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# Political and Cultural Dynamics of a Supra-Region: Punnada Country in the History of Jainism in Kerala

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**Abstract:** Present study is based on the inscriptions as well as literary sources associated to the antique Kingdom called Punnada-nadu which have a significant bearing on the historical development of ancient and medieval Kerala particularly during 3rd Century BCE to 13th Century CE. This study can be a landmark in the history of Kerala on account of it provides some vital missing links in the early history of the region. There is a general consensus among the historians and budding researchers that the ancient Chera Empire declined around 5th - 6th Century CE largely due to the decline of the Roman Empire and its trade with the east. History of Kerala during the period between ancient Cheras and the medieval Chera-Perumals (c.5th - c.9th Century CE) still remain to be the 'terra incognita' due to the availability of bitty evidence and little researches on them. Present study clearly portrays the greater Punnada Country's crucial role in the political as well as the cultural dynamics of ancient and medieval Kerala. This study shed light into a new and unrevealed story of a medieval ruling family with Punnada inheritance called the Kadambas of Wayanad (Bayal-nadu), whose territorial entity largely extended over the present Wayanad and contiguous regions in Kerala during 11th and 12th Century CE. This local Kadamba line ruled from Kittur/Kirttipura, the historical capital of the ancient Punnada kings. Inscriptional references to the 'Punnada-adhigaries,' to denote provincial governors, of the Kadambas of Wayanad as well as the Perumals of Mahodayapuram further celebrates the glorious Punnada history of Kerala. Inscriptional as well as literary evidence tell us that the ancient Punnada-nadu was one of the conspicuous Jaina hubs of South India, and her Jaina historicity even can be traced out from the celebrated Bhadrabahu-Chandragupta tradition. Existence of an ancient Jaina Sangha in the Punnada country popularly known as Punnada-sang is conspicuous in this regard. This identification of the crucial significance of Jainism in the Punnada Country can clearly shed fresh light into the dark and empty corners of the history of Jainism in Kerala.

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**Keywords:** Jainism, Kerala, Punnada-nadu, Kadambas, Tholkappiyam, Pambra Inscription, Kuvalayamalakatha

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## Introduction

In the absence of required sources, reconstructing the glorious but unrevealed historical antiquity of Kerala region has been a herculean task for historians and researchers. The main reason behind the scarcity of sources is the high density of population which led to the rapid urbanization leading to the encroachment and

obliteration of historical sites and evidences. Furthermore, most of the monuments were constructed with the perishable wooden materials. Moreover, in the case of Jainism, most of the Jaina *Pallies* and *Basties* in the region were converted as Hindu worshiping centers and their Tirthankaras and other deities are worshiping as Hindu ones, or they were transformed into Hindu gods and goddesses. To compound the problem still further, researches into historical archaeology focusing on systematic, problem oriented explorations and excavations are very few and far between. Because of the aforesaid factors scholars are generally reluctant to venture into the virgin areas of Kerala's historical past in general and Jaina studies in particular. Against this backdrop, the present study is largely based on the epigraphical and literary evidences associated to the Punnada Country and her glorious Jaina antiquity can be a landmark in the political as well as the cultural history of Kerala.

### **Punnada-nadu**

The Punnada country is very conspicuous in the history of Southern most Peninsular India including Kerala, and her history is very fascinating on account of her remote antiquity. The ancient *Punnada-nadu* was situated in the south of Mysore (*EC*, Vol.I.1914: Introduction.7; *Vol.IV.1898*: Introduction.3-4); consisted of most parts of the present Malabar region including the entire Wayanad, and its southern boundary possibly extended up to Palakkad. This territory is repeatedly mentioned by an early record belonging to one Punnada-Raja Ravidatta (dynasty unknown), and also by the dynastic records of the Gangas, Cholas, and the Kadambas of Bayal-nadu (*EC*, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.37; *Vol.IV.1898*: Introduction.3-4, Hg.56; *IA*, Vol.I.1984: 364; *Vol.V.1984*: 140; *Vol.XII.1984*: 12-13; *Vol.XVIII.1984*: 362-363; Dhiraj 2021: 163-164).

The Tamil classical work *Tholkappiyam* speaks about thirteen divisions of ancient Tamilakam including one *Puna-nadu* (Kanakasabhai 1979: 12; Dhiraj 2021: 163), could be the Punnada. It could be the *Pouunata* of Ptolemy which he locates near to the country of *Kerobothros* (*Keralaputras* or Cheras) which was famous for beryl (McCrinkle 1885: 180-182). He also mentions two more territories close to *Pouunata* such as *Mastanour*, and *Kourellour*. These can tentatively identified as Mysore and Gudalur respectively. The capital of the Punnada Kingdom was *Kirttipura* alias Kittur situated on the banks of the river Kabani in H. D. Kote taluk (*EC*, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.37.note.2; *Vol.IV.1898*: Introduction.3-4, Hg.56), just 60 kilometres away from Wayanad.

The extent of this kingdom up to the present Coimbatore-Palakkad region is attested by a copper plate grant (Komaralingam Grant), datable to 6th Century CE (*IA*, Vol.XII.1984: 13)<sup>1</sup>, from Udumalpet near Coimbatore (*IA*, Vol.XVIII.1984: 362-369). It records the names of five rulers of this dynasty: Rashtravarmma; his son Nagadatta; his son Bhujaga; his son Skandavarma; and his son the Punnada-Raja Ravidatta (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898: Introduction.4)<sup>2</sup>. Interestingly, this crucial record speaks about some land grants endowed by Ravidatta from his victorious camp at *Kirttipura* with the permission of one *Cheramma* (*IA*, Vol.XVIII.1984: 367-368)<sup>3</sup>. *Cheramma* could be

*Cheraman*, a Chera King. If these identifications are correct, then the existence of the Chera royal house during 6th Century CE has to be accepted. Moreover, the statement in the record that 'Ravidatta made the grant with the permission of Chera king' indicates the clear-cut Chera supremacy over the Punnada country. Chera affiliation of the Punnada country can be further established through the two 9th Century CE inscriptions (Syrian Christian copper plates) (*TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992: 83; Narayanan 1972: 87,91; 2013.Index.A2,6: 435, 437) of the reign of Sthanu Ravi Chera (c.844-883 CE); which speak about the *pati* (chiefs)<sup>4</sup> of *Punnaithalai* which seems to be the Punnada of our present discussion.

An inscription (*IA*, Vol.V.1984: 140) of 513 CE records the marriage of the Western Ganga king Avinita (c.469-529 CE), with the daughter of Punnada king Skandavarman as a consequence of which Punnada became a part of the Ganga kingdom. This record also says that through the marriage of Avinita with Punnada princesses "*having by the growth of the three powers of increase brought into subjection all the bands of tributary chiefs,*" and rest of the small territories like *Andari*, *Alattur*<sup>5</sup>, *Paurulare*, *Pernnagara*, and other places conquered through wars by his son Durvinita<sup>6</sup>. The marriage by Avinita with Punnada princess along with Durvinita's subsequent conquests made the Gangas owners of the entire *Paakhaad* and *Punnada* countries (*IA*, Vol.V.1984: 135; Vol.XVIII.1984: 364)<sup>7</sup>. Some more Ganga records clearly say that Avinita's mother was the sister of the Kadamba King Krishnavarman (*EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1: 6; *IA*, Vol.V.1984: 134, 140). Here we have to examine certain crucial facts associated to the Kadamba-Pallava-Ganga interlude in Kerala, particularly during 5th and 6th Century CE, which help us in reconstructing the historical development of the so-called 'dark age' (Menon 2008: 28) in the history of Kerala. The Kadamba records such as Nilambur plates of Ravivarman (*EL*, Vol.VIII.1981: 146-147; Gai 1996: 94-95; Dhiraj 2015a: 53-57; 2017: 691-701)<sup>8</sup>, Edakkal cave label inscription of Vishnuvarman (*IA*, Vol.XXX.1901: 412; Dhiraj 2015b: 50-62)<sup>9</sup>, and the two Pallava grants, viz., Palakkada plates and Dasanapura plates (*IA*, Vol.V.1984: 50-53,154-157; Dhiraj 2015b: 50-68) are important in this regard. The detailed study and analysis of these crucial records (Dhiraj 2015a: 53-57; 2015b: 50-68; 2017: 691-701) clearly attests the political foothold of the Pallavas and the Kadambas on the Kerala soil. Avinita's uncle Krishnavarman was the father of Vishnuvarman (c.485-497 CE) of Edakkal cave record (*ARMAD* 1925: 98; *IA*, Vol.XXX.1901: 412). Vishnuvarman Kadamba was the uncle of Ravivarman Kadamba (c.500-537 CE) of Nilambur plates (*EC*, Vol.VI.1901.Kd.162; Dhiraj 2021: 249, 334.note.159), but they were enemies. Vishnuvarman ruled from Triparvarta (Halebidu) and Ravivarman from Banavasi. The Hebbata grant mentions that Vishnuvarman was installed on the throne by a Pallava ruler (*ARMAD* 1925: 98)<sup>10</sup>.

Some of the Kadamba records say that Vishnuvarman was killed by Ravivarman and captured southern part of the kingdom (*IA*, Vol.V.1984: 50; Vol.VI.1984: 29-30)<sup>11</sup>. Capturing the throne of Banavasi from Ravivarman Kadamba by Vishnuvarman with the help of the Pallavas, their traditional enmity could be the chief reason behind their conflicts. Palakkada plates gives the names of some Pallava rulers including

Skandavarman I and his grandson Skandavarman II (*IA*, Vol.V.1984: 50). Here we have to remember a fact that Lewis Rice who deciphered the present Ganga record of Avinita has given probability to Skandavarman in this record as a Pallava ruler or “he may have been a feudatory who adopted his patron’s name” (*IA*, Vol.V.1984: 135). It is reasonable to assume that the Punnada King Skandavarman who gave his daughter to Avinita Ganga must be a member of the Pallava family and his realm comprised not only Punnada but the Palakkad region of Kerala as well. This hypothesis is supported and confirmed by another grant of the Ganga King Avinita (issued in his 12th regnal year) which spoke about the construction of a Jaina temple by the mother of a Pallava King Simhavishnu for the merit of her husband’s family (*ARMAD* 1938: 86,90; Ramesh 1984: 49-51). Here the Pallava King Simhavishnu could be the son of Ganga Avinita by Pallava princess and daughter of Skandavarman. After the marriage of Avinita and his son’s conquest not only made them the Kings of Punnada but Palakkad (*Paakhaad*) as well. Here we have to remember another fact that, apart from the chief capital Kanchi, the early Pallavas had their sub-capitals at Palakkada (Palakkad), Dasanapura, Menmatura and Tambrapa (Dubreuil 1920: 69; Dhiraj 2015b: 56-57). Alathur, according to the Ganga record, one among the small territories captured by Durvinita (Rice 1897: 313) was probably the present place with the same name in Palakkad, one of the ancient Jaina centres of Kerala. Through the marriage, according to the same record, “three powers”-Kadambas, Pallavas, and the Western Gangas - got joined.

The Punnada inherited Kadamba presence in some parts of Karnataka and Kerala continued into the late medieval period. Epigraphical evidences (George 1931: 91,165,219,224,229,232,235,240) indicate that several collateral branches of the Kadambas existed in Manjarabad, northern Coorg; in Bayal-nadu, southern Coorg; and in Hanagal and Goa between 10th and 14th Century CE. Kirttipura (Kittur), the capital of Punnada kings later became the capital of the Kadambas of Bayal-nadu (Wayanad)<sup>12</sup> during their rule between 11th and 12th Centuries CE (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898. Hg.56; Dhiraj 2015c: 140).

A number of Hale-Kannada inscriptions from Heggadadevankote (HD Kote) taluk of Mysore in Karnataka show that the territory of the Kadambas of Wayanad comprised of the entire present day Wayanad district and some other parts of Kerala including Kasaragod, Kannur, Kozhikode, Malappuram and Palakkad, besides the Kannada and Tamil regions of H. D. Kote, Gundlupet, Coorg, Gudalur etc. A Tamil-Malayalam vatteluttu inscription from Sultan Bathery and some from Thirunelli of the Wayanad district further support this hypothesis (Dhiraj 2019: 193-194).

Some of the inscriptions of this dynasty indicate the Bayal-nadu country was a *Yugma Bayal-nadu* (Double Wayanad); comprised two sub sections viz., *Bira Bayal-nadu* and *Changi Bayalu-nadu*. The present Wayanad district and contiguous regions in Kerala included in the ‘*Vira*’ or ‘*Bira*’ *Bayal-nadu* section (Dhiraj 2021: 268-269). Certain later records (Varier 2012: 49-50) from Wayanad also mentioned *Vira-Vayalnad* as *Peraviyanad* or *Piraviyanad* (Dhiraj 2015c: 135-148; 2019: 191-200; 2021: 268-269).

Inscriptions (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50, 56, 73, 75, 77, 79, 80) mention the names of six rulers of this dynasty: Raviyammarasa (1007 CE), Kandavamma (1079 CE), Siva (1083 CE), Kanthirava (1090 CE), Iravi Challamma (1107 CE) and Mukkanna (1138 CE). Their titles like *Maha Mandalesvara Rajadhiraja* mentioned in some records (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,56) prove that this dynasty consisted of independent rulers but at the same time during Chola occupation of the interior South India we can't negate the fact that they might have ruled as the feudatories. Moreover, we can notice more than seventy years of gap between the first ruler Raviyammarasa (1007 CE) and his successor Kandavamma (1079 CE) (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56,73). At the same time some epigraphical records such as Ankanathapura-Arkeshwara temple inscription of Rajendra I (1037 CE), Kolagala Mari temple record of Rajadhiraja (1053 CE) and Gujjappanahundi Virakal inscription of Rajendra II (1062 CE) clearly attest the political authority over these regions by the Imperial Cholas (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898. Hg.104,114,115).

However, the earliest known ruler of the dynasty was Raviyammarasa (Ravivarman Raja) mentioned in a Virakal inscription (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898. Hg.73) dated Saka 929 (1007 CE) from the village of Magge in HD Kote taluk of Mysore district which says that he was the *Rajadhiraja* of the Kingdom of *Bira-Bayal-nadu* ("...raviyyammarasan-ada-rajadhiraja-bira-bayal-nad-rajyam-geyv-andu..."). Some of the lines in the Kittur record such as "...kittur-ada-ananta-kirtti-mahanagara-purada-raja-stana..." ('The famous Kittur which was the royal residence') attests that their capital was in Kittur (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898. Hg.56), which can be located as the present Kittur village of HD Kote taluk, situated not far from the present day Wayanad.

A fragmentary Tamil-Malayalam vatteluttu inscription (Nair 1973: 134-135) from the Mariamman temple at Sulthan Bathery in Wayanad reads<sup>13</sup> '*Ravi Ravivarman the ruler of Vira-Vayal-nadu, Padainayar of Poothapadi the representative of the Raja of Kerala, Shekararaman the Padainayar of Paadikumbam, Nilal and Pani...*' seems to convey that both the Magge and the Mariamman temple records belong to the same dynasty; thus both the *Ravivarman Raja* of *Bira-Bayal-nadu* and the *Ravi Ravivarman* of *Vira-Vayal-nadu* were one and same. On paleographic grounds, the Mariamman temple record has been dated to the 12th Century CE (*ARIE* 1961-1962.1986: 59); but in the light of Magge inscription we can reach a more accurate conclusion that it belongs to the period of 11th Century CE.

In one of the Kittur stone records (1079 CE) endowed by Kandavamma (Skandavarman), Ravivarman's successor, further establishes the Kadamba dominance over Wayanad and other parts of the Malabar region of Kerala (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898. Hg.56). Some of its lines read<sup>14</sup> as '*Maha-Mandaleswara Rajadhiraja, lord of Bira-Bayal nadu, Kandavamma, was ruling the five three hundreds of Bayal-nadu as a single kingdom; Tirumangalam was placed under the responsibility (kilubaram) of Poothapadi Padainayar, Nilal and Pani of the Punnada-adhigari of Kerala-nadu, Punnada-adhigari of Nidule-Nadu, Punnada-adhigari of Kandavamma-nadu, and Kiki-nadu officer who was also a Punnada-adhigari*'.

The term *Poothapadi Padainayar* of the above Kittur record was also mentioned not only in the Mariamman Temple inscription (Nair 1973: 134-135; *ARIE* 1961-1962.1986: 59), but also in an un-dated Tamil-Malayalam vatteluttu copper plate record (Nair 1972: 65-66, 96) from the Thirunelli temple at Wayanad. The latter document speaks about certain *Yogiyar* (might be the priest) of the Thirunelli Alvan temple who looked after the *Srikariyam* (duties to the god) was entrusted with some lands for the *Tiruvamirtu* (god's feast) with the *Ten* (South) *Poothapadi Padainayar*. The “*Nayan* who has service right in the Thirunelli temple” (*Paniy-udaiya-nayan*) of the Thirunelli record (1021 CE) of Bhaskara Ravivarman, also might be the *Poothapadi Padainayar* of other records (*EI*, Vol.XVI.1983: 343-344). There are also some references to *Nedumpurayurnattu Padainayar* and *Sirukadaitturutti Padainayar* in the Nedumpuram Tali inscription and Huzur treasury plates of the Tiruvalla temple (*TAS*, Vol. II&III: 151; Narayanan 2013. Index.A.70)<sup>15</sup>.

The terms ‘Nilal’ and ‘Pani’ of the Kittur record are also mentioned by two 11th Century CE copper plate records from Thirunelli, along with the Thrikodithanam record (976 CE) of Bhaskara Ravivarman (*EI*, Vol.XVI.1983:340,343-344; *IA*.Vol.XX.1985:290-291; *TAS*,Vol.V.Part.II.1925:189; Narayanan 2013. Index.A.32, 36, 46). These Malayalam words are also find mentioned in the Thiruvannur record (1044 CE) of Rajaraja Chera and another un-dated record from the Thrikodithanam temple (*TAS*, Vol.V.Part.II.1925: 182-183; Narayanan 2013.Index.A.62, B.20). The ‘Nilal’ and ‘Pani’ generally indicated ‘shadow forces’ and ‘servants’ respectively, of the Medieval ruling classes in Kerala (Narayanan 2013: 419-420; Dhiraj 2018: 418,494-497).

Kittur record (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898. Hg.56) speaks about several *Punnada-adhigaries*, viz., *Kerala-nadu Punnada-adhigari*, *Nidule-Nadu Punnada-adhigari*, *Kandavamma-nadu Punnada-adhigari* and *Kiki-nadu Punnada-adhigari*. *Punnada-adhigaries* could be the governors of different provinces of the Cheras and the Kadambas. *Kandavamma-nadu Punnada-adhigari* could be the governor of the Kadamba king and *Kerala-nadu Punnada-adhigari* and *Nidule-nadu Punnada-adhigari* might be the Chera vassals. *Nidule-nadu* might be the same *Nanrulai-nadu* which was famous for the ‘Three Hundred’ organization (*Nanrulai-nadu Munnurruvar*) mentioned in a number of Chera inscriptions (10th-11th Century CE) from Kerala (*TAS*.Vol.II&III.1992: 22-25; *Vol.V.Part.I.1924: 32-34; Vol.V.Part. II.1925: 181-182*). According to the present Kittur record (*EC*, Vol.IV. 1898. Hg.56), Kandavamma was ruling the ‘Five Three Hundreds’ in a single Kingdom (“...*aydu-munnuruman-eka-rajya-geyyutti...*”). At the same time, two Chera records from Thrikodithanam and Perunna (*TAS*.Vol.II&III.1992: 33-34) endowed in the 14th regnal year (976 CE) of the King Bhaskara Ravivarman (962-1021 CE) indicate that one Govardhana Marttandan, the chieftain of *Nanrulai-nadu* was the vassal of the former. *Kerala-nadu Punnada-adhigari* and *Nidule-nadu Punnada-adhigari* could be the *Punnaithalai-pati* (*Punnaithalai* Chief) mentioned in the Syrian Christian copper plates (*TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992: 83; Narayanan 1972: 87,91; 2013.Index.A2,6: 420, 435, 437) of Sthanu Ravi Chera (9th Century CE). However, the designation ‘Punnada-adhigaries’ bejewelled to the provincial governors of the ‘Wayanadan Kadambas’ and

the later Cheras clearly indicate both the ruling houses were very esteemed to preserve that past Punnada glory in their courts.

The *Terumangalam* alias *Thirumangalam* in the Kittur inscription (EC, Vol.IV.1898. Hg.56) could be the same Thirunelli temple in the Thirunelli inscription (Nair 1972: 65-66, 96); and on the basis of these records along with the one from the Mariamman temple (Nair 1973: 134-135; *ARIE* 1961-1962.1986: 59) we can make an inference that both temples were placed under the protection of *Poothapadi Padainayar* by the *Punnada-adhigaries* of Cheras and Kadambas together. Moreover, this identification testifies another fact that both temples were free from the control of any particular dynasty or ruler. Threat from a common enemy such as the mighty Cholas, along with the Punnada inheritance might be the chief reasons behind a peaceful co-existence of both rulers even in the case of the temple affairs in a temple oriented socioeconomic system.

Many of the Kadamba records speak about a community namely the *Gavundas*. The Kittur record of Kandavamma, Magge record of Raviyamarasa and the Sogolli record of Siva speak about some prominent personalities of this community (EC, Vol.IV.1898. Hg.56, 73, 80)<sup>16</sup>. The *Gavundas* must be the same as the present Gowdas of Wayanad which consist of two sects, viz. Jaina Gowdas and Vaishnava Gowdas. Kannada is their spoken language at least in their homes. Once they could be the feudal chieftains under the Punnada kings, Gangas, and Kadambas of Banavasi, and of Bayal-nadu, and later under the Hoysalas similar with the *Janmies* (feudal chieftains) in the rest of the Kerala.

All these evidences attest a fact that the ancient Punnada country comprised most of the present Malabar region of Kerala; and in the south it extended up to the boundaries of the Palakkad, one of the ancient capitals of the Pallavas. It further established the political history of the Punnada country as the same as the Gangas, Kadambas, and Pallavas, which led to the Ganga-Kadamba-Pallava interlude in the early medieval history of Kerala. The acceptance of Chera suzerainty by the Punnada rulers can be identified as an unsolved episode in the ancient political history of the region. The history of the present Wayanad and adjoining Malabar region of Kerala, between the early part of the 11th and 12th Century CE, can now be called as the history of the Kadambas of Wayanad; who ruled from their historical capital at Kittur, the ancient capital of the greater Punnad Country. The continuation of the past Punnada glory and tradition by the Kadambas and Cheras, even in the late medieval period, through the 'Punnada-adhigaries' and 'Punnaithalai-paties' is also marked that Punnada fame in the political history of Kerala.

### **Punnada Jainism**

Punnada Country had a remarkable Jaina antiquity and it is clearly attests by a number of inscriptional as well as literary evidences. This ancient Kingdom is directly connected with several Jaina traditions (EC, Vol.I.1914: Introduction.7). The spread of Jainism into the southern part of Peninsular India is preserved in the popular

*Bhadrabahu-Chandragupta* tradition. This early historical tradition is conserved and recapitulated in the epigraphic and literary texts of the medieval period. Two inscriptions (*EC*, Vol.II.1923. SB.1,31), dated between 600 CE and 650 CE, from Chandragiri hill in Shravanabelagola provide us with an elaborate account of this tradition. Still, later, two other inscriptions (*EC*, Vol.III.1894. Sr.147,148) of the Western Ganga dynasty from Srirangapatna dated c.900 CE further testify this tradition.

Two more records (*EC*, Vol.II.1923. SB.64,67) dated 1129 CE and 1163 CE also speak about Bhadrabahu, the last of the *Srutakevalis* (the omniscient master of the scriptures), and his disciple Chandragupta, who spent their life at Shravanabelagola. Literary texts contain copious references to the *Bhadrabahu-Chandragupta* tradition which also speaks of the southward movement of the Jaina *Sangha* from north led by Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta-muni. A medieval Jaina text *Bhadrabahucharita* by Ratnanandi gives a detail account of this tradition (*EC*, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.38)<sup>17</sup>. A Kannada work named *Rajavalikathe* by Devachandra also gives an account most similar to that given by *Bhadrabahucharita*, but contains some more additional information (*EC*, Vol.II.1923: Introduction. 38-39; Ayyangar and Rao 1922: 20,32)<sup>18</sup>.

The celebrated Jaina text *Brihatkathakosa* of Harisena (931 CE) also speaks about the migration of Jaina community due to twelve-year famine from Ujjayini (*EC*, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.37). Remarkably, *Brihatkathakosa* states that the final destination of the Jaina emigrants was the Punnada Country. The gist of the tradition which linked with the *Chandragupta-bhadrabahu* tradition and the Punnada Country has been illustrated by *Brihatkathakosa* as is follows:

*“In the Paundravardhana country King Padmaratha was reigning in the city of Devakotta which was formerly known as Kotipura. He had a Brahmin dependent of the name of Soma Sharma who by his wife Soma Sri had a son named Bhadrabahu. One day when Bhadrabahu was at play with other children at Devakotta, Govardhana, the fourth Srutakevali, happened to see him, and perceiving that he was destined to be the fifth Srutakevali, took charge of him with his father’s consent and taught him all sciences. Soon after Bhadrabahu received dikshe (or the rite of initiation) from Govardhana and became an ascetic. In his wanderings he went to Ujjain and stopped in a garden on the bank of the Sipra River. At that time the King of Ujjain was the pious Jaina layman Chandragupta whose queen was Suprabha. While out to beg for alms, Bhadrabahu went to a house where there was only an infant crying in its cradle which told him to go away. On hearing this he came to the conclusion that there would be a twelve year’s drought in that country, and spoke to the community (Sangha) thus; ‘There will be a twelve year’s famine here. As my end is approaching, I shall stay here alone. You go to the south.’ When he heard of this, King Chandragupta received dikshe from Bhadrabahu. Chandragupta-muni, the first of the Dasapurvis, became the head of all the Sanghas under the name of Visakhacharya. By order of Bhadrabahu he led the sangha to the Punnada-vishaya in the south. Ramilla, Sthulavridha and Bhadracharya were sent with their Sanghas to Sindhu and other countries. Bhadrabahu went to that part of Ujjayini known as Bhadrapada, fasted for many days and expired. When the twelve years of famine were ended, Visakhacharya returned with the*

*Sangha from the South to Madhyadesa or the Middle Country*" (EC, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.37; Vol.IV.1898: Introduction.4).

This quasi historical story of *Brihatkathakosa* has some deviation from the other popular traditions regarding this subject. Firstly, contrary to the above inscriptional sources and the literary accounts, *Brihatkathakosa* does not mention that Bhadrabahu also came to south; instead he performed *Sallekhana* at Ujjayini itself. Secondly, the *Sangha* which moving to the south was led by Chandragupta. Thirdly, Harisena says that the whole *Sangha* went by Chandragupta's direction. Finally, their destination is more precisely described as Punnada Country than *Dakshinapatha* or South India ("...*sanghopi-samastoguru-vakyatah-dakshina-patha-desastha-punnata-vishayam yayau...*") (EC, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.37; Vol. IV.1898: Introduction.4). The absence of Shraavanabelagola in this tradition is also conspicuous.

However, regarding the further southward movement of this faith and its early *Sangha* beyond the Shraavanabelagola, inscriptions and literary texts contain many references. In the case of inscriptional references, a number of records from Shraavanabelagola and its contiguous regions attest the fact (EC, Vol.II.1923. SB.1,31,64, 67,258; Vol.III.1894. Sr.147,148). One of the Chandragiri records clearly specifies that a group of emigrants further travelled southwards and reached their final destination (EC, Vol.II.1923. SB.1). *Bhadrabahucharita* says that the final destination of the *Sangha* was Chola Country (EC, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.38), and according to the *Rajavalikathe*, it was Chola and Pandya countries (EC, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.39).

According to *Brihatkathakosa*, Chandragupta Maurya has changed his name to Visakhacharya after receiving of the *diksha* from Bhadrabahu (EC, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.37; Vol.IV.1898: Introduction.4). Inscriptional evidence supports the prominence of Visakha alias Visakhacharya in the Tamil and Kannada Jainism (EC, Vol.II.1923. SB.1,254). In the case of Tamil Jainism, according to other traditions, Visakhacharya is famous for his missionary activities in the Tamilakam (EC, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.38-39). The *Chandragupta-bhadrabahu* tradition illustrated in the *Bhadrabahucharita* and *Rajavalikathe* also speaks about the missionary activities in the south of the Shraavanabelagola by Visakhacharya on account of Bhadrabahu's illness. On the basis of all these traditions, it could be logical to infer that a Jaina saint namely Visakhacharya was responsible for the early missionary activities of Punnada and Tamil countries which ensued before the Common Era, and he might have an association with the first Jaina *Sangha* migrated from north to south possibly under the leadership of Bhadrabahu or Chandragupta, or both<sup>19</sup>.

Whatever it maybe, the role of Punnada country is crucial in the history of Jainism. In South India, from ancient period onwards it was very common that the Jaina *Sanghas*, *Ganas*, and *Gacchas*<sup>20</sup> were named after the place of its seats or the chief leaders who headed it. This is clear from the existence of an ancient Jaina *Sangha* in the Punnada country popularly known as *Punnada-sangha* (Upadhye 1983: 103-104; EC, Vol.I.1914:

Introduction.7; Vol.II.1923: Introduction.37). It could be the direct offshoot of the Jaina community migrated from the north (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898: Introduction.4), and it can be assigned to 3rd Century BCE, thus becoming the earliest Jaina *Sangha* which influenced the people of Kerala. A Shravanabelagola inscription (*EC*, Vol.II.1923. SB.81) refers to one *Kittur-sangha*. The capital of Punnada country was Kittur near Wayanad.

On account of that, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the *Kittur-sangha* could be the alternative name of the *Punnada-sangha*. The celebrated *Baladeva Kurava Adigal*, a disciple of *Dharmasena Kurava Adigal* of Kittur who performed *Sallekhana* on the Shravanabelagola hill mentioned in an inscription from there (*EC*, Vol.II.1923. SB.24), could be a member of *Kittur-sangha*. Scholars identified the *Kittur-sangha* as the *Kolattur-sangha* mentioned in some of the Shravanabelagola records (*EC*, Vol.II.1923. SB.92, 93, 96; Joseph 1997: 419). One land grant (Saka 735/813 CE) by Rashtrakuta King Prabhutavarsha (Govinda III) issued at the request of a Ganga King Chaaki Raja (*IA*, Vol.XII.1984: 11-12,18; *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.No.49: 332-333,338,344,349), refers to one Jaina muni *Koovilachari* of *Punnaga-vriksha-mula-gana* may have some association with the *Punnada-sangha* and *Punnada-gana*. The Devarahalli plates (*EC*, Vol.IV.1898. Ng.85; *IA*, Vol.II.1873: 158,160; Ramesh 1984: 185,188) of the Ganga King Sripurusha refer to a Jaina *Gana* called *Eregittur-gana* (*Eri + Kittur + Gana*)<sup>21</sup> of *Pulikall-gaccha* may also have some connection with the *Kittur-sangha*.

A number of Shravanabelagola records (*EC*, Vol.II.1923. SB.97,98,103,106,109,112,114) mention another *Sangha* called *Navilur-sangha* or *Namilur-sangha* named after the village Navilur located near Nanjangud, not far from Kittur. *Mayuragrama-sangha* mentioned in some other Shravanabelagola records can be identified as the *Navilur-sangha* (*EC*, Vol.II.1923. SB.108,114; Nandi 1973: 42). *Mayuragrama* could be the Sanskrit rendition of Navilur. On the basis of the above observations, it is reasonable to identify all these *Sanghas* are one and the same or they were the local offshoots of the *Punnada-sangha* of the *Punnada-nadu*.

Harisena himself says that he is the product of the *Punnada-sangha* (Upadhye 1983: 103-104; *EC*, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.37). Another prominent Jaina scholar Jinasena Suri, the author of *Harivamasa Purana* and *Mahapurana*, also claimed that he belonging to the *Brihat-Punnada-sangha* (*EC*, Vol.I.1914: Introduction.7, Appendix: 103; Vol.II.1923: Introduction.37; Upadhye 1983: 104)<sup>22</sup>; and as also a member of the *Punnada-gana* (Jain 1960: 195), a division of the *Punnada-sangha*. And his teacher *Kirti Sena* was also from the same *Punnada-gana*. He further refers to his grand-teacher *Amitha Sena* as the foremost leader of the *Punnada-gana* (“*pavitra-punnata-ganagranir-gani*”) (Upadhye 1983: 104 note5).

It is interesting to note that, Jinasena was also popularly known as *Jinasena Suri Punnada*. The *Punnada Pattavali* or the pontifical-genealogy-cum-chronicle of the *Punnada-sangha* written in Prakrit language, which belongs to the period between 500 CE - 900 CE is one of the important sacred texts of the Jainas of South India, especially of the Digambar sect (Jain 1960: 218).

## Development of Jainism in Kerala as a Part of Punnada Jainism

On the basis of the above made discussions, the spread and development of Jaina establishments in the Malabar region of Kerala, especially in the Wayanad region, during this period is very obvious considering the development of Jainism in the Punnada Country. On account of that, it is reasonable to identify the Jainism in Kerala, especially the 'Wayanadan Jainism' as an outgrowth of the 'Punnada Jainism'. Interestingly, the subsequent historical development of Wayanadan Jainism, as a part of Punnada Jainism, indicate that it was a pan Indian development; particularly on account of its significant growth into north and north-western parts of India. From early 7th Century CE onwards the Deccan dynasties like the Gangas, Western Chalukyas, and the Rashtrakutas had exercised unambiguous influence over the Gujarat region. Pulakesi II (Pulikesi II) conquered the Lathas and the Gurjaras of the broach and then a collateral branch of the Chalukyas was established in Gujarat (Upadhye 1983: 104). Some of the Rashtrakuta Kings had good contacts with Gujarat and even Kakkaraja II established a separate Rashtrakuta principality in Gujarat. Amoghavarsha I, the great Jaina patron of the Rashtrakuta dynasty was also known as *Gurjara-narendra*. The political support extended by those rulers paved the way for the spread of Jainism in, and movement of Jaina missionaries to, the Saurashtra and Malwa regions of north-western India from the Punnada Country. Under the leadership of Amitha Sena, the earliest known leader of the *Punnada-sangha*, a large number of Jainas from Punnada migrated to the north-western part of India, specifically to the Kathiawar and Gujarat province of the Malwa region (Upadhye 1983: 105; Singh 1975: 9). Jinasena and Harisena spent a part of their life at a place named Vardhamanapura and they gave a glorified account of that place. In the colophon of the *Harivamasa Purana*, Jinasena described that its composition was started in the Parsvanatha temple at Vardhamanapura and completed during the year 783 CE (Saka 705) in the Santhinatha Jaina temple at Dostika (Singh 1975: 8-9). Jinasena further refers to one Nannaraja who erected a *Parsvanatha Vasti (Basti)* at Vardhamanapura from where he started to write his *Harivamasa Purana* (Upadhye 1983: 105). The Nannaraja could be a Ganga King or chieftain from the Punnada Country, because the name *Nanniya* or *Nanna* has usually been used by the Western Ganga Kings and their chieftains like the Changalavas, Nolambas along with the Nannans of Kerala<sup>23</sup>. Harisena also claims that the composition of his masterpiece *Brihatkathakosa* has been started from Vardhamanapura during 10th Century CE (Singh 1975: 9; Upadhye 1983: 103,105-107). Vardhamanapura can be identified as the modern Wadhwan in the Surendranagar district in the Kathiawar province of Gujarat (Upadhye 1983: 105-106)<sup>24</sup>. The early name of the Wadhwan was Vardhamanapur.

*Punnada-sangha* was very popular in the Malwa region (west-central India) (Pahedia 2017: 9). An inscription (912 CE) inscribed on the backside of a Jaina image from Vardhamanapur (Badnawar)<sup>25</sup> clearly attests the importance of the *Punnada-sangha* in that region (Pahedia 2017: 38). The *Kashtha-sangha*, a very popular one in the north and north-western India during 7th - 8th Century CE, had its historical link with the

*Punnada-sangha* (Flugel 2006: 343,379.note.155). The *Gaccha* called *Punnada-gaccha* was also prominent among the Digambara sect of India, specifically in Maharashtra, Saurashtra, Malwa, and in the Eastern region. *Punnada-gaccha* is the forerunner of the *Latha-Bagada-gaccha*, which was popular in the Latha (Gujarat) and Bagada region of Chittor (Chittorgarh) in Rajasthan (Flugel 2006: 343)<sup>26</sup>. In many places, by the late medieval period, the *Punnada-gaccha* and *Bagada-gaccha* merged together and came to be called as *Latha-gaccha* (Pahedia 2017: 38). The *Latha-Bagada-gaccha*, however, continued to be popular by the name *Punnada-gaccha* in the north-west and west-central parts of the country for many centuries (Flugel 2006: 343). At present, the members of the *Latha-Bagada-Gaccha* alias *Punnada-gaccha* belongs to a particular caste among the Jainas known as Bagherwal and are chiefly concentrated in Maharashtra, Gujarat, north-western Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan. The historical Kirti Sthambha at Chittor was a product of the Bagherwal Digambar Jainas; and according to some inscriptions, it was erected by one Shresthi Bagherwal Jina possibly during the 12th or 13th Century CE (Somani 1982: 254).

### **Pambra Inscription**

In this context, it is necessary to discuss one extremely important inscription discovered from Pambra near Sulthan Bathery in Wayanad. This Sanskrit record dated in Vikrama Era (VS) 1338 (1282 CE) is written in *Nagari* characters was engraved on the backside of a Tirthankara image. Even though, this record was published in the 1960's, none of the researchers who worked on Jainism in Kerala has noticed. This image inscription (*ARIE* 1960-1961.1984.No.239: 195) states that "*Thakkura Kikata got the Panchayatana made for the merit of a lady named Bhaku and others belonging to the Pragvata community and that it was consecrated by Ratnaprabha-suri, the disciple of Chandrasen-suri*". We have another image inscription (*IAR* 1979-80, 1983: 85) from Junagadh district of Gujarat which records the installation of an image of Parsvanatha with *panchayatana* and *devakulika* (small shrine) in the village of Kutiyana by one Khimaka, son of Sri Kumarasimha Srimalajnati, for the merit of his son Dhara. Here, the *panchayatana* has been sanctified by one Padmaprabha-suri, disciple of Ratnaprabha-suri. It is interesting to notice that the Junagadh inscription was dated in 1337 VS (1281 CE), just a year before the sanctification of the *Panchayatana*<sup>27</sup> at Pambra by Ratnaprabha-suri.

The Pambra inscription is a very crucial native record which clearly connects Jainism in Kerala with the north-western India which further confirms the prominence of *Punnada-sangha* there. The presences of Pragvata caste of the Jainas in Wayanad add strength to this inference. The Pragvata community mentioned in the Pambra record is mainly concentrated in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh regions. They are also known as *Por*, *Porwar*, *Porwal*, *Porwad*, *Poravalas*, *Paravada* etc., (*EI*, Vol. XXX.1987: 212.note.2; Jain 1963: 102; 1999: 1251; Sandesara 1953: 1,5,8,13,18,26) and are described as 'a trading or merchant class, being one of the 84 *Gacchas* of the Jainas' (Wilson 1855: 421). Their name largely mentioned in the inscriptions as *pragvata* which was the alternative name for Mewar or Mewad region of south-central Rajasthan (Jain 1963: 102)<sup>28</sup>. At Present, Pragvatas are divided into Jaina and Vaishnava

followers like the Gowdas of Wayanad, but the former had been a very little relation among the sects (Jain 1999: 1251). In contrast, the Jaina and Vaishnava Gowdas of Wayanad are mingling with each other and even maintaining bridal alliances. The Pragvata Jainas mainly belong to the Digambara sect; though in certain regions they embrace 'Svetambarisam' as well. They were popular for the installation of Jaina images carrying inscriptions on it (Jain 1999: 1253). We have a large number of inscriptions (Jain 1963: 102; 1999: 1251-1252) from Gujarat, Rajasthan and other parts of the Malwa region referring to this community such as those from Jayasimhapura (1222 CE, 1308 CE), Dhar (1288 CE, 1328 CE, 1424 CE, 1440 CE), Talanpur (1310 CE), Indore (1496 CE), Sukhed (1496 CE), Sawyer (1502 CE), Bhakhatgarh (1503 CE), Mohankheda (1510 CE), Kesur (1512 CE), Mandu (1512 CE), Kukshi (1523 CE), Badnawar (1528 CE), Ujjain (1528 CE), etc. In the case of the above mentioned inscriptions as regards to this community, most of them belonged to 14th - 16th Century CE, except two. Our Pambra inscription is an earlier one which belongs to 1282 CE (Vikrama Era 1338) (ARE 1960-1961, 1984.No.239: 195). The Pragvata community people made historic contributions in all arenas of medieval Gujarat and Rajasthan. They were not mere merchants, but also great scholars, administrators, builders, literary experts, military generals. Vastupala, Tejpala, Sripala, Sidhapala, Vijayapala, Kumarapala, and Durlabharaja are some of the celebrated personalities of this community known for their conspicuous contributions in history (Sandesara 1953: 42.Note.1). The famous Jaina temples of Gujarat and Rajasthan such as Mount Abu, Ranakpur and Girnar were built by this community. The Dilwara temple at Mount Abu was built by two Pragvata brothers namely Vastupala and Tejpala between 12th and 13th Centuries CE (EI, Vol.VIII.1981: 214,217-219)<sup>29</sup>.

### Ratnaprabha-suri

According to the Pambra image inscription (ARE 1960-1961, 1984.No.239: 195), the *Panchayatana* temple was consecrated by one Ratnaprabha-suri, the disciple of Chandrasen-suri". Ratnaprabha-suri was the great Jaina scholar and logician who lived during 12th - 13th Century CE. An inscription (EI, Vol.XXXIX.Part.VI.1985.No.33: 216) discovered from a well in Ghaghsa Village in Chittorgarh (Chittor) district of Rajasthan (1322 VS/1265 CE) refers to Ratnaprabha-suri as a resident of Chitrakuta fort (*Chitrakootachaladurga*) which can be identified as the present Chittorgarh fort (Chittor fort). It is also stated that he was honoured by the Guhila King Tejasimha. Another inscription (1330 VS/1273 CE) discovered from Chirava village near Udaipur also speaks of the distinguished position enjoyed by Ratnaprabha-suri in the royal court of Tejasimha and another King Visvaladeva, the Baghela (Vaghela) ruler of Dholka (EI, Vol.XXII.1938.No.37: 286,288,291). The Junagadh inscription (IAR 1979-80, 1983: 85) attests that Ratnaprabha-suri belonged to the *Dharanapadra-gaccha* or *Chaitra-gaccha*<sup>30</sup> as described by the Ghaghsa inscription (EI, Vol.XXXIX.Part.VI.1985.No.33: 216,222).

Ratnaprabha-suri is famous for his literary creations and authored a number works including *Upadesamalavrtti*, *Doghattivrtti*, *Syadvadaratnakaravatarika* and *Kuvalayamalakatha* (Velankar 1944: 49)<sup>31</sup>. *Upadesamalavrtti* is purely a Jaina scripture,

which was composed when he was at Broach, says that his spiritual lineage belonged to the *Vrhad-gaccha* (*Brhad-gaccha*) (Vidyabhusana 1921: 212; Velankar 1944: 49-50) which probably had a connection with the above said *Chaitra-gaccha* or *Dharanapadragaccha*. *Upadesamalavrthi* (Vidyabhusana 1921: 212) also states about his spiritual predecessors as Muni Chandra-suri, Deva-suri, Bhadresvara-suri, etc. Muni Chandra-suri could be the Chandrasena-suri mentioned as his teacher in the Pambra record (*ARE* 1960-1961, 1984. No.239: 195)<sup>32</sup>. Chirava and Ghaghsa records (*EL*, Vol.XXII.1938.No.37: 286, 291; *Vol. XXXIX*. Part. VI.1985.No.33: 222) refer to the name of his another teacher Bhuvanachandra-suri. The commentary on *Syadvadaratnakara* (a work based on Jaina philosophy of *Pramanasastra*) of Vadideva-suri under the title *Syadvadaratnakaravatarika* is another monumental work penned by this great scholar (Vidyabhusana 1921: 211; Shastri 1983: 24). Ratnaprabha-suri is, however, more celebrated in the literary context of medieval India through his magnum opus *Kuvalayamalakatha* (Master 1951: 1004; Upadhye 1968: 63; Shah 1968: 247).

### **Medieval Kerala as Gleaned from the Kuvalayamalakatha**

Ratnaprabha-suri's Sanskrit *Kuvalayamalakatha* is based on a Prakrit Champu *Kuvalayamala* of another celebrated Jaina scholar Uddyotana-suri (Dhiraj 2018a: 48-62). The *Kuvalayamala* was composed, between 778 CE - 779 CE, from the Rishabha Jinalaya constructed by one Virabhadra at Jabalipura (Jalor, Rajasthan) (Master 1951: 1004; Shah 1968: 247,249; Upadhye 1968: 63; 1970:20, 98,102-103). *Kuvalayamala* is a very valuable source material for understanding the socio-cultural history not only of the 8th Century CE north, and north-western India, but the peninsular part of the country including Kerala as well. Uddyotana-suri was an excellent writer and the graphic descriptions in the work indicate that he in fact travelled widely across India, including Kerala (Shah 1968: 250). *Kuvalayamalakatha* is considered as the exact stylistic digest of *Kuvalayamala* (Upadhye 1968:63; 1970:18). However, *Kuvalayamalakatha* can be considered more as an extension of *Kuvalayamala*, in view of some additions which narrate *Ratnaprabha-suri's* presence in the Kerala country. His attendance in the region is further testified by the above discussed Pambra record (*ARE* 1960-1961, 1984.No.239: 195).

Interestingly, both *Kuvalayamala* and *Kuvalayamalakatha* speak about a coastal town in the *Dakshinapatha* (southern India) called Vijayapuri or Vijayanagari in glorifying terms (Upadhye 1970: 45,63,75; Shah 1968: 250-252). A more elaborate account on Vijayapuri is giving by *Kuvalayamalakatha* than *Kuvalayamala*<sup>33</sup>. These accounts clearly attest that the city of Vijayapuri was not a fictional one and, moreover, both the authors were well accustomed with this ancient city. The city of Vijayapuri has already been tentatively identified by some scholars as in the present day Kerala region (Shah 1968: 250-252). This identification can be further confirmed by the following discussion.

Both the works mention that Vijayapuri is located on the Western Coast, and the hero Kuvalayachandra reached there after crossing the *Sahyadri* Mountains (Western Ghats). The city of Vijayapuri is "quite a prosperous town and situated right on the shore of the

*Ocean, the scenes of which could be witnessed from the terrace of the palace; in fact its southern rampart wall was washed by the waves of the Ocean”* (Upadhye 1970: 75,125). Furthermore, Vijayapuri was a country full of trees like coconut, sandalwood, cardamom, jackfruit (*Phanasa*), Piper betel (*Nagavalli*), areca-nut (*Pugaphala*), etc., (Shah 1968: 252). These descriptions cuing to identify the location of Vijayapuri inside the Kerala region. Some more references in these works will further help us to confirm the Vijayapuri-Kerala connection: Kuvalayachandra reached Vijayapuri in search of his paramour Kuvalayamala; in the city, Kuvalayachandra noticed the presence of a big *Madam*<sup>34</sup> of the *Chattans* (*Chattan Madam*), of various countries (Master 1951: 1009; Shah 1968: 250-252; Upadhye 1970: 124)<sup>35</sup>. *Chattan* was a peculiar Malayalam word to refer an ‘armed Brahmin’ (Gundert 1872: 354) perhaps exclusive to medieval Kerala. A number of medieval inscriptions and literary sources from Kerala refer to them variously as *Chattar/Sattar/Chattirar/Chattan(s)/Sattan(s)*, etc. They were the novices of the medieval Vedic schools of Kerala called *Salais*, and whose principal duty was to recite Vedas and that, they were bound to observe *brahmacharya* and that since they had military weapons and training, they also acted as a militia in protecting the property and revenue of the temples and the *Salais* (Narayanan 1973: 25-26).

The 9th Century CE Parthivapuram inscription (*TAS*, Vol.I.1988.No.1: 15-34) of the Ay King Karunandadakkan (c.857-885 CE) records some endowments to 95 *Chattar* of the *Salai* which he established and attached to the Vishnu temple at Parthivapuram. Further, the King made a certain rules and regulations on the affairs of the *Chattar* enrolled there<sup>36</sup>. The Tiruvalla plates of 10th and 11th Century CE (*TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.L.140, 517-520: 195,201) refer to a number of provisions including 350 *nazhi*<sup>37</sup> rice per day for the daily feeding of the *Chattar* there. The 10th Century CE Thirumoozhikkulam record (*TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.L.5: 191) also speaks about a separate provision for the feeding of the *Chattar* of the *Salai* attached to the present Thirumoozhikkulam Lakshmana Perumal temple near Aluva (Ernakulam district). Furthermore, we have a large number of literary portrayals on *Chattar* in the medieval *Manipravalam* works like *Unniyachi Charitham*, *Unni Chiruthevi Charitham*, *Unniyadi Charitham*, *Chandrolsavam*, etc.

The *Unniyachi Charitham* (c.13th Century CE) depicts cupid activities of the *Chattar* to attract the Nair courtesan heroine *Unniyachi* by waiting upon her with presents and charms, trying to astonish her with knowledge, bounty and chivalry (*Unniyachi Charitham* 1970: 94-101; Iyer 2014: 398-399; Narayanan 1973: 36; 2013: 362nt112). Another *Manipravalam* work (c.13th Century CE) titled *Unni Chiruthevi Charitham* narrates the story of a courtesan *Unni Chiruthevi*, the native of Valluvanad, in which Indra falls in love with her and while visiting her house “he finds some *Chattirar* calling each other shouting that the frightened enemy has run away. He finds other *Chattirar* engaged in pleasing the damsel by composing verses in praise of her beauty” (Narayanan 1973: 36).

In the *Unniyadi Charitham* of poet Damodara Chakyar (c.14th Century CE) the heroine *Unniyadi* was a princess. This work introduces some *Chattar* and one of them claims

that during the *Pooram* day (temple festival), the *Chattar* of their group succeeded in injuring with weapon eight persons of opposite side and one died due to the lack inaccuracy (*Unniyadi Charitham* 2016.Poem.139-40: 149-150)<sup>38</sup>. The work also explains the costumes and other traits of the *Chattar*: they wear a dress which goes down to the feet along with a turban, and they were capable of creating havoc with the sword (*Unniyadi Charitham* 2016.Prose.29: 155-156). The c.15th Century CE *Chandrolsavam* is a social satire written in the *Manipravalam* form.

According to this work, on the occasion of Courtesan's Festival called *Chandrolsavam* (*Chandra + Utsavam*: Moon Festival), eighteen groups of *Chattar* from different parts of the country, participated with their '*shining arms, and driven back the other groups with meandering swords*' (*Chandrolsavam* 2016.Part.V.Poem.23-24: 154; Narayanan 1973: 37)<sup>39</sup>. It further says that among these eighteen groups of *Chattar*, six belonged to the *Vyakarana* group of Vedic scholars, another six were *Prabhakara* group and the rest of them from *Bhatta* group (*Chandrolsavam* 2016.Part.V.Poem.5-41: 154-160; Narayanan 1973: 37; 2013: 362.note.112). Interestingly, a form of dramatic dance performance called *Chattirarkali* or *Yathrakali* was also prevalent in Kerala (Gundert 1872: 355), exclusively performed by the Namboothiri Brahmins which mainly contains the essence of Vedic rituals and military elements (Narayanan 1973: 24).

Interestingly, in contrast to the above native works, the Jaina *Kuvalayamalakatha* ridicules the *Chattar* saying that they are "*mere reciters of the Vedas (without knowing the meaning) and who are attached to food only ('dali-vatta-dalacatta-in-guj')*. These students, of gluttonous habits, are described as having undressed curly hair, and big bodies, with high shoulders, and walking with a jerky gait. Their bodies are fat with a good deal of flesh put up by obtaining free food from others, they keep big moustaches, and do not practise the purusarthas viz., Dharma, Artha and Kama. Some of them have not yet reached even the young age, other have just entered youth. They are devoid of relations, friends and property. They love to gaze at young girls and other's wives, with the conceit that they themselves are beautiful, and they walk with eyes and heads held high" (Shah 1968: 251-252; Upadhyaya 1970: 124). These descriptions depict a different picture of the *Chattar*, than the one given by the medieval native sources which are the by-products of a Brahmin oriented social order.

However, when *Kuvalayachandra* entered the *Madam* alias *Salai* at Vijayapuri, he saw the *Chattar* from various countries, viz., Lata, Karnata, Malava, Kanauja, Golia, Marahatta, Soratha, Dhakka, Srikantha, and Saindhava (Master 1951: 1009; Shah 1968: 250; Upadhye 1970: 124)<sup>40</sup>. The *Chattar* were receiving training in archery, sword and shield, daggers, sticks, lances and other weapons. They also got trained in painting, singing, dancing, and playing different kinds of musical instruments, and so on. There were "*different vyakhyana-mandalis or debates and discussions on different sastras like the Vyakarana, Buddha-darsana, Mimamsa, Naiyayika-darsana, Anekantavada or Lokayatika, and Charvaka philosophies*" (Upadhye 1970: 45-46,124; Shah 1968: 251). The Prince thought, "*Blessed is the big city Vijaya where all the darsanas are taught. The teachers (uvajjhaya, upadhyayas) are experts indeed!*"(Shah 1968: 251).

Then he goes to another part of the *Salai*, where again they were taught different arts and sciences, like *Nimitta* (astrology of omens), *Mantra*, *Yoga*, *Anjana* (extrasensory perception seeing by magical ointment), *Kuhayam* or *Kuhakam* (jugglery or black magic), *Dhatuvada* (metallurgy), *Jakkhini-siddhi* (*Yakshini Siddhi*), *Khattam* (stealing by breaking open walls), *Joga-mala* (*Yogamala?*), *Mantra-mala* (?), *Gārudam* (Science of controlling and trapping snakes or treating people who have been bitten (?), *Jyotisha*, *Svapna-sastra* (science of dreams), *Rasayana-sastra* including powdering of mercury (*Rasabandha*) and mercurial preparations, *Chandah-ortti* (*Chandamvatti?*), *Nirukta* (Etymology), *Patrachedya* (carving or manufacturing different articles from leaves), *Indra-jala* (magic), *Danta-kamma* (ivory-carving), *Kaya-kamma*, *Kaca-karma*, *Kesa-karma*, *Lepya-karma* (preparation of plasters and plastering), *Chittam* or *Chitram* (painting), *Kanaya-kamma* or *kanaka-karma* (goldsmith's art), *Visagara-tanta* or *Visagara-tantra* (treatment of poisons or toxicology), *Vālaya* (*Vāla-vyāla?*: elephant catching or science of elephants), *Valaya-gandha-dravya-visesa* (perfumery or preparations from the fragrant *valaka*), *Bhuta-tantra-karma* (*tantra* of spirits) and such other *Sastras* (Upadhye 1970: 124; Shah 1968: 251). The Prince thinks, 'Oh well, these teachers are well versed in the seventy-two kalas (arts) and the sixty-four vijñanas!' (Upadhye 1970: 46; Shah 1968: 251).

Whatever it maybe, most of the *Vijñanas* mentioned above as being imparted in the *Salai* at Vijayapuri are still being practiced today in Kerala (Dhiraj 2018a: 57-59). The traditional form of *Dhatuvada* and *Kanaka-karma* are some of the examples of it. Alchemical method of Gold-digging and its extraction by using wooden vats and mercury, practiced by the local people including the tribes of Malabar could be significant at this juncture. From ancient period onwards, Kerala is well known for *Visagara-tantra* or *Vishachikitsa* (treatment of poisoning or Toxicology).

At present, *Vishachikitsa* based on *Visha Jyolsnika* (a work on toxicology written in the Malayalam *Manipravalam*) was the foremost Ayurveda treatment largely practiced in the region, especially on the serpent bite victims. The *Valaya-gandha-dravya-visesa* (perfumery or preparations from the fragrant *valaka*) can be identified in the present Kerala people who are fond of making perfumes and draperies from aromatic roots and fibers of *andropogon muricatus* grass. The extraction of perfumed medicinal oil from the Vetiver root (*Chrysopogon zizanioides*/ bunch grass, locally called *Ramacham*) is still being practiced in the Western Ghat valleys of the region. *Patrachedya* (carving or manufacturing different articles from leaves) also still being proficient by the people of Kerala.

Keraliates were experts in making different articles made out of leaves, especially from palm and coconut leaves. The art of palm leaf umbrella (locally called *Thoppikuda*) making is an excellent instance for it. Using palm leaf umbrella was considered as a symbols of social status; and up to the first part of the 20th Century CE, it was permitted only to the upper strata of the society. Traditionally, Keraliates are much attached with the thatched homes with roof and walls are made out of coconut leaves. The long coconut palm leaves are traditionally cut in half lengthwise and woven into

panels that are laid in an overlapping pattern like roof tiles to form roof and walls. Up to the end of the 20th Century, coconut leaf weaving was one of the important profession of livelihood to the villagers of the state. Articles like baskets in various size, mats, kitchen crockeries, and toys made out of coconut leaves are popular among the people of the region. Other leaf-crafts, especially making of baskets, winnows, mats and kitchen crockeries out of bamboo, cane, areca palm (mainly with the spathe of areca tree) etc., were also largely practiced by the people of the region even today which is the legacy of its historical past. *Nimitta-jnana* or the astrology<sup>41</sup> of omens and *rasiphala* or the impact of the signs of the zodiac are still prevalent in the state like rest of the country. *Anjana Jyotisha* (extrasensory perception) or seeing by pouring magical ointment on the betel leaf is also quiet rampant among the Malayalies and it is locally called *Mashinottam*. In the same way, *Kuhayam* (*Kuhakam*) or black magic, a branch of astrology, regionally known as *Koodothram*.

The aforesaid descriptions of *Kuvalayamala* and *Kuvalayamalakatha*, however, clearly indicate that the city of Vijayapuri was situated in the present geographical territory of Kerala. The *Madam* there of the *Chattans/Chattar/Chattirar/Chattas*-Brahmin students being trained in various martial arts besides philosophic and scientific knowledge-can further be identified as the exclusive medieval Vedic school of Kerala called the *Salai*. The typical flora and fauna of the Kerala country illustrated in these works also have corroborative value for this inference.

These literary works corroborated by the inscriptional evidences revealed an important dimension of Jaina history of Kerala, i.e., the intimate contacts established by the Jaina scholarly missionaries like *Uddyotana-suri* and *Ratnaprabha-suri* between Kerala and Western India, which led to the spread of the Jaina doctrines along with the scientific knowledge in to the remote south and vice-versa. Sanctification of the *Panchayatana* style of a Jaina temple at Pambra in Wayanad by Ratnaprabha-suri, probably a native of the Malwa region is significant in this context. The description of Vijayapuri by Uddyotana-suri proves his familiarity with Kerala and its geographical features along with the social, political, and cultural traits. Possibly he visited the region and engaged in missionary activities. We know that in the history of South India, 8th Century CE was the era of Hindu revivalism initiated by Saint Sankara of Kerala. Uddyotana-suri's activities too might have played a role in the revival of Jainism in the state.

We know that Jainas are traditionally merchants and are mainly engaged in inland trade. Jainism was patronized by the traders and most of the time they were followed by the missionaries into the new trading settlements. If we go through the contents of the ancient Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from the natural caves of Tamil country (Dhiraj 2021: 92-98), the positive relationship between the Jaina traders and the ascetics is clearly visible. Right from the closing centuries Before Common Era, Kerala and its coastal towns must have attracted the Jaina traders and they gradually settled there. The Jaina traders from the Saurashtra region possibly followed the coastal route connecting Malabar and Gujarat region via Konkan coast.

## Conclusion

The above study attested that the Punnada Country was far significant in the history of South India including Kerala, and her history was very fascinating because of her remote antiquity. The political boundary of this antique Kingdom extended towards south of the Mysore, consisted most parts of the present Malabar region of Kerala including the entire Wayanad, Kasaragod, Kannur, Kozhikode, Malappuram and its southern boundary extended up to Palakkad. This fact testified by the dynastic records of Punnada-Raja Ravidatta, Gangas, Pallavas, Cheras and Kadambas. Ancient literary works like *Tholkappiyam* and the accounts of Ptolemy evidently corroborating this observation. Ptolemy's indication to the *Pouunata* country which situated as near to the country of *Keralaputras* is remarkable. Acceptance of Chera suzerainty by a Punnada king in the early medieval age, recorded in the Komaralingam grant, is also conspicuous. Subsequent political history of the Punnada country was developed as one of the Kaduvettis (Pallavas of Kanchi), Gangas (of Talakad) and Kadambas (of Banavasi); thus leads to the Ganga-Kadamba-Pallava interlude in the region. The dynastic alliances of the Kadambas, Pallavas and Gangas with the Punnada made noteworthy political changes in the south of the Mysore. The marriage by the Western Ganga king Avinita with Punnada princess along with his successor Durvinita's subsequent conquests perhaps significantly shaped the political destiny of the Malabar region in Kerala. The presence of a newly identified ruling family with Punnada inheritance called the Kadambas of Wayanad in the present Wayanad and contiguous regions can be another remarkable chapter in the Punnada history of Kerala. Kittur, the capital of the Punnada kings later became the seat of the Kadambas of Wayanad is more noteworthy in this regard. Epigraphical indications to the *Punnada-adhigari* and *Punnaithalai-pati*, to designate feudal chieftains, of the Kadambas (of Wayanad) as well as the Cheras evidently talks about nothing but the royal celebration of that past Punnada fame and glory by both houses even in the late medieval age.

Punnada Country and her *Punnada-sangha* played a significant role in the history of Jainism in Kerala. *Punnada-sangha* could be the first Jaina *Sangha* which propagated Jina's doctrines among the people of Kerala. The spread of this *Sangha* and its teachings to the north and the north-western India speak about its glorious history. It must have encouraged the brisk inland trade and opened new trade routes. This might have further helped the growth of maritime trade of Kerala with the Western, Central and Far Eastern countries. It also might have stimulated the acculturation process among various regional cultures. These also might have enthused the exchange of several intellectual notions in different sciences, arts, crafts, technological skills and other kinds of cognizance. It is thus logical to conclude that Kerala Jainism was indeed developed as a part of Punnada Jainism and it definitely enriched the socio-economic, cultural as well as the political spheres of ancient and medieval Kerala.

Inscriptional as well as literary indications enumerated and analysed above has significant value to interweaving the centuries of huge gap in the history of Kerala. These valuable records are clearly corroborating that the purported 'history less gap'

between ancient and medieval Cheras was the history of not merely the Western Gangas, Pallavas of Kanchi, and Kadambas of Banavasi, and of Bayal-nadu, but the Punnada kings as well. The so-called 'historical night' in the history of Kerala can now also be identified as having this significant dynastic affiliations from the adjoining Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, which played a substantial role in the political and cultural developments as well as socio-economic contributions of the region. These findings could have bridging an obscure but conspicuous pause among some finest chapters in the history of Kerala.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> *There are varied remarks on the dating of the plate. J.F. Fleet is not supportive to the present probable calculation as 6th Century CE of Lewis Rice. For further details, (IA, Vol.XII.1984: 13; Vol.XVIII.1984: 364).*
- <sup>2</sup> *There are varied remarks on the number and succession of rulers find mentioned in the Komaralingam Gran. Instead of the 'Five Succession Theory' of Lewis Rice (EC, Vol.IV.1898.Introduction.4), J.F. Fleet gives the following succession of six names: Rashtravarmma; his son Nagadatta; his son Bhujaga; his son Skandavarma; his son Punnada-Raja; and his descendant Ravidatta (IA, Vol.XVIII.1984: 365). Though a through rereading of the complete published form of plates and transcript (IA, Vol. XVIII. 1984: 366-369, and plates) helps us to support the reading of Rice than Fleet in this regard.*
- <sup>3</sup> *"...sriman-ravidatta-namadheyah-kirtthi-puravaravam-adhivasati-vijayaskandavare-cheram manujneyet..." (IA, Vol.XVIII.1984: 367-368).*
- <sup>4</sup> *The term 'Pati' denotes Lord or Chief. See Narayanan 2013: 417, 420.*
- <sup>5</sup> *Some places 'Alattur' has read as 'Alantur' by Lewis Rice. See IA, Vol.V.1984: 140; Rice 1897: 313.*
- <sup>6</sup> *The Uttanur plates also refer to the historic conquests of Durvinita (Ramesh 1984: 83).*
- <sup>7</sup> *According to Lewis Rice besides Punnada, Durvinita "is described as ruling a country whose name I have read Pannad, though it is not clear. It looks like Pakhad." (IA, Vol.V.1984: 135; Vol.XVIII.1984: 364). Some others read as Pannada or Pannata. See, ARMAD 1941: 132; Ramesh 1984: 83, 92.*
- <sup>8</sup> *A set of Sanskrit copper plates found by a tribal man from a place known as Gramam Kadavu on the banks of the river Chaliyar in the Nilambur taluk of Malappuram district of Kerala. It was collected from the Raja of Nilambur Mr Tacharakkavil Manavkraman Tirumulpad and published by T.A. Gopinatha Rao and G. Venkoba Rao. For further details, see EI, Vol.VIII.1981: 146-147; Dhiraj 2015a: 53-57; 2017: 691-701.*
- <sup>9</sup> *This record was deciphered by Hultzsch as "sri-vishnuvarmma[nah]-kutumbiya-kulavar[d]dhanasya li[kh]itha[m]" and he translated it as "the writing of the glories*

Vishnuvarman, the propagator of the Kutumbiya family." (IA, Vol.XXX.1901: 412; Dhiraj 2015b: 50-62).

- <sup>10</sup> "pallavendra-abhishiktena-sri-vishnuvarmma-maharajena" (ARMAD 1925: 98).
- <sup>11</sup> A copper plate grant to god Jinendra by Ravivarman says "that mighty king, the sun of the sky of the mighty family of the Kadambas-who having slain Sri Vishnuvarman and other kings, and having conquered the whole world, and uprooted Chandadanda, the lord of Kanchi, had established himself at Palasika...." (IA, Vol.VI.1984: 29-30). An undated Kadamba record published by Fleet also says that Mrigesavarman became "a fire of destruction to the Pallavas, and Ravivarman as having conquered the whole earth by slaying Sri Vishnuvarman and other kings" (IA, Vol.V.1984: 50). For a detailed study, see Dhiraj 2015b: 54.
- <sup>12</sup> The terms 'Bayalu-nadu' in Kannada or 'Vayal-nadu' in Malayalam are the root words from which the term 'Wayanad' evolved. The term 'Bayalu' in Kannada and Telugu means 'an open field or open space'; similarly 'Vayal' in Malayalam mean 'an open field or land particularly for cultivation of paddy,' and the term 'nadu' is the administrative division found uniformly in medieval South India during the pre-Vijayanagara times. Thus the place name 'Wayanad' derived from the Kannada term 'Bayalu-nadu,' indicate that this region was once formed part of Kannada country continuously under the Kadambas of Banavasi, Gangas of Talakad and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra along with the later Kadambas of Bayal-nadu.
- <sup>13</sup> This record was correctly deciphered by K. Maheswaran Nair, epigraphist of Kerala Archaeology Department, as "...iravi-iravivarmmarana-vira-vayalnadu-arayar-thiruvadiy um-irayaran-keralanatha-poothapadi-padainayarum-chekararamanana-paadikumbathu-pada inayarum-nilalum-paniyum-koodi ..." (Nair 1973: 134-135). The Government epigraphists read this record as "iravi-iravivarman alias arayar-thiruvadi of vira-vayalarayar (sri) keralan alias poothapadi-padainayar and shekararaman alias padainayar of paadikumbam..." (ARIE 1961-1962.1986: 59).
- <sup>14</sup> Here the lines read by Lewis Rice as "...sriman-maha-mandalesvara rajadhiraja-bira-bayal-nada-nadanga-kandavammam-bayal-nad-aydu-munnuruman-eka-rajya-geyyutt-ire-budava di-pandya-nayaritemum-nelala-paniyum-terumangalada-kilubaram-kerala-nada-punnad-ad higariyum-nidule-nada...ram-kandavamma-nada-punnad-adhigariyum-kikki-nad-adhigariy -ada-punnad-adhigariya-pani-geyyutt..."(EC,Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56). But the line "budavadi-pandya-nayaritemum-nelala-paniyum" is erroneously read by Rice and it can be reread as 'poothapadi-padainayaritamum-nilalum-paniyum'.
- <sup>15</sup> Padainayar or Patainayan means military commander and the term Nair or Nayan might have been derived from the term 'Nayaka' which in the medieval period just means that commander or warrior but in later period it became a caste called Nair particularly in Kerala. The place Poothapadi must be the modern Poothadi near Pulpalli in Wayanad which is famous for Thezhekaavu, a former Jaina temple which the source of a lithic inscription

talking about Trikunavay or Thrikanamathilakam, the well celebrated Jaina center of ancient Kerala from which Ilango Adigal wrote his Silappadikaram along with the Melekavu Siva temple which shows the typical features of Mamalla style of architecture of Mahabalipuram temples.

- <sup>16</sup> Important members of this community like the Kilidakki-Gavunda, Kittadiyur and Bengeyur Permmadi-Gavunda, Manali Satyavakya-Gavunda, Kote Rachamalla-Gavunda in the Kittur record of Kandavamma; Konguni-Gavunda and Gavunda-Suvila in the Magge record of Raviyamarasa; and Manda-Gavunda in the Sogolli record of Siva are mentioned (EC, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56, 73, 80).
- <sup>17</sup> Bhadrabahucharita says that: "Chandragupta (Chandragupti), the King of Ujjain, showed great honour to Bhadrabahu and requested him one day to interpret the dreams which he had had the previous night. On hearing the interpretation he renounced the world and took dikshe from the guru. Predicting a twelve years famine and advising his followers to leave the country, Bhadrabahu, saying 'we shall go to Karnata,' went to the south accompanied by twelve thousand disciples. On coming to a forest, perceiving that his end was approaching, he appointed Visakhacharya to his own place and directed him to lead the sangha to the south. Chandragupta alone stayed behind to attend on his guru, while the rest proceeded to the Chola country. Soon after Bhadrabahu took the vow of Sallekhana or starvation and expired. The sage Chandragupta, drawing a likeness of his guru's feet, was worshipping them. On his return, Visakhacharya paid homage at the tomb of Bhadrabahu, and having been treated with due honour by Chandragupta-muni, left for Kanyakubja" (EC, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.38).
- <sup>18</sup> According to the Rajavalikathe, Chandragupta placed his son Simhasena on the throne and went southwards with Bhadrabahu, Visakhacharya, and twelve thousand disciples. Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta remained a certain hill on account of that the former perceived that his end was approaching. Visakhacharya and Sangha travelled further southwards to reach their final destination as Chola and Pandya country. Chandragupta's grandson Bhaskara, son of Simhasena once visited the hill and built some Jina temples and a city near Chandragiri and named as Belagola. Chandragupta also died on the hill. Another Kannada work Munivamsabhyudaya by Chidanandakavi (c.1680 CE) also speaks about the arrival of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta in Belagola and lived on Chikka-betta (Chandragiri). This story gives further information that a tiger sprang upon Bhadrabahu and perhaps killed him (EC, Vol.II.1923: Introduction.38-39; Ayyangar and Rao 1922: 20,32).
- <sup>19</sup> If we give primary value to the inscriptional references, both these legend's presence in the Shravanabelagola hill has to be accepted as a historical fact. At this juncture, the scholarly words of M.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar and B. Seshagiri Rao are significant and they observe that; "Bhadrabahu, the last Srutakevali led a great Jain migration from the north to the south. After staying some time at Chandragiri hill, he died there. Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan greatness, himself a Jain, proceeded to the same place with his Acharya and, after surviving him twelve years, died there" (Ayyangar and Rao 1922: 23-24).

- <sup>20</sup> *The Digambara and the Svetambaras Jainas were divided into several sections and sub-sections like Samgha (Sangha), Gana, Gaccha and Sakha. Among the Digambara sect there are a number of Samghas namely, Mula-samgha, Dravida-samgha, Kastha-samgha, Mathura-samgha, etc. On account of little reasons the Mula-samgha was again divided into four minor Samghas, viz., Simha-samgha, Namdi-samgha, Sena-samgha, and Deva-samgha. Besides, among both Digambara and Svetambara sects there were number of Gacchas originated and it numbered more than hundred. The Gacchas derived because of the differences of opinion by various teachers and they ascribed new practices and also given new interpretations on the sacred doctrines in the holy texts especially on the Sutras (Sangave 1959: 58-60). There is a number of interpretations regarding the terms Gana, Gaccha, and Sangha. Certain scriptures interpreted that a group of three monks called as a Gana, a band of seven monks as Gaccha, and the regular community of monks was known as Sangha. Some scholars identified Gana as Gaccha, and vice versa (Joseph 1997: 419). Uddyotana-suri (779 CE), the author of Kuvalayamala described Gaccha as a travelling group of monks under a chief monk (Upadhye 1983: 192-193).*
- <sup>21</sup> *The term 'Eregittur' can be split into 'Eri' and 'Kittur'. The Kannada word 'Eri' denotes 'dam' or 'river bank,' and the 'Kittur' must be the capital of the Punnada country which later became the headquarters of the Kadambas of Wayanad.*
- <sup>22</sup> *Some scholars ascribed the authorship of the Mahapurana to Jinasena Swami of Sena-sangha than the Jinasena Suri of the Punnada-sangha (Jain 1960: 203).*
- <sup>23</sup> *The best example for this inference is Nanniya Ganga alias Butuga II (c.938-961 CE). We also have the Changalava and Nolamba Kings who used this name like Nanni-Changalava (11th Century CE), Nannigasraya alias Nolambadhiraja-Nanniga (c.918-929 CE), and Nanni Nolamba (EC, Vol.I.1914: Introduction.12-14, Appendix: 106; Vol.IV.1898.Hg.104, Yd.25,37). Mushaka rulers of Ezhimala in the Malabar region of Kerala also known as Nannans. The Nannan references even can be find mentioned in the Tamil Sangam classics (Dhiraj 2015: 304-305,310-312,314nt20).*
- <sup>24</sup> *The place Vardhamanapura was variously identified as Burdwan in Bengal or the Vardhamanagiri mentioned in the Anumakonda inscription of the Kakatiya Rudradeva; but it is more logical to accept its identification on the basis of a detailed study by A. N. Upadhye as Wadhwan in the Surendranagar district of Gujarat (Upadhye 1983: 105-106).*
- <sup>25</sup> *There are a number of places named 'Vardhamanapur' (Vardhamanapura) in north and north western India, which have clear-cut Jaina affiliation and antiquity. There is not unreasonable to suppose that the part 'Vardhamana' of Vardhamanapur might be venerating Vardhamana Mahavira.*
- <sup>26</sup> *By the 10th Century CE, the Kashtha-sangha has been fragmented into four sects, viz., the Mathura-Gaccha, Latha-Bagada-Gaccha (Latha-Vargata-Gaccha), Bagada-Gaccha, and Nandi-Tata-Gaccha (Flugel 2006: 343).*

- <sup>27</sup> *Panchayatana is a form of temple construction consist of a chief shrine in the centre and surrounded it by four sub deity shrines.*
- <sup>28</sup> *Some scholars observed that the Pragyata people were the natives of Bhinnamala or Srimala, the first capital of the Gurjara Kings (Sandesara 1953: 5).*
- <sup>29</sup> *Vastupala was the prime minster of the Vaghela King Viradhavala of Dhavalaka or Dholka (Jain 1963: 214).*
- <sup>30</sup> *Dharanapadra-gaccha in the Ghaghsha inscription could be another name of Chaitra-gaccha of Junagadh inscription (EI, Vol. XXXIX.Part.VI.1985.No.33: 216,222; IAR 1979-80, 1983: 85).*
- <sup>31</sup> *The present researcher has no surety as the Doghattivortti is a different name of Upadesamalaortti by the same author.*
- <sup>32</sup> *Chandrasena-suri was the deciple of Pradyumna-suri. Chandrasena-suri authored Utpadasiddhiprakarana along with its commentary in Sanskrit (Vidyabhusana 1921: 211).*
- <sup>33</sup> *It is significant to note that the descriptions about flora and fauna, streets, buildings, Madam , merchants, scholars and other natives, etc., of the Vijayapuri are pretentiously portrayed by Uddyotana-suri than Ratnaprabha-suri (Upadhye 1970: 93).*
- <sup>34</sup> *The term 'Madam' (Matha) is a common one still used in Kerala to denote the monastery.*
- <sup>35</sup> *"bhattābhattānam-hoi-imam-mandiram, kimtu-savva-cattānam-madham" (Master 1951: 100 9).*
- <sup>36</sup> *The Parthivapuram inscription of Karunandadakkan records that 'for admission into the Salai, a candidate should have the knowledge in Vyakarana, Mimamsa and Paurohitya and also should have understanding regarding the affairs of the three Kingdoms (Trairajya Vyavahara), possibly Chera, Chola and Pandya, and is able to get five Chattar to ratify that it is true. It is stated, among other things, if a Chattan uses abusive language against other Chattar within the temple premises, the former shall only get the food after paying a fine of 5 kanam of gold to the head of the Chattar. If one Chattan uses any weapons against another will invite a fine and sometimes thrown out of the Salai. Chattar are not permitted to carry any weapons into the places of meeting and also not allowed to keep concubines in their shelters' (TAS, Vol.I.1988.No.1: 33).*
- <sup>37</sup> *A measure of volume.*
- <sup>38</sup> *"porumakkatha-chollunee!-pooravelaykku-chenta-nal-nammude-chathrer-vetteettenmerondumurinijithu//theshamoruthan-chatthanpolushatthamundu-kevalam" (Unniyadi Charitham 2016.Poem.139-40: 149-150).*
- <sup>39</sup> *"amrithakarasparyamaandape-chentidathe-viravodatha-kareri-pinnilittanniya-sanghaan-sar asamoru-janawgham-vadhyakhoshabhimisram-karakalithakripanam; thaavakashraavakaasthe.kamani,kodi-valamvecchheeduwanoodakhosham-punarapi-pathinettum-choozhamayaanthi-*

*sangha-pooruravamoruthappum-thangi-nalchanthrabimba-prathinithikaleduthumkondu-pokintapole*" (Chandrolsavam 2016.Part.V.Poem.23-24: 154; Narayanan 1973: 37).

<sup>40</sup> "lada-kannada-viya-mala-viya-kudukka-golla-ya-kei, marahattha ya-sorattha-takka-siri-amdha-sendhava-ya" (Master 1951: 1009).

<sup>41</sup> The astrologer communities of Kerala known as Kaniyan and Panicker; possibly, had their Jaina affiliation in the past.

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