

The Hindu Confrontation with the Jaina and the Buddhist Saint Tiruñāṇacampantar's Polemical Writings

1. Introduction

The history of Tamilnadu is fairly clear for a little more than two thousand years. There is an abundant output of literary works and considerable epigraphical material in a continuous tradition throughout this period. For the first six hundred years of the Christian era, epigraphical material is meagre. The available epigraphical material refers to the presence of Jaina monks in caves, thickly concentrated around Madurai at the initial stage and then scattered to all the different regions of Tamilnadu. Circumstantial evidence points to the presence of Buddhist and Ājīvaka monks also in Tamilnadu during that ancient period (Mahalingam: 1967, 161–192; Mahadevan 1970: 14). It is a matter for surprise that the *Caṅkam* literature, the most ancient phase of Tamil literature, generally ascribed to the first three centuries of the Christian era, is secular in character (Zvelebil 1974: 7). In this literature there are clear references to Brahmins and Vedic sacrifices, as well as some forms of indigenous worship, besides some references to Hindu Gods (Vithiananthan 1954: 106–152). Attempts have been made to trace Jaina, Buddhist and Ājīvaka influence in *Caṅkam* literature, but such influence does not seem to be significant.

The picture of religious history in Tamilnadu undergoes a change in the Post-*Caṅkam* period, covering the second three hundred years of the Christian era. For some time there was political turmoil in Tamilnadu and there was what was sometimes referred to as the Dark Age of the Kalabhra Interregnum (Nilakanta Sastri 1966: 144). Though only very

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little is known of this period, what is known points to the Jains and the Buddhists establishing some sort of ascendancy. By the end of the sixth century A.D., the Kalabhra rule in Tamilnadu was overthrown in the north by the Pallavas and in the south by the Pandyas. The Jains had already established themselves so firmly that both the Pallava and Pandya rulers became converts to Jainism.

The Vedic religion of the Brahmins had transformed itself into popular Hinduism during this period. There was a revival of Hinduism with the appearance of Purāṇic literature during the Gupta period. Śiva and Viṣṇu became the leading deities of Hinduism. Some indigenous forms of worship in Tamilnadu were also assimilated into Hinduism. The Bhakti movement, both of the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava variety, made their appearance in Tamilnadu before the seventh century A.D. (Chelvanayagam 1960: 60–63).

The seventh century A.D. was a period of religious conflict when Hinduism, especially the Śaiva Bhakti movement came to collusion with Jainism and Buddhism in Tamilnadu. This century marked a turning point in its religious history. Both the Pallava and the Pandya rulers were converted to Śaivism, which then became the dominant creed of Tamilnadu. Henceforth, almost up to the beginning of the twentieth century, Tamil literature became mainly religious literature. Tirunāvukkaracu nāyaṅār and Tiruñānacampantamūrṭti nāyaṅār were mainly responsible for this transformation. Saint Tirunāvukkaracu, who was twice a convert, first from Śaivism to Jainism and then from Jainism to Śaivism, worked some miracles to save himself from Jaina — inspired attempts to kill him and influenced the conversion of Mahendravarman I, the Pallava ruler to Śaivism (Nilakanta Sastri 1966: 243). Saint Tiruñānacampantamūrṭti (henceforth referred to as Campantar), a young prodigy and a junior contemporary of the former saint, converted Neṭumāraṅ, the Pandya ruler to Śaivism. He is also credited with worsting the Buddhists in a debate and converting them to Śaivism (Cēkkiḷār 1955: 330–364).¹

Campantar is a dominating figure in Tamil Śaivism. *Panniru Tirumuṟai*, “The Twelve Sacred Books”, is the primary base of Tamil Śaivism. Campantar’s hymns form the first three books of these twelve. 384 decads ‘patikam of hymns’ are found in the three compilations. One decad from Tiruviṭaiṅvāy, not included in the three books, has been recovered from an inscription. Numerically, his hymns exceed those of any other Nāyaṅār or Vaiṣṇava Ālvār. In Periyapurāṇam, the Śaiva hagiology of Cēkkiḷār,

¹ See “Tiruñānacampantamūrṭti Nāyaṅār Purāṇam”.

Campantar's biography is the main theme, occupying almost one-third of the whole epic (Cēkkiḷār 1955).² Even from the point of view of polemical writings, Campantar had no equal among the other Nāyanmārs or the Ālvārs. Only stray references are available in the hymns of the other saints. Except in very rare cases, each of Campantar's hymns consists of eleven verses and out of these eleven, the tenth verse has criticism of the Jains and the Buddhists. A few decads have twelve verses and in them there is a variation in the number of the verse as either the ninth, the tenth or the eleventh where criticism of the non-Vedic religions occur. It is remarkable that this criticism occurs even in the first hymn composed by this saint when he was said to be just three years old (Cēkkiḷār 1955: 276-277; see verse 79). About 25 out of 385 hymns do not have these polemical references and the reason for this is not clear. Campantar had his main confrontation with the Jains in Madurai and in each of the verses in four hymns which he composed in honour of the Lord of Tiruvālavāy in Madurai, he was attacking the Jains. So, roughly about four hundred verses are available for scrutiny here. According to tradition, Campantar lived for sixteen years only. Saint Cuntaramūrtti, who lived in the eighth or early ninth century, had praised both Campantar and Tirunāvukkaracar.

The *Tēvāram* hymns of Tirunāvukkaracar, Campantar and Cuntaramūrtti had been collected and codified as the first seven *tirumurai* by Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi under the patronage of Rajaraja I at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Cuntaramūrtti had already referred to the contemporary and earlier Śaiva saints in his *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* in a concise form. Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi elaborated the references in that hymn into 87 verses in his *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti*. He seems to have developed a particular fascination for Campantar among all the Śaiva saints. Of the other seven prabandha literary works which he authored, six were devoted to praises of Campantar's greatness. All these seven prabandhas were later included in the eleventh *tirumurai*. It is in these prabandhas that we first come to hear that Campantar had caused the impalement of 8,000 Jaina monks living on eight hills around Madurai (Patiṇōrān 1933: 280-324).³ For almost four centuries after Campantar, there is no reference at all to

² 1256 verses out of 4286 verses in all.

³ Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi refers to the impalement of the Jains in the six *prabandhas* which he composed in honour of Campantar whom he refers to as Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār. For examples, see *Tiruvantāti*, verses 12, 28; *Kōvai*, verse 121-8; *Tiruttokai*, line 8; *Tiruvulāmālai*, ll. 72-74; *Tiruccaṇṇai viruttam*, verse 98; *Tirukkalampakam*, verses 1, 8, 9.

such an incident.

From Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi's time, the story of the impalement of 8,000 Jains gains credence and different versions of the story make their appearance (Meenaksisundaranār 1957 63-117). Perumparrappuliyūr Nampi of Vēmpattūr (hereafter referred to as Vēmpattūrār) follows him in his *Tiruvālavāyutaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāṭar Purāṇam* (*Purāṇam* on the sacred sports of Lord Śiva of Madurai), a work most probably of the thirteenth century A.D. According to Vēmpattūrār, from Tirumaṛaikkāṭu, Campantar sent the message to Maṅkaiyarkkaraci and Kulaccirai, the Śaivite Pandya queen and Pāndya minister respectively that he was coming to Madurai to impale the Jaina crowd and to spread the habit of wearing sacred ash throughout the Pandya country (Perumparrappuliyūr Nampi 1906: 121-131, 131-140). So, Vēmpattūrār makes Campantar blood thirsty or at least guilty of intent of massacre of the Jains even before meeting them face to face.

Parañcōti, who composed another version of *Tiruviḷaiyāṭar Purāṇam*, made slight changes to the story, maybe to exonerate Campantar of his guilt, as alleged in the well-meaning Vēmpattūrār's work. When Campantar sought permission from Lord Śiva, he replied that the Jains would lose and suffer impalement. So, according to Parañcōti, the initial suggestion about impalement originated from Śiva.

Cēkkiḷār, the author of Periyapurāṇam, the twelfth *Tirumurai* of the Śaivites, seems to have a balanced perspective. There is evidence to believe that Cēkkiḷār made a thorough study of Tēvāram collections and did a lot of field work throughout Tamilnadu to equip himself for the composition of his epic (Irācamāṇikkaṇār 1948: 180-188). He must have collected traditions and myths about the Śaiva saints and he had to incorporate them in his work as far as possible. He could not ignore a person of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi's calibre when the latter had been emphasizing the story of impalement of the Jains in many prabandhas. So, Cēkkiḷār narrates the story but without putting the blame on Campantar.

Oṭṭakkūttar, a contemporary of Cēkkiḷār, a court poet of three Cōla emperors and one of the *Kaviccakkaravartti* 'Emperor among poets' of the Cōla Empire, narrates a slightly different version in his *Takkayākapparaṇi* (Oṭṭakkūttar 1930: 171-220). This version also exonerates Campantar of all personal responsibility. Considering the fact that Cēkkiḷār himself was a minister of the Cōla court, it becomes clear that there were different versions of the story even in the twelfth century A.D., within the court circles of the Cōla Emperor.

So, there is no contemporary or even immediately late contemporary

evidence whatsoever for the allegation of Campantar's impalement of 8,000 Jains from eight hills around Madurai. The map showing the sites of ancient Tamil Brahmi inscriptions clearly indicates that the Pandya country, and especially the region around Madurai was the chosen area of operations for the Jaina monks and possibly for the Buddhist monks also. It seems to have taken a long time of about eight hundred years to gain almost complete control over the Pandya country. The story of impalement of the Jains, gaining currency almost four centuries after Campantar, continued to have credence till recently without being challenged for its veracity.

T. P. Meenakshisundaran brought out a good publication in Tamil on Campantar and the Jains about thirty-four years ago (Meenaksisundaran 1957: 1-160). He cleared up some preliminary issues. He pointed out that there are three aspects to the problem. Whether a massacre of such magnitude could have occurred, whether an impalement of a few Jains could have occurred and whether Campantar could have been responsible for the massacre were the questions raised and answered negatively in each case by Meenakshisundaran. He showed that Campantar was broad-minded and that the latter was mainly critical of extreme and insincere ascetic practices only of the Jains and the Buddhists. About a third of his book deals with the explanation for Campantar's dislike under seven sub-headings.⁴ His work is an inspiration to the present writer to probe deeply into the matter and to assess why Campantar's polemical writings had given rise to the story of impalement of the Jains.

2. Campantar's Personality

First of all, it is useful to form an idea of the powerful personality of Campantar. His hymns should be the primary source while Periyapurāṇam could be a secondary source. He seems to reflect a unique blend of Vēdic tradition, Śaiva faith and Tamil culture.

How Campantar identifies with Tamil culture is worthy of detailed study. This identification is usually found in the eleventh or the last verse of each hymn. His hymn and in some cases, each verse of his

⁴ The seven sub-headings are on the following: (1) Buddhists and Campantar, (2) Ārampar, (3) Saying that it exists and exists not, (4) Running down poets, (5) Stealing fish from marshy lands, (6) Ājīvakas and Jains, (7) Kuṇṭar.

hymn are referred to as *Tamiḷ*, presumably referring to the expression of Tamil culture in Tamil language. It is customary to refer to the Pandya country as the Tamil country. Though there is some controversy among medieval commentators as to the boundaries of Centamiḷnāṭu, it is generally accepted that the region around Madurai constituted the core of that region. Cēkkiḷār has referred to the Pandya country as the Tamilnadu even within *Tiruñānacampantamūrṭti nāyaṅār Purāṇam*. Campantar refers to his home town as *centamiḷ parappuru tiruppukali* 'Sacred Pukali that disseminates classical Tamil'.⁵ As far as available evidence goes, Cīrkāli did not have any historical claim of disseminating classical Tamil. *Tillai* or Citamparam, very close to Cīrkāli, has been glorified as temple par excellence of the Śaivites and the three thousand Brāhmins of that shrine have claimed a higher status and exclusive privileges even within the Brāhmin community. Cuntaramūrṭti, in his *Tiruttoṅṭattokai*, raises the status of all the Tillai Brāhmins to the status of saints. Campantar refers to *Tamiḷāl uyarntār uṛai Tillai* 'Citamparam, where those who came up through Tamil, dwell'.⁶ Neither Citamparam nor the Brāhmins from Citamparam have made any significant contributions to Tamil, up to the age of Campantar. Campantar seems to be using that word in a special sense to refer to Tamil Vedic Śaivism which he was championing and to the formation of which Tillai Brāhmins might have contributed substantially.

Campantar was able to play the language card against the Jains because they were using Prakrit as their sacred language. He was accusing them of *Ākamattoṭu mantiraṅkaḷ amainta cankata paṅkamā ppākatattoṭu irait-turaittu* 'having made loud noises in Prakrit, a corrupt form of Sanskrit in reciting their sacred texts and incantations'.⁷ There is evidence from literary and epigraphical sources to indicate that Sanskrit was displacing Prakrit and Pāli in Tamilnadu from about the fifth century A.D. The Pallava kings who first used Prakrit in their early inscriptions began to use Sanskrit in their inscriptions from about this time. Dandin composed *Kāvyadarśa* in Sanskrit in the Pallava court. The Buddhist monks from Kāñci also began to use Sanskrit. The Sanskrit scholars consider Prakrit a corrupt form of Sanskrit. The Śaiva poet-saint seems to have shared their attitude. He also blames the Jains for not being aware of the use of Sanskrit and literary Tamil, *āriyattoṭu centamiḷ ppayaṅ arīkilā*.⁸ Probably, the Jain monks were using colloquial language to appeal to

⁵ TCT: 53.

⁶ TCT: 5.

⁷ TCT: 524. Tiruvalavay hymn.

⁸ TCT: 524.

the Tamil masses. Even though Campantar refers to the Jains here, this blame might have been equally applicable to the Buddhists also, as could be inferred from *Vīracōliyam*, a Tamil grammatical work by a Buddhist author, which gives importance to colloquial Tamil. Here too, the Śaiva saint could be sharing the prejudice of many Tamil grammarians that colloquial Tamil was a corrupt form of classical Tamil. He seems to imply that people using corrupt forms of language must have been themselves corrupt. Probably the Jains and the Buddhists had not adopted proper nativization or indigenization of their religions in Tamil.

Campantar was a proud Brāhmin as well as a proud Tamilian. He claims to be *maṛai nānacampantan*,⁹ *nānmaṛai nānacampantan*¹⁰ and *arumaṛai nānacampantan*¹¹ besides as *pūcuran* 'devā in the earth'¹² to claim excellence as a Brāhmin. His claims as a Tamilian are far more impressive: *Tamiḷ nānacampantan*¹³ *narramiḷ nānacampantan*¹⁴; *cen Tamiḷān nānacampantan*¹⁵, *Tamiḷ virakan*¹⁶, *Tamiḷ virakinan*¹⁷, *muttamiḷ virakan*¹⁸, *Tamiḷākaran*¹⁹ and *Tamiḷ currumurrumāyiṅān*.²⁰ He has combined his claims for both honours in a few places as in *muttamiḷ nānmaṛai nānacampantan*²¹ and *nānmaṛai nāvan narramiḷkin turai nānacampantan*.²² When he claims to be a *pūcuran*, he is not claiming a personal honour. That he was claiming only a caste honour becomes apparent when he refers to the Brāhmins generally as *pūcurar* and its synonym of *taraittēvar*.²³

Campantar owed his dislike of the Buddhists and the Jains to his family background. Jainism and Buddhism originated as revolts against Vedic sacrifices and Brāhmin domination and it is no surprise that orthodox Brāhmin circles viewed with alarm the growing popularity of those religions in Tamilnadu. But Campantar's family could have had some special reason also. According to *Periyapurāṇam*, Campantar's mother Pakavati

⁹ TCT: 10. Tirukkalippālai hymn. maṛai = Vedas.

¹⁰ TCT: 62. Tiruppukali hymn. Four Vedas.

¹¹ TCT: 80. Tiruccirapuram hymn. Vedas of rare value.

¹² TCT: 214, 343, 523. Tiruvaiyāru, Tirunaḷḷāru and Tiruvālavāy hymns.

¹³ TCT: 27, 48. Tiruveṅkāṭu and Tiruppukali hymns.

¹⁴ TCT: 7, 170. Tiruvēṅkaḷam and Tiruvāḷkoḷiputtur hymns.

¹⁵ TCT: 663. Tirumaṅyilāppūr hymn.

¹⁶ TCT: 109. Cīrkāli hymn.

¹⁷ TCT: 118. Tirukkaḷumalam hymn.

¹⁸ TCT: 536. Tiruvālavāy hymn.

¹⁹ TCT: 111. Cīrkāli hymn.

²⁰ TCT: 311. Tirutturutti hymn.

²¹ TCT: 74. Tiruppūntarāy hymn.

²² TCT: 644. Tiruvilampaiyaṅkāṭṭūr hymn.

²³ TCT: 141. Cīrkāli hymn.

hailed from Tirunanipalli, south of Kāviri (Cēkkilār 1955: 280, verse 109). *Palli* generally denotes a temple of the heretical religions and *pāḷi* generally denotes a monastic establishment of the same religions. Campantar has used both these words in the above senses.²⁴ There is evidence from other sources that the Buddhists had established themselves in certain parts of the Cōla country (Veluppillai 1980: 86–116). In fact, even according to *Periyapurāṇam*, Campantar's confrontation with the Buddhists occurs in the Cōla country (Cēkkilār 1955: 361, verse 904). Through a study of the life-history of some saints in *Periyapurāṇam*, Mayilai Cīṇi Vēnkaṭacāmi has shown that there were certain pockets of Jainism in the Cōla country (Vēnkaṭacāmi 1954). So, Tirunanipalli must have been either a Jaina or a Buddhist or a Jaina-Buddhist locality where there was also a temple for Śiva.

The Tirunanipalli Brahmins were probably on the defensive against the rising tide of heretical religions. When they came to know that Campantar was a rising star in the cause of Śaivism and that he had started on a pilgrimage to Śiva temples in and around Cirkālī, they went on a deputation to invite him to his mother's village, probably to gain some inspiration. At Tirunanipalli, it was probably the grievance of the Brahmins that the poorer sections of the people went over to the heretical religions. In his hymn on Tirunanipalli, Campantar accuses the Buddhist and the Jaina monks of being only interested in food.²⁵ So, most probably, Pakavati, his mother instilled into Campantar's young mind an intense dislike for the heretical religions.

It is also important to note how Campantar viewed himself. Instead of the Sanskrit derivative *nāyanār*, he uses its Tamil equivalent of *talaivan*.²⁶ He seems to be more fond of equating himself with king or chieftain as can be noticed in the use of words *kāvalan*²⁷, *man*²⁸, *mannan*²⁹, *vēntan*³⁰, *kulapati*³¹ and *kōn*³². The Tamil word forms *irai* and *iraivan* can mean

²⁴ TCT: 450, 147. Tiruviḷamar and Piramapuram hymns.

²⁵ TCT: 201. Tiruvaikāvūr hymn is one of the instances.

²⁶ TCT: 201. Tiruvaikāvūr hymn is one of the instances.

²⁷ TCT: 186. Tirumaṅkalakkuṭi hymn.

²⁸ TCT: 526 and 641. Tiruvālavāy and Tiruvūral hymns.

²⁹ TCT: 208, 255, 472, and 482. Tiruvaiyāru, Tirukkaṇṭiyūr vīraṭṭam, Tiruppāḷḷicaram and Tirukkaṭikkūlam hymns.

³⁰ TCT: 272 and 499. Tirunallūr and Tiruvalivalam hymns.

³¹ TCT: 404. Tiruccivapuram hymn.

³² TCT: 21, 32, 86, 123, 188, 379, 404, 584, 633. Tiruccāykkāṭu, Kīlāittirukkātṭuppalli, Tiruppuravam, Kaḷumalam, Tiruppanantāl, Tiruvīḷimilalai, Tiruccivapuram, Tiruvatikai Vīraṭṭāṇam and Tiruvōttūr hymns. Obviously, Campantar has some preference for

king but later day usage has specialised them as god. Campantar uses both these forms to refer to himself.³³ The word *perumān*, considered to be a derivative of the earlier Tamil word *perumakan*, denotes king occasionally but god generally. Campantar calls himself *perumān* in two places.³⁴ He is very self confident. In two places, he uses the expression, *āṇai namatē*, which could be translated as 'on my authority'.³⁵ It is in those verses that he claims to be a *munivan*, equivalent to Sanskrit ṛṣi. In one of those verses, he claims to have mystical knowledge.³⁶ He is very certain about the great worth of his hymns.³⁷ In the hymn which is being addressed to the Pandya queen in Madurai where he reiterates that he is not afraid of the Jains, he refers to the Pandya king as *muṭi tennaṇan*, 'the crowned king of the south', and to himself as *pukalikku maṇ Tamil nātan* 'King of Pukali, Lord of Tamil'.³⁸ 'Saintly lord' (Hardy 1983: 69) is probably a better designation for him.

3. Campantar's Positive View

Campantar was aware that Jainism and Buddhism had great appeal among the masses and that these religions had a positive side. These religions were emphasizing ethics as a way of life. Under Jaina authorship or Jaina inspiration, a number of Tamil ethical works were written and were later included in the collection *Paṭiṇeṇ Kūḷkkaṇakku* 'Eighteen Minor Works'. *Nālaṭiyār*, clearly a work of Jaina authorship, is very much sought after even now. The religion of the author of *Tirukkuraḷ* is still a matter of controversy but no serious scholar doubts Jaina inspiration on its author. The Jaina monks were generally learned people and Campantar acknowledged it when he refers to them as *karraṇaṇar*.³⁹ The expression

the term *kōṇ*.

³³ TCT: 197, 371, 402, 484, 501, 509, 520, 616, 686. Tiruppurampayam, Tiruvīḷimīlai, Tiruccivapuram, Tiruttaṅṅalai Nīṇeri, Tirukkaiccinam, Tirumaṇaikkāṣu, Tirukkēṭṭicaram, Tiruvāmāttūr and Tiruvanēkataṅkāvatam hymns. *Iraī* is the other term, equally preferred by Campantar. *Iraivan* occurs only in one place in *Tiru Kṣēttirakkōvai* hymn on 696.

³⁴ TCT: 518, 678. Tirukōṅamalai, Tiruvaccirupākkam hymns.

³⁵ TCT: 325, 698. Tirunaṇipalli hymn and Kōḷaru Tiruppatikam.

³⁶ TCT: 698.

³⁷ TCT: 437. Tirukkīlvēḷūr hymn.

³⁸ TCT: 525-26.

³⁹ TCT: 52. Tiruppukali hymn.

aravurai, 'Discourse on Dharma' is used by him in a number of hymns⁴⁰ to refer to the preaching of the Jaina and Buddhist monks. He, of course, feels that their discourses on *dharma* are defective and incomplete because they ignore or criticise faith in Śiva.⁴¹ According to Tirukkētāram hymn, even Śiva listens to their discourses on dharma and then rewards them.⁴² Another hymn says that the Jains and Buddhists mix falsehood and truth in their teachings.⁴³ Campantar seems to be using a pun when he utilises a *sandhi* rule to make *aravurai* into *maravurai*,⁴⁴ which is just the opposite of it. The monks of the heretical religions were said to be of pleasing words.⁴⁵ He says that Jaina monks make false penance appear like real penance, as according to Campantar, penance not directed to Śiva is false penance.⁴⁶ The Jains were well known for their extreme ascetic practices. The Jains and Buddhists had convincing arguments and they looked capable of performing wonderful magical feats.⁴⁷ They talked about justice but never reflected on concepts of justice.⁴⁸ They who preach about *dharma* have not read discourses on dharma.⁴⁹ Campantar feels that *dharma* should include faith in Saivism.

What Campantar was trying to do was to woo the Tamilian adherents of the heretical religions⁵⁰ and to prevent the other Tamils from being converted to those non-Vedic religions. Sometimes, Campantar projects his heart as a separate person and advises it to reject such preaching of the other religionists.⁵¹ In a considerable number of places, he appeals to the people to reject or ignore their teachings and to come over for worship in the Śaiva shrines.⁵² There are also a number of hymns where he says

⁴⁰ TCT: 46, 64, 116, 118, 120, 688. Tiruvēṇupuram, Tiruveṅkuru, Tirukkocaiyayam, Tirukkalumalam (2), Tirukkētāram hymns.

⁴¹ TCT 118, 636. Tirukkalumalam and Tiruvallam hymns. *calaneriyāṇa aravuraikaḷ; kuṇṇiya aravurai*.

⁴² TCT: 688. *aḷukka niṇṇ-avv-aravuraikaḷ kēṭṭaṅk-avar viṇaikaḷai kkeṭṭukkiṇṇa pirāṇ*.

⁴³ TCT: 405. Tiruccivapuram hymn. *puttarot-amaṇarkaḷ poyyurai meyyurai*.

⁴⁴ TCT: 203. Tiruvaṭa kuraṅkāṭuturai hymn. *pittar tam maravurai*.

⁴⁵ TCT: 164. Tirutturutti – Tiruvēḷvikkuṭi hymn. *nayamiku-v-urayiyinar*.

⁴⁶ TCT: 125. Tirukkalumalam hymn. *poyttavattai meyttavamāy*.

⁴⁷ TCT: 443. Tiruvārūr hymn. . . . *coṇṇa intiracālam oliṇt-inpura*.

⁴⁸ TCT: 30. Tiruvēṅkāṭu hymn. *pōṭiyar piṇṭiyar poruttamillikaḷ nīṭikaḷ colliyum niṇaiyakirkilār*.

⁴⁹ TCT: 80. Tiruccirapuram hymn. *karṇilar aravurai*.

⁵⁰ Even among the sixty-three Śaiva saints in Periyapurāṇam, Tirunāvukkaracu and Niṇṇacīr Neṭumāraṇ were converts from Jainism and Cakkiyar was a convert from Buddhism. See 202–203; 493–494; 447–449.

⁵¹ TCT: 2, 6, 10, 258, 499. Tiruccōrutturai hymn on 258 mentions heart (mind) explicitly. In other instances, mind can be inferred.

⁵² TCT: 46, 64, 118, 80, 164, 180, 405 and 443. Tiruvēṇupuram, Tiruveṅkuru,

that Śiva ignores or disapproves of their teachings.⁵³

4. Contrasting Jains with Buddhists.

Campantar is very fond of contrasting some of the activities of the Jains and the Buddhists. The Jains and the Buddhists used to describe some Hindu religious practices as superstitious and claimed to be more rationalistic. But they themselves ended up as worshippers of the Bō-tree and the Asōkā tree. According to the Jains, Mahavira, their last Tīrttaṅkara attained enlightenment under an Asōka tree, and according to the Buddhists, Gautama Buddha attained enlightenment under a Bō-tree. The Jains and the Buddhists pay obeisance to these trees⁵⁴, plant these trees in their places of worship and monasteries and look after the well-being of these trees with the utmost reverence. The worshippers of the Bo-tree are called *Pōṭiyar* and the worshippers of the Asōka tree are called *Piṅṭiyar*, from another name of the tree.

Campantar seems to relish portraying the contrasting feature in dress between the Jaina and the Buddhist monks.⁵⁵ The Digambara Jaina sect which insists on nudity, discarding all clothing for monks seems to have been the Jaina sect that was popular in Karnataka and Tamilnadu in South India. The Buddhist monks on the other hand were enjoined to robe themselves fully with yellow or saffron coloured cloth.

While the Jaina monks were enjoined to eat standing, the Buddhist monks were enjoined to sit and eat. In three hymns, Campantar has referred to the contrast of the Jaina monks standing and eating and the Buddhist monks sitting and eating.⁵⁶

Tirukkaḷumalam, Tiruccirapuram, Tirutturutti-Tiruvēlvikuṭi, Tirukkaṭampūr, Tirucivapuram, Tiruvārūr hymns.

⁵³ TCT: 52, 116, 477, 495, 688. Tiruppukali, Tirukkoccaivayam, Tiruccirremam, Tirunellikkā and Tirukkētāram hymns

⁵⁴ TCT: 60. Tiruppukali hymn. *piṅṭiyum pōṭiyum pēṇuvār*.

⁵⁵ TCT: 8, 15, 24, 32, 36, 38, 41, 49, 110, 129, 175, 177, 206, 273, 542, 570, 709. Some examples are as follows: *kuṅṭamaṇ tuvarkkūrai mūtar col . . . Tirunelvāyil*, 8. *uṭai turantavarkaḷum uṭai tuvar uṭaiyarum . . . Tirumayētirappalli*, 15. *uṅṭuṭukkaiy-inṇiyē ūr nakavē tirivār kaṅṭuṭukkai meyyir pōrttār*, 24. The other hymns are from *Kīlāittirukkāṭṭuppalli*, Tiruppiramapuram, Tiruppukali, Cīkāli, Tirukkaḷumalam, Tirunāraiṭṭūr (2), Tiruvaiyāru, Tirunallūr, Tirupparāṅkunram and Tirunaṇā.

⁵⁶ TCT: 396, 518, 563. Tirunāraiṭṭūr *ccittīccaram*, Tirukkōṇamalai and Tirukkuraḷam hymns. *nīruṇu camaṇum iruntuṅ tērarum* 518; *iruntuṅ tērarum nīruṇu camaṇarum* 563.

A contrast in another eating habit prescribed for the Jains and the Buddhist monks also is portrayed by Campantar. The Buddhist monks should not eat after noon and the Jain monks should not eat after sunset. So, in the early morning, the Buddhist monks go around collecting alms.⁵⁷

The Jain and Buddhist monks are expected to have bald heads without hair but they are enjoined to achieve that state by different means.⁵⁸ The Buddhist monks are enjoined to shave their heads while the Jain monks are enjoined to pluck their entire hair from their heads. Campantar has referred to the death agony of the Jaina monks when they undergo the ordeal of plucking their own hair off.⁵⁹

A contrast in meals was also noticed by Campantar even though both religions claimed ahimsa or non-killing as their prime virtue.⁶⁰ The Jain religion extended the principle of ahimsa to embrace vegetarianism and insisted that not only the Jaina clergy but also the Jaina laity should observe strict vegetarianism. Buddhism took the stand that non-vegetarian food can be eaten if the person concerned did not kill. Even Buddhist monks are allowed non-vegetarian food if the monks can be sure that killing was not resorted to with the express purpose of feasting them.

The Śaiva saint seems to have had a sense of humour when he was making some references to these heretical religions. The Digambara Jaina monks preaching dharma have been referred to as *ātai tavirtt-araṇ kāṭṭu-pavarkaḷ* 'those who remove their clothes and demonstrate dharma'⁶¹ and as *kuraṇ kāṭṭu nāl viraliṛ kōvaṇattu kkōlōvippōy araṇ kāṭṭuṅ camaṇar* 'the Jaina monks who have even discarded four inch wide under garment worn by gypsy men and who demonstrate dharma'.⁶² The Jaina monks who have given up bathing as an extreme form of asceticism are ridiculed by Campantar as *alaiyārum puṇal turanta amaṇ kuṇṭar* 'the nude Jaina

⁵⁷ TCT: 565. *mūṭiya cīvarattār mun kūrūṇṭēkutaḷum piṇ kūrūṇṭu kāṭi toṭu camaṇai* ... Tirukkurumpalā, 565.

⁵⁸ TCT: 354. *vaḷi talai pari talaiyavarkaḷ* ... Tiruvamparpperun Tirukkōyil, 354. The Jaina mode of *pari talai* had been frequently referred to as in, *talaiyai pparippār* ... Tiruppukali. 55. *paritta puṇ talai* ... Tiruccirapuram, 82. *talai paritta kaiyar* ... Cīrkālī, 107. There are more such references on 145, 158, 360, 371, 376, 509, 620, 676.

⁵⁹ TCT: 525. *cām avattaiyṇinārkaḷ pōl talaiyai pparittu* ... Tiruvālavāy, 525.

⁶⁰ TCT: 197.

viṭakkoruvar naṇṇeṇa viṭakkoruvar tīṇeṇa
uṭarṅkuṭai kaḷaintavar uṭampinai maraikkum
paṭakkarkaḷ ... Tiruppuraṇṭam, 197.

⁶¹ TCT: 180. Tirukkaṭampūr hymn.

⁶² TCT: 22. Tiruccāykkāṭu hymn.

monks who have renounced water full of waves'.⁶³ The Brāhmins take baths frequently and use water frequently for personal cleanliness and probably this criticism arose from their point of view. In referring to the Buddhist monks, Campantar calls them *meyyai ppōrkkum poyyar*,⁶⁴ (the liars who cover up the truth) where the word *mey* has the meaning of 'body' as well as 'truth'.

Though Campantar refers to both religions in most of his polemics, there are a few where he refers to one of these religions only. The Tiruppunkūr hymn appeals to the heart 'not to listen to mad men who eat alms and who are completely nude, without clothes'.⁶⁵ One of the Tiruvīlimilalai hymns asks people to answer Campantar who the god of the Jainas was as he could not be located in any of the eight directions.⁶⁶ In the same reference, he had described the nude Jaina monks as carrying beautiful peacock feathers and a water pot. The Tiruviḷamar hymn appeals to people 'not to have faith in the Jaina temple of those who do not know penance, who carry a water pot and who confuse people playing on words to impress dull-witted people'.⁶⁷ The hymn on Tiruvatikai vīraṭṭānam also seems to refer to the Jains only.⁶⁸ The first hymn on Citamparam seems to refer to the Buddhists only when it says, 'without listening to discourse on ignorant fabrication of saffron robed monks who worship idols of human beings'.⁶⁹

5. References to Ājīvakas and Others

Campantar mentions the word *kuṇṭar* in many places. T. P. Meenaksisundaran discusses its possible significance and arrives at the conclusion

⁶³ TCT: 328. Tiruttalaiccaṅkāṭu hymn. The Jaina monks refrained from taking baths and washing themselves because they did not want to hurt the minute living beings in water. As a form of penance, some of them used to stand on rocks in very warm sun-light and used to perspire profusely. So, Campantar criticises them often for their dirty, dusty and foul-smelling bodies, as can be seen on 12, 19, 43, 109, 152, 186, 190, 286, 288, 300, 322, 345, 356, 381, 385, 394, 404, 416, 448, 457, 596, 618, 639, 688. Some examples are as follows: *mācu piṛakkiya mēniyār . . . Tirukkalikkāmūr*, 19. *tuppurav-onṇilā verraraiyār . . . Tiruvīlimilalai*, 381. *kuṭitt-uṇā amaṇar . . . Tirumārpēru*, 639.

⁶⁴ TCT: 235. Tiruvānaikkā hymn.

⁶⁵ TCT: 161.

⁶⁶ TCT: 383. Tiruvīlimilalai hymn.

⁶⁷ TCT: 450.

⁶⁸ TCT: 586.

⁶⁹ TCT: 2.

that Campantar referred to nude persons by that word (Meenaksisundaranar 1957: 149–160).⁷⁰ So, the latter might be clubbing together both the Jaina and the Ājīvaka monks as *kuṇṭar*. The Ājīvakas rejected *guṇa* ‘characteristic property’ as a category of things and so Campantar’s references to *kuṇamilikaḷ* ‘those who reject characteristic property’ and *kuṇamilātār* ‘those who do not accept characteristic property’ should denote the Ājīvakas.⁷¹ The Ājīvaka monks were not enjoined to observe celibacy and so Campantar’s reference to *karuvirilā ppittar* ‘mad persons attached to sex’ might refer to them.⁷² The expression *ācciyappēykaḷ*, which as such does not seem to make sense, should have been a mistake for *āccīvakappēykaḷ* ‘Ājīvaka devils’.⁷³ As they seem to be the only group of monks, not bound by the oath of celibacy, Campantar might be referring to them when he says, *cāṭiyil nīṅkiya attavattār* (monks excluded from their tribe).⁷⁴

6. Buddhists Preferred to the Jains

Though Campantar mentions the Jains and the Buddhists together in his polemics, he is generally harsh on the Jains and mild on the Buddhists, as can be seen from the following references:

ūttai vāy ccamaṇ kaiyarkaḷ cākkiyarkkeṅrum āttamāka arivaritāyavaṇ
‘one who is very rarely well-known to the Buddhists and to the base Jains with dirty mouth’⁷⁵

puttarōṭu poriyil camaṇum ‘the Buddhists and the senseless Jains’⁷⁶

puttar poṇ miku camaṇar ‘the Buddhists and the Jains full of lies’⁷⁷

There are very few instances where Campantar had given harsh attributes to the Buddhists.

⁷⁰ The terms *kuṇṭu* or *kuṇṭar* also occur very frequently in Campantar’s hymns, as can be seen on 8, 32, 46, 72, 113, 115, 161, 164, 169, 171, 210, 258, 262, 305, 328, 345, 351, 365, 369, 383, 393, 400, 470, 482, 529, 539, 561, 622, 629, 641, 652, 666, 671, 682, 684, 691.

⁷¹ TCT: 345, 365. Tirunallāru and Tiruppāmpuram hymns.

⁷² TCT: 363. Tiruttillataippati hymn.

⁷³ TCT: 652. Tirukkallil hymn.

⁷⁴ TCT: 343. Tirunallāru hymn.

⁷⁵ TCT: 21. Tiruccāykkāṭu hymn.

⁷⁶ TCT: 35. Tiruppīramapuram hymn.

⁷⁷ TCT: 105. Cīrkālī hymn.

eṇṇ iranta amanarkaḷum ili tolil cēr cākkiyarum 'numerous Jains and Buddhists with base activities'⁷⁸

uriñcana kūraikaḷ uṭampinarāki ulitaru camaṇaruñ cākkiya ppēykaḷ 'the Buddhist devils and wandering Jains with bodies uncovered with cloth'⁷⁹

There is evidence to conclude that Campantar respected the Buddhists more than the Jains.⁸⁰

puttar tattuvamillā ccamāṇ 'the Buddhists and the Jains without philosophy'⁸¹

puttarkaḷ tattavar moytt-uri pulkiya kaiyar 'those with hands carrying the swing and the Buddhists who are philosophers having assembled'⁸²

taṭukk-amaruñ camaṇaroṭu tarkka cāttirattavar 'the Buddhist logicians and the Jains who sit on a small mat'⁸³

For a few centuries preceding Campantar, much work was done on Buddhist philosophy and logic in Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu, especially around Kanchi, and Campantar must have been aware of these developments (Veluppillai 1980: 86–116). He seems to have had contempt for the Jainas.

Campantar seems to have had a particular aversion to the *anekāntavāda* or the *syādvāda* philosophy of the Jains. Their exposition of *syādvāda* seemed to Campantar as if they were making contradictory statements to confuse and frighten people.

attaku poruḷ uṇṭum illaiyum eṇṇu niṇṇavarkk-accamā ott-ovvāmai molīntu 'having made positive and negative statements like such a thing exists and exists not'⁸⁴

This type of exposition had been described by Campantar as *kavar vāy molī* 'ambiguous statement'.⁸⁵ Those who make ambiguous statements have been described as *kavaruru cintaiyāḷar* 'ambiguous thinkers'.⁸⁶ The

⁷⁸ TCT: 379. Tiruvḷimilalai hymn.

⁷⁹ TCT: 644. Tiruvilampaiyaṅkōṭṭūr hymn.

⁸⁰ Cākkiya nāyaṇār was said to be a Buddhist priest who, without discarding any rules, became a staunch Saivite. He is accepted as one of the Saiva saints. See Cākkiya nāyaṇār Purāṇam; 18 verses in Cēkkilār 1955 (3641–3658 verses).

⁸¹ TCT: 311. Tirutturutti hymn.

⁸² TCT: 341. Tiruttarumapuram hymn.

⁸³ TCT: 505. Tirukkōḷili hymn.

⁸⁴ TCT: 524. Tiruvālavāy hymn. *uṇṭu* and *illai* can occur as *uṇṭilai* 'yes-no'. The Tamil word *uṇṭilai* from the verbal base *uṇ* 'eat' can mean 'not eaten'. So, Campantar uses it as a pun in *uṇṭilaiyeṇṇē niṇṇē tam kaiyil uṇṇōr* 'those who eat from their hands after having said yes-no'. The second meaning is of the Jain monks receiving and eating more and more alms claiming that they have not yet eaten. Tiruppūvāvam hymn, 86.

⁸⁵ TCT: 206–301. Tiruvaivāru and Tiruttenkuraṅkāṭuturai hymns.

⁸⁶ TCT: 398. Tirunaṇaiyūrcitticcam hymn.

context in which the last two expressions occur can be interpreted as covering both the Jains and the Buddhists. But Campantar was specific when he refers to *cintai tirukar camaṇar* 'the Jains who confuse the mind'.⁸⁷ The Jains and the Buddhists depended on arguments and debates for the propagation of their religions.⁸⁸ Campantar complains that the Jain laity and the Buddhist clergy argue till their death to propagate their religions.⁸⁹ He has mentioned the name of one of those debating centres as *Kavippeyarc cattiram* in one of his hymns on Tiruvālavāy.⁹⁰ So, most probably this centre existed in Maturai.

7. Critical and Abusive Terms

The heretical religions depended on preaching and Campantar uses the word *urai* to denote it in a number of places.⁹¹ The expression *kaṭṭurai*, which in modern Tamil means an essay, a composition or an article, seems to have been used by Campantar in a loaded sense to mean 'fabricated discourse'.⁹² Quite a number of hymns have this expression *kaṭṭurai* to refer to the preachings of the heretical religions. From Campantar's point of view, the Vedas alone were revelations of God Śiva about the truth. He had paraphrased *kaṭṭurai* as *kaṭṭiya molī*⁹³ and *ākkiya urai*⁹⁴ in other places. As the teachings of the heretical religions owed their existence to their enlightened founders and not to divine revelations, Campantar was running them down. Probably because *kaṭṭurai* itself seems to have become stereotyped and does not seem to express what he wanted to communicate, he began to use *kaṭṭiya kaṭṭurai*.⁹⁵ The duplication of *kaṭṭu*

⁸⁷ TCT: 347. Tirunallāru hymn.

⁸⁸ TCT: 70, 175, 254, 624, 673, 690. Some examples are as follows: *virutu pakaram veṅcoṭ camaṇar vaṅca cākkīyar* – Tirukkailāyam hymn, 690. *vātu cey camaṇ . . .* Tiruvaccirupākkam hymn, 673. Other instances are from Tiruveṅkuru, Tirunāraiṅyūr, Mēlāittirukkāṭṭuppaḷli and Tirukkacciyeṅkampam hymns.

⁸⁹ TCT: 98. Cīkāli hymn. Probably because they were such experts in religious disputation that Campantar had to appeal to Siva's grace twenty times in each verse of the two Tiruvālavāy hymns, 526–527, 532–534.

⁹⁰ TCT: 524.

⁹¹ TCT: 5, 159, 192, 203. Kōyil, Tiruniṅṅyūr, Tiruntutēvaṅkuṭi and Tiruvalaṅcūli hymns.

⁹² TCT: 2, 54, 199, 288, 290, 300, 391, 472, 572, 665. Kōyil, Tiruppukali, Tiruvicayamaṅkai, Tirunākeccuram (2), Tiruviṭai marutūr, Tiruvīḷimilalai, Tiruppāṭāḷiccam, Tirukkoṭimāṭaccenṅkuṅṅūr and Tiruvāṅmiyūr hymns.

⁹³ TCT: 354. Tiru Amparpperuntirukkōyil hymn.

⁹⁴ TCT: 407. Tirukkarukkuṭi hymn.

⁹⁵ TCT: 622. Tirukkacciyeṅkampam hymn.

here is a device employed by Tamil to emphasize the point. He uses *kaṭṭu* as an attribute in *kaṭṭ-amaṇ tēr*⁹⁶ probably to include both religions. The appellative noun form of *kaṭṭar* 'fabricators' seems to have been used for both in one place⁹⁷ and to the Jains only in another place.⁹⁸

Campantar uses a considerable number of expressions to denote that the Jains and the Buddhists were not mature enough or intelligent enough to evaluate religions. Here, his attack seems to be two-fold. One set of terms, like *ātar* and *ātamilli*, seems to be just negative, denying them discriminatory wisdom. He has used *ātamilli* in one place only in Tiruvālavāy to refer to the Jains in the heat of the confrontation.⁹⁹ He has used *ātar* in thirteen places and in eight places out of them he refers to the Jains only.¹⁰⁰ Of the other five places, he refers to the Jains in four places but the Tamil word-order gives a chance to interpret that he could be referring to the Buddhists also.¹⁰¹ As for the Buddhists, he uses *mūṭar* 'fools' in one place.¹⁰² The Buddhists and the Jains are said to be committing *pilai* 'errors'.¹⁰³ Their words are said to be *kurra moli* 'defective words'¹⁰⁴ and their paths are said to be *kurra neri* 'defective paths'. The Buddhists are referred to as *cōṭaikaḷ* 'not fully developed beings'.¹⁰⁵ The second set of terms, like *pētamai* 'ignorance'¹⁰⁶ *pētaiyar*¹⁰⁷ and *pētaiyarkaḷ*¹⁰⁸ both meaning ignorant persons, refer to the immaturity and inadequate discriminating power of the Jains and the Buddhists.

But he also uses a number of expressions to reject the Jaina and the Buddhist teachings as lies and absurdities. He uses *penku* in one place to denote lies.¹⁰⁹ In other places, he uses the common expression *poy*¹¹⁰

⁹⁶ TCT: 203, 435, 598. Tiru vaṭa kuraṅkāṭuturai, Tiruccikkal and Tirumutukunram hymns.

⁹⁷ TCT: 684. Tiru Intiraṅḷapparuṅṅatam hymn. *kaṭṭar kuṅṅamaṇ tērar*.

⁹⁸ TCT: 701. General hymn. *moṅṅamaṇar kaṭṭar tērar*.

⁹⁹ TCT: 532. Tiruvālavāy hymn.

¹⁰⁰ TCT: 69, 74, 102, 159, 192, 224, 245, 257, 511, 520, 526, 576, 616. The Jains were referred to on 69, 102, 159, 224, 520, 526, 576, 616.

¹⁰¹ The Tirumaṅgaikāṭu hymn on 511 can either denote a separate group besides the Jains and the Buddhists or denote both together.

¹⁰² TCT: 8. Tirunelvēyil hymn.

¹⁰³ TCT: 360, 439. Tiruvamparmākāḷam and Tiruttēvūr hymns.

¹⁰⁴ TCT: 52. Tiruppukali hymn.

¹⁰⁵ TCT: 180. Tirukkaṭampūr hymn.

¹⁰⁶ TCT: 13. Tirunallūrpperumaṇam hymn.

¹⁰⁷ TCT: 275. Tiru Āvūrpacupaṭṭicaram hymn.

¹⁰⁸ TCT: 27. Tiruveṅkāṭu hymn.

¹⁰⁹ TCT: 95. Cīrkāḷi hymn.

¹¹⁰ TCT: 91, 105, 186, 247, 307, 311, 341, 348, 360, 407, 475, 516, 574, 581, 616; *poykaḷ* in 582, 680.

and appellative nouns like *poyyar*¹¹¹, *poyyarka!*¹¹² and *poyyavar*¹¹³, each of them meaning liars. The word *poy* has been used fifteen times and its plural form of *poyka!* has been used twice. Except in one place in Tirukkōlampam hymn where *poy* refers to the teachings of the Jains, it is used in common to refer to the teachings of both religions in the other sixteen places. Expressions like *poy nūl* 'book of lies'¹¹⁴ and *poyyurai* 'discourse of lies'¹¹⁵ are also used to refer to both religions. There is a compound *poyttavam* 'false penance'¹¹⁶ which has been used three times. In the Tiruvēṭkaḷam hymn, it refers to both religions while in the other two cases, the Jains only are clearly referred to. The phrase *poytta vaṇ tava vēṭattar* 'those who falsely act as performing extreme penance'¹¹⁷ also refers to the Jains only. The expression *kaitavam*, considered to be equivalent to *poyttavam*, occurs in two places.¹¹⁸ While it refers to the Jains only in one place, it refers to both religions in the other place. The appellative noun 'kaittavattar' refers to the Jaina monks only.¹¹⁹ The teachings of these religions have also been dismissed as *avam* 'useless'¹²⁰ and *avattam* 'absurd'.¹²¹

The Śaiva saint has used a number of expressions connected with the abstract noun *puṇmai* 'baseness'. For example, *puṇmai*¹²², *puṇ molika!* 'base words'¹²³ and *puṇ pēccu* 'base speech'¹²⁴ are some of them which refer to the teachings of both religions. There is an expression *puṇ tēraramaṇar* 'base Buddhist and Jaina monks'.¹²⁵ This clearly refers to the Buddhist monks but the Jaina monks could also have been referred to. But there are a number of expressions like *pullamaṇ*¹²⁶, *puṇ-camaṇ*¹²⁷ and *puṇ-camaṇar*¹²⁸ where only the Jaina monks are referred to. Closely

¹¹¹ TCT: 235, 528, 541. Tiruvāṇaikkā, Tiruvālavāy and Tiruvāppanūr hymns.

¹¹² TCT: 254. Melaittirukkāṭṭuppalli hymn.

¹¹³ TCT: 58. Tiruppukali hymn.

¹¹⁴ TCT: 572, 624. Tirukkoṭimāṭaccenkuṇrūr and Tirukkacciyekampam hymns.

¹¹⁵ TCT: 576, 584. Tirukkaruvūrānilai hymn.

¹¹⁶ TCT: 6, 125, 233. Tiruvēṭkaḷam, Tirukkaḷumalam and Tiruvāṇaikkā hymns.

¹¹⁷ TCT: 526. Tiruvālavāy hymn. *poytta vaṇ tava vēṭattarāṇi camaṇ cittarai*.

¹¹⁸ TCT: 532, 665. Tiruvālavāy and Tiruvāṇmiyūr hymns.

¹¹⁹ TCT: 415. Tiruppukalūr hymn.

¹²⁰ TCT: 568. Tirunelvēli hymn.

¹²¹ TCT: 602. Tirukkōvalūr viraṭṭam.

¹²² TCT: 330. Tiru Ākkūrttāṇṇōṇrimāṭam hymn.

¹²³ TCT: 129, 457. Tirukkaḷumalam and Tirukkuṭavāyil hymns.

¹²⁴ TCT: 461. Tirunālūr mayāṇam hymn.

¹²⁵ TCT: 334. Tirukkuṭavūr mayāṇam hymn.

¹²⁶ TCT: 373. Tiruvīlīmīlalai hymn.

¹²⁷ TCT: 497, 616. Tirukkārāyil and Tiruvāmāttūr hymns.

¹²⁸ TCT: 584, 696. Tiruccōpuram and general hymns.

related in meaning to this set of words, there is the word *kaiyar* 'base people'.¹²⁹ Campantar uses the expression *kaiyil unṇum kaiyar* 'people eating from their hand' to distinguish the Jaina monks from the Buddhist monks who eat from the alms-bowl. Probably because of the association in form of the two words of *kai* with different meanings, Campantar has used *kaiyar* to refer to the Jains only in twenty-one places, while in one place in a Tiruvīlimilalai hymn he has used it for both religions.

It is unfortunate that the dark skin of the Jaina monks has been pinpointed in many places. They might have acquired their pigmentation through sun tan by exposing themselves to warm sunlight, as suggested by *karukum utalār* 'those with sun-burnt bodies'.¹³⁰ There are expressions like *kār niratt-amaṇar* 'dark coloured Jains'¹³¹, *nīlamēni amaṇar* 'Jains with blue bodies'¹³² and *kānkular amaṇar* 'Jaina monks-men of night darkness'.¹³³ Probably as a development from the associations, there is the form *kāraman* 'dark Jains or black Jains'.¹³⁴ As the Buddhist monks are excluded, it is difficult to believe that Campantar was referring to some labouring classes in South India who may be having darker skin.

Some more insulting terms can be noticed in Campantar's polemics. The word *pēykaḷ* 'ghosts or devils'¹³⁵ is applied to the Buddhists and maybe to the Ājīvakas also but not to the Jains. The word *kaḷukkaḷ* 'vultures'¹³⁶ occurs four times and in three places; it refers to the Jains only but in one place in Tirumaṇaikkāṭu hymn, it refers to both religions. The word *kalatikkaḷ*, most probably meaning rebels¹³⁷, refers to the Jains in a Tiruvīlimilalai hymn, to the Buddhists in a Tiruvārūr hymn and to both in Tiruvōmāmpuliyūr hymn. Campantar who has used *vētattār* 'those

¹²⁹ TCT: 12, 48, 143, 145, 228, 235, 264, 301, 341, 343, 360, 365, 389, 407, 472, 509, 525, 526, 527, 529, 533, 703. Tiruvīlimilalai hymn on 389.

¹³⁰ TCT: 595. Tirumutukunṇam hymn.

¹³¹ TCT: 627. Tirukkaccinerikkāraikkāṭu hymn.

¹³² TCT: 534. Tiruvālavāy hymn.

¹³³ TCT: 529, Tiruvālavāy hymn.

¹³⁴ TCT: 478, 486, 532, 634. Tiruvucāttānam, Tirukkōṭṭūr. Tiruvālavāy and Tiruvōt-tūr hymns.

¹³⁵ TCT: 644, 673. Tiruvilampayanṅkōṭṭūr and Tiruvaccirupākkam hymns. 652, for Ājīvakar? Tirukkaḷḷil hymn.

¹³⁶ TCT: 235, 435, 468, 512. Tiruvānaikā, Tiruccikkal, Tirupparitiniyamam and Tirumaṇaikkāṭu hymns. *kaḷukkaiyar* as a compound of *kaḷu* and *kaiyar* occurs in a general hymn on 700. Here *kaḷu* seems to stand for *kaḷuku* of later Tamil. This is the only sense in which Campantar had used this word. It is not known whether this word denoted stake in Campantar's time.

¹³⁷ TCT: 173, 391, 448. Tiruvōmāmpuliyūr, Tiruvīlimilalai and Tiruvārūr hymns.

who use make up', has shortened that as *vēṭar* in two places.¹³⁸ There was already *vēṭar* 'hunters' in classical Tamil. So, Campantar might have coined the new word due to his contempt for the Jains. The term *nīcar*¹³⁹ may denote uncultured people and it has been used to denote the Jains in a Tiruppukali hymn and in Tirumārpēru hymn. But in the other two instances from Tiruppuravam and Tirumalapāṭi hymns, it refers to both the Jains and the Buddhists. There is a variant form of *nītar* and it refers to the Buddhists.¹⁴⁰

A set of terms associated with *miṇṭu* 'provoke' such as *miṇṭar* 'provocateurs'¹⁴¹, *miṇṭurai* 'provocative discourse'¹⁴² and *miṇṭumoli* 'provocative language'¹⁴³ has been used to refer to the monks of both religions. The word *kayavar* generally used to denote people lacking in human qualities has been used only once and it refers to the Buddhists.¹⁴⁴ The compound, *paḷi taru moliyinār* 'those who use insulting language' has been used to denote both religions.¹⁴⁵ The compound *paṭu paḷiyuṭaiyavar* 'those who have acquired big insult' also refers to both.¹⁴⁶ The term *pulaiyanār*, which seems to be connected with *pulaiyar*, the lowest caste on the social scale, has been applied to both religions.¹⁴⁷ The monks of both religions are also referred to as *kaḷattār* 'thieves'.¹⁴⁸ In a Tiruvālavāy hymn, Campantar refers to the Jains as *kacivonrillā ccēṭṭaikal* 'mischievous elements with no kindness'.¹⁴⁹ But he uses similar expressions like *parivonrīlārkaḷ* 'those who have no kindness'¹⁵⁰ and *urukucintaiy-illār* 'those whose minds do not melt'¹⁵¹ to refer to the Buddhist monks.

The description of *pittar* 'mad persons'¹⁵² had been used to refer to the

¹³⁸ TCT: 10, 527. Tirukkalippālai and Tiruvālavāy hymns.

¹³⁹ TCT: 51, 87, 221, 638. Tiruppukali, Tiruppuravam, Tirumalapāṭi and Tirumārpēru hymns.

¹⁴⁰ TCT: 188. Tiruppanantāḷ hymn.

¹⁴¹ TCT: 115, 210, 393, 404, 470. Tiruveṅkaṭu, Tiruvāñciyam and Tiruveṅṇiyūr hymns.

¹⁴² TCT: 482. Tirukkaṭikkulam hymn.

¹⁴³ TCT: 27, 409, 470. Tiruveṅkaṭu, Tiruvāñciyam and Tiruveṅṇiyūr hymns.

¹⁴⁴ TCT: 360. Tiruvamparmakāḷam hymn.

¹⁴⁵ TCT: 87. Tiruppuravam hymn.

¹⁴⁶ TCT: 15. Tirumayēntirappaḷi hymn.

¹⁴⁷ TCT: 46. Tiruvēpupuram hymn. Here, Campantar seems to be vulnerable for accusation as having caste prejudice.

¹⁴⁸ TCT: 477. Tiruccirremam hymn.

¹⁴⁹ TCT: 525. Tiruvālavāy hymn.

¹⁵⁰ TCT: 40. Tiruppiramapuram hymn.

¹⁵¹ TCT: 595. Tirumutukunram hymn.

¹⁵² TCT: 307, 387, 576, 584. Tirukkōlampam, Tiruvīlīmīlālai, Tirukkaruvūrānilai and Tiruccōpuram hymns.

Jains in Tirukkōlampam and Tiruvīlimilalai hymns while it had been used to refer to both in Tirukkaruvūrānilai and Tiruccōpuram hymns. Uttering senseless words *pitarrutal* is mentioned as the action of the former and the latter, respectively.¹⁵³ The word *piccar*, used to refer to the Buddhist monks, could be either a variant of *pittar* or a derivative from Sanskrit *bhikṣu*.¹⁵⁴ The term *ūmar* 'dumb persons', referring to the Jain monks, could have denoted those who had taken the vow of silence.¹⁵⁵ There is a set of terms derived from *pāvam* 'sin' like *pāvar* 'sinners'¹⁵⁶, *pāvikaḷ* 'sinners'¹⁵⁷ and *māpāvikaḷ* 'great sinners'.¹⁵⁸ Campantar addresses them as *pāvikaḷ* 'oh! sinners' in Tirukkānappēr hymn.¹⁵⁹ Of these forms, *pāvar* and *māpāvikaḷ* are found in Tiruvālavāy hymns and Campantar uses them in anger. The Tiruvalampuram hymn uses *pāvikaḷ* to refer to the Jains while Tiruvēṭṭakkuṭi and Tirukkuṭavāyil hymns uses the same word to refer to both religions.

Campantar uses a number of expressions about the Jains only during the heat of the confrontation in Madurai. They were said to be going about like monkeys and mad elephants.¹⁶⁰ The word *ettar* 'those who deceive and steal' had been found in Tiruvālavāy and Tirukkēṭṭicaram hymns.¹⁶¹ Though the Jains were not known to be very powerful in Ilaṅkai, he had used this word against the Jains only probably because his Madurai experience is still fresh in his memory. In the Tiruvālavāy hymns alone, terms like *īnar* 'low caste or class of people'¹⁶², *antakar* 'blind people'¹⁶³, *ekkar* 'cruel people'¹⁶⁴, *teṇṇar* 'ignorant people'¹⁶⁵, *alippar* 'destroyers'¹⁶⁶ and *tuṭṭar* 'evil people'¹⁶⁷ are found. There are also expressions about the Jains, not always directly connected with the confrontation in Madurai. The compound *moṭṭaiyamaṇ* 'bald headed Jains'¹⁶⁸ may be related to

¹⁵³ TCT: 93, 275. Cīrkāli and Tiru Āvūrppacupaticcaram hymns.

¹⁵⁴ TCT: 148. Tiruppiramapuram hymn.

¹⁵⁵ TCT: 396. Tirunaraiyūrcitticcaram hymn.

¹⁵⁶ TCT: 527.

¹⁵⁷ TCT: 326, 336, 456. Tiruvalampuram, Tiruvēṭṭakkuṭi and Tirukkuṭavāyil hymns.

¹⁵⁸ TCT: 532.

¹⁵⁹ TCT: 557.

¹⁶⁰ TCT: 524. *mā katakkari pōl tirintu. manti pōl tirintu.*

¹⁶¹ TCT: 520, 528.

¹⁶² TCT: 524.

¹⁶³ TCT: 524.

¹⁶⁴ TCT: 525, 528.

¹⁶⁵ TCT: 526.

¹⁶⁶ TCT: 527.

¹⁶⁷ TCT: 528.

¹⁶⁸ TCT: 607. Tirumāṅikkulī hymn.

*mottamaṇar*¹⁶⁹. The expression *murattamaṇ* 'Jain ruffians'¹⁷⁰ may be related to *mottamaṇ* and *mottamaṇar*.¹⁷¹ It is quite possible that *muttai*¹⁷² and *muttaikaḷ*¹⁷³ also refer to bald-headedness.

In the religious confrontation in Campantar's time, the Jains and the Buddhists were attacking the Śaivites. It is interesting to see how the Śaiva saint was viewing these attacks. One of the expressions of Campantar is to call the attack *alar tūrṛa* 'to scandalize'.¹⁷⁴ He also uses *purari kūra* 'to back-bite or to slander' in many places.¹⁷⁵ There is another expression *puranurai* used both as a noun and as an infinitive.¹⁷⁶ It is equivalent to *purānkūratal* or to making meaningless utterance.

Even among religions that have accepted ahimsa or non-killing as their first precept, the Jains claim that they are the staunchest defenders of that principle, carrying their behavior to what normal human beings regard as an absurd extent. But in defence of their religion, they have exhibited violent behavior. Periapurāṇam details a number of instances. So, Campantar refers to the Jains as *vaṇ camaṇar* 'violent Jains'.¹⁷⁷ The compound *vallamaṇ* should be considered just as a variant.¹⁷⁸ There is an expression *vañcamaṇar* which could mean 'deceptive Jains'.¹⁷⁹ There is also another compound *vaṇ talai pari kkaiyar* where violence could also refer to plucking hair from their heads.¹⁸⁰

¹⁶⁹ TCT: 701. General hymn.

¹⁷⁰ TCT: 533.

¹⁷¹ TCT: 284. Tirukkuṭamūku hymn.

¹⁷² TCT: 2. Kōyil hymn.

¹⁷³ TCT: 607. Tirumāṇikkulī hymn.

¹⁷⁴ TCT: 22, 62, 94, 270, 317, 328, 374, 431, 511, 616, 657. This usage had not been noticed in the hymns in the Pandya country, the home of 'Akattiṇai' tradition, as can be seen in the above instances found in Tiruccāykkāṭu, Tiruppukali-Tiruvīlīmīlalai, Cīrkāḷi, Tirunallūr, Tirumayilāturai, Tiruttalaiccaṅkāṭu, Tiruvīlīmīlalai, Tirunākaikkārōṇam, Tirumaṇaikkāṭu, Tiruvāmāttūr and Tiruvorriyūr hymns.

¹⁷⁵ TCT: 35, 179, 431, 518, 541, 546, 553, 572, 696. The classical form had been noticed in hymns on shrines in the Cōḷa and Pandya countries besides Ilaṅkai and Koṅku region.

¹⁷⁶ TCT: 6, 79, 80, 272, 292, 309, 520. This form had been noticed in hymns on shrines in the Cōḷa country and Ilaṅkai only.

¹⁷⁷ TCT: 54, 208, 271, 552, 671. Tiruppukali, Tiruvaiyāru, Tiruvalaṅcuḷi, Tiruvirāmeccaram and Tirukkaḷukkuṅṅam hymns

¹⁷⁸ TCT: 219, 527. Tirumalapāṭi and Tiruvālavāy hymns.

¹⁷⁹ TCT: 261. Tiruvētikkuṭi hymn.

¹⁸⁰ TCT: 360. Tiruvamparmākālam hymn.

8. Some Specific Criticisms

It is important to note which important aspects of Jainism and Buddhism Campantar was specially objecting to. As for Buddhism, the following reference is important:

kuṇam arivukaḷ nilaiyila poruḷurai maruviya poruḷkaḷumila tiṇam eṇum avar 'Quality and knowledge are impermanent. Even things spoken of as having substance disappear. They who say that this is definite'.¹⁸¹

This is what is called *Kṣaṇikavāda* of the Buddhists. From this stand point, T. P. Meenaksisundaran has been able to suggest better readings or modifications to two expressions found as *kaṇicēr nōmpu*¹⁸² and *kaṇikai nōṇpar*¹⁸³ in contexts which suggest that they must have been referring to the Buddhists. The importance of this principle in Buddhism and Campantar's objection to it also becomes clear in the verses dealing with Campantar's disputation with the Buddhists at Pōtimaṅkai.¹⁸⁴ This principle was propounded and rejected in that section.

There was also a common criticism against the Jains and a Buddhist sect. Like the Jains, the Vaibāṣika sect of Buddhism preferred to trace the beginnings of the world to atoms *parama aṇukkaḷ*, unlike the Hindus who postulated *māyai*. Campantar criticises them as *ārampar* 'those who begin with atoms'.¹⁸⁵ The Tamil expression can also refer to those at the primary stage. In his Tiruvaṇṇāmalai hymn, Campantar applies this designation to both the Jains and the Buddhists and appeals to the people of the world not to listen to their discourses.

In his Tirukkuṭantai *kkārōṇam* hymn, Campantar refers to the Jains as *kurattikaḷ pēṇār* 'they do not respect nuns'.¹⁸⁶ What is being referred to here seems to be the negative attitude of the Digambara Jaina sect to women. Nuns have to be reborn as men in their next life and become monks to attain salvation.

¹⁸¹ TCT: 402. Tiruccivapuram hymn.

¹⁸² TCT: 120. Tirukkaḷumalam hymn.

¹⁸³ TCT: 58. Tiruppukali hymn. See Meenaksisundaran 1957: 120.

¹⁸⁴ Cekkilar 1955: 362–364 for debate between the Śaivites and the Buddhists. Tiru-
ṇānacampantamūrtti nāyaṇār Puṇam, verses 916–925.

¹⁸⁵ TCT: 618. Tiruvaṇṇāmalai hymn.

¹⁸⁶ TCT: 286. Tirukkuṭantaikkārōṇam hymn.

9. Four Tiruvālavāy Hymns

As already noted, every verse of four hymns on Tiruvālavāy deals with polemics against the Jains. An impression can be easily formed from a study of these hymns on what Campantar was blaming on the Jains, on what he was defending against the Jains and how he was trying to deal with them. According to Campantar, the Jaina monks were living in places, beginning from *Ānaimāmalai* 'Elephant rock'.¹⁸⁷ Cēkkiḷār refers to them as *eṇ perun kunratt-eṇṇā yiravar* 'eight thousand monks from eight hills'.

He also criticises them for some of their literary efforts and mentions *Kiḷi viruttam* 'The story of the parrot' and *Elippāṭṭu* 'The story of the rat'.¹⁸⁸ These works are not extant. Their content must have been something comparable to *Nari viruttam* 'The story of the fox' of the well known Tiruttakkatēvar, the author of the Jaina epic of *Civakacintāmaṇi* (Tiruttakkatēvar 1949: 24). These stories were generally expected to illustrate the impermanence of worldly pleasures. Campantar seems to refer to this method of Jaina preaching, which mentions *nakuvāna caritaikaḷ ceytulavār* 'they wander narrating humorous stories' in his Tirutturutti – Tiruvēlvikkuti hymn.¹⁸⁹

There is a reference to the Jains as being satirical to poets, the exact significance of which is not clear. *pulavarkaḷai ppaḷikkum ankatarkk-eliyēnalēṇ* 'I am not scared of satirists who run-down poets'.¹⁹⁰ In Tamil, the word *pulavar* 'poet' is used in a wide sense. Here, Campantar could not be referring to authors of ethical works as poets as there were many Jaina authors among them. The poets could have been *Caṅkam* poets and the later poets following that tradition.

Religious difference seems to have led to a deep social cleavage in Tamilnadu. *nirru mēṇiyarāyiṇar mēl urra kārru kollavu nillā aṇaṇar* 'the Jaina monks who do not wait even to feel the air that touched the body of those with sacred ashes'.¹⁹¹ According to Cēkkiḷār, the Jains had begun to use terms like *kaṇṭu muṭṭu* 'pain after having seen' and *kēṭṭu muṭṭu* 'pain after having heard' in their reference to the Śaivites (Cēkkiḷār 1955: 338–339).¹⁹² So Campantar seems to feel that Tamil society has to be saved from adherents of such a religion.

¹⁸⁷ TCT: 524.

¹⁸⁸ *kūṭṭinār kiḷiyiṇ viruttam vraitattōr eliyiṇ tolirpāṭṭu*.

¹⁸⁹ TCT: 334.

¹⁹⁰ TCT: 525.

¹⁹¹ TCT: 533.

¹⁹² *Tiruvānacampantamūrtti nayaṇār Purāṇam*, verses 683–684.

It is quite possible that Campantar's feelings towards the Jains could have reached the stage of hatred when the Jaina monks set fire to the Madurai muṭṭ where he was staying with other Śaiva devotees. There is one entire hymn in every verse of which he appeals to Śiva for protection and in every verse of which he expresses his wish that the flame lit by the Jains should go as high fever to the Pandya king who gave permission to the Jains to commit this outrage and sacrilege (Cēkkilār 1955: 340–341).¹⁹³ He uses many abusive and offensive epithets to refer to the Jaina monks and this is understandable in the context. In every verse of this hymn, he appeals to Śiva, using *añcal enṛ-aruḷ cey-enai* 'please grace me by saying 'do not be scared' or its shortened forms.¹⁹⁴

There are also two Tiruvālavāy hymns which are in the form of Campantar seeking permission from Śiva for disputation with the Jaina monks.¹⁹⁵ The differences in the structure of the two relevant hymns is worthy of note.

The first hymn starts with *kāṭṭumāvatu*. The first verse gives the impression of Campantar talking to Śiva, *urai ceyvanān* 'I appeal to you'. There are two references, critical of the Jains for not studying the Vedas and for not performing Vedic sacrifices.¹⁹⁶ There is another reference in the ninth verse complaining that they do not know the higher stage of heaven. Campantar believed that only those who were devoted to Śiva attained salvation and heaven. The third verse of this hymn has led to some controversy recently as there is an infinitive *karpalikka* 'to rape' and in the line above there is a reference to Buddhist monks covering their whole body like women. In the relevant portion, it only seems to imply the breaking or the destruction of the firm attachment of the Jains and the Buddhists to their own religions (Veluppillai 1980: 117–150).

The other hymn, beginning with *vēta vēlvīyai*, seems to have been artfully composed. That Campantar was trying to defend Vedic Śaivism against the Jains and the Buddhists becomes very clear from this hymn. Each of the ten verses tells Śiva, *ñālam niṅ pukalē mikavēṅṭum* 'Your fame should become predominant in the world'. What had been mentioned in two verses regarding the Vedic tradition in the earlier hymn had been expanded into seven references in the first seven verses of the hymn. The first line of this hymn itself starts seeking Śiva's permission to defeat the

¹⁹³ Tiruñānacampantamūrtti nāyaṇār Purāṇam, verses 703–704.

¹⁹⁴ 'añcal enṛ-aruḷ' in verse 6 and 'aruḷ' in verse 9.

¹⁹⁵ TCT: 526–527, 532–534.

¹⁹⁶ *vēḷṭu vēḷvi ceyyā amaṅ kaiyarai* in the first verse.
ōṭiyōtt-ariyā amaṅ ātarai in the fourth verse.

Jains who condemn Vedic sacrifices. The same strain, condemning the Jains for not accepting the Vedic tradition as nonsense and seeking Śiva's permission has been repeated again in the following six verses and here it is clear defence of Brahmanism.¹⁹⁷ In verses nine and ten, Campantar was substituting references to the Jains who do not worship the sacred feet of Śiva and who do not understand the glories of Śiva. The first two verses of the hymn mention the Buddhists also along with the Jains.¹⁹⁸

The twenty verses in these two hymns appeal to Śiva to make known to Campantar what He has in His Mind about debating with the Jains. The first hymn itself starts with *oṭṭi vātu ceyya tiruvuḷlamē* inquiring whether Śiva's mind was agreeable to Campantar getting closer to the Jains and debating with them. The second verse in the second hymn repeats the same question, with only a change in the first word to *eyti* but with no change in meaning. The mention of the word, *vātu* 'debate' occurs also in the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth and the ninth verses of the first hymn and in all the verses of the second hymn. His anger with the Jains becomes clear where he expresses his wish to *cīri* and *ceruttu*, both meaning, with rage, to confront them in debate. He wants to defeat them only, as seen in expressions like *vātil venṛ-alikka* 'to win and destroy in debate' and *vātinil ceṇṭaṭitt-uḷara* implying smashing victory in debate. He wanted to win a complete victory in debate, as seen in *muriya vātu ceyat tiruvuḷlamē*. He wanted to establish Śiva's glories among the Jains, as mentioned in *amaṇar tirattu niṇ cīlam vātu ceya*. Campantar wanted to proceed slowly and convince the Jains of the merits of Śaivism.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ *vēta vēḷviyai nintaṇai ceytu* ... Verse 1.

vaitikattin vaḷiyoluḷkāta ... Verse 2.

maṛai vaḷakkamilāta māpāvika! ... Verse 3.

aruttav-aṅkam-ārāyina nirmaiyai kkaṛutta ... Verse 4.

antaṇāḷar puriyum aru maṛai cintai ceyyā ... Verse 5.

vēṭṭu vēḷvi ceyum poruḷai viḷi mūṭṭu cintai ... Verse 6.

alal-at-ōmpum arumaraiyōr tiram viḷalatu ... Verse 7.

¹⁹⁸ *vēta vēḷviyai nintaṇai ceyt-uḷal*

ātamillei amaṇoṭu tērarai ... Verse 1

vaitikattinvaḷi-y-oluḷkāta-v-ak

kaitavamuḷai kkāramaṇ tērarai ... Verse 2.

¹⁹⁹ *paiya vātu ceyya tiruvuḷlamē* ... fifth verse of the first hymn on 527. *paiya* – slowly.

tēṛri vātu ceyya tiruvuḷlamē ... eighth verse of the second hymn on 534. *tēṛri* – convincingly.

10. Three Miracles

It is very unfortunate that even though Campantar's hymns promise so much in a fair debate, nothing about the actual debate has been preserved for posterity. Neither Nampi Āṅṅār Nampi nor Cēkkiḷār nor later authors seem to have come across any tradition about the arguments of the debate. The validity of Śaivism versus Jainism seems to have been decided in three tests where Campantar was able to clinch the issue by performing three miracles. The first test was curing the king's high fever. The Jains could not cure him. The Śaiva saint was using the sacred ashes from Tiruvālavāy temple as medicine: So an entire hymn was composed on praises of the sacred ashes of the temple.²⁰⁰ The eleventh verse mentions clearly the context in which the hymn was composed.

The second miracle was a sort of fire ordeal in which the Śaivites and the Jains were to set some of their religious documents on fire and the document of the true religion was not expected to burn. According to Cēkkiḷār, this test was suggested by the Jains themselves (Cēkkiḷār 1955: 348).²⁰¹ The Jaina monks wrote a manuscript and set it on fire. It was completely burnt. Campantar took out a random sample from his hymns and the Tirunallāru hymn came out. Just before setting that manuscript into the fire, Campantar composed another hymn on the same shrine where he mentions the context of its composition in all the verses and says that the manuscript would not be destroyed. Because the hymn has the name of Śiva of Tirunallāru, it could not suffer destruction — a refrain found in each verse of that hymn.

The third test was a sort of water ordeal in which the manuscript of true religion was expected to swim against the current and to reach the other bank of the Vaiyai river. The Jaina monks took the initiative as they wanted to offset the losses they had already suffered twice. The Jains had *asti nāsti* 'yes-no', a basic principle of their Syādvāda philosophy, written in a manuscript and they put in the river (Cēkkiḷār 1955: 352).²⁰² This went with the current to the sea and so this could not be traced. Campantar composed a special hymn called *Tiruppācuram* of twelve verses.²⁰³ This hymn, beginning with *vālka antaṅgar vāṅavar āṇiṅam* 'Long live the Brahmins, the Devas and the cows' is generally hailed as consisting of the essence of Tamil Śaivism.

²⁰⁰ TCT: 522–523.

²⁰¹ *Tiruñānacampantamūrtti nāyaṅār Purāṇam*, verse 777.

²⁰² *Tiruñānacampantamūrtti nāyaṅār Purāṇam*, verse 814.

²⁰³ TCT: 703–705.

According to Cēkkilār, Campantar went through a reluctant wedding ceremony at the request of his parents and relatives and immediately afterwards, Śiva sent a sacred fire to Tirunallūrperumaṇam. At the bidding of Campantar, all those who came for the wedding entered the sacred fire. Campantar composed a hymn²⁰⁴ and then entered the fire with his newly wedded wife. Putting this incident into the perspective of Campantar's hostile references to the Jains and the Buddhists, the burning of the Śaiva muṭṭi in Madurai by the Jains and the allegation of Campantar's involvement in the impalement of the Jains, some people now try to interpret the end of Campantar's life in this world as caused by arson by followers of these heretical religions. As there is no evidence for such an interpretation, one can only depend on the last hymn of Campantar. Campantar seems to be his usual self even in that hymn. There is nothing in that hymn to suggest that the Śaiva Saint was suspecting any conspiracy from the Jains or the Buddhists.

11. Conclusion

The primary source of Campantar's devotional hymns as well as the secondary source of Periyapurāṇam clearly establish the fact that Campantar's outbursts against the Jains and the Buddhists were one of the underlying themes throughout his career. Some other Śaiva saints and Vaiṣṇava saints also have some polemical references mainly against the Jains. The Jains were probably a greater threat to Hinduism than Buddhism. Campantar also seems to have disliked the Jains more than the Buddhists though he seems to have taken particular care to club them together with the Jains and others in many places. He seems to have started his career with a definite plan to establish Śaivism in Tamilnadu. The structure of his patikam or hymn had an unchanged outline from his first hymn to his last hymn.

He was actually defending a synthetic form of Hinduism which could be described as Tamil Vedic Paurāṇic Śaivism. Regarding the parallel development of Tamil Vaiṣṇavism, even during the period of the first four Ālvārs, Friedhelm Hardy has the following observation, "However, although writing at the very fringe of Tamilnadu, the first four Ālvārs are deeply Tamil, not only in their language, in their poetic style, in

²⁰⁴ TCT: 12-13; Cēkkilār 1955: 396, verse 1245.

their mythological repertoire and in their geographical references, but most pronouncedly in their emotional or sensuous worship of the temple *vigraha*, in which we can recognise the ancient anthropocentricity of the Tamils" (Hardy 1983: 308). Campantar is equally Tamil in his Śaivism. He seems to be very conscious that he was only defending the Tamil religion. He seems to have made admirable use of Tamil nationalism in his confrontation with Jainism and Buddhism. It was probably the most important factor that favoured the success of the Śaiva bhakti movement.

Campantar was very proud of his caste and *gōtra* identities. He was able to bring out a synthesis of the interests of his caste along with those of Śaivism. The authority of Vedas and the dominance of the Brahmins seem to be essential ingredients of Śaivism, propagated by Campantar. Śiva's attributes and glories were heavily dependent on *Paurāṇic* themes. Those *Paurāṇic* or mythological stories were said to have taken place mostly in different parts of Tamilnadu.

The Śaiva saint might have owed his success in establishing Tamil Śaivism to his portrayal of the synthetic Śaivism in association with Tamil nationalism. The Jains and the Buddhists could not withstand the movement launched by Campantar. Islam and Christianity came to Tamilnadu later but still the main stream among the Tamils continues to be Śaivite. In the present century, there is a deep cleavage between Brahmin dominance and Tamil nationalism and it remains to be seen how much of Śaivism can be salvaged.

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