they had a religious centre.

Kallil was one of the important centres of Jains who entered Kerala from Tamil Nadu through Kumali. Possibly it was the abundance of the products of forest which forced them to settle there. The Kallil temple with its idols clearly indicate the Jain connection. The goal of this group too was Trikkaṅāmatilakam, near Mahōdayapuram.

Trikkanāmatilakam, close to the capital, Mahōdayapuram was the most prominent among the Jain temples of ancient Kerala. This is evident from the inscriptions which show that this temple served as the model for the other Jain temples. The rules of conduct for temple trustees, servants and tenants prescribed at Trikkanaāmatilakam were adopted in other centres also and provided the Jaina counterpart of the Muzhikkalam agreement of the Brahmin temples in Kerala.

Another group of Jains entered Kerala through Āruvamāzhi pass. They were drawn towards places around Nagarkovil and Citaral. Citaral became one of the important centres of Jainism in South India. It was so significant that we find references to it in the records of other Jain centres of Tamil Nadu. The Citaral cave temple which still remains more or less intact provides the evidence.

On the basis of the available sources it has been established that they had settled down in

Kerala during the 8th 9th and 10th centuries of Christian era. It may also be inferred that they had conducted their trade mostly through the land routes.

#### Buddhism.

Though the Maurya emperor Ashoka had deputed Buddhist monks to Kerala, it is not clear whether they had arrived here. But later on Buddhism spread in a significant manner in the Cera kingdom with the patronage of Perumals and their feudatories. It is clear that this group had come from Srilanka through the sea route. Initially they concentrated in the coastal towns of Alleppey region. Later they travelled to the inland through rivers and established their centres in places like Kilirūr, Nīlampērūr and Rāmapuram at Kottayam district. It is evident from the images discovered from these places.

The idols discovered from Karumadi, Māvēlikkara and Bharanikkāvu in the district of Alappuzha prove that Buddhist centres existed at these places.

It was the districts of Kollam and Alappuzha regions which formed the prominent centre of Buddhism in Kerala. Being an ancient centre of trade, Buddhists also conducted their trade with Kollam as their base. They travelled from Nīṅṅakara through Aṣṭamuḍi kayal and Kallada river. Buddhists had spread to such an extent that they had built their temples at places like Kaḍuvīḷa, Puttūr, Tālattukūḷakkāḍa and Adoor Paḷḷikkal on the banks of Kallada river. Karunāgappaḷḷi and Bharanikkāvu are close to the Kollam city. After the decline of Jainism and Buddhism their temples were converted into Hindu temples. Yet they have left indelible marks on the worship, customs and manners, rituals and festivals, language and education they had also influenced the development of the native system of medicine, art and sculpture.



The above presentation may appear simple and stright forward, but it is almost entirely new, and this general outline could not have been possible in the beginning of the century when T.A. Gopinatha Rao and other archaeologists brought out the first concrete relics and records pertaining to Jainism and Buddhism in Kerala. This was not possible even during the middle of the century, when Prof. Elamkulam and other historians added more details to the picture. The following factors have contributed to the qualitative improvement of the discussion.

1. The construction of an intelligible and reliable framework of Kerala history and the forceful projection of the history of the Cera kingdom of Makotai as the crucial formative stage in the development of state, society and culture in Kerala.

2. The reconstruction of the chronology of the Sangam age and especially the correction of dates

and fresh studies about Cilappatikaram which helped to dispell the old popular notions about the earlier growth of Jainism and Buddhism in Kerala.

3. The identification of new Jain centres in Talakkavu, Kinalur, Tiruvannur and Alattur situated in the old Malabar district of Madras presidency following the improvements in decipherment and interpretation of lithic documents carelessly published and consequently neglected for a long time.

4. The discovery of new Jain Buddhist archaeological relics and sculptures in Mañjēśwaram, Ālattūr, Paruvaśśēry, Īśvarāṅkōḍu, Kilirūr, Nīlampērūr, Rāmapuram, Adoor, Koḍuvīḷa, Puttūr and Tālattukūḷakkāḍa which were not available when the Travancore Archaeological Series were published.

5. Fresh insights provided by new studies in Indian History and especially South Indian History in the light of the socio - economic interpretation

of stages of development in society and culture. These included the emphasis on the connection between the land grant system and the spread of Brahmin settlements on the one hand and the connection between the dissemination of non - Vedic religions and the development of trade routes on the other.

This work is taken up against the background of the new situation created by the accumulation of new data which gave scope for new interpretation as described above, called for a new assessment and brought it within the realm of possibility. Still there are several gaps in our knowledge at present, and many questions like the details about the persons involved and their specific ideas remain unanswered. The precise time and manner in which each of the Jain -Buddhist centres declined or disappeared and their followers got absorbed in the majority community also cannot be documented with confidence. In spite of these limitations, the present study may perhaps claim the credit for

taking our awareness of the Jain and Buddhist presence in Kerala a few steps forward in the following ways:

1. There was a confused notion based on the general assumption that all over India, Jainism and Buddhism shaped the pre - Brahmanical foundation of social structure and a revived Brahmanism in the Gupta and post - Gupta periods defeated them and ousted them by means of ideological warfare. The economic and social factors which influenced the interaction between different cults and cultures in each region separately were under-estimated. This model was blindly applied to Kerala by several writers of popular books on history. The empirical study that is undertaken now on the basis of concrete archaeological evidence and clear literary references attempts to correct this attitude. Hopefully this may succeed in substituting a verifiable history of Jainism and Buddhism which is properly integrated with the existing frame work of the early history of Kerala.

2. The facts regarding the late arrival of Jainism and Buddhism in Kerala following the foundation of 32 original Brahmanical settlements and the organisation of the Cera kingdom in the 9th century are clearly established through this dissertation. This has also highlighted the peripheral nature of the Jain and Buddhist impact from the beginning and clarified the differences. It shows that although the Jain and Buddhist centres were patronised by minor chieftains, they were largely dependant on the prosperity and generosity of the Perumals, controlled by the Brahmin oligarchy, for their existence, just like their Jewish and Christian counterparts in Kerala.

3. We have sought to clarify the differences in the organisational pattern of the Vedic and non-Vedic religious groups which established themselves in Kerala. These differences are found in the historical processes involved in the establishment of the centres as well as the programmes which they

adopted. While the Brahmin settlements were built upon an agrarian foundation, the Jain and Buddhist settlements were created to fulfil the needs of trade and commerce. This is why the former are found in fertile river valleys, the latter are mostly found in hilly areas and harbour sites which were located on the trade routes which connected Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Srilanka with Kerala. This difference is brought out in detail for the first time here.

4. The causes for the decline and disappearance of the Jain-Buddhist centres have never been explained in relation to Kerala. This phenomenon was discussed mostly in terms of ideology, language and royal patronage. While, the first two are general and did not specifically applicable to Kerala, the third has more than one dimension. Royal patronage may be subject to personal whims and fancies, but it is usually influenced by general considerations of profit, popularity and political advantage. Apart from the general

conditions, the fact that the fortunes of the Jain-Buddhist centres in Kerala were linked to the course of inter-state trade and commerce needs to be stressed. This is done for the first time in this dissertation with sufficient supporting evidence.

5. The present study has brought out the fact that Brahmanism on the one hand and Jainism and Buddhism on the other did not enter into an openly antagonistic posture in Kerala as in some other parts of India. As a result there was more of co-operation and complimentarity and even parallelism in their historical courses. This contributed to the development of relatively harmonious communal relations which were to a large extent free from tensions and conflicts and thereby helped, at least in a small way, in promoting the distinctive personality of Kerala based on symbiosis if not synthesis. The atmosphere thus created induced people to attempt the solution of problems in communal relations through co-operation and

compromise. This has not been perceived or described in clear terms before.

6. The present study shows that in spite of the disappearance of Jainism and Buddhism the work of Jains and Buddhists in the field of Sanskrit education and popular education as demonstrated by the presence of Ezhava physicians of Ayurveda and the Palli tradition of schools respectively, contributed to the development of the culture of Kerala. The Ezhava Sanskritists effectively challenged Brahmin monopoly in medicine, astrology etc. This fact might even have paved the way for an anti - caste feeling, generated by Ezhava 'gurus' and 'asans' in modern times. The palli tradition of schools developed a base of popular education which indirectly and marginally assisted the growth of literacy among the lower castes in Kerala. These aspects of the Jain - Buddhist activity have not so far been adequately acknowledged or appreciated.



7. While it is evident that Jainism and Buddhism were finally defeated in competition with Brahmanism in Kerala, it is difficult to say to what extent fair or foul methods were employed in the game. Even the Brahmanical chronicle of Keralōlpatti makes it clear that service and sycophancy at the court were among the tactics adopted by both sides. However, the extinct creeds appear to have contributed something towards the evolution of Hindu deities, festivals and cults, especially the cult of Sasta or Ayyappan which has a unique place in Kerala. This point was projected by Gopinatha Rao, but our study has embellished it with new details drawn from newly published sources.

8. Finally, it has to be pointed out that Jainism and Buddhism entered Kerala at the stage in their growth when they had started resembling Brahmanical Hinduism more and more. They had almost become Brahmanism without Brahmins, differing

mainly in the texts, idols and forms of worship, but imitating Brahmanical Hinduism in the temple cult and the use of the Sanskrit language. There are no visible differences in architectural patterns or style of sculpture. Those influences of the Calukyas and Pallavas which worked on the building of Hindu temple prevailed on the temples of the Jains and Buddhists also. The present study reveals this parallelism more than anything published before.

In view of the inadequacy of materials and the limited competence of the present writer in tackling questions of archaeology and linguistics, it cannot be asserted that a definitive study of Jainism and Buddhism in Kerala has been achieved, but it is modestly claimed that serious effort in that direction has been presented here.



1. Caturmukha Basti, Manjesvaram.

For details See, Section on Caturmukha  
Basti, Chapter. IV.



2. Idols of Adinatha, Parsvanatha, Mahavira, and Candraprabhanatha at Caturmukha Basti, Manjesvaram. 9th century A.D.

For details See section on Caturmukha Basti, Chapter IV. See also, section on sculpures, Chapter VII.



3. Parsvanatha, Manjesvaram, 9th century A.D.

For details See section on Manjesvaram Temple, Chapter IV. See also, section on sculpures, Chapter VII.



4. Mahavira , exhibited in the Historical Museum, Calicut University. 9th century, A.D.

For details See section on Talakkavu, Foot note No.4. Chapter IV.



5. Aranatha Tirthankara , Isvarankodu. 9th  
10th century A.D.

For details See section on Isvarankodu,  
Chapter IV. See also Section on  
Sculpture. Chapter. VII.



6. Mahavira, Isvarankodu, 9th 10th century  
A.D.

For details See section on Isvarankodu,  
Chapter IV. See also Section on  
Sculpture Chapter VII.





7. Parsvanatha , Alattur. 9th 10th century  
A.E.

For details See section on Alattur,  
Chapter IV. See also Section on  
Sculpture. Chapter. VII.



8. Mahavira , Paruvassery, Palakkadu. 10th century A.D.

For details See section on Paruvassery  
Chapter IV.



9. Kallil temple, Front view.

For details See section on Kallil.  
Chapter IV.



10. The image on the facade of the rock,  
Kallil, 9th-10th century. A.D.

For details See section on Kallil,  
Chapter IV.

See also Section on Sculpture. Chapter,  
VII.



11. The incomplete Jina image, Kallil, 9th  
10th century. A.D.

For details See section on Kallil,  
Chapter IV.

See also Section on Sculpture. Chapter.  
VII.



13. Citaval Temple,

For details See section on Citaval.  
Chapter IV.

See also Section on Architecture.  
Chapter. VII.



12. The figure of Yaksha, on a rock on the northern side of the temple. Kallil. 9th-10th century, A.D.

For details See section on Kallil. Chapter IV.

See also Section on Sculpture. Chapter. VII.



14. Brick Masonary, Citaral, 9th century  
A.D.

For details See section on Citaral.  
Chapter IV.

See also Section on Architecture.  
Chapter. VII.





15. Padmavathi, Citaral Temple, 9th century A.D.

For details See section on Citaral. Chapter IV.

See also Section on Sculpture. Chapter. VII.



b. Mahavira , Citaval temple .9th  
century A.D.

Fr details See section on Citaval.  
Chapter IV.

Se also Section on Sculpture.  
Chapter. VII.



17:arsvanatha Citala, 9th century, A.D.

For details See section on Citala.  
Chater IV.

See also Section on Sculpture.  
Chater. VII.



18. Jina Idol, Citralal.

For details See section on Citralal.  
Chapter IV.

See also Section on Sculpture,  
Chapter. VII.



19. Ambika Yakshi, Half relief, Citaral, 9th century.

For details See section on Citaral, Chapter IV.

See also Section on Sculpture, Chapter VII.



20. Parsvanatha and Padmavathy, Half relief, Citaral, 9th century, A.D.

For details See section on Citaral. Chapter IV.

See also Section on Sculpture. Chapter. VII.



21. Mahavira, Half relief, Citaral, 9th century,

For details See section on Citaral. Chapter IV.

See also Section on Sculpture. Chapter. VII.



22. Buddha , Ramapuram , Kottayam, 9th century, A.D.

For details See section on Ramapuram. Chapter V.

See also Section on Sculpture. Chapter. VII.

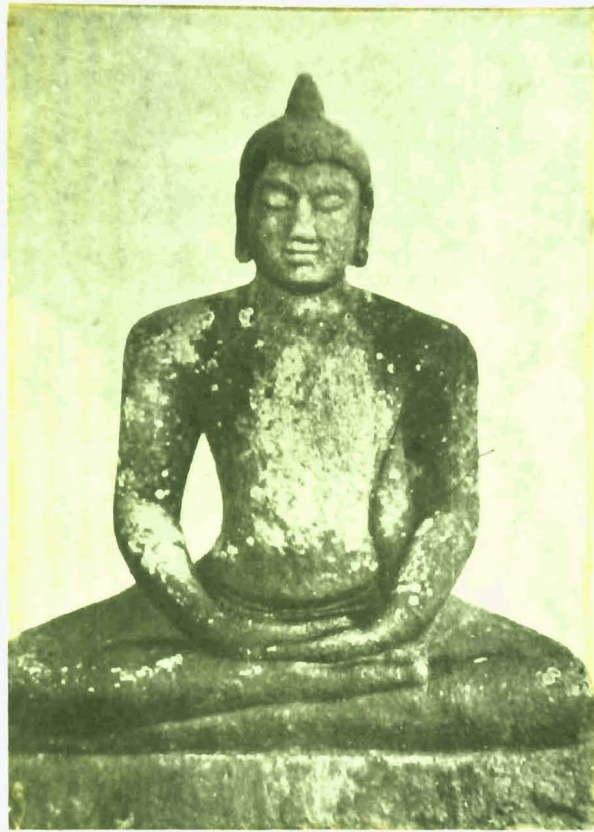




23. Buddha Karumādi, Alappuzha. 8th 9th century, A.D.

For details See section on Karumādi. Chapter V.

See also Section on Sculpture. Chapter. VII.



24. Buddha Māvēlikkara, 8th century A.D.

For details See section on Māvēlikkara.  
Chapter V.



25. Buddha, Bharanikkāvu. 9th century A.D.  
 For details See section on <sup>Bharanikkavu</sup> ~~Mavelikkavu~~.  
 Chapter V.



26. Headless Buddha, Pallikkal, Adoor, 8th century A.D.

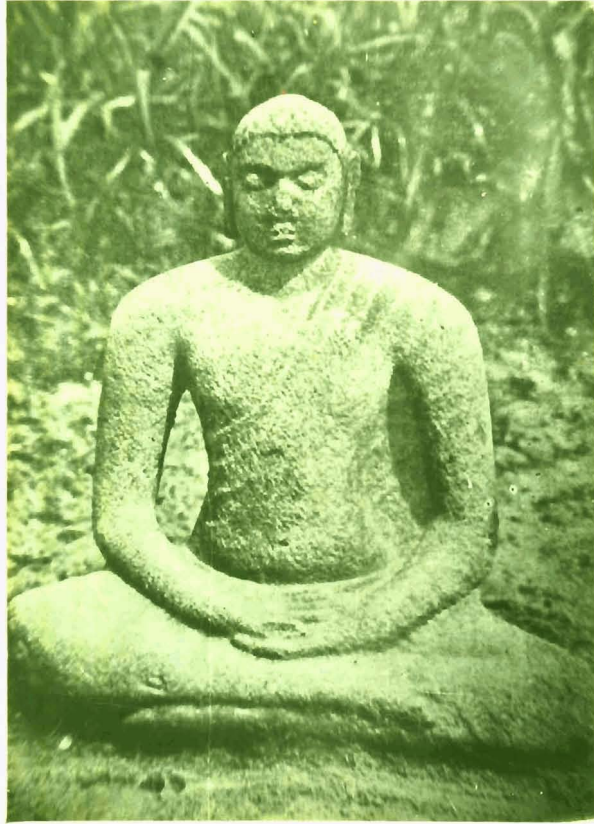
Pallikkal

For details See section on ~~Mavelikkara~~.  
Chapter V.



27. Pallikkal Buddha, with a new head. At  
Archaeological Museum, Thiruvananthapuram.

For details See section on <sup>Pallikkal</sup>~~Mavelikkara~~.  
Chapter V.



28. Buddha image, Karunāgappalli,  
Kollam. 8th 9th century .

For details See section on Karunāgappally.  
Chapter V.



29. Buddha, Tālattukūlakkāḍa, Kollam. 8th century .

For details See section on  
Tālattukūlakkāḍa. Chapter V.



39. Idol found in front of the Trikkunnappuzha temple, Alappuzha. It has been claimed that this image is a duplicate of the original one which was in the famous Śrīmūlavāsa Vibhara.

For details See section on Śrīmūlavāsam. Chapter V.

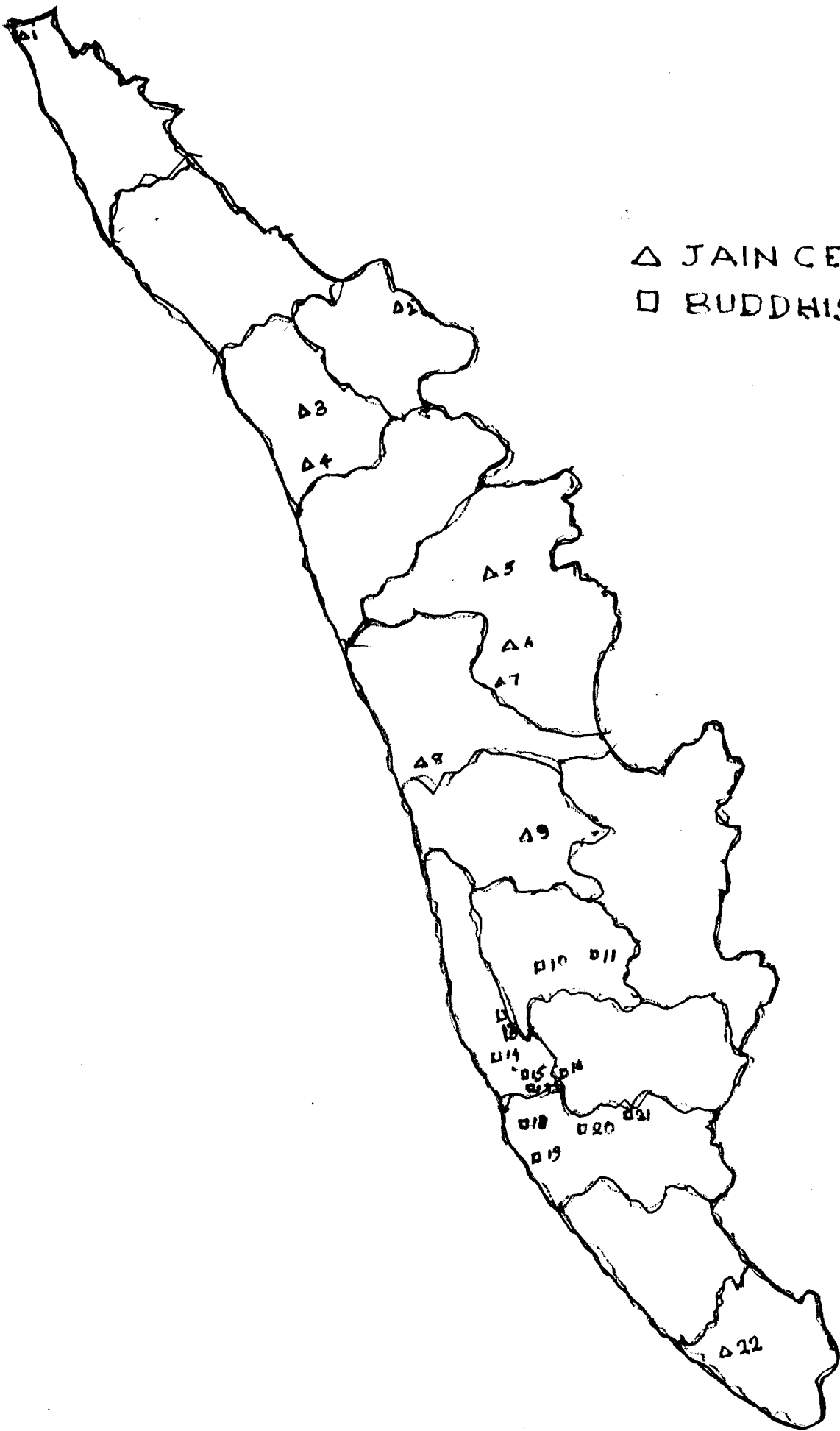




31. Kutira and Têru.

For details See section on  
Festivals. Chapter VII.

△ JAIN CENTRE  
□ BUDDHIST CENTRE



## APPENDIX I- A

Quoted from M. G. S. Narayanan Cultural Symbiosis  
in Kerala, (Kerala Historical Society, 1972)

p. 75.

## TĀLAKKĀVU JAIN INSCRIPTION

Script: Vaṭṭeluttu                      Language: Old Malayalam

English Transliteration

1. Svasti Śri Tirukku
2. ṇavat
3. tēvarku ccellāniṅṇa yāṅṭu
4. nūr̥ru muppattēḷu Avvāṅṭu
5. nakaram cetu nār̥pateṅṅāyi
6. ravaru .....
7. vecca viḷaki nukum
8. Kuṭampāṭi irupatu
9. nālu Poti Nakaraporai pa
10. nniranṭu poti . cen
11. ṇatu vilakil Tiruku
12. ṇava pilāiccōrāvitu i
13. -----matu.

English Translation :-

Hail prosperity ! In the year one hundred and thirty seven of 'Tirukkunāvāy Tevar', The Forty eight Thousand who founded a 'nagaram' (set apart) twenty four poti from 'Kuṭampāti' and twelve poti from 'Nakeraporai' for the lamp (they) instituted for Yaksha, those who obstruct shall be (deemed as) offermders against 'Tirukkunāvāy.'

#### APPENDIX I-B

#### KINĀLŪR JAIN INSCRIPTION OF ĀRPPAN KUŪCI ALIAS KURUMPORAI

Quoted from M.G.S.Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis  
pp. 76-78.

Script. Vaṭṭeluttu                      Language. Old Malayalam.

1. Svasti Śri Tirukkāliyappaṭārark
2. ku tiruva (bhiseka) ṅceytu cellāninra yāṅṭu
3. nūṅṅenpattonpatāmāṅṭu Makarattuḷ
4. Viyāla nnirka Mēṭa ṅāyirruḷ

5. Pputanāṅṭaviṭṭattu nāl Kku
6. navāy nallur Vicaiyarākīccu
7. varattu paḷḷikku niccanaṅṭai k
8. ku nānāḷiyariyu nnantāviḷa
9. kk iraṅṭinukkuṅ kūṭi yirunāḷi
10. piṭikkuntūṅiyāl nāḷpatu po
11. tiyāka tiruppalikkuṅ cāntikku
12. ṅ kūṭaikkūṅ kūttinukkuṅ cantāṅṭ
13. tinukkum paḷḷittāmattinukkum
14. Ārappan kuṅciyāyina Kuru
15. mpuṅṅai arttamkoṅṭu Tiruva
16. ṅcakkalattu Cāttanārukkaṅṭi
17. kku kārāṅmai kuṭuttāḷ tan
18. kūru Kāntāpuramum Muṭakka
19. raiyūrum Painkaṅṭattūruṅ
20. Kuṅṅaṅṅiyum Paralāṅṅu mivai kārā
21. nmai vāḷntu celavu celuttak
22. kaṅṅavaḷ·Celuttavallātākkil
23. irunāḷittūṅiyāl nūṅṅirupa
24. tu poti nel mukkālvaṅṅṅa ttaḷavu
25. kuṅṅukkakkaṅṅavaḷ. Orāṅṅṅu muṅṅṅuki
26. l kkārāṅmai viṅṅakkaṅṅavaḷ tē

27. varkku Cāttanārukkaṭi Mutṭāyiñ
28. ṅāyirū kōyirkunṛuñ kuḷavañcēri
29. kkaḷiyuñ kārañmai vāḷntu tirup
30. palikk aihkala nnel kuṭukkaka
31. ṭavaḷ Kunṛan Ciṛunañkai. Mūvāṇṭu
32. kaḷiññāṭṭāṇṭaiññāḷi ttūṇi
33. yāl mukkala nnel ku
34. ṭukka kaṭavaḷ Kunṛan Ciruna
35. ñkai. Kuṇavāy nallūr ttēvark
36. ku Kuṛaṭṭiyāloru nantāvilak
37. ku celuttakkaṭavaḷ Cattanārukka
38. ṭi. Tēvakinaṭai purayitañkā
39. rāñmai vāḷntu Vicaiyarākīccu
40. varattu viriccikaviḷakku ce
41. lutta kkaṭavan Cāttan Cirikaṇ
42. ṭan. Manukulai Cēkaranallūr vaṭak
43. kin karai Yārappañkuñciyāyi
44. na Kuṛumpuṛai tan kūṛu Kuṇavāy
45. nallūr tēvarkku niccanaṭai yi
46. ruñāḷiyu makkiramonṛum pōcanami
47. raṇṭinukkuñ kūttinuñ celutti k
48. kārañmai ceyyakkaṭavan Cāttan Ci

49. rikaṅṅan. Orāṅṅtu muṭṭi paṅṅivi  
 50. ṭakkaṭavan. Palikalava koṭuka kaṭave  
 51. lunūruvarum Kārālanum Mūvāyi  
 52. ravaruntiruttu celuttikkoḷ  
 53. lakkaṭavar Aṅam pātu kākka.

English Translation:

Hail prosperity ! In the one hundred and eighty ninth year after the sacred bath of Tirukkāliya Patarar, when Jupiter stood in Makara, on Wednesday, Aviṭṭam nakshatra, in the month of Mēsha, Ārappan Kuṅci alias Kurumpurai received payment and conferred on Cāttanārukkati of Tiruvancakkalam the tenancy of her share in Kāntapuram, Muṭakkaraiyur, Painkaṅṅattur, Kuṅṅaṭṭi, and Paralāṅṅtu for the conduct of the expenses of daily worship with forty poti measured by the tūni holding two nāli, and Śrībali, Śanti, Kuṅṅai kkūttu, Cantanam and Paḷḷittamam in the paḷḷi of Vijayarāgiṅṅivaram at Kuṅṅavāynallur. If she finds it difficult to conduct the expenses she is allowed

to pay in terms of paddy a total of one hundred and twenty poti measured with the tūṇi holding two nāli. If Cāttanarukkati defaults in the payment to the deity for one year she shall forgo the tenancy. If no default Kunran Cirunaṅkai shall take up the tenancy of Nnāyiru — Koyirkkunru and Kulavancerikkali, and pay five kalam of paddy for Sribali. After three years Kunran Cirunaṅkai shall pay every year three kalam of paddy measured by the tūni holding five nāli. Cāttanārukkati shall institute a permanent lamp for Kuṇavāynallūr tēvar with the revenue from Kuṇaṭṭi. Cāttan Cirikaṅṭan shall institute a Vriśchika Vilakku at Vijayarāgiśwaram with the proceeds from the tenancy of the house-site named Tēvakiṇaṭai. Cattan Cirikantan shall take up the tenancy of the share of Ārappan Kuṅci alias Kuṇumpurai in Manukulaicekaranallur north bank for instituting daily worship with two nāli of rice, one Brahmin feeding, two meals and Kūttu for Kuṇavāynallūr Tēvar. If he defaults for one year he shall leave the service. The Seven Hundred, the Ūrālan, and the Three Thousand shall supervise the measurement and rectify mistakes. May this be protected.



## APPENDIX I-C

## TIRUVANNŪR INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA

Quoted from M.G.S. Narayanan. Cultural Symbiosis  
pp. 70-71.

Script. Vaṭṭeluttu Language. Old Malayalam.

## English Transliteration

1. Svasti Śri. Ko Sri Iraiyrāyarkku ccellāninga  
yāṅtu nālāmāṅtaikkētir
2. nālu - avvāṅtu Irāmavalānāṅtu vāṅṅa Pāliyattu  
Kaṅṅaṅkṅṅtanum Paṅiyuṅtai
3. yavakalum Arunūruvaru Nnilālōrum paṅṅār ceyta  
kāriyamāvatu Tirumaṅṅūr pa
4. ṅṅārār mēl Kaṅaiyappalli Yakkaṅcellan kolla  
vēṅṅumenṅa pon paṅṅillātatu
5. kollavēṅṅātēnrolīṅcār i ppaṅṅārarmel evvakai  
ppaṅṅitūṅkolla peṅṅār Nāṅuvālumava

6. num Paṇiyuṭaiyavakalun Tirumanṇūr paṭṭā  
raruṭaiya tēvattuvamum pīramattuvamum Arunūr
7. ruvarkkum kīlīṭu . Itinukku kīlīṭtu kānam oru  
nantāvilakkerikkakkaṭavar Ūrāla
8. rippaṭārarkkey. Ippaṭārarkku Arunūrruvarum oru  
nālai yurikoṇṭu āratinai ceyvikkakka
9. ṭavar. Ippaṭāraruṭaiya iṭaiyīṭu  
Tirukkunāvāyotokka yilakkikkakkaṭavar  
Arunūrruvaru
10. Itinukku nallituntīyituṅkaṇṭu celuttakkaṭavan  
Ulpāṭu ceyyumavan-Ippaṭā
11. rarkaṭutta tēvakāriyavun tariccirukkil Potuvāi  
cenṅu conṅatu vīṭṭikkoṭukkakkaṭavar. A
12. ruṇūrruvarum . Vīṭṭikkoṭātavan Tirukkunāvāy  
ccelluṅcelnaṭai mutṭiccōrāvōr
13. Aruṅkāṭan tōṭṭam Arunūrruvarkkum  
Pālaiyūrōṭokkum . Akanāliyai ccelavinuḷpuk
14. ku vilakkuvitu poruḷ kavaruvititūṅ ceyyumūrālan  
irupattaiṅkaḷāncu pontāṇṭa Arunūrruvarkku.

English Translation:-

Hail Prosperity ! The fourth year opposite the fourth year of the reign of King Sri Rajaraja. This is the agreement made in that year by Pāliyattu Kaṇṇan Kaṇṭan, Governor of Rāmavaḷanādu, the officers, and The Six hundred of the shadowforce. We hereby reject the claim for gold from this deity of Tirumaṇṇūr advanced by Kaṇayapalli Yakkan Cellan since it is not sanctioned by precedent. The governor and his officers are not entitled to receive any payment from this deity. The temple property and the Brahmin property of Tirumaṇṇūr shall be under the protection of The Six Hundred. The proprietors shall burn a permanent lamp before this deity by way of protection fee. The Six Hundred shall see that every day worship of this deity is performed with five naḷi of rice. The Six Hundred shall protect the property of this deity treating it as equal to Tirukkuṇāvay. The person in charge of the shrine shall carry on the administration and

decide what is good or bad for this institution. The Six Hundred shall take remedial action regarding the affairs of this deity on the basis of the report from the secretary of the shrine. If he fails he shall be deemed as equal to a person who obstructs the property of Tirukkunāvāy. The garden of Arungadan shall go The Six Hundred on the same conditions as Palaiyur. The proprietor who obstructs cultivation or commits theft in the property set apart for expenses in the temple shall pay twenty five Kalāncu of gold to The Six Hundred as fine.

## APPENDIX I-D

Quoted from M.G.S. Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala, pp. 73-75.

## ĀLATTŪR JAIN INSCRIPTION

Script: Vaṭṭeluttu

Language: Old Malayalam

## Transliteration

1. Svasti! Nārpattēṇṇāyi
2. ravarum paṭṭa (kaḷ) iruvarun Tirukkunavā (yil)
3. Tēvar Atikārarum  
pati.....
4. nāl amaitta.....
- 5.....
6. lañciyar palli.....pallikal teyum.....
7. ppaṭi evvakaip paṭṭataiyum ulaikkalam  
evvakaippaṭṭataiyu
8. mp.....ppaṭṭār iva kavavarum paṇaiya

9. m vaikkavu ntaṅṅama
10. r koṭuppālarāyil avarkaḷ  
Tirukkunavāy ttēvaritai.....
- 11.....yum pāṭṭār. Avar anu(pantam ceyyuma)  
vanum a ppāpa
12. ceyyakalār Nāṭṭār ...  
tavarum avar Iravi.....
- 13.....yum pala .....pacukkalaiyum koṅṅa paṅca
14. pātakarumāvar Avarkalumavarkaḷ cantatiyum i  
ppallikal
15. kkiṟaiyarumāvar I ppallikalin  
pūmikal Ulaikkalam pū
16. miyum paḷḷiyutai kkārānmaiym pukkuvilakkil  
Tiru
17. Kkūnavāy ttēvaraiyum.....
18. Kkolḷitu avark.....kkappaṭṭavan  
Tirukkunavāy ttē
19. varkaḷ .....ravakkaṭavar.....Ippa
- 20.....ippallikal.....pūmi.....mēl.....
21. vāsarētu vasundharā.....Sahasra.....paḷḷi

## English Translation:

Hail Prosperity! (This is the agreement) made on the day .....by the Forty eight Thousand, the two servants, and the officers of 'Tirukkunāvāy.' The organisation of 'Valānciyar' (accepted the tenancy of ?) everything including the whole of 'Ulaikkalam' belonging to the 'Palli'. Those who steal, mortgage, or extract.....Those who give (this property away?) shall be (deemed as those who commit offences against?) the deity of 'Tirukkunāvāy'. Those who support them also shall be committing the same offence.....They shall also be deemed as having committed one of the five sins by killing cows..... They and their descendants shall be outcastes for these 'pallikkal'. If anyone obstructs the lands of these 'pallikkal' or the lands for 'Ulaikkalam' or the tenants of the 'pallikkal', he (shall be deemed as offender against?) 'Tirukkunāvāy Tēvar'.....

## APPENDIX I-E

## CITARAL INSCRIPTION

E-1

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From T.A.S. Vol. IV. 1923. pages. 147,148.

Script. Vaṭṭeluttu. Language: Old Malayalam

1. Svasti Sri. Ko vi [kkiramātitta Varakuṇarkku]  
yāṇ [ṭu pa]
2. tinēlu etir [nālu] ivvāṇṭu painkuṇi-
3. ttiṅkal .....Nārānatta
4. ...yāṭṭi kuṇṭatti Mūṭta [vvāla]
5. Nārāna kuṭṭiyār Tiruccāraṇat [tetu] ppi-
6. tta Srī kōyi [lukku] nantāvilakkon
7. r mūṭṭāmai.....ttu....
8. .... patteppaṭin ka-
9. laṅca [lum niṅai] yuṭaiyatu nilai-
10. vilakkonṅum paṇṭārakkallāley i
11. rukalaiṅcu niṅai uṭaiya po [r pū]
12. vonṅu Bhaṭāriyārkkku.



## English Translation

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Panguni of this year, i.e. the fourth opposite to the seventeenth of (the reign of) king Vikramāditya Varaguna,.....to the shrine of the goddess (Srikōyil) which the venerable lady Muttavala Naranakuttiyar had built at Tiruccāraṇam,... for burning one perpetual lamp without default.... one lamp-stand having a weight of..... kaḷaṅju and one gold flower weighing two kaḷaṅju by the stone called pandarakkal.....to the goddess Bhatariyar.

E - 2  
-----

From T. A. S. Vol. II p. 126.

Script. Vaṭṭeluttu. Language. Old Malayalam

"Srī Accaṇanti ceyvitta tirumēni"

(this is) the figure got sculptured by Achchaṇandi.

E - 3

-----

"Sri mēni ceyvittā [r]

Tirunetum purai k-

kāttāmpalli [U]

ttaṇandi Aṭikal"

Uttananti Adigal of the Kattampalli (temple) at  
Tirunedumburai got sculptured (this) image.

E - 4

-----

"Sri Tiruccāraṇattu ppaṭṭi-

ni paṭārar ca [t] tan Vara [ku]

[na] n ceyvitta srimeni"

Prosperity ! (this is) the image got  
sculptured by Varaguṇa, the disciple of  
Pattinibhatārar of Tiruccāraṇam.

E - 5

-----

"Sri meni Tirunagunko-

ṇṭai Melaippalli

[Vi] rananti Aṭikal

ceyvitta va [vai"]

(These are) The images got sculptured by Vīranāndi-  
Adigal of the Mēlaippaḷḷi (temple) at  
Tirunarungondai.

E - 6  
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Quoted From Travancore Inscription A  
Topographical List, p. 39.

"Sri ma.....larcca  
.....  
n ceyvitta tirumēni.

E - 7  
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From T.A.S. Vol. IV. pp. 149-150

On four faces of a Pillar built in to the  
steps leading to the kitchen of the temple.

Script: Vatteluttu. Language: Old Malayalam.

First face  
-----

1. Kollam. 540 [mā]
2. ṅtu Mēta māsam

3. 17. elutiya.
4. Kanakku. Tiru
5. nakaram Tiruk
6. kkutakarai t
7. tanma cetti nāya
8. nār Narāyana
9. n. Kāli tanre
10. pen valikkā

Second face  
-----

11. nīyā yolla
12. karanma Tiruc
13. cāranattu Bhagavati
14. kōvilil aticcu
15. tali mutalāyo
16. lla piruvutti
17. er perppatta
18. tum mer pati āntu
19. mutal mer pati ko

## Third face

- 
20. vilil ppātamūla  
 21. ttavare kkaimāri  
 22. ccu. avarkku.  
 23. cāvu pila oṅṭā  
 24. yāl 16 nāl ā  
 25. nru mūttaṅāya  
 26. nār pila kū  
 27. ri unnumāru  
 28. m itinnu mu  
 29. takkam varuki

## Fourth face

- 
30. l anru mūtta  
 31. rājavinnu 5  
 32. ṅkala ṅcu pon utta  
 33. ramum colli paḷa  
 34. ya paṭi Tanma ceṭ  
 35. ṭi nāyanar nārāya  
 36. nan kāli tan pen  
 37. valikkārānma

38. merpaṭi kōvilil māma

39. ṅṅapamum tirumata

40. ppalliyum a.

Below the first face  
-----

41. ticcu taliyum

42. tiruvārāttinnu

43. mañṅal iṭika

#### Translation

This is the account of the writing made on the 17th (Solar day) of the month of the Kollam year 540. The karanmai (i.e., the right of cultivation) of the lands belonging to the female line of Danmasetti-Nayanar narayanan-Kali of the sacred city of Tirukkudakkarai for the service of sweeping and sprinkling with water the premises of the temple of Bhagavati at Tiruchcharanam, was transferred from the above said year to the Padamulam (i.e., the servants of the god) of the temple. If any pollution or death occurred to them, the Mūtta Nāyanār shall, for 16 days, mention

the fact of pollution and obtain the (customary) food. If any default arose, a fine of 5 kalahju of gold shall be accounted for (i.e., paid to) the ruling king and the duty of cleaning the mahamandapa and the sacred kitchen of the temple and of supplying turmeric for the ārat̃tu festival shall be left, as of old, with the female of Danmasetti-Nayanar Narayanan Kali.

#### APPENDIX I. F

Two inscriptions having reference to Tiruccāranattu Kurattikal.

S. I. I. Vol. V. p. 123.

F-I.

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On a stone lying near the Ayyanār Temple in the Sub-Registrars office compound at kalugumalai, Kovilpatti Taluk, <sup>i</sup>innevelly District.

A. R. M. 35 of. 1894.

1. Srī Kōttūr nāttu
2. ciru l tali
3. caṭaiyan Korriyai
4. cārtti Tiruccāraṇa
5. ttu Kkurattikal ce [y]
6. vitta paṭimam

F. II. No. 326. in the same place

-----

1. Srī Kōttūr nāttu pe
2. rumparrūr ku
3. ttakamanai cāt
4. ti Tiruccāraṇat
5. tu Kkurattikal cey -
6. ta paṭimam.



## APPENDIX I-G

## PĀLIYAM COPPERPLATES OF VARAGUNA

Quoted from T.A.S. vol. I. pp. 277-282

## PLATE 1

1. Ilaiñattukku mēlellai mel kāṇiyārkuḷattukkum  
piṭṭārikōyilukkuṅ kilakku vaṭavellai vaṭṭāḷāṅkōṭṭukku  
terru paṇṇi kuṭittirukku
2. karaittēvar paḷāṅcikkutterk maṇṇarai iraṇṭuṅ  
kīḷkuḷattu paṭuvana orrikkāṇāṅkōvāka ilai  
(ṅa)ttōṭē cenru varuvana cirriṭaiḷce tenvā
3. (ḷu) pōy ilainattu nīrccāyvu ilaiñattu  
vaṭapuṇṇavaliye pōy ilaiñattukkoṇṇi  
kōṭṭamakappaṭakkōvankuḷattōṭu kala anerikkulattōṭu  
kālanerikkulattiniṭai varam

4. pē pōy kālanerikkūla milaiñattukku puravāka  
teritiñti vayalukkunteñkaraikku naṭuvāka

5. ppōyina itai kaliyākappōyina kīliṭu vaikku  
mēkku muticci paṅciyoṭu netumaṅ

6. ṭaiyār paṅci naṭuvu pōyina itaikalikku  
miṭattir paṅcikkku purukē pōyina ituvai

7. kkuñ kōr pulippaṅcikkku mēkku kiṭanta iṭavaikku  
terku itaikkaṭṭu nallilaiyānaiyyan kōyilukku terkkku  
karu

8. nantaruman kuti Irunta valarvakappaṭa  
kaṭalaṅkulattukku terkkku paraikku terkkku  
valipalāvirkku iruvirtella terku kuruntukku

9. terkkku kiṭellai orraippanaikku mēkku  
naṭukallukku mēkku tennellai nāṭum pumulliyum  
paṭunila nikki itanakam toṭikko

10. ṭṭoṭu kūṭa puñcey kūṭṭuntariṅkuraiyūlukōṭu  
cellum pu(lai)yarum maṅṅuñ kōyir kuriyatellā  
makappaṭa tirumūlavātattu patārarkkaṭṭikkutut

## FIRST PLATE SECOND SIDE

11. ̄m śvasti.  
yah kalyānamaya svayam vitanute  
yah kalpakasya sthitim  
yasmadabhyudita stamāmsi haratē  
saddharma gharmmadyutiḥ  
yat pādāśrayīnō
12. bhavanti sukkhina ssarvve gaṇāḥ praṇiṇān  
dheyān  
mēsurivāpara strijagatim sarvvaṃ sa  
saudhdhaniḥ.  
Atmākāra grahaṇa vimukhā
13. vāḥratāpāṅgalīlau  
prāptau nityam śrutimati tṛi sānēkarūpā  
vabōdhau  
devyā bhūmēr nnikhila kumati dhvānta  
rōdhānvitā
14. yāḥ nētrayētām jitakuvalayau ddharmmasāṅghau  
cirāya.  
Nisyādamāna karuṇāmṛtavāri pūrah nirddauta

15. nirmmala tarēva virājamānā  
lakṣmīn cirāya bhajatām alavalōkitasya  
diśyāttu naḥ śisira dīdhiti tulyakāntiḥ.

16. jyōtsnā pūra ivāmalaśśāsādhārā  
dāhlādayan mēdinīm  
yaḥ prāvarttata yadbhavēna śāsina  
mmuktva kalānkaḥ kvacit.

SECOND PLATE FIRST SIDE.

17. yasyāstōdaya Himyaśsaila Malayāḥ  
sainyēbha dantāvalī  
ṭānka kṣuṇṇatata bhavanti vijaya

18. stambhā jagannirjjayē.  
Āsīdyasya vilōla vīcikalikā  
bāhāgra phēnāvalī preṅghaccā

19. mara cāru cāra caturā dāsi catussāgarī  
yajjātasya karōti mūrddhni mukūṭibandhaika  
bandhau ramā  
līlāmbhō

20. ruhamāṇḍalēna lalitām ratnātapatra śriyam.  
 Yajjāteṣvanubandhaḥyajisu gatēṣvadyāpi  
 tārāpathē  
 lakṣyantē
21. hayamēdha dhūma nikarā lagnā ivāmbhodharāḥ  
 Yatratyāniva cānukarttum atha te gatvā  
 catussāgarīm  
 varṣantyaḥṛtamāhṛta
22. m vasumatī bhutyai svasārōccayam.  
 Sthēyāt kṣitibhṛtāmmūrdhni  
 sphuranmuktāphalōdayaḥ  
 vamsē vāreṇeyabhūpanām sōyamā...

## SECOND PLATE , SECOND SIDE

23. ...vibhūṣanēna  
 bhaktyānātēna balaraji parāgadhūma  
 vyārōditāri vanitēna viliṅja bhartrā.  
 Makarajusi dinēṣē māsi Pausē dine vā  
 mṛgāsi

24. rasi Gurau sa prāpta pañcatrikāyuh  
 avanimadisādasyāḥ dikṣu sīmādi sarvvam  
 dramīdavaacana ēvālōkyatāmatra patrē.  
 Rakṣarttha
25. masyāḥ svayamēva rājñā  
 susthāpito rājati Vīrakōtaḥ  
 bāhūpadhānā murasi prasuptām  
 lakṣmīndadhāno vijayānuraktām.
26. yācñā karmanyaabhavadanīsam  
 prītayē karma bhāvō  
 na svapnēpi pranayisuhṛdaḥ  
 kartṛtā yasya cāsit  
 śoyandēvō Varaguna i
27. ti prārthayatyātma vamsyān  
 puṇyātmasau na khalu bhavatā  
 manvāyō nāsāniyaḥ.  
 Bhūyōpyēsa kṣitibha vṛṣabhō bhāvinō na
28. mra mauliḥ  
 sarvvānēva pranayisuhṛdo yācatē yādavēndrah  
 Bhūmiḥ sēyam hṛdayanihitā rakṣāniya bhavadbhih  
 kāle kā

29. lē svayamiva vadhūranyabhōgapramādat.  
 Puṇyārambhē tvarayata mano mānavā vaḥ kṛtāntaḥ  
 kālākāṅkṣī nikaṭamatati vyāvṛtāsyā pra  
 30. caṇḍaḥ.  
 Tasyaivāsau priyamiva pitā kartumāṣu prayāṇai  
 rahnāmīso nayati bhavata mayusaśśēsa māsu.  
 Svasti Śrī na gōddvādasī.

English Translation:-

This land, with the boundaries mentioned above, with the Pulayas attached to it, and with all that belongs to the Koyil (king) has been transferred to the Bhaṭāra (deity) of Tirumūlavātam.

Om. Swasti. He who is full of bliss; he who manifests himself as the tree granting all wishes; he from whom the sun of righteousness has risen to put an end to darkness; he whose service makes all living beings happy may he, the son of Sudhōdana, support all three worlds like another Meru mountain.

Casting sportive glances at those who are yet without the realisation of the self; reflecting continuously the multifarious forms of life caused by desire; counter-acting the darkness of the minds of all wretched men; may Dharma and Sangha flourish for ever as the two lily-like eyes of the goddess of Earth.

Let us adore the moon-like radiance of Avalōkita from whom the nectar of grace flows down profusely and purifies everything, producing prosperity every where.

That which came from the moon-like white rays to gladden the world that the rise of which removed the stain from the moon; that which converted the mountains of sunrise and sunset—the Himalaya and the Malaya—into pillars of victory beautifully engraved by the tusks of war elephants in the course of world conquest; that for which the four oceans have become servant-maids gently moving the flywhisk of their foam-crested waves;



that the offsprings of which get the goddess of Lakshmi to place a delicate umbrella above their head with her sportive lotus circle; that the members of which performed so many horse-sacrifices as to cause the clouds of smoke linger in the sky even today like rain-clouds; that the members of which the clouds are imitating by drawing the wealth of the four oceans and distributing it for the good of the universe; in that family of Vrishni kings forming a jewel on the head of ruling dynasties, was born (this king Varaguna).

(This deed was executed) by the devoted king who is the lord of Vilinjam and who caused the womenfolk of his enemies weep at the sight of the dust raised by his forces.

When the Sun was in Makara, in the month of Pausha, on a Thursday with Mrgasīrsha nakshatra, when he was in his fifteenth year, he gave away this land the boundaries etc. of which are to be found in the Tamil portion of the copper-plates.

The king himself has appointed Vira Kota, on whose breast Laksmi, enamoured of victory, sleeps with his arm for pillow, to protect this institution.

Lord Varaguna, to whom it was always a pleasure to be the object of begging, and who has never, even in dreams, begged of others, entreats his descendants not to allow this meritorious dynasty to be ruined.

The lord of Yadavas, the best of kings, once again entreats all friends and well-wishers as follows: "This land is to be cherished in your heart and protected for ever from the sin of enjoyment by others as if it is your bride."

Let all men hasten to turn their minds towards meritorious deeds. The god of death, terrible with wide open mouth, follows you waiting for his opportunity. His father, the lord of day, runs fast to favour him by finishing the rest of your lives. Be it well ! Bright Dvadasi.

## APPENDIX II- A

## SUKASANDESAM

Extracts from Sukasandesa (ed) Kunhikuttan  
Thampuran. Trivandrum. 1958.

Sloka.  
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65. "tacca kṣētram pathi pasupatēryatra ca dvādasa dvā  
vaṣṭāvēkādaśa ca nivasantyaṣṭa kampa nilimpaḥ  
sā ca dūrēpravahati sarilsōdari tāmraparṇyā  
ścūrṇṇī māhōdaya pura vadhūrōjacūrṇṇīkṛtōrmih".
66. "Kambūnambūdarakuharataḥ karṣitān vāgurābhiḥ  
kṣiptvākṣiptvā pulinatalimē kṣipramasyāstaṭinyāḥ  
dāśāiraśākālitamatibhiḥdrakṣyasi prēryamāṇa  
naikā naukā navajaladhara vyūhakṣṇai nadiṣṇaiḥ"
68. "uttīrṇnastāmudadhi dayitāmuttarēṇa kramēdhā  
rājatpatti dvipahayarathānikānim rājadhānim,  
rājñāmajña niyamita nrñāmananaīr bhūridhāmnām  
rāja rajētyavani valayē giyate yanniketah"

70. "acchāmarṇṇa cchadanibhiditāmartthamādhvyā mahatyā  
 gurvīm padyasrajamabhinavaairgumphitām vākyapuṣpaiḥ  
 īsānāya pradīsa jayarātēs̄varam mandiram prā  
 pyamōdi syānñiyatamanayā sarvvathaivaḥṣa dēvaḥ
71. "maddhyēraṇyam mamadr̄si bhavēstvalkarāgrē yugāntē  
 prācyā prāṇāhutirapi nā yal pūryyatējāṇḍakhaṇḍaiḥ  
 mātarmātum prabhavati katham madṛṣatādr̄sim tva  
 mittham dvandvamprāṇāma caraṇāmbhōjayōścandikāyāḥ"
72. "pārsvē pārsvē madabhara paṭudhvanalōlambalōlaiḥ  
 patracchāyātimira malinābhyantarairvulligēhaiḥ  
 mārggārāmāstavagunapurāsatti māśūtrayisyā  
 ntyantargandhāntara parigatasmēravaktrā dhvanīnāḥ"
74. "ayātyastam virahiṣu nijam tapamāśajyā bhana-  
 vudhōllāsam praviḥā gunakamūhasali viḥālām  
 agramyālankaraṇa hasitālāpa līla viṣesai  
 r̄mmanōdrēkam manasi gunitam kurvatīmangayōnēḥ."

## APPENDIX II- B

Extracts from Koka Sandesam (ed.) Elamkulam Kunjan  
Pillai (Reprint, Kottayam, 1965)

Slokas

45. "Kāṭum kāṭṭi cila mirikavum mikka Kakkattirutti  
ttōṭum pinnittitaviya tiruppōrkkalam kaṇṭu kaṇṭu  
vāmāksinām kuḷikumaṇṇ<sup>am</sup>accāṭiyāntan kulattin  
vāmēl kūṇattadaṇṇ<sup>u</sup> Guṇakābhyāsabhūmumim bhṛ̇ethāḥ"
46. "Appāl ninṇe tava Matilakamkāṇalām kāntilakṣhmi  
Darppōdaṇca ttaruṇa taruṇi saṅkulōttuṅga saudham  
Ippārēlum purikalatamēl vaccu tuḷḷikka vallum  
Polpūvāṇan tiruvaṭi puṇam kāval kāttīṭumētam."
47. "Celvaṅcērnna Kkuṇakayilakam pukku nī tekku nōkki  
Cellunnēram tiraviya perumkōyil kāṇām Purārēḥ  
Allittarman kuḷalikal kurālKkaṇṇare ttallimārṇum  
Mallakkāṇnin munayil malarvillāḷiyettōṇṇumētam."

49. "Cemmē kāmānarutu Kunakattampurāne dviJanmār  
kkenrāl nīyūm toḷuka puramē ninṛṭu tōlā telīñṇu  
Pinnēkkāṇām catiyil mutirum Vāṇiyakkārar tammil  
Tinnām pēci tteruvilutane Vāṇiyam ceyyumāru."
49. "Appōlkkēlkkāmaṇiṭeyoriṭattantarā māṇṇolikko  
ṇṭabhradhvānodbhaṭaveti niṣāṇāravābhōgabhimam  
Ērāṇātarnnitamēlu milamkūruṭan nāliyakko  
tṭera trāsāvahamasuhrdāmēmīlarkkarttihari."
53. "Konṛattenṇilkkilikal kalikōlum Kitāṇṇūreṇṇeykkal  
cenra Kkāmappuḷayumuṭanē kōtapūrvam paṇampu  
munneccenra ccerumikal kaḷattilkaṭakkinṛatākil  
pinneppinnē valī kaḷivaḷam kēlkkalām bhāṣaṇan tē".
58. "Ittham bhaktyā bhuvanaJananim vāḷtti niṣṣeṣaṣampal  
karttāram cinṇapuramamarum dēvadēvam vaṇaṇṇi  
gatvā mulpāṭarayaḷamām tāmarappoykayilcē  
rnnastam bhānauviṣatiTiruvaṅcakkalampūkaṇiyum"
75. "mārārātē mahita tiruvaṅcakkalām mēvumappā,  
pārātē ni tuyilelu telīñṇenṇivāṇṇam puḷaṇṇu,  
paṭum vaiṭālika pariṣadām paṭṭukēṭṭāṣu gatvā  
balakriḍēṣvaramaviṭe nī kāṅka balam gaṇēṣam".

76. "bhūyassambhāvaya viyanelum cēramannātu cilli  
 ttūyattākkum nṛpakulapurim nirjjitasvarggāsōbhām  
 tārārmātin capalacarita ppōkkotunnallūre<sup>u</sup>rum  
 pērāntirelulakilu mulāvinṛa nānābhirāmam."
79. "ātikkālattutanata malakkāru kaṇṭul<sup>l</sup>kkanam kē  
 ttatikkūti prakatitarasam tannilēṛṛam kalar<sup>n</sup>nu,  
 kūtakūtappariya,kaṭalumCūr<sup>n</sup>niyā<sup>r</sup>um,kal<sup>i</sup>kki  
 nṛeṭamkānam priyasakhaṇinakkatra mulpāṭubhūyah."

## APPENDIX II- C

Extracts from Muṣṭāka Vamsam Kavya

ed. Dr.K.Raghavan Pillai, Trivandrum. 1983.

Sarga XII, Slokas

95. "vrajatigatimamartyamiśvarēsmin jagatyah  
sapadi tadanu janma janmabhājām purogaḥ  
abhavadavani cakrē vikramōd ghātanāmā  
kṛtamatiratharāmah sōmavamśa pradīpaḥ."
96. "Prathitamiha jinasya śrīnikētam kadācit  
muṣita jaḥṣa vipattērālayam Mūlavāsam  
Prthu caṭula turāṅgakṣubdha vēlātātāntaḥ  
Kabalayitumudanvānūddhatam vyājajṣmbhē."
97. "Sapadi ca tamudantam sannīśamyāttakōpaḥ  
paribhavamiva sātrōratmanō /nantarasya  
pratijaladhi sa dūrādudyatāsiḥ pratasthē  
na khalu jagati dhīrāḥ svasya paśyantya bhūmim"
98. "Pralaya iva gabhīra dhvānamullaṅghya vēlām  
viṣṭa caṭula vīcēruddhitasyārṇavasya  
tulita jaladaśalkaistūrnamābaddhya sētum  
balavadupalabhaṅgaih stambhayāmāsa vēgam."



Musakavam̄sam kavya sarga XIV, Sloka.

7. "atha kēraḷam prati sa cōḷa  
 nṛpatimabhiyātu mutthitam  
 sāhyakṛta matiramum valabham  
 prajighāya rāmaghaṭa mūṣikēśvaraḥ".
14. "Samatītya mārgamatidīrgham  
 anatibahubhiḥ prayānakaiḥ  
 kvāpi nṛpatitanayaḥ sahasā  
 vihitōpakāryamatha sadma aikṣata".
15. "Niḥja maṇḍala.....va  
 vēṣa nigadita vipattimāgatam  
 kṛtanṛpati tanayāya laghu  
 pratihārik ( ) ātha puruṣam nyavedayat".
16. "vihita praviṣya galitāśru  
 lulita nayanāḥ pranamyā saḥ  
 svargamupagata mamuṣya gurum  
 nijagāda rāmaghaṭa mūṣikāvaram".

18. "Atha vikramōpahitarāma,  
pada viracitāhvayam ripum  
prāptamala padapi vasyavaraḥ  
padamāṣu rāmaghaṭa mūṣikāśrayam".
25. "Upasṛtya nitya susamṛddha  
vibhava gurudharmavittam  
tatra Sugatam atikāruṇikam  
Śucimūlavāsajuṣa mahyavandata."
26. "Pratigrhya ca pravara Jaina  
kṛata<sup>mati</sup> mahā jayāśiṣaḥ  
kōpabharita hrdayaḥ sahasā  
prayayau parairapahrtaḥ svamandiram."

Following are some place names in Kerala which begin or end with 'palli'.

Kasarakodu District

<u>Name</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>Taluk</u>
Pallikkara		Hosdurge

Kannur District

Kilppalli		Tellicherry
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Wynad District

Pulpalli		Sulthanbathery
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Malappuram District

Püttur Pallikkal	Pallikkal	Tirur
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Palakkad District

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Periyamuppallī	Mannarkkadu
Kōrampallī	" "
Pallippuram	Ottappalam
Nallēppallī	Chittur

Trichur District

---

Talappallī	Talappalli
Cirrilappallī	Trissur
Varantarappallī	Mukundapuram
Atirappallī	" "
Vādānappallī	Chavakkadu

Ernakulam District

---

Valappallī	Eramanallur	Muvattupuzha
Pōlakkappallī	Eramanallur	Muvattupuzha
Mottippallī	Ilakkalu	Muvattupuzha
Morānkāttupallī	Ilakkalu	Muvattupuzha

Kūlippalli	Inanallur	Muvattupuzha
Kūlippalli	Kuttallukulam	Muvattupuzha
Pāṅṅappalli	Muvattupuzha	Muvattupuzha
Paḷippuram	Palukkulam	Muvattupuzha
Puthuppallippuram	Cirnallur	Kunnattunadu
Ēlamvakapalli	Ciranallur	Kunnattunadu
Paḷippuram	Ciranallur	Kunnattunadu
Kōttamcattappalli	Aykkaranadu	Kunnattunadu
Mōṅappalli	Aykkaaranadu	Kunnattunadu
Idappalli	Idappalli	Kunnattunadu
Pūyappalli	Vadakkekara	Parur
Paḷippuram	Vadakkekara	Parur
Tattappalli	Kottupalli	Parur
Paḷiyākkal	Elikkara	Parur
Mūlampalli	Varappuzha	Parur
Paḷippuram	Trikkakkara	Parur
Kunnappalliṣṣeri	Parakkadavu	Parur

Kottayam District

---

Valappalli	Mancadikkara	Changanassery
Madappalli	Changanassery	Changanassery
Valappalli	--	Changanassery
Cāttappilāppalli	Kongur	Minachal
Pilāppalli	Kongur	Minachal
Mundappalli	Kongur	Minachal
Vellilappalli	Ramapuram	Minachal
Valiyappalli	Minachal	Minachal
Pulāppalli	Kidangur	Minachal
Pallippurattuṣṣeri	Vaikkam	Vaikkam
Pallippuram	Pallipram	Vaikkam
Kunnupalli	Mulakkulam	Vaikkam
Kunnappalli	Nattakam	Kottayam
Ilampalli	Akalakkunnam	Kottayam
Putuppalli	Putuppalli	Kottayam

Idukki District

---

Perumpallicciṛa	Kumaramangalam	Todupuzha
Cankarappaḷḷi	Karikkodu	Todupuzha
Palḷikkal	Karimannur	Todupuzha
Pallivāsal	Pallivasal	Udumpancola

Alappuzha District

---

Vāḷappaḷḷi	Tamarakkulam	Mavelikkara
Palḷikkal	Palḷikkal	Mavelikkara
Mēnōmpalḷi	Tekkekkara	Mavelikkara
Palḷikkal	Nuranadu	Mavelikkara
Putuppallikunnam	Nuranadu	Mavelikkara
Tōṭṭappaḷḷi	Purakkadu	Ampalappula
Kaḍakkarappaḷḷi	Vayalar	Cherthalai

Pathanamtitta District

---

Malappaḷḷi	Kalluppara	Tiruvalla
Mallappaḷḷi	Mallappalli	Mallappalli

Chandanappalli	Adoor	Adoor
Kollam District		
Marutaman palli	Veliyam	Kottarakara
Pūyapalli	Veliyam	Kottarakara
Pallikkal	Mailam	Pattanapuram
Chandanappally		Pattanapuram
Tevalli	Tevalli	Kollam
Pallittōttam	Tevalli	Kollam
Kurippalli	Kannanallor	Kollam
Mampalliśśēri	Perinad	Kollam
Pallimunśśēri	Adiccanallur	Kollam
Pārippalli	Parippalli	Kollam
Pallikkal	Mulavna	Kollam
Palliyara	Mulavna	Kollam
Śīnkārapalli	Kallada	Kollam
Palliyil	Poruvali	Kunnattur
Palliśśērikkal	Poruvali	Kunnattur
Kaippalli	Suranadu	Kunnattur
Iḷampalli	Pallil	Kunnattur
Pallikkal	Pallil	Kunnattur



Cakkuvaḷḷi	Sasthancotta	Kunnattur
Kīccappaḷḷi	Ivarkala	Kunnattur
Pallikkanakku	Krishnapuram	Karunagapalli
Kōṭṭampaḷḷi	Krishanapuram	Karunagapalli
Puthuppaḷḷi	Putupalli	Karunagapalli
Maḍappaḷḷimuri	Cavara	Karunagapalli
Maṇappaḷḷi	Tazhava	Karunagapalli
Perumpaḷḷittara	Mutukulam	Karunagapalli
Pallippāḍu	Pallippadu	Karunagapalli
Kunnappaḷḷi	Kirikkadu	Karunagapalli
Pallippāḍu	Trikkunnappuzha	Karunagappalli

Trivandrum District

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Pallivilākam	Manampur	Cirayinkil
Ōṇappaḷḷi	Manampur	Cirayinkil
Pallikkal	Madavur	Cirayinkil
Pallippuram	Pallippuram	Kazhakkuttom

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