

Jain Authorship in Tamil Literature: A Reassessment

Takanobu TAKAHASHI

Narasimhacharya says, “Kannaḍa poets may be roughly classed as Jains, Vīraśaivas and Brāhmaṇas”.¹ Like him, we could say that Tamil poets may be classed as Jains, Hindus (including Brahmins) and a small number of Buddhists, since the number of Buddhist works is only three, including an epic with a fragmentary text. In contrast, Hindu and Jain works are many, especially the latter, consisting of many important works. It is thus accepted that Jains have played a crucial role in the history of Tamil literature. However, Jain authorship of these works is not so self-evident as maintained by some critics. In addition, their works sometimes exhibit counterevidence against Jain authorship. Thus, it appears to be natural that some have doubts about their Jain authorship.

In this paper, I first examine how so-called Jain works do not show conclusive evidence for Jain authorship and, on the contrary, indicate evidence against it. Next, looking at Buddhist and Hindu works, I specify how they exclusively reveal Buddhist or Hindu color; in other words, how they directly propagate Buddhism or Hinduism. Then, taking into account characteristics of works by authors other than Jains, I reassess common features of Jain works.

2. So-called Jain works

A number of works are said to have been composed by Jains, such as grammars, didactic works, epics, dictionaries like *nikaṇṭu*, commentaries, and some narratives. There are two grammars, namely, the *Tolkāppiyam* (oldest and greatest grammar of 1st–5th cent. A.D.) and *Naṇṇūl* (most popular Tamil grammar of 13th cent.). Jain didactic works are the *Tirukkuraḷ* (most popular work throughout the history of Tamil literature of ca. 5th cent.), *Nālaṭiyār* (“[Four hundred] Quatrains”, ca. 6th cent.), *Paḷamoli* (“Old Sayings”, ca. 6th–7th cent.), and the like. As for epics, we may mention the following: *Cilappatikāram* (earliest and best epic of ca. 5th cent.), *Perunkatai* (Tamil version of *Bṛhatkathā*, 9th or 10th cent.?), *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* (“Fabulous Gem of Jīvakaṇ”, 9th–10th cent.?), *Valaiyāpati* (10th cent.?), *Cūḷāmaṇi* (“Crest Jewel”, 10th–11th cent.?), *Nīlakēci* (10th–11th cent.?), and *Utayaṇṅkatai* (the story of the king Udayana, 10th–11th cent.?). Along with these works, we should not forget a lovely narrative, the *Naḷavaṇṇpā* (very popular work dealing with the story of Nala and Damayantī, 13th–15th cent.?).

Among these works, I shall first take the *Tirukkuraḷ* (hereafter, *Kuraḷ*) as an example for considering Jain authorship. The *Kuraḷ* is the most popular work in the history of Tamil literature, and, because of this, most of the religious sects in India, even Christians and Islam, claim that the work has connections with their teachings and its author comes from them.

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¹ Narasimhacharya [1940: 17].

Although this itself reveals that the *Kuṛaḷ* has no specific teachings exclusively connected to one religion,² I will cite some of their claims.

First, the *Kuṛaḷ* deals with *muppāl*, the “three aims of life”, equivalent of Skt. *trivarga*, consisting of *aṛam*, *poruḷ* and *iṅṅam* (or *kāmam*), which are almost parallel to *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* respectively, and hence some maintain that the *Kuṛaḷ* belongs to Brahmanical Hinduism. In the *Kuṛaḷ*, there are many chapter titles corresponding to³ and innumerable ideas parallel to⁴ those in the *Manusmṛti*, *Arthaśāstra* and the like,⁵ but *trivarga* or *muppāl* is not limited to Brahmanism or Hinduism: for example, Buddhaghōṣa, a famous Buddhist author of the 2nd cent., refers to *trivarga*, and another Jain didactic work, the *Nālaṭiyār*, which is next in popularity to the *Kuṛaḷ*, also deals with *muppāl*. The *Kuṛaḷ* often refers to Hindu gods and goddesses, such as Indra as “the king of the inhabitants of spacious heaven”,⁶ Viṣṇu as “the one who measured [the world] with [his] foot”,⁷ and Lakṣmī (*Kuṛaḷ* 84, 167, 179, 618). Śaivas claim that the expression “the one having eight *guṇas*” (*eṅkuṇattāṅ*, *Kuṛaḷ* 8) signifies the god Śiva, although Jains maintain that it is theirs. Brahmins are also referred to in *Kuṛaḷ* 134, 543, and 560; *Kuṛaḷ* 560 reads, “If the guardian (king) does not guard [people/kingdom], the produce of the cows will be reduced, and ‘the men of six duties’ (Brahmins) will forget [their sacred] books”.⁸ Buddhists maintain that chapter 16 of the *Dhammapada* had a strong influence on chapter 37 of the *Kuṛaḷ*.⁹ As for Christians, G. U. Pope (1820–1908) writes that many passages of the *Kuṛaḷ* “are strikingly Christian in their spirit, I cannot feel any hesitation in saying that the Christian Scriptures were among the sources from which the poet derived his inspiration.”¹⁰

Among these various claims, the most prevalent one is that its author is a Jain, since the *Kuṛaḷ* lays stress on “Penance” (Chap. 26, *tavam < tapas*), “Renunciation of Flesh” (Chap. 26), and “Not Killing” (Chap. 33). However, the emphasis on penance or non-killing (*ahimsā*) is not peculiar to Jainism, but common to other Indian faiths, including Hinduism and Buddhism.¹¹ Hence, although A. Chakravarti, a renowned Jain scholar, argues forcefully that the

² As for the claims of each sect that the *Kuṛaḷ* belongs to it and their shortcomings, see Gopalan [1979: 43–61], Dikshitar [1983: 135–139], and the like.

³ They are, for example, “Employment of Spies” (Chap. 59), “Ministers” (Chap. 64), “Embassy” (Chap. 69), “Fort” (Chap. 75), etc.

⁴ Chap. 5 “Domestic Life”, for example, deals with the excellence of householders, saying for instance, “He will be called a [true] householder, who is a support to the virtuous of the three orders in their good path” (*Kuṛaḷ* 41, tr. by Drew [1976]).

⁵ As for differences in the treatment of the subject matter between the *Kuṛaḷ* and Sanskrit treatises, see Takahashi [1999: 38–62].

⁶ *akal vicumpuḷār kōmāṅ intiraṅ*, *Kuṛaḷ* 25.

⁷ *aṭi aḷantāṅ*, *Kuṛaḷ* 610.

⁸ *ā payaṅ kuṅṛum aru-toḷilōr nūl marappār// kāvalaṅ kāvāṅ eṅṅiṅ*.

⁹ See Venkataswamy [1974] and Kandaswamy [1990: 97–106].

¹⁰ Pope [1886: iv].

¹¹ This view is correct, but it seems to me that the degree of stress on “penance” and “non-killing” differs from that in Hinduism and Buddhism and is more significant in the *Kuṛaḷ*: see Chap. 33 (especially, *Kuṛaḷ* 321, 323, 324) and *Kuṛaḷ* 261, 325, and 984.

author of the *Kuraḷ* is a Jain, he admits that concerning *ahimsā*, “Where is the difference between the Jainas and the others? It is extremely difficult to answer the question.”¹² Apart from this inconclusive evidence, the *Kuraḷ* contains counterevidence against Jain authorship. *Kuraḷ* 1062 makes a clear reference to a Creator-God (*ulaku iyarriyān*, “the man who created the world”), whereas Jainism strongly opposes the idea of a Creator. Another example is Chap. 104 (*uḷavu*, “agriculture”), where the author praises agriculture and farmers in the following terms: “Agriculturists are [as it were] the inch-pin of the world, for they support all other workers who cannot till the soil” (*Kuraḷ* 1032, tr. by J. Lasarus). It is well-known that Jains have abhorred killing any living beings, including grasses, worms, insects, etc., and, because of this, they do not like engaging in agriculture.¹³

All kinds of arguments concerning the authorship of the *Kuraḷ* have been repeated hundreds of times,¹⁴ but, nonetheless there appears to be no clear or direct evidence regarding connections between its author and any religious affiliation. The same is true in the case of other famous didactic works by Jains. The *Nāḷaṭiyār* and *Paḷamoli* have been said to be Jain works. But this is not because of their contents or ideas but because of a tradition that these poems are the remains of 8,000 Jains.¹⁵ There are some critics who maintain that “the tone of the work [*Nāḷaṭiyār*] is strongly ascetic and cynical, with rather pronounced Jaina ideology,”¹⁶ but, as is pointed out by Pope, “no consistent and developed system of philosophy, religion, or morals can be deduced from them; and it may be said with truth that these utterances have too little sequence and connection to admit of any scientific criticism.”¹⁷ The *Paḷamoli* is a more secular and less systematic collection of old proverbs, and has no tint of Jainism or any other religion.

The same features as mentioned above are also true for the *Cilappatikāram* (hereafter, *Cil.*). The *Cil.* has been said to be a Jain work and, unlike the *Kuraḷ*, there are no objections to this attribution because, I suppose, it is not so popular as the *Kuraḷ*. In spite of this consensus regarding its Jain authorship, the work itself does not show any evidence for it. Its author,

¹² Chakravarti [1936: 25–26].

¹³ In fact, there is a Jain sect in Karnataka that engages in agriculture, and some Jains in Tamilnadu do so too. Cf. Miyamoto [2008: 121–132].

¹⁴ See footnote 2.

¹⁵ “Once upon a time, 8000 Jain ascetics, driven by famine, came to a Pāṇḍiyan king and were supported by him. When the famine was over they prepared to return to their won country, though the king wished to retain the learned strangers who added lustre to his court. At last the poets were driven to depart secretly by night. In the morning it was found that each bard had left on his seat a quatrain. These were examined and found to differ widely from one another. . . . The king then ordered them all to be thrown into the river Vaigai, when it was found that the palmleaf scrolls containing these 400 quatrains ascended the river against the current, and came to the bank. To these the king gave the name of Nāḷaḍiyār (the quatrainers). Some other verses reached the banks at various spots, and are found in two collections, called ‘Old sayings’ (*Paḷamoli*) and ‘The Essence of the way of virtue’ (*Aṟanericcāram*)” (Pope [1893: viii–ix]).

¹⁶ Zvelebil [1974: 123].

¹⁷ Pope [1893: ix].

who is said to be *Ṭaṅkō Aṭikaḷ* (lit. “prince ascetic”) in the preface of a later date, starts with a description of the heroine *Kaṅṅaki* and then of the hero *Kōvalaṅ* in *Pukār*, the capital of Chola country.¹⁸ The story then runs as follows: their marriage and happy days, the debut of a courtesan named *Mātavi*, the hero’s abandonment of his wife for *Mātavi*, their separation due to a subtle misunderstanding of each other, the hero’s return to his wife *Kaṅṅaki*, their new start in life using *Kaṅṅaki*’s anklet (*cilampu*), the journey to *Madurai* (capital of *Pandya* country), *Kōvalaṅ*’s attempt to sell his wife’s anklet, his entrapment by a jeweler who stole a queen’s anklet, *Kōvalaṅ*’s execution, *Kaṅṅaki*’s giving of proof of the innocence of her husband, the king’s death due to remorse, her anger and setting fire to *Madurai*, her turn to the *Chera* land, the appearance of a divine chariot with *Kōvalaṅ* and her ascendance to heaven with him, the *Chera* king hearing about *Kaṅṅaki*’s miracle, his campaign to the northern India to bring back her stone image, and the construction and consecration of the *Kaṅṅaki* temple.

It may be easily understood that the story has nothing to do with Jainism. The author simply tells the story in a refined way, and in the course of his narration he naturally refers to Hindu gods, such as *Kāma* and *Indra* (Chaps. 2, 3, 4), *Agastya* (Chap. 3), *Śiva*, *Viṣṇu*, *Brahmā* and *Durgā* (Chap. 13), etc., and to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Chaps. 13, 14), the story of *Nala* and *Damayanṭī* (Chap. 14) and purāṇic stories (Chap. 5, etc.), along with the description of Brahmins, Buddhists, Jains and *Yogins* (Chap. 10). In addition, a Jain nun named *Kavunti* appears as one of the important characters in the story (Chaps. 10, 11, 14, 15), but she does not propagate Jainism.¹⁹

Because of the assumption of Jain authorship of the *Cil.*, some lay stress on the role of *Kavunti* in the narrative, but a greater stress should be laid on the role of a Brahmin named *Māṭalaṅ* than on that of *Kavunti* in order to consider the characteristics of the *Cil.* In Chap. 15, *Māṭalaṅ* appears at the residence of *Kōvalaṅ* and tells him the following: *Mātavi*, after winning the king’s gift for dancing, gave birth to a babe; when some said that the daughter should be given a fitting name, *Kōvalaṅ* said, “An ancestor of mine (Buddhist, according to Chap. 27) was once shipwrecked in the middle of the night in the great sea. Some days later the deity of the sea appeared before him, saying, ‘My name is *Maṅimēkalai*.²⁰ The fruits of your great charity are not lost’, and thus she saved him. As she is my family deity, let her name be given to this babe.”²¹ *Māṭalaṅ* again appears in Chap. 27 and relates the fates of the people

¹⁸ Note that the order of this description, moving from the heroine to the hero, is contrary to the prescriptions of treatises on *kāvya*.

¹⁹ *Kavunti* reveals a Jain way of thinking in Chap. 10: 86–92, which reads: “those who pluck out the weeds will have scattered the water-lily on the ridges in which multi-tinted beetles will be lying in a stupor after having drunk the honey of the flowers. As you walk along, your feet may unconsciously tread on them. If you decide to walk along the bunds of canals where waters splash you will tread upon multi-spotted crabs and snails, and cause unbearable pain to them” (tr. by *Dikshitar* [1978: 179–180]).

²⁰ The goddess is called *Maṅimēkalai* in the *Cil.*, while she is *Maṅimēkalā* in the *Maṅimēkalai*.

²¹ From the point of view of the narrative sequence, this portion seems very odd, since readers (audience) learn for the first time that *Kōvalaṅ* and *Mātavi* had a daughter *Maṅimēkalai*. The mode of narration is also strange, for *Māṭalaṅ* speaks to *Kōvalaṅ* as if *Māṭalaṅ* reminds *Kōvalaṅ* of his former days.

left behind after the tragedy of Kōvalaṅ and Kaṅṅaki. Kavunti, the Jain nun, performed the penance of non-eating (l. 83); Kōvalaṅ's father donated all his wealth and entered "the seven Indra temples" (Buddhist temple), and his mother, unable to endure her son's tragic death, died of grief (ll. 90–97); Kaṅṅaki's father, hearing the sad news, also made a gift of his wealth and became an Ājīvika (*ācīvakar*), and her mother died a few days after the renunciation of her husband (ll. 98–102); and Mātavi, having heard all this and having told her mother not to allow Maṇimēkalai to take to the life of a courtesan (*kaṇikai*), plucked (*kaḷai*) her hair with flower-garlands and received the dharma (*aram*), i.e. became a Buddhist (ll. 103 ff.). In short, the hero of the *Cil.* comes from a Buddhist family and accordingly his daughter was named after a Buddhist goddess, and its heroine might have come from an Ājīvika family. Such being the case, the *Cil.*, like the *Kuraḷ* along with the *Nāḷaiyār* and *Paḷamoli*, also manifests no leaning toward a specific religion, to say nothing of Jainism.

It is peculiar that "so-called" Jain works apart from the *Nīlakēci* do not propagate Jainism at all and most of them do not show any signs of Jainism with the exception of the *Perunkatai* and *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, with which I will deal in the following sections.

3. Buddhist and Hindu works

The *Cil.* and *Maṇimēkalai* (hereafter *Maṇi.*) are called "twin epics" because their stories and characters have close connections with each other. The story begins with Mātavi and her daughter Maṇimēkalai's abandonment of performing public dancing because of the tragic death of Kōvalaṅ and her taking vows of austerity. The story is followed by the pursuit of prince Utaya Kumaraṅ (her husband in former births), Maṇimēkalai's struggle against her passions, her seeking of true teachings and her finally attaining those of Buddhism. It is crammed with supernatural events, with former births of various persons, and with full and clear ideas of Buddhism, such as cosmology, theology, ritual, terminology, and the like.

To take just terminology as an example, along with terms such as *viṇai* or *karumam* (equivalent to Skt. *karma*), *iṟanta-* (also *ceṇru-*, *tol-*, *paṅṅai-*, *paḷam-*, *muntai-*) *piṟappu* "former birth", *valam cey-tal* "going round from left to right", and the like, which are common to various religions, *pīṅikai* (Skt. *pīṅhikā*) "Buddha's (*dharma*'s) seat" occurs dozens of times in the *Maṇi.*, like *kaṭavul* (God) *pīṅikai*, *tāmarai* (lotus) *pīṅikai*, *taruma* (*dharma*) *pīṅikai*, and *maṇi* (jewel) *pīṅikai*. The pedestal bearing the imprint of the Buddha's feet is often referred to as *pāta-pīṅikai* (foot seat), *pāta-paṅkayam* (foot lotus), or simply *aṭi* (foot). The Buddha himself is mentioned several times as *putta*, *puttar*, and *pautta*.

As for its rhetoric, the author of the *Maṇi.* makes the superiority of Buddhism or Buddhists more pronounced in contrast with other religions.²² The first example is rather simple. After several events, the heroine Maṇimēkalai went to Vañci (the capital of Chera country) and heard the teachings of various religions, such as Śaivas (*caivavāti*), Brahman-

²² For other respects, see Richman [1988].

ism (*piramāvatiyōr*), Vedas (*vēta(m)*), Ājīvikas (*ācīvakanūl*), Jains (*nikaṇṭavāti*), Vaiśeṣika (*vaicēṭika*) and Bhūtas (*pūtavāti*). But having heard of all the paths, she now thought that “there is no true perception [in them] and it is difficult to know the truth [through them]”²³ (Chap. 27). Then she went back to Kāñci and received the true teachings of Buddhism from Aravana-aṭikaḷ (Chaps. 29 and 30), whereupon she was finally satisfied with the teachings and turned to austerity (Chap. 30).

The next example is more subtle. In Chap. 5, the prince Utaya Kumaraṇ, having failed to meet Maṇimēkalai, asked her friend Cutamati, “People of this city refer to you as a pretty girl left in a Jain temple by a Vidyādhara (*viñcaiyāṇ*). Why have you forsaken that place and accompanied the girl (Maṇimēkalai) to this grove?” It has already been mentioned in a previous chapter (Chap. 3) that when Cutamati went to a garden to pluck flowers, a Vidyādhara named Marutavēkaṇ saw her, lifted her to the skies and flew away, and there she yielded to his will and lived, but later he abandoned her in this city. This portion reveals the author’s initial intention to look down on Jains by using an allusion to a Vidyādhara.²⁴

Then, in a succeeding portion, Cutamati’s answer to Utayakumaraṇ is mentioned, revealing another plot on the part of the author to demean Jains. She replied, “I met by chance my father who, pitying me for having made a faulty marriage (*pilai maṇam*) [with the Vidyādhara] because of fate, made a pilgrimage to Comorin and came searching for me. One day, he was gored by a cow that had recently had calves and came in great distress to the Jain temple where I lived, holding his blood-dripping entrails in his hand. He said, ‘O Jains, let me take refuge here!’ But they replied, ‘This place is not appropriate [for you]’, and those great ascetics of flawless appearance motioned to us to go away. Our eyes filled with tears, and we lamented in the street, wailing, ‘Is there anyone of virtue (*aṛam*)? We are helpless’. Then, one who wanders among the sky-high houses with a begging bowl, wearing an golden-colored robe, with a face like a cool moon under the hottest sun, came to us and asked with his kind, merciful words, ‘What afflicts you?’ And giving to me his vessel, he lifted up my father on his shoulder and led us to a his place (Buddhist monastery) and saved my father”. That is why, Cutamati said, she abandoned Jainism and converted to Buddhism. Here the contrast between a merciless Jain with seedy looks and a kind, merciful Buddhist with a wonderful appearance is very clear.

The *Kuṇṭalakēci* (ca. 10th cent.), the other Buddhist epic, is along the same lines as the *Maṇi*. but appears to manifest Buddhism more strikingly. The text is lost but preserved fragmentarily in commentaries on some works. The story is almost identical with the story of a Buddhist nun named Bhaddā who was formerly a Jain in the *Thērī gāthā* 107–111. The

²³ *meyyuṇarvu iṅṅi meypporuḷ uṇarvu ariya* (27:286).

²⁴ Although Vidyādhara are mentioned often in the epics and purāṇas, they play an ordinary role similar to that of other semi-divine or supernatural beings. But they play an important role in Jain mythology, and “the role of the Vidyādhara in Jaina literature is large. They often appear as heroes in their stories” (Vijayalakshmy [1981: 156]).

heroine Kuṇṭhalakēci meets other religionists, including Jains, in debate and wins them over to Buddhism. That is why this work is regarded as polemic literature. Against this, the Jain epic *Nīlakēci* was intended as a Jain counter-blast. According to Zvelebil, “there must have been quite a number of Jaina and Buddhist polemic works: the commentary of Yāpparuṅkalam mentions Añjaṅakēci, Piṅkalakēci and Kālakēci, but of these no trace is left.”²⁵ This must be true, but we do not have any information on lost Buddhist works that are, like Jain works, neither propagative nor polemic.

Next, let us look at Hindu texts. Bhakti literature is the first body of texts composed by Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava poet-devotees. Various approaches, such as sociological, historical or religious, may be made to Bhakti literature, but here I simply define the Bhakti movement in Tamilnadu as the first religious movement of Hinduism and/or a religious reaction or revival against Jainism and Buddhism. Such being the case, Bhakti texts are strongly colored by Śaivism and Vaiṣnavism, and the early poet-devotees often declare their deep hatred for Jains and Buddhists, saying for example: “the stupid Jains and the stinking Buddhist monks” (Campantar VII.90.9); “the ignorant Jains and the wandering packs of Buddhists” (Campantar II.154.10); “Jains with no clothes at all” (Campantar I.46.10); “the Buddhist monks who wear the ochre robe” (Campantar I.59.10); “the Buddhists who eat seated// and the Jains who eat standing” (Campantar I.99.10); “destructive Jains” (Campantar III.297.10); and “wicked Jains” (Campantar III.297.11). Appar, who had converted from Jainism to Śaivism, speaks ill of Jains as follows: “When I think of the long years spent in following the contradictory teachings of the Jains, I feel faint” (Appar IV.39.7); “Will I who committed many crimes, taking for truth the doctrines of those wandering monks, the naked Jains who fast by night?” (Appar IV.102.2); “As a Jain monk I wandered, head shaven” (Appar IV.5.6, PS 291); “As a shaven monk, I stood by the words of the base, ignorant Jains (IV.5.8)”.²⁶ Other Śaiva poets like Cuntarar (8 cent.) and Māṇikkavācakar (9 cent.) continued the same stance of hostility, although to a lesser degree. According to Dehaja, “Ālvārs, by and large, did not enter the fray or participate in dispute and argument. While they appear to have approved of the resistance offered by the Śaiva saints, they contented themselves with occasional disparagement of the Buddhists and Jains.”²⁷ In addition, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava hagiographies allude to their supremacy over Jainism through accounts of conversions from Jainism. Appar succeeded in converting the Pallava king from Jainism to Śaivism, and Campantar did the same for the Pandya monarch. Vaiṣṇava hagiography also tells of the example of Tirumaṅkai Ālvār, who removed a golden image of the Buddha from a monastery at Nākaṇṭṭinam, melted it down and used the gold to cover the temple spire at Śrīraṅkam.

What I wish to make clear here is not how Bhakti literature deals with Jains and Buddhists but how it reveals a coloring of Hinduism and propagates it. This tendency of Hindu

²⁵ Zvelebil [1974: 139].

²⁶ I have mostly followed the translation by Peterson [1991].

²⁷ Deheja [1990: 3–4].

texts did not change thereafter, for in the course of the Bhakti movement Hinduism had become more and more influential in Tamil society, politics, art and literature while Jainism and Buddhism, in contrast, were on the wane. Naturally many Hindu works were composed, but many of them were mere translations, adaptations, or imitations of Sanskrit works with a clear and unmistakable tinge of Hinduism.

4. General trends in Jain works: A Reassessment of Jain authorship

As seen above, the difference between Jain works and Buddhist or Hindu works is indisputable. The latter strongly propagate their own religion by negating other religions and are sometimes even polemic, whereas the former are not in the least either propagative or polemic (apart from the *Nīlakēci*), with equal treatment of other religions. Consequently the religious figures of the latter are usually obscure.

Some maintain that the *Peruṅkatai* and *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* are filled with Jain mythology, beliefs, and even phraseology. But such elements peculiar to a particular religion are far more obvious in Buddhist and Hindu works, and, compared with them, such elements in Jain works remain at a negligible level. More importantly, even though they are filled with Jain elements, they, like other Jain works, do not have the appearance of texts “with a primarily religious motivation”, as is mentioned by Vijayalakshmy regarding the *Peruṅkatai*.²⁸ This peculiar feature common to Jain works again exhibits a striking contrast to Buddhist and Hindu works, in which their main motivation is religious, i.e. the propagation of their faith.

The Jains seem to have composed books on general topics with the intention of gaining a broader circle of readers. This is more evident in the case of the great trio (*ratnatraya*) in the golden age of Kannada literature than in Jain works in Tamil literature. The great trio are Pampa, Ponna and Ranna of the 10th century. They are Jains, since they composed hagiographies: Pampa’s *Ādipurāṇa* (hagiography of the 1st *tīrthaṅkara*), Ponna’s *Śāntipurāṇa* dealing with the 16th *tīrthaṅkara*, and Ranna’s *Ajītapurāṇa* narrating the 2nd *tīrthaṅkara*. Apart from these religious works, they composed secular works on popular subjects: Pampa composed the *Vikramārjunavijaya* (usually known as *Pampabhārata*), Ponna wrote the *Rāmachandracarītapurāṇa*, and Ranna dealt with the fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana in his *Gadāyuddha*.

The attitude of the above three poets reminds us of Tiruttakkatēvar, author of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*. The *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* deals with the story of Jīvandhara in the *Uttarapurāṇa* by Guṇabhadra, which is very popular among Jains. It is basically the story of the hero’s (Jīvaka / Cīvaka) love conquests of eight beautiful girls, and because of this it is also called the *Maṇanūl* or “Book of Marriage”. The work is filled with sensuousness and an erotic tone, and so “one could hardly call it an invitation to an austere life.”²⁹ But, at the same time,

²⁸ Vijayalakshmy [1981: 156].

²⁹ Jesudasan [1961: 145]. He also says, “If there is one book in Tamil literature that should be banned for

the erotic tone “is the real source of [its] popularity”,³⁰ and actually the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* was extremely popular at the time, as is indicated by the following story: “a Cōḷa king found too much pleasure in reading through the story, whereupon the Poet Sēkkiḷār admonished him against wasting his energy over such useless Jain material.”³¹

Such being the case, there appeared several stories about the author. According to one tradition, the author Tiruttakkaṭēvar became a Jaina ascetic at a relatively early age and lived in Madurai. Other non-Jaina poets challenged his capacity to contribute to the literature of love. His *guru* then permitted him to compose a love poem, which he did very successfully. However, the other poets now cast aspersions on his character: one who had no experience of sex-life could not produce such poems. Tiruttakkaṭēvar then demonstrated his purity by means of an ordeal.³² This story reveals how, like Pampa, Ponna and Ranna, Tamil Jain authors also composed works, sometimes hiding their own predilections, on general subjects in order to command wide popularity.

Thus, we may point out the following as specific features common to Jain works: 1) unlike others, Jains’ main motivation is not to propagate their own faith; 2) therefore they do not select subjects peculiar to Jains but choose general topics; 3) they do not deal with their own faith but refer equally to others, to say nothing of their non-rejection and non-negation of others; 4) consequently their works, unlike works by Buddhists and Hindus, do not exhibit any Jain coloring. Taking all these features into consideration, one could sum up by saying, “if a work does not show any inclination to or any tint peculiar to a specific religion, it is by a Jain.”

5. Concluding remarks

What I have mentioned above is not especially new. But most preceding studies have attempted to find direct evidence linking a work with a Jain author, whereas in this study I have tried to find the difference between the characteristics of works by authors other than Jains and those by so-called Jains. On the basis of this difference, I have discovered a clue for solving the problem of authorship. Now, let us take the *Tolkāppiyam* (hereafter, *Tol.*) as an example. *Tol. Poruḷatikāram* (hereafter, *TP*) 571–77³³ mentions the classification of living creatures, ranging from creatures having one sense to those having six senses. Some maintain that the classification appears to agree fully with the Jain one, and so the *Tol.* is a Jain work. The following question may then arise: why would a Jain author refer to Brahmanical and/or Hindu ideologies such as the caste-varṇa system (*TP* 615–29), *gāndharva* or one of the eight

the young, it is *Sīvaha-sindāmaṇi*” ([1961: 148]).

³⁰ Jesudasan [1961: 145].

³¹ Jesudasan [1961: 145].

³² See, Zvelebil [1975: 173-74].

³³ I follow the numbering system of the *Ḵampūraṇam*, i.e. the edition of the *Tol.* with the commentary by Ḵampūraṇar.

kinds of Brahmanical marriage (TP 89, 140), stages of love almost identical to the ten stages of love (*daśa kāmāvasthāḥ*) mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* and elsewhere (TP 97), the *rasa* theory in Sanskrit treatises on dramaturgy (TP Meyppāṭṭiyal), and 32 literary devices (*utti < Skt. yukti*) mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*?

Following previous methodology, one would have to find other evidence for its authorship. But using my methodology, the above contradiction is not a contradiction. If the author of the *Tol.* were either a Buddhist or a Hindu, neither of them would have referred to a classification of living creatures peculiar to Jains because of their characteristics as seen above. Therefore, only a Jain author could have mentioned all these things.

In connection with this, some opine that “the seminal ideas which we today associate with Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, were all probably present in a germinal form” or “in their formative stages”.³⁴ It is true that in Caṅkam literature religion had been quite subdued and from it we can barely infer the presence of either Brahmanism or Jainism and Buddhism, not to mention indigenous religious practices. But judging from the Tamil-Brahmī inscriptions, it is quite certain that at least Jainism was firmly established in Tamilnadu even in the 2nd cent. B.C.³⁵ The same is true in the case of Buddhism, for Brahmī inscriptions from western or eastern Deccan and Sri Lanka show that Buddhism spread widely in both areas in the 2nd cent. B.C. Thus, such a naive opinion as mentioned above is not true, and we may clearly say that these religious groups were not in the formative stages even in the 2nd–1st cent. B.C.

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³⁴ Gopalan [1979: 42].

³⁵ There have been views arguing for Buddhist occupation of the caves, maintaining that “characters resembling those of Asokan edicts suggest Buddhist association even before the [Tamil-Brahmī] inscriptions”, but as is mentioned by Mahadevan, “the texts of the Tamil-Brahmī inscriptions which have now been fully deciphered, do not reveal any internal evidence for associating the Buddhist faith with the Tamil caves. Some of the earlier readings ... have now been shown to be incorrect” (Mahadevan [2003: 126]). As for Ājīvika presence, there is no evidence of their association with the Tamil caves. See Mahadevan [2003], pp. 126–127 and others.

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2011.3.3

Professor, University of Tokyo

タミル文学におけるジャイナ教徒の作者について ― 再評価 ―

高橋 孝信

2千年におよぶタミル文学史のなかで、かなり多くの重要な作品がジャイナ教徒の手になるとされている。ところが、それらの作品をよく調べてみると、それらの作者がジャイナ教徒である決定的な手がかりはえられない。それどころか、バラモン教やヒンドゥー教、あるいは仏教の要素もしばしばみられる。

そこで本稿では、まず、これまでジャイナ教徒の作品とされてきた作品をいくつか取り上げ、ジャイナ教をはじめとした諸宗教の思想や世界観がどのように描かれているかみてみる(第2節)。ついで、仏教徒あるいはヒンドゥー教徒の作品の特徴を検討し(第3節)、それらとジャイナ教徒作とされる作品を比較する(第4節)。

ジャイナ教徒の作品と言われる、タミル文化の華『ティルックラル』(5世紀ごろ)では、「不殺生」が強調されるが、その一方で、ジャイナ教では認めていない「創造神」が出たり、ジャイナ教徒が忌避する「農業」を賛美したりしている。また叙事詩『シラッパディハーラム(蹀飾り物語)』(5世紀ごろ)では、主人公の一人は仏教を信奉する家の出であるし、仏教は言うまでもなく、バラモン教やヒンドゥー教の世界観や神々、それにサンスクリットの二大叙事詩にしばしば言及しており、それら他の宗教と比べてジャイナ教色が特に出ているわけではない。(第2節)

これらの作品と比べると、仏教やヒンドゥー教の作品では、それぞれの宗教色が強く打ち出されている。仏教叙事詩『マニメーハライ(宝石の帯)』(6-8世紀ごろ)は、仏教色一色であり、他宗教に言及するのは、仏教に比べていかに劣るかを述べるときだけで、そのやり方は卑しくさえ見える。また、7世紀にヒンドゥー文献としては最初に姿を現すバクティ文献も同様である。バクティ運動は、それまで栄えていたジャイナ教と仏教に対するヒンドゥー教側からの復興運動であるから、ジャイナ教徒や仏教徒を敵対視し、非難するのは致し方ないとしても、そこには品性のかけらもない。(第3節)

このような、自派のプロパガンダを目的とする仏教やヒンドゥー教の作品と比べると、ジャイナ教の作品は、自派の宗教色を全く出さず、プロパガンダとも無縁で、ジャイナ教に関係する主題を取り入れることもない。したがって、一言で言うと「なんらかの宗教に偏っていない作品が、ジャイナ教徒の作品」と言うことができる。(第4節)

従来の研究では、ある作品に見られるジャイナ教的な要素(たとえば「不殺生」)を取り上げ、その作品がジャイナ教徒のものであると論じる。しかし、上述したように、ジャイナ教徒の作品の特徴とは、肯定的な要素と同時に否定的な要素を持っていることである。このように考えると、タミル最古の文法書『トルハーッピヤム』(後1-5世紀)は、バラモン・ヒンドゥー教の、法・財・愛の論書の影響をかなり受けているものの、生き物の6分類法は間違いなくジャイナ教のものであり、そのことから、これがジャイナ教徒の手になることは明らかになる。(第5節)

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