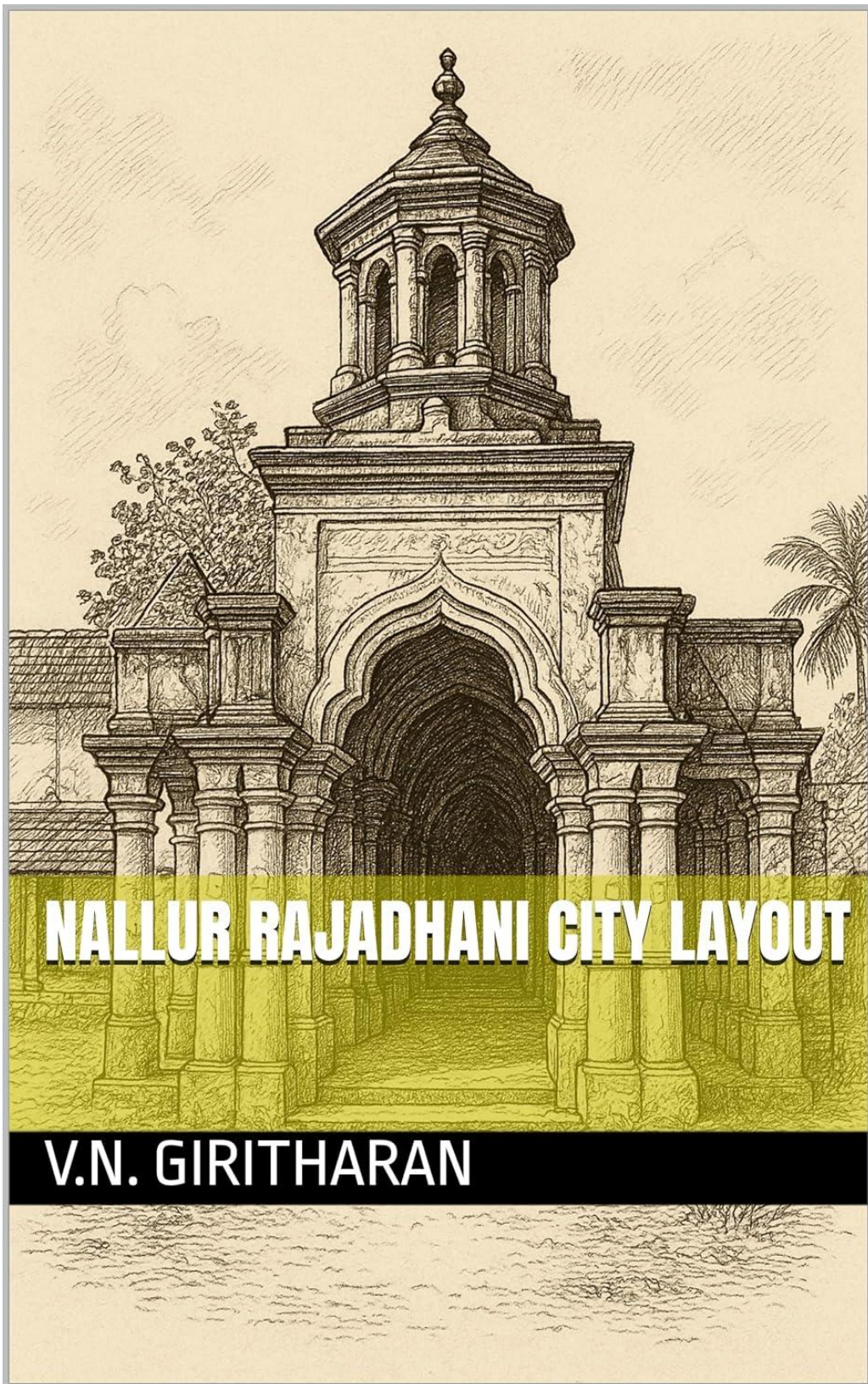




NALLUR RAJADHANI CITY LAYOUT

V.N. GIRITHARAN

Nallur Rajadhani: City Layout By V.N.Giritharan

[Translation from Tamil By Latha Ramakrishnan & Edited
by Thamyanthi Giritharan]

Nallur Rajadhani: City Layout

V.N.Giritharan B.Sc (Built Environment (B.E) in Architecture)

Translation from Tamil By: Latha Ramakrishnan



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Author: V. N. Giritharan

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Table of Contents

Forward: Nallurt Rajadhani City Layout	5
Preface: An Exemplary Attempt By S. Yoganathan	7
Chapter 1: Nallur And The City of Singai	11
Chapter 2: Nallur And Jaffna	13
Chapter 3: Nallur Rajadhani's Historical Facts	16
Chapter 4: Nallur Kandaswami Temple	18
Chapter 5: Nallur Fort And Its Surrounding Walls	20
Chapter 6: Field Research – Work Information	23
Chapter 7: Fort Entrance, Fort Base, and Veyilugantha Pillaiyar Temple	27
Chapter 8: Ancient Books and Architecture	29
Chapter 9: Hindus' City Layout And The Caste	33
Chapter 10: The Temple Cities of South India	35
Chapter 11: Nallur Rajadhani's City layout	37

Forward: Nallurt Rajadhani City Layout

So far, no one seems to have evinced any interest in the ancient city layout of Sri Lankan Tamil. It is unfortunate that those engaged in research and investigation work about historical facts pertaining to kings and kingdoms have turned a blind eye to the architectural style and expertise of Tamils. Because of this indifference and blackout, gathering information about the Nallur Rajdhani city layout proves a Herculean task when compared to research on cities like Anuradhapuram and Yaappahuva, which were capitals hundreds of years before Nallur became a Rajdhani. In such a situation, I have undertaken the research work on the Nallur city layout to the best of my ability. My desire to study the city layout of Nallur Rajdhani was not accidental. In my youth, when I would read the novels of Kalki, Jagasirpian, and others, I always wondered why it remained a rarity to come across historical evidence about Nallur, a city as famous as Tanjore, Madurai, and Kanchipuram. As I grew in age and knowledge, I realized that foreign rule and our people's mindset—which spends its time and energy singing past glories but remains indifferent to the need for preserving our rare historical symbols and monuments—are reasons for this blackout.

As proof of our people's disinterestedness, we can cite the following: At the initial stage of this century, Swami Gnanaprakasara had written a brief essay on Kopai Fort. But today, see the condition of the place and space where the fort was once said to be? When I was studying architecture at Moratuwa University, in such a dismal atmosphere, the wish to research the Nallur City layout was renewed by several factors listed below.

Sinhalese Professor Nimal De Silva, who was teaching us a lesson in connection with traditional architecture, briefed us about the investigation and research work on the city layout of ancient Anuradhapuram, and it was then that the wish to study the Nallur Rajdhani city layout sprang in me. When my friend and senior by one year, Thanapalasingam, told me that he had once intended to study Nallur but then abandoned the idea as something impossible, my interest in the City of Nallur grew further. Right from my childhood, it had been my nature to undertake attempts that others claimed were 'not possible.' This resulted in my choosing 'Nallur Rajdhani' City Layout as the topic for a thesis to be undertaken for the study of 'The History of Architecture.' From that day onwards, till date, whenever I get the opportunity, I make it a point to mention, without fail, the Nallur city layout. Several articles on Nallur City were published in the weekly supplement of Elanadu, which was brought out from Ceylon and which encouraged me a lot in the literary field.

A write-up on Kopai Fort appeared in Veera Kesari. In recent times, I am also writing about Nallur in Thayagam Magazine. It is my wish that, like Nallur Rajdhani, the layouts of Singainagar (Vallipuram), Kandharodai, and other such cities also be studied. I fully agree with the claim that Vallipuram and Singai Nagar are one and the same. The ancient symbols that can be seen on the sandbanks of that region and the coinage 'Puram' in Vallipuram are the principal reasons for this conclusion of mine. (In Tamil Nadu, we can come across many cities that have this suffix

'Puram' in their names, such as the capitals of the Chola empire 'Jayankonda Cholapuram,' 'Ulagamahadevipuram,' and also the cities Kanchipuram and Nandhipuram, which were famous in the Pallava period.) As Vallipuram also ends with 'Puram' in the same way as Maavittapuram, undoubtedly it would have also been a city having royal and religious significance. (The name Nallur, too, is of this nature. In Tamil Nadu, we can come across many royally and religiously significant places having names ending with the word 'Nallur').

Persons like Dr. C.K. Sitrambalam are of the opinion that Nallur is also a remnant of the Cholas. The names of places such as Chembian Patru, Nallur, Vallavar Kone Pallam in Maavittapuram, and Gangaikondan in Navindil are remnants of the Cholas here. (Sindhanai, July 84). Not only in the northern region but even in the east, there are many places and aspects that call for extensive study and research work. And I sincerely wish that investigation is undertaken about these too. And I firmly hope that my wish would be realized one day or other.

Preface: An Exemplary Attempt By S. Yoganathan

There is authentic historical evidence to claim that from time immemorial Tamils have been living in Sri Lanka as a civilized populace. Tamil Brahmi stone engravings belonging to the Third Century B.C. have been excavated in the Tamil regions of Sri Lanka. The excavatory research that has taken place in Kandharodai, Aannaikkottai, etc., establishes how the Tamils lived and grew as a Megalithic civilized populace and the way civilization and cultural development had taken place in the Tamil regions of Sri Lanka in the above-mentioned period on an equal footing with that of South India. There is so much significant excavatory evidence to authenticate this. The Romans had business contacts with the Sri Lankan Tamils. And we have records to prove that the highly civilized Sri Lankan Tamils had business contacts with Arabs and Chinese in the 5th Century A.D.

In the 13th Century A.D., a Government of Tamil-Saivite culture came into being in Jaffna. Agriculture and trade were the two main fountainheads of its economy. An intensely refined cultural growth stood out as the significant aspect of this state. And, as the capital of this State, Nallur rose to fame. More than that, it could be seen as the cultural identity of the government concerned.

With the arrival of the Portuguese, the fall of the empire came to be. And it is history that the pride and glory of Ceylon, which had become enslaved in the Sixteenth Century, is still fighting for its freedom. The complete history of Sri Lankan Tamils is yet to be written. The archaeological excavations undertaken by the Government of Sri Lanka have always been with the specific purpose of highlighting the pride and glory of Sinhalese and Buddhists and to ignore and even black out the worthiness of Tamils. This is indeed a well-known fact. During my years at Peradeniya University as a student of history, I had the misfortune of being a silent eyewitness to this practice. The Department of Archeology, and in particular, those like Dr. Parana Vidhana, have taken great pains to fill the history of Sri Lankan Tamils with lots of dust and mud. And till date, the official journals and books on history are actively engaged in this unjust practice. Unfortunately, the Tamil scholars who were in the Department of History in the early stage did not show any interest in throwing light on the truths of the history of Sri Lanka. In this darkness, there came Prof. Ganapathi Pillai, who, though he belonged to the Dept. of Tamil, evinced keen interest in the history of Sri Lanka and so entered it as an all-pervading glow. Then came Professor Indhirabala, who extended and expanded this path with the help of his firm and steadfast analytical approach. And now people like Professor Padmanathan, Sitrambalam, and others are engaged in probing deeper and deeper and knowing the real history of Ceylon, and in this direction, they are proceeding with keen interest, great sincerity, and hard work. And, if their efforts give rise to a new set of historical analysts and researchers, that would prove helpful in throwing more light on "Eelam" history.

Modern Science, as in all other fields, has introduced a lot of new concepts and methods in the area of historical research too, and so enabled them to acquire speed, accuracy, and

authenticity. Especially in the field of Archeology, Science has shed a lot of light, because of which there is no room for assumptions and hypothetical conclusions. Disclosure means revealing the truth and nothing else.

The establishment of a University in Jaffna brought about many constructive changes. The foremost of it all is the system of unrestricted historical research and analyses. The Tamil region, which time and nature have covered with sand, remains unseen and is yet to reveal its time-immemorial rich history. But, against all odds and in an incompatible and even hostile climate, many researchers of the younger generation are actively engaged in unearthing this hidden history, and they go about doing it with utmost dedication and commitment, I know. And, I recognize the identity of my learned friend 'Macro non-Titasic' V.N. Giritharan among them, and I feel immensely happy about it.

These intellectuals who have come into the field of historical research and investigation with great vigor and enthusiasm are indeed the need of this hour. Let their numbers multiply. I have identified Dr. Po. Ragupathy as a powerful whirlwind in the field of Archeology. The book titled 'Early Settlements,' penned by Ragupathy, who stood in the forefront when it came to effective archaeological research in the Tamil regions, is a valid guide for would-be historical researchers. Giritharan, who has, in the same way as Ragupathy, keen interest and an analytical bent of mind, had taken the subject of Architecture as his graduation course of study. From that time itself, he has nurtured many great dreams about Nallur Rajdhani, which had developed a grand, noble history for itself. That analytical bent of mind has come out now in the form of a brief but effectively compact handbook of research and analyses.

One and all should appreciate Giritharan for having written this book in memory of his motherland despite going through a life of sorrows and sufferings. In between those strains and traumas in acquiring the evidential proofs, with 'patience' and 'seeking' in the forefront, he has penned this book in a powerful and poignant manner. At a later period, for the researchers of the younger generations who would be living, inhaling the free air of liberty and equality, this book would no doubt prove a beacon-light. In the history of 'Eelam' (Ceylon), Nallur has had a role to play. It was a renowned city way back at the time of Chola rule itself. Afterward, it was the glorious capital of Jaffna state, created in a well-planned and meticulous manner. Yet, the length and breadth of this empire have not yet been fully investigated. But, undeterred, on the basis of his analytical study and direct experience in the field concerned, he has set out to explain logically the layout of Nallur Rajdhani.

Giritharan has the principal qualities required of a historical researcher—sincerity and patience—in full. He takes into consideration even those historical pieces of evidence which have no basis and which are quite numerous. And he sets out to analyze them extensively and establish how correct or incorrect they are. This maturity of mind, which is required foremost of a historian, is inherent in this young author, and this fact is enough to throw light on his vast knowledge and deep insight. And, his analytical bent of mind and viewpoint are further enhanced by his distinct style of writing, which is at once simple and rich. Till date, I have not

met Giritharan. Only through his writing have I come to know him as an intelligent writer who has a seeking for more and more knowledge and wisdom, who writes for a cause and with a purpose. This analytical work of his reveals to us another aspect of his self, or rather, another facet of his self. And indeed, with pride and precision.

I read this book twice for the purpose of writing a foreword to it. When I sat down to think of all that I had read, my heart began to weigh heavy without my knowledge. My home is in Nallur. And my thoughts raced to that place. I can hear the bells of Nallur temple, which would reach us through the cool breeze at dawn, softly, oh softly, as a heart-melting symphony. I come on foot, treading along Veeramaakaaliyamman Temple, Sattanadhar, Veiyilugandha Pillayar, and Kailasanadhar temple. Yamunaari brings about never-fading wonder and awe within. That air, 'Poovarasam' blossoms, sweet-flowing dialect, the head-shaking palm trees that are the symbols of the soil, bright white clouds, a mug full of water.....

Along with them, those sand-covered mounds, the remains of fallen old buildings—all crowd the memory. Going farther down memory lane, I see our glorious past. Giritharan not only takes us all to that Rajdhani of the past but also makes us heave a huge sigh. But this sigh doesn't give us sorrow. On the other hand, it renews and rejuvenates our grit and determination. And this willpower tells us that soon Giritharan and myself would be standing in the streets of Nallur Rajdhani, holding our heads high in pride and joy.

The contribution of the Tamil in the field of Architecture is hailed and applauded the world over. The norms and traditions followed in architecture and carving are our great wealth. We can even say that these make one and all view the technical knowledge and skill of the Tamils in this area with great astonishment.

Giritharan's knowledge of architecture is praiseworthy. Going beyond the boundaries of his academic studies, he has accumulated and enriched his knowledge in this field, taking great pains, and with an unquenchable thirst. This book bears testimony to this trait of the author. Especially, Giritharan's comprehensive explanation regarding Vaasthu Sasthra.

In this book, Giritharan has highlighted the basic principles and salient features of architecture and city layout in a simple and straightforward manner. The way he sheds light on everything, providing information and explanations, this book would be a model work for research students, I predict, and I know for sure that my prediction won't be wrong. I sincerely hope that the readers would help Giritharan in enabling maps and photographs relevant to this book to be included in the next edition. Giritharan's untiring efforts, in a hostile climate where there was no access to any relevant or necessary information, have enabled the book to take shape as a useful collection. And, for this, the Sri Lankan Tamils living all over the world and also in their motherland would extend their wholehearted appreciation and thanks to Giritharan. And, for this achievement, Giritharan can justly feel proud and happy. This book would instill in each and every Sri Lankan Tamil who goes through this book, pride, grit and determination, self-confidence, solemn pledges, and a lot more. And this book would strengthen and multiply

such feelings. And what more can a writer want to feel happy and glorious? And I extend my wholehearted appreciation to Sneha Publishers for bringing out this book in a splendid manner. They can justly feel proud for this.

Chapter 1: Nallur And The City of Singai

We can name the City of Singai and Nallur as those which had the honor of being the capital during the reign of Aryan emperors. When 'Naga Arasargal' (Naga Kings) were ruling, Kandharodai, which was called 'Kadhiramalai,' enjoyed the status of Rajdhani. The cities that rose to that status afterward were Singai and Nallur. It is evident that some confusion prevails among historical researchers regarding these cities. One set of them is of the opinion that both places are one and the same. But the other set believes that these two cities were separate and both enjoyed the status of Rajdhanis at two different periods.

As per Dr. C.K. Sitrambalam, Nallur and the City of Singai are one and the same. 'Generally, it can be said that Nallur was also called the City of Singai' (Article – Ceylon Kingdom – Eela Murasu, Canada, 25.2.94). From the proof provided by Fr. Queroz, there is a note speaking of a well-fortified place named Chunguinayanar, that is, Singai City, on the way from the shore to Nallur. And it is this place, which is Singai City or Nallur, that appears in Tamil Books, the Kottagama Tamil charter, and the stone inscriptions of Tamil Nadu (Eela Murasu 11.3.94). Kailaya Malai, believed to have been written by Muthukkavirasar by the end of the 16th Century or in the beginning of the 17th century, tells us the history of Singai Ariyan I making Nallur the capital of his empire.

According to Swami Gnanaprakasara, Mudaliar-Se. Rasanayagam, Dr. K.S. Natarasa, and others, Nallur and the City of Singai are two different cities. 'Historians claim that in Ceylon, the reign of Arya Emperor came into being in 13 A.D. And those kings of that Empire, acquiring the titles Segarasasekaran and Pararasasekaran one after another, ruled the country from the City of Singai for a while, and afterward from Nallur...' (K.S. Natarasa's Ceylon Tamil's Literary Growth and Development, Page 6). 'Unaware of Parakramabagu's evil design, Shenbagaperumal went to Jaffna and, as the old capital was destroyed, established a new city in Nallur in 1450 A.D. and with the Sinhalese title Srirangabodhi Bhuvanesubagu, ruled for seventeen years...' (Mudaliar Rasanayaka's 'The History of Jaffna,' page 75). In the book 'Yaazhpaana Vaibava Maalai,' which was written on the basis of such works as Kailayamaalai and Vaiyapaadal, Mayilvaganappulavar himself says that Singaiaariyaarasan (the first Aryan king) established the capital of his kingdom in Nallur itself.

Of these two different viewpoints prevailing about Nallur and Singainagar, the contention of such people as Swami Gnanaprakasara, Mudaliar Se. Rasanayagam, and Ka.Se. Natarasa that Nallur and the City of Singai were two different cities has acceptability. The following reasons can be given for this:

In a stone-cutting found in a place called Kottagama in Kekalai, the following is inscribed: ("kangganamver kanniyanaiyar kaatinar kamar valaip pongoli neerch singai nagarariyar"). In this 'Venba' (a species of verse form), the phrase glorified as 'pongoli neerch singai nagarariyar' means ('Ariyar of Singai City of thundering, towering water').

Se. Rasanayagam has this to say: ‘...It is this Ukkirasingam who paved the way for the enhancement of Singai Nagar as the Rajdhani for many Aryan emperors successively. As it is glorified as ‘pongoli neerch singai nagar’, it becomes evident that Singai Nagar was the ocean banks filled with the sound of waves. And the place so situated was established beyond doubt with the help of the very many buildings constructed in Aryan style of architecture, which lie hidden under the sand along the seashore of the Temple of Vallipura, and also the very many signs that were found in that area...’ (The History of Jaffna 235-236). Swami Gnanaprakasar’s perception is also the same.

The well-known Muslim traveler ‘Ibin Bathootha,’ in his notes, called the Aryan king the Sultan of Sri Lanka and spoke of the king as having a naval force with a lot of ships. And the Aryan kings, who had a strong naval force, must have established their capital close to the port. Seen in this light, Vallipuram is a better port and a stronger city than Nallur. Kailayamaalai calls Nallur as Nallaimoodhoor. This tells of the past glory and ancientness of Nallur. We can see that during the reign of the first Rajendra Chola itself, Nallur was a place of pilgrimage with a temple. Dr. K. Indirabala had already undertaken various research works regarding the stone-cutting of Rajendra Chola the First. Of this, Dr. Si.Su. Sitrambalam says the following: “In this stone-cutting, ‘Santhan’ is shown as one who had given various charities. The animals that he had given away to the Hindu temple situated in Nallur are recorded in this.” (Sinthanai-Jaffna University Literary publication, Department of Arts and Culture, July 1984, page 121). And it is doubtful whether Nallur, which already had past glory and a name, would have been called the City of Singai. Taking into account all these aspects and arguments, the contention that Nallur and the City of Singai were two different places holds good.

Chapter 2: Nallur And Jaffna

Similar to the confusion prevailing regarding Nallur and the City of Singai, confusion also prevails regarding Jaffna and Nallur. One set of people opine that 'Yaappapattuna' is the Sinhalese version of Nallur, and the other group holds that Yaappapattuna is the Sinhalese version of Yaazhpaanam (Jaffna). Dr. C.K. Sitrambalam, Swami Gnanaprakasar, and others are of the opinion that the term 'Yaappapattuna' refers to Nallur only. 'It can be said that 'Yaazhpaanapatinam (Jaffna City)—that which Sinhalese books call 'Yaappapattuna'—referred to Nallur only.' (Yaazhpana Rajjiyam, Dr. C.K. Sitrambalam, Eela Murasu, 25.2.94). Further, as per the claims of Swami Gnanaprakasar, S.W. Kumaraswami, and others, it was the name 'Yaapane' given to Nallur by the Sinhalese which later became 'Yaazhpaanam.'

Gnanaprakasa Swamigal and the author of 'Idapeyar' (Name of Place), Sri S.W. Kumaraswami, not only held that the tale of Yaazhpaadi was fictitious and that such stories were abundant in 'Vaiyapaadal' and 'Dakshina Kailaaya Purana,' but also claimed that the 'Vaibavamaalai' person had woven the Kavi Veeraragavan history onto the tale of Yaazhpaadi, and that in reality, there was no such person at all, that Yaazhpaanam was not given away as a gift to anybody, that the name Yaapane/Yaappapattuna was given by the Sinhalese to the City of Nallur, which was later changed to Yaazhpanam, and that our bards had metaphorized the tale of Yaazhpaanan (Yaazhpaanach Charitham P. 253).

The contention of people like Mudaliar Rasanayagam and Dr. K.S. Nataraja is exactly the opposite. They hold that it is the Tamil name 'Yaazhpaanapattinam' which has become the Sinhalese 'Yaazhppapattunae.'

"...It is indeed a surprise how the Jaffna people came across the name 'Yaappapattunae,' which appeared in a book written by a Sinhalese bard in Thangaalai, and started using it in its modified form. Though there is harmony in meaning between the two terms Yaappapattuna and Nallur, there was no need to give an already existing name to Nallur and call it so. One wonders why the Sinhalese, who still retain names that end with the term Nallur, which Tamils formerly suffixed to various places in Sri Lanka, should have changed the name Nallur in Jaffna, and that too into a Sinhalese name. And one is more bewildered as to why the Tamils have failed to change the names of places and lands in Jaffna which have Sinhalese names into Tamil ones. Now, is 'Pattuna' a Sinhalese word? Even school kids would know that it is the term 'Pattinam.' So, it becomes clear that 'Yaazhpaanapattina' was a Tamil name which the Sinhalese had distorted and called Yaappapattunae..." (Yaazhpaanach Charithram, P.254).

Of this issue, Dr. K.S. Nataraja's viewpoint is also worthy of note. He has given a viable explanation regarding this matter: "...The term 'Yaappapattuna,' which was considered to be a Sinhalese term, is actually a compound word with the terms 'Yappa' and 'Pattuna' coming together. 'Pattuna' in Tamil is the distorted form of 'Pattinam,' which refers to a coastal city or town. And that term was used in the verse 'Pattinappalai,' appearing in 'Pathuppaatu,' which is one of the Tamil literary collections of the Sangam period. Therefore, there is absolutely no

basis to claim that this is a Sinhalese word before Christ. ...and the contention that the term 'Yaava' has come to take the distorted form 'Yaapa' is not acceptable. So, we cannot think that 'Yaapa' is the Tamil version of Java. Further, it is not the Sinhalese version of Java either. For, there has never been the practice of calling Java as 'Yaba' in Sinhalese literature.... So, it is a fitting claim that the Sinhalese name Yaappapattuna was coined from the Tamil 'Yaazhappanap Pattinam'..."

(Causes for the name 'Yaazhpaanam'.....Dr. K.S. Nataraja, Thamizhosai, 11.11.93).

In the above-mentioned article, K.S. Nataraja cites another reason as decisive proof for his claim: "Further, the practice of lifting the names of cities and towns from one tongue to another and the people of the receiving tongue using them as names for their place is not at all in vogue. Then we wouldn't be able to say why the Nallur of Yaazhpaanam is called so and not as Yabane, which is considered to be its Sinhalese version..... So, we should take the term Yapanne as the distorted Sinhalese form of Tamil's Yaazhpaanam" (Thamizhosai, 11.11.93).

Mayil Vahanap Pulavar's 'Yaazhpaana Vaibhavamaalai' (edited by Mudaliar Kula Sabarathan) clearly explains that a blind Yaazhpanan (a lutist) named 'Andhagag Kavi Veeraraghavan' played on the flute and won many prizes, and the name Yaazhpaanam resulted from this episode.

"In those days, from the Chola Kingdom, a lutist named Kavi Veeraraghavan, who was blind in both eyes, sang a song in praise of Alasingamagarasan, who was ruling from Senkadaga Nagar. Going there, the lutist sang the song playing on his lute. The song made the king so happy that he gifted this country called 'Manatridal,' which is in the northern side of Sri Lanka, to the lutist. And the lutist, i.e., Yaazhpaanan in Tamil, named it as 'Yaazhpanam...'" (Yaazhpaana Vaibhavamaalai, page 25).

And that which was called Senkkadaganagar by Mayilvaganap Pulavar referred to the city of Singai, holds Mudaliar Rasanayagam. "...The name Singainagar must have been changed either by Mayilvahanap Pulavar or someone who wrote after him, as Senkadaga Nagar, in Vaibavamaalai. During the rule of Ukkirasingan, a city called Senkadaga Nagar was something never even dreamed of..." (Yaazhpaana Charithram—(The History of Jaffna)—Page 29).

"...As all the books written during the rules of the kings of Jaffna (Yaazhpaananatharasar) who came afterwards state that those kings had ruled from Singai Nagar, it would be fitting to say that Ukkirasingan had shifted his Rajdhani to the City of Singai (Singai Nagar). And the name Singainagar alone must have become SenkadagoNagar afterwards..." (Yaazhpaana Charithram, Page 234).

As per the contention of A. Muthuthambi Pillai, who has given another book titled 'Yaazhpaana Charithram,' Yaazhpaanam was the piece of land gifted away to a blind lutist by the king called

Aelaelsing, who belonged to the 2nd Century B.C. For this claim of his, he cites the following verse as proof: (“narai kottilankantru, nalvalanadu nayanthalippan...”).

‘—From the style of versification, which is based on the Yaapu mode, it becomes clear that it belonged to the period after 3rd Century A.D.,’ holds K.S. Nataraja. ‘Vayapaadal’ would say that it was a lutist playing for Vibeedanan who developed the highlands on the northern side of Sri Lanka and turned them rich and fertile. M.K. Anthonyasil has also written a good write-up on this issue in which he would say that the place in which one of the three sects of Paanas, the Yaazhpaanas, lived came to be known as Yaazhpaanam.

“One of the old castes among Tamils, the Paanaas, were of three categories. One of the three was Yaazhpaanaas. The ancient instruments of Tamils were three: Yaazh (Lute), Kuzhal (Flute), and Muzhavu (a kind of drum). Of these, those who played on yaazh were called yaazhpaanaas. In the course of time, this became a caste name. Therefore, Yaazhpaanar is a caste name.... And, of these people who belonged to the yaazhpaanaa caste mentioned and referred to in our great Tamil classics and literary works, one group inhabited a place on the northern side of the isle of Sri Lanka, and this place had come to be known as Yaazhpaanam.” (Veerakesari 9.12.1990.)

Taking all these into account, we can but arrive at the conclusion given below: Rather than the claim that the name Yaazhpaanam came into being from the Sinhalese version of Nallur – yaappapattunae, the contention that Yaappapattunae is the Sinhalese distortion of the pure Tamil word ‘Yaazhpaanam’ is more applicable and acceptable. Though there is harmony of meaning between Yaapapattunae and Nallur, Mudaliar Rasanayakam’s argument that there was no need to give a previous name to Nallur and call it so, sounds true and agreeable.

Further, that which he points out in another place – “.....and also, the Islamic travelers from Western countries who had gotten down on this shore too had called it as Jappa, Sappa, and such other terms having the same intonation...” is also noteworthy. Furthermore, the song given below, which comes in Kailayamaalai, speaks of ‘Yaazhpaanam’ and Nalla Nagar as two different places, and this should also be taken into account. From all these, we can arrive at this conclusion only: That Nallur and Singai Nagar were two different Rajadhanis, two different cities/towns. Yaappapattunae is but the distorted Sinhalese version of Yaazhpaanam. The claim that Yaazhpaanam has come from the Sinhalese version of Nallur, Yaappapattunae, seems to have no probability at all.

Chapter 3: Nallur Rajadhani's Historical Facts

Information regarding Nallur Rajdhani is indeed a rarity. Temples, the marketplace, royal palaces, laborers' colonies, dwelling places of court bards, warriors, traders, the fortress around the city, and other forts around the city, etc., can be called the important places of Nallur Rajdhani. There are references about the famous temple of Lord Muruga, the Kandaswami temple in Nallur, in several works in the Portuguese tongue such as 'Conquest of Ceylon,' 'Early Christianity in Ceylon,' etc. From the notes of Queroz Swamigal, the author of 'Conquest of Ceylon,' we come to know that Nallur Kandaswami temple was the biggest temple in the whole of Jaffna and that there were huge walls by way of fortification built around it. Further, from these works mentioned above, we can also know that this Kandaswami temple was in the very same area where we have a church now. Kandhaiya Gunarasa says that the ruins seen en route to Yamunaari were of this big temple wall. (Veerakesari 15.8.93).

In 'Yaazhpaana Vaibhava Maalai,' regarding Singaiariyarasan 1st establishing his empire's Rajdhani in Nallur, it is said as given below:

"...on an auspicious day and time suggested by the astrologers, after much deliberation, laying the foundation stone and raising four walls, and constructing the doorway too, and along with them constructing a garden and a 'mandap' for the purpose of taking a bath (Snana Mandap) and a canal with walls on three sides and bringing waters from Yamuna river and mixing it with the water of the canal, building the Mandap of Justice, constructing stables for arrangement of rows of horses and elephants, constructing warriors' tenements, building an Agrahara for Gangadhara Iyer, who was the 'Brahmakula Thilagar' in Kasi, and his wife by name Annapoorani Ammal to live, building Veiyilugandha Pillayar temple for the safety of the eastern side and Veeramaakaliyamman temple for the safety of the western side and for the northern region Sattanadheswar Shrine, Thayalnayagiamman temple, Salaivinayagar temple and doing the housewarming ceremony with his better half Thilagavathiar he lived there." (Yaazhpaana Vaibhava Malai).

As per the 'Udhya Tharagai' version of Yaazhpaana Vaibhavamalai, the Kailai Vinayagar temple was also built by the aforesaid king for the safety of the southern side. We have already seen that Vaibhavamalaiyar's version abounds in historical untruths. The contention that it was not Nallur but Singainagar which King Singaraya had first made the capital of his empire holds good. Mudaliar Rasanayagam's 'Yaazhpaana Charitham' (The History of Jaffna) has this to say of Nallur Rajadhani:

"...Kanagasurya along with his sons and battalions came to Yaazhpaanam and fought with Vijayabhagu, and, killing him, he became the king and ruled his kingdom from Nallur. As his former Rajdhani Singai Nagar had been completely ruined and turned into a wasteland, seeing Nallur filled with various resources, he renovated it, building royal streets and places and surrounding them with stables of stallions and elephants that are used in warfare and a beautiful garden full of blooming, sweet-smelling flowers, building workshops and dwelling places of

traders and artisans who create wonders in silk and cotton, and also places which were unmatched in style and expertise and which had skillfully made windows and ventilators, and different places of dwelling for carpenters, goldsmiths, painters, diamond merchants, bards, lutists well-versed in music, exclusively, areas for upper-class businessmen, for the 'Manthras' of Brahmins, dwelling places of the landlords, exclusive areas where doctors, astrologers, etc., lived, separate streets for peasants and farmhands, and thus he made Nallur, as befitting its name, a place of excellence, making one and all wonder whether it was the city of Lord Indra, or, rather, Kubera." (Yaazhpaana Charithram, p.76-77).

Of the Nallur under the rule of Kanagasurya Singaiarya's son Singai Pararasasekaran, Mudaliar Rasanayagam says the following:

"...After Kanagasurya, his first son, taking the title Singai Pararasasekaran, became the king in 1478 A.D. It is he who was the first to use the name Singai as the first part of a name. He was even better than his father in ruling the country, and he built Sattanadhar temple to the north of the city, Kailayanadhar temple in the south, and Veiya Iugandha Pillayar temple in the east and Veeramaakaalamman temple on the western side, and enhanced the pride and glory of his capital further. Bringing into being a lake by the side of Kandaswami temple and filling it with the sacred waters from Yamuna river brought in poles and named it as Yamunaari (The lake of Yamuna)" – 'Yaazhpaana Charithram' – p.77

In the case of Nallur Rajdhani, Mudaliar Rasanayagam's version, more than that of anyone else, which he had arrived at after going through various important historical documents, is relevant and acceptable. During the military expedition of Sabumal Kumaraya alias Shenbagap-Perumal, the whole of Yaazh city, including Singai Nagar, was destroyed, and he established his capital in Nallur. Gaining possession of Kottai when he went away there, leaving Nallur in the hands of Vijayabagu, Kanagasurya Singaiariyan, who had been defeated by Shenbagap Perumal and sought shelter in Tamil Nadu, came back with his two sons Pararasasekaran and Kajarasasekaran, and, waging war, he retrieved from Vijayabagu his lost empire. This is history. In his time and under the rule of his son, Nallur Rajdhani's layout took on many important changes. Thus, these changes took place after Nallur became a Rajdhani, but they were wrongly perceived by Kailaya Maalaiyar, who has the confusion of seeing Singainagar and Nallur as one and the same, and also by Mayilvahanap Pulavar, who wrote his work Vaibhava Mallai based on the aforesaid incorrect viewpoint, as happenings during the rule of the Arya King who made Singai Nagar his Rajdhani. As more historians accept the contention of Mudaliar Rasanayagam, and that it is this contention which rectifies the historical incorrectness in 'Vaibhavamaalaiyar's claim, I am convinced that Mudaliar Rasanayagam's contention is true and correct. Hence, based on this contention, let us accept the historical facts about Nallur Rajdhani and turn our attention towards other issues.

Chapter 4: Nallur Kandaswami Temple

Let's look at what historical books have to say about the other places within Nallur Rajdhani. Historical works offer us many contradictory details about the Nallur Kandaswami temple, which was one of the significant features of Nallur Rajdhani. The song given below, found in Kailayamaalai, has caused this controversy: "...ilakkiya sagaptha Yenntrezhubhadha....." (Tamil cheyul).

According to Swami Gnanaprakasara, Va. Kumaraswami, and others, the term 'Yennootrezhubadhu' refers to the year 1248 A.D. They hold that the word 'Yenn' in the above verse refers to a thousand (aayiram), and that which comes by adding one hundred and seventy (nootrezhubadhu) with a thousand is the Saka year 1170, which points to 1248 A.D. As per Dainel John, the Saka year 'Yennootrezhubadhu' means 948 A.D. Mudaliar Rasanayaka's contention also states that Saka year 870 means 948 A.D. Bhuvanegubagu, who was mentioned in this song, was referred to as the minister of the Aryan king and the one who constructed the Nallur Kandan temple in works such as Kailayamaalai, Yaazhpaana Vaibhava Maalai, etc. However, none can hide the fact that in the Nallur temple panegyric, 'Sirisangabodhi Bhuvanegubagu' was referred to as the one who brought the temple into being. It was King Sirisangabodhi Bhuvanegubagu who made Nallur the Rajdhani and ruled from there from 1450 A.D. to 1467 A.D. under the name Sappumal Kumara.

Going by Kandhaiah Gunarasa's contention, we understand that by considering these two Bhuvanegabagus as distinct historical figures, an illustration to that effect has also been presented. He firmly concludes that the first Bhuvanegubagu is merely a Tamil name.

"...Here are two other proofs to claim that Nallur Kandaswami temple was built by Bhuvanegavagu (similar to the Tamil name Veeravagu)..." (Veera Kesari 15.8.93).

"...Whatever the case, we can assume that the Nallur Kandaswami temple was first built by a Bhuvanegavagu in the year 948 A.D. As some historical books refer to him as a minister, there is nothing wrong in considering him to have been the state representative of the king or the minister..." (Veerakesari 15.8.93).

After arriving at this conclusion, K. Gunarasa had no alternative but to bring about a compromise between the two Bhuvanegavagus. In the end, he could only conclude that the Nallur Kandan temple, which was built at two different times by two different Bhuvanegavagus, was destroyed by the Portuguese and rebuilt for the third time. The historical books he referred to were, in fact, works such as Yaazhpaana Vaibhava Maalai and Kailayamaalai. Many eminent analysts and researchers of history firmly believe that the historical details given in these works have no historical basis or ethics at all. In this issue, Mudaliar Rasanayagam's conclusion stands out as the only one that is logically acceptable.

‘...Kailayamalai would say that Bhuvanegavaagu was the minister of the first king Segarasan, and the Vaibhavamaalai would say that it was he who built the Nallur Kandhaswami temple. But the contention that Bhuvanegavaagu built the Nallur Kandhaswami temple can hold good only as a legend. And Kailaya Malaiyar, who had heard of it, either unable to find out the identity of Bhuvanegavaagu who had lived within a span of three hundred years, or in order to hide the fact that he was Sinhalese for some reason or other, depicted him as the minister of Segarasan. As there is a mention in the panegyric of Nallur Kandaswami temple which hails and glorifies Sreesangabodhi Bhuvanegavaagu, nothing and none can hide it, and none can hide it for sure...’ (Yaazhpaana Charithram, p.252).

Hence, it would indeed be a surprise if the Nallur Kandaswami temple was built by two different Bhuvanegavagus at two different times. For, it is very unusual that both had the same name, Bhuvanegavaagu. The possibility of such a thing is indeed next to nil, to say the least.

Chapter 5: Nallur Fort And Its Surrounding Walls

The practice of Tamil kings building their Rajdhanis as forts was a habit born of security reasons. In books like Yaazhpaana Vaibhavamaalai, Kailayamalai, and also in Sinhalese books such as Porthukeya and 'Gokila Sandhesam,' several references to Nallur fort can be seen. About Kanagasurya Singaiariyam, who was hiding in Tamil Nadu and then returned to wage war, Vaibhavamaalai has this to say: "...When Kanagasurya Singaiaryan arrived at Madurai, all the small kings who were ruling the Pandya kingdom, divided into various small kingdoms, handed over their troops and weapons, and with all those weapons, he reached Yaazhapaanam and entered it through the western gate." (Vaibavamaalai, page 47). It is well known that the western gate mentioned here is the western gate of Nallur fort.

In the chapter on the expedition of the Portuguese army, there is also a reference to this Western Gate:

"...beyond the gate, fixing the space in front of the gates of Nallur temple as the battlefield, they started the battle on the chosen day and conducted it for eleven days..." (Vaibhavamaalai, Page 70).

The Portuguese notes also give a detailed account of this warfare. In the book called 'The Conquest of Ceylon,' there are references about the western gate of Nallur fort being a stone's throw from Veeramaakaaliyamman temple and about the battle as well. That there was a northern gate to the Nallur fort and a temple of Shiva safeguarding the gate are also referred to in the story of Subathitta saint, which appears in Vaibhavamaalai.

"...among those temples, the temple of Shiva that stood safeguarding the northern gate, that alone would be realized first and foremost by one who had earned the blessings of Lord Shiva..." (Vaibharamaalai, page 53-54).

The historical books provide no references regarding the eastern or southern gates of the city. It is my wish to study historical works such as those of the Portuguese with great care and attention and undertake research on them, for such efforts might unearth many more factual details.

Some Information About the Marketplace

One of the Portuguese books titled 'Early Christianity in Ceylon' (17th Century narrative) speaks about the marketplace situated in Nallur Rajdhani and informs us that the market was situated in such a way that the king could watch its proceedings from his palace. This must have been the 'royal market' or designated market (@muthrai chandai) then. We learned that during the rule of Tamil Kings, clothes sold in the marketplace bore the sign of the royal emblem and were sold as such.

“Similar to the time of Tamil Kings’ rule, clothes that did not bear the sign of the royal emblem could not be sold. And, a tax was levied for affixing the royal sign also.” (Yaazhpaana Charithram, page 148). It seems the name ‘Muthirai Chandhai’ (Royal market / Designated market) must have come into vogue because of this.

Yamunaari (Tank)

There are also differing opinions about Yamunaari, which is one of the rarely seen monuments of antiquity. One group claims that this was a tank that the Tamil Kings built for bathing purposes, while the other holds that this was the sacred tank of the Big Kandhaswami temple. Vaibhavamaalayar says that this tank was built by King Singairiyarasan the First. But Mudaliar Rasanayagam, who has studied history very minutely, holds that it was Singaipararasa Sekaran, one of the sons of Kanagasurya Singaiariyan, who constructed this canal-like tank.

As this Yamuna lake is situated close to where the old Kandhasami temple stood in the past, and as it is said to have come to be called Yamunaari because waters were brought from one of the sacred rivers of the Hindus, the Yamuna River, and as the chance of a big Murugan temple having existed without a sacred tank is too remote, the claim that it must have been the sacred tank of the old Kandhasami temple sounds more sensible than the contention that it was used for bathing purposes by members of the royal family. This tank, having the shape of the Tamil syllable ‘pa’ – a square-like shape – is very beautiful. Later on, during foreign rule, it must have been used for bathing and washing. Maybe that is why people like J.B. Louise must have thought that this tank was used by members of the Tamil royal family.

Mudaliar Rasanayagam would say that in Nallur Rajdhani, houses were constructed in various styles for people in various professions. The way Nallur was renovated after Kanagasurya Singaiariyan won it back is described in Yaazhpaana Charithram thus:

“...Seeing that Nallur was rich with resources of all kinds, he decided to renovate it and build royal palaces and roads, surrounding them with elephant stalls, horses’ stables, and beautiful gardens with blooming, lovely flowers of all hues and tinges, and then the dwelling places of craftsmen who were engaged in skillfully working on silk and cotton, and mansions with beautifully made windows and ventilators, and also separate dwelling places for carpenters, goldsmiths, painters, diamond merchants, ironsmiths, bards, and lutists well-versed in books on music...”

The city layout was said to be so. How much of these descriptions were true can be found out in the course of our research on the city layout plans and theories of the Hindus, and also when studying the names of various roads, streets, and plots (‘kani’) which are in vogue in present-day Nallur.

In a Sinhalese work by the name 'Gokula Santhesam' ('Message through Kuyil'), according to which the buildings seen in the city belonged to the fifteenth century (this book was written to sing the glory of Suppumal Kumaraia's Victory of Yaazhpaanam), there are descriptions about the buildings in the city also. They are as follows:

"In Yapa Pattunae, grand, tall buildings stand in rows. Golden flags decorate these, and they can aptly be compared with the City of Azhagapuri, which was the capital of Lord Kubera."
(Yaazhpaana Rachiyam_ Kalanidhi C.K. Sitrambalam, Eelamurasu 4.3.94).

Other Forts

Through Portuguese notes, we learn that there were three small forts to safeguard Nallur Rajdhani. These were built in three places called Koppaai, Pannaithurai, and Kozhumbuthurai. Kottadi, which is seen close to Pannaithurai, seems to be a changed version of Kottaiadi. From the Portuguese books, we come to know that there were main roads to connect these forts to Nallur Rajdhani and that all along these main roads there were checkpoints. Queroz Gurukkal's 'Conquest of Ceylon' describes the details of the war that the Portuguese waged on Nallur Rajdhani.

Chapter 6: Field Research – Work Information

Regarding the preservation of ancient signs and symbols, Tamils, generally speaking, lag behind. We boast about our past glory and the greatness of our ancient rulers, yet we fail to give proper care and attention to preserving the symbols and monuments of that ancient glory. Nallur Rajdhani stands as a glaring example of this. Even the handful of historical monuments remaining in the city, which was once the capital, are in a pitiable state. Yamunaari, overgrown with bushes; Pandarakulam, plunged deep in sickening silence with debris strewn all over; and the very ground where, it is believed, the Koppai fort once stood, its ruins folding the history of an important period – all these tell us numerous stories. Although there are only a few monuments that directly proclaim the pride and glory of Nallur Rajdhani, the existing plot names, street names, and the like enable us to gather details of the city's layout, at least to some extent.

The temples that stand today, such as Sattanadhar temple, Veiyilugandha Pillayar Koil, Kailasanadhar Aalayam, Veeramaakaaliamman Aalayam, and Nallaikandan Aalayam, were all demolished by the Portuguese and then reconstructed at a later stage. While these structures were not built during the period when Nallur was a Rajdhani (capital city), they are replicas of the city's temples from that era. Therefore, albeit indirectly, they remain monuments highlighting the city layout of Nallur Rajdhani.

The Royal Market

The junction where the street leading eastward towards the Nallur temple meets the road to Point Pedro Street is called 'Muthrai Santhai'. During the time when Nallur was the capital city of Tamil kings, the marketplace must have been located here. Traveling through 'Muthirai Santhai,' my thoughts invariably wandered for a moment to those bygone days when the place would have been full of hustle, noise, and hectic activities, with the Arya King observing its busy routine from his palace.

The Laborer's Southeast Segment

Generally, markets are situated in the center of a city. Following this general rule, and considering the possibility of this marketplace having been the center of Nallur Rajdhani, our field research through the city revealed a lot of surprising factual information and statistics. We found that the names prevalent in the area situated southeast of this marketplace were generally associated with workers' clans. 'Thattaa Theru' (Goldsmith's Street), 'Saayakkara Theru' (Dyer's Street), Coppersmith Street, Dyer's Street, and so on, indicate that this area could have once been a workers' habitat.

Traders', Soldiers', and Royal Staff's Locality

The streets on the southwest side and the names of the plots there generally give us the impression that the area could have been the habitat of traders, royal staff, soldiers, and other similar sections of society.

King, Brahmin, and the Court Bard's Area

That the area situated northwest of the royal marketplace was a very important locality during the Nallur Rajdhani era is proclaimed by the names of lands and streets there, as well as by Pandarakulam. The following can be considered areas/places of importance:

Sangili Thoeppu (Sangili Grove)

Sangiliyan Veedhi (Sangiliyan Street)

Arasa Veedhi (Royal Road)

Pandaramaaligai Valaivu (The Arch of Pandaramaaligai)

Pandarakulam (Kulam – pond)

Arasakesari Valaivu (The Arch of Arasakesari)

Kurukkal Valaivu (Kurukkal Arch)

Arasaveli (Royal Space)

Mandhirimanai (Minister's Abode)

The very names Sangili Thoeppu, Sangiliyan Veedhi, Arasaveedhi, Arasaveli, Pandara Maaligai Valaivu, and Pandara Kulam signify the link that existed between the Tamil regime and these places. In names such as Pandara Maaligai and Pandara Kulam, the term 'Pandara,' according to many, refers to the Tamil king. Mudaliar Kula Sabanathan opines that the term refers to Pararasasekara Pandaram. There were many kings with names ending in 'Pandaram'; 'Puviraraja Pandaram' was one of them. One of the sons of Lakshmidēvi, the legal queen of Pararasasekaran, was also a Pandaram. The coconut grove encompassing about six acres is called Pandara Valavu. In a portion of this grove, close to the present Nallur marketplace and facing 'Paruthithurai Veedhi,' there is a pillar with the words 'Pandaramaaligai' engraved on it. Nearby, there is a statue of Vairavar with a small porch. In this porch, the following words are sculpted:

“Entrance of Pandara Maalagai, a place two thousand years old, which the Tamil kings preserved, safeguarded, and prayed at, and where the Nallai ‘Theradip Padhi Urai Padhi.’ The temple of Sri Bairava and Aadhimoolam, the god of gods – is inside.”

Arasakesari Valavu – The Arch of Arasakesar

The name of a piece of land in this area/locality is Arasakesari Valaivu. This place reminds one of the Tamil poet Arasakesari, who translated Kalidasa’s work in Sanskrit into Tamil. The poet Mayilvaagana Pulavar speaks of Arasakesari as the son-in-law of Pararasasekaran:

‘...Arasakesari, who was the brother-in-law of Paranimubasinga and the son-in-law of Pararasasekaran, translated the book called ‘Raguvamsam’ written in a North Indian language and, going on foot reciting it all along the way, reached Thiruvavur...’ (Vaibhavamalai 50-51)

However, Mudaliar Rasanayakam holds that he is Singai Pararasasekaran’s brother-in-law. According to Swami Gnanaprakasa, Raguvamsa was written during the reign of Edhirmanna Singa Pararasasekaran. The confusion as to whether the above-mentioned Pararasasekaran was Singai Pararasasekaran or Pararasasekaran the Eighth has resulted in the contradiction seen above.

‘Kurukkal Valavu’

The present location of Nallur Kandaswami temple is called Kurukkal Valavu. It might be because it was the habitat of Brahmins during the period of Tamil kings’ rule that the place earned this name – Kurukkal Valavu.

Sangili Thoeppu and Mandhirimanai

The structure called ‘Mandhirimanai’ these days is said to belong to the late 19th century. Several aspects of European and Dravidian architectural styles can be perceived in its construction. The piece of land on which this Mandhirimanai stands is called Sangili Thoppu. Determining whether this area belonged to the minister or the king is a bit complex. Yet, the fact that places like Arasaveli, Arasaveedhi, Sangiliyan Veedhi, Pandara Kulam, Pandara Maaligai Valavu, and others bear exclusive significance for the royal clan alone, and the fact that the place where the above-mentioned ‘Mandhirimanai’ is situated is called Sangili Thoeppu, are noteworthy. There could have been groves owned by the Tamil kings. Later, during the regime of foreigners, during the period of the successors of the Tamil Kings, or even after that, this grove could have become the dwelling place of a minister. There is room for these possibilities too. All these are monuments that proclaim the significance of the aforementioned Northwest region.

Northeast Region Having Royal and Divine Significance

We can name the following as important historical monuments seen in the northeast region:

Yamunaari

The place where the church is located today, which is where the old Kandaswami temple once stood.

The front portion of a palace which reflects the style of Dutch "Ollandhu" architecture. (This is called Kalthorana Vaayil, Sangili Thoppu Vaayil.)

The land on which this porch is situated bears the name Pandiya Maaligai Valavu (the arch of Pandiyan palace). These mentioned historical monuments loudly proclaim that this place was one of royal and divine significance.

Chapter 7: Fort Entrance, Fort Base, and Veyilugantha Pillaiyar Temple

Taking 'Muthirai Santhai' (Market) as the focal point, it becomes clear that a certain structural evenness, perceptible there, indirectly points to the city layout of the ancient Nallur Rajdhani. At the same time, what historical books say about the west and north gateways of Nallur Rajdhani also came to my mind. So, when I set out to find information about the east and south gateways of the Rajdhani from the present Nallur city layout, more details came my way.

Sattanadhar Temple

Church (the place where the old Nallur temple stood)

Veiyilugandha Pillayar Temple

The present Nallur Kandhan Temple

The place where the old Veeramma Kaliyamman temple should have been.

The spot where the old Kailasanadhar temple should have been.

The piece of land that falls close to the Veiyilugandha Pillayar temple is called Koettai Vaasal (Fort Entrance). Another piece of land in the Southeast region is called Koettai Adi. The fact that a piece of land named Koettai Adi lies near the Veiyilugandha Pillayar temple suggests that the eastern entrance of the Nallur Rajdhani must have been in that region. When an attempt was made to similarly find any piece of land reminiscent of Koettai elsewhere, it did not prove fruitful. It was then that a spark flew in my mind: If the royal market had been the focal point of Nallur Rajdhani, then the two major roads of the Nallur Rajdhani – North-South and East-West – must have met near the market. If that were the case, the road from the north towards the market must have run straight without curving in the direction of the Nallur Temple. Likewise, the road from the west towards 'Muthirai Santhai' too must have gone straight. However, the road that runs close to the Veiyilugandha Pillayar Temple curves near the church and meets Point Pedro Street. Yet, it can be seen that if that street were to have continued straight, it would have exactly cut across the designated marketplace.

From our investigations, we could find one more thing: both Veiyilugandha Pillayar temple and Sattanadhar temple are at an equidistant from 'Muthirai Santhai'. Taking into account the available historical facts as well as information derived from field examinations, we can say with conviction that Nallur Rajdhani must have existed with some kind of structural evenness and regularity.

Therefore, all four temples must have been at an equidistant from 'Muthirai Santhai'. Among the temples demolished during the Portuguese rule, the Nallur Kandhan temple, as there was a church in its original place, was rebuilt in the area called Kurukkal Valavu. Based on this, the

Kailasanadhar temple, built afterward, might have been constructed there. This is because both Veeramaa Kaliyamman and Kailasanadhar temples are at an equal distance from Kandaswami temple.

Another surprising factor is that this distance is also the same distance that the Veiyilugandha Pillayar temple and Sattanadhar temple are from 'Muthirai Santhai'.

Considering the fact that 'Muthirai Santhai' was the center of Nallur Rajdhani, we can reasonably contend that the temples in all four directions must have been somewhat at an equidistant from the marketplace. However, seeing that the Veiyilugandha Pillayar temple and the Sattanadhar temple of today are at exactly the same distance from the place called 'Muthirai Santhai,' it looks like the temples demolished during Portuguese rule must have been rebuilt in some nearby spot or at the exact spot itself. At the same time, the other three temples – the Nallur Kandhasami temple, Kailasanadhan temple, and the Veeramaakaliyamman temple – were built in new, different spots when their reconstruction took place. Not only that, but when they were so built, the other two temples must have been constructed with Nallaikandhan temple as the center.

In the course of our field research, we were also able to come across another important factor. The Veeramaakaliyamman temple, which is the shrine of Kottravai, the Tamils' goddess of war, is situated in places such as Aanaippandhi, which is associated with warfare. The Veiyilugandha Pillayar temple, whose deity is the defending god of farmers, is located in the area adjacent to Semmani, which is full of agricultural fields. The other two temples have been built for the safety and security of the Rajdhani.

When we compared the information about Nallur Rajdhani obtained through field research and the assumptions based on that information with the city layout norms and forms of the Ancient Hindus, many more facts surfaced.

Chapter 8: Ancient Books and Architecture

During the Vedic period, the architectural knowledge and capabilities of Hindus had already progressed significantly. The branch of science dealing with architecture was called 'Vaasthu – Vidhya,' and the texts that expounded on this were known as Vaasthu – Sasthra works. Mythological books like Matsyapurana and Vishnu Dharmottara Purana, as well as scriptural texts such as 'Hayasirsha Pancharatra Agama' and 'Vaiganasa Agama,' laid down the rules and regulations for temple structures. In the medieval period, more books emerged in this field, with Manasara and Shilpaprakasha being particularly noteworthy. In Tamil, texts like Chinthamani and Sirparathnam also appeared. Although some dissimilarities exist among these works, they generally shared a common viewpoint.

The divine sculptor Viswakarma is typically referred to as the principal author of North Indian architectural texts, while Mayan is usually considered the principal author of South Indian works. From the rules and norms established by these architectural texts, we can observe the profound influence religion had on the structural patterns of cities and their buildings. Until the medieval period, all available information pertaining to this field was passed down orally from generation to generation. It was only in the medieval period that this information was, for the first time, recorded in written form on palmyra leaves. In 1920, a scholar named Stella Kramisch extensively studied many of these palmyra leaves. Let us examine some of the important insights these leaves impart, particularly focusing on information regarding city layout.

Universe and Hindu Architecture

In the philosophies of the Hindu Upanishads, we find descriptions of 'Brahmam' or Brahma, who has no beginning or end and is omnipresent. Deities like Siva, Vishnu, and Brahma are considered the physical manifestations of this formless Brahma. The entity called 'Vasthu Purushan' or 'Vasthu Dhevan' is believed to have been created from this formless, principal image. With him as the focal point, the field of Hindu architecture advanced.

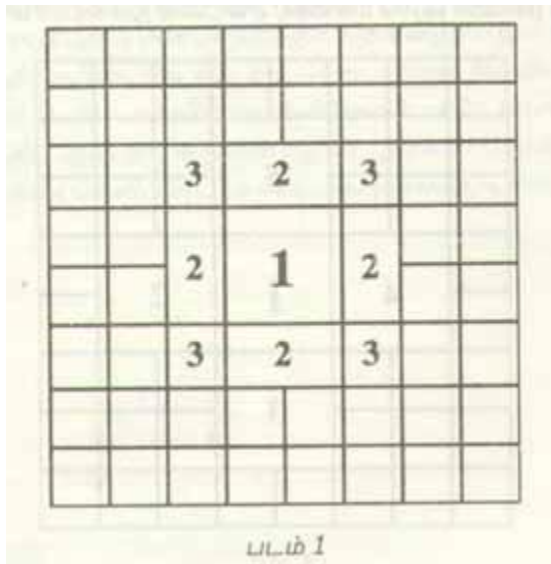
The aforementioned architectural texts describe this physical image, the Vasthu Purusha, as the Vasthu Purusha Mandalam (Vasthu Male zone). Just as the physical form of Vasthu Purusha was created from the formless Brahman, architects, when shaping the formless environment into buildings with concrete forms, ensure it is done in a way that would please and satisfy the Vasthu Deva. From this, it becomes evident that Hindus preserved the association between Man and the Universe even in the construction of buildings.

Circles, Square And The Vsathu Purusha Zone

Those who observe Hindu and Buddhist buildings would easily comprehend one thing: Buddhist buildings have been constructed in a round, circular shape, whereas Hindu buildings are typically square or rectangular. Anuradhapuram is one of the important Buddhist cities. Professor Roland Silva, a Sinhalese scholar who has conducted an in-depth study of this issue, highlights the extent to which the round or circular shape influenced ancient city and building architecture. His investigations authentically show that in the ancient Anuradhapura city, which was created with the marketplace as its axis, round-shaped stupas (Thadhu Gopangal) were built around the city in a circular fashion, in two different streams. The circular form implies 'motion' or movement. Concepts like birth and death, night and day—representing the passage of time in a circular motion—are implied in this round shape. Furthermore, this circular shape also refers to the nature or character of the world we inhabit. It is no surprise that Buddhists, who emphasize the doctrine of materialism, chose the round shape.

In contrast, the square shape is a decisive and clear form; it does not imply motion like the circular form. Hindus viewed the Universe as a square-shaped space, created by such forces, and identified the impact of time on this space in terms of 'Rasis' (Zodiac). From this, it becomes clear that, as claimed by neo-physics, Hindus also understood the Universe as a spatial time frame. Therefore, the fact that Hindus, who identified this Universe as a square-shaped frame, structured buildings and cities based on these laws as square-shaped (or rectangular) is not surprising.

Thus, cities and buildings were structured in line with this square-shaped 'Vasthu Purusha Mandala.' Each deity was represented by small squares. This square-shaped 'Vaasthu Purusha Mandala' was divided into many smaller, tiny squares, which were called 'Padas.' Each small square would be occupied by a deity. In the center of the Vaasthu Purusha Mandala, there would be a large square comprising many small squares, representing Brahma.

Manduka Mandala:

Brahma's four squares.

Belonging to the next important gods: 2 squares.

Belonging to the rest of the gods: 1 square.

The aforementioned Vaasthu Purusha Mandala would be divided in such a way, with the squares of deities of comparatively less importance surrounding Brahma. A Vaasthu Purusha Mandala can be formed in 32 different square shapes. From a square-shaped Vaasthu Purusha Mandala, varieties comprising 4, 9, 16, 25, 36, 49, 64, 81... and so on, up to thirty-two different ways, totaling 1024 small squares, can be created. This is explained in ancient Indian architectural texts. Among such Vaasthu Purusha Mandalas or zones, the 'Manduka Mandala,' comprising 64 small squares, and the 'Parama Sayika Mandala,' comprising 81 small squares, are important.

Parama Sayika Mandala :



For the 'Manduka Mandala,' the whole square would be divided by two axes running North-South and East-West. In the case of the 'Parama Sayika Mandala,' the entire square would be unevenly divided. Thus, every building (be it a temple or a house) and city constructed according to Hindu architectural norms or laws stands as a symbol highlighting Hindu laws and principles of creation in earnest. They are structured to reveal the modes and codes of Hindu laws of creation, so to speak. This, in turn, reveals the key role that religion plays in Hindu city and building construction. (Although slight differences exist between the Vaasthu Purusha Mandala described in North Indian architectural texts and that explained in South Indian works, in general, there is no significant difference or disparity. In South Indian temple cities like Madurai and Srirangam, this difference or deviation is clearly perceivable.)

Chapter 9: Hindus' City Layout And The Caste

Many factors contributed to determining the city layout style and pattern of the Hindus. The nature and structure of the land, the nature and structure of its soil, the prevalent social system (such as caste constraints and restrictions), and scriptures all played an important role in the city layout style and pattern of the Hindus. According to the structure and quality of the land, they divided it into three categories:

Jangala:

This referred to dry land with no water, rivers, or other resources.

Anopa:

This referred to highly fertile land with abundant water resources and a cool, pleasant climate.

Sadhana:

This was the average kind of land, neither Jangala nor Anopa.

The role played by the color, odor, sounds produced by, and flavor of the soil in the city layout pattern of the Hindus has been well articulated by the Western author Andras Volwahren in his work 'Living Architecture – Indian,' from which some lines are quoted below:

"The color of the soil, its sound, flavor, and the feeling it produced were all taken into consideration and studied with great care. The color of the soil identified the castes of people suitable to be settled there. White, red, yellow, and black were important colors. White soil was considered suitable for Brahmins, red for Kshatriyas, yellow for Vaishyas, and black soil for Shudras. There also existed a connection between the flavor of the soil and the caste system. Sweet soil was considered to belong to the Brahmins, hot and pungent soil to the Vaishyas, and soil with a bitter flavor to the 'Shudras.' Soil which, when tapped, would produce sounds like the bark of dogs, the bray of donkeys, or the howl of a jackal should be avoided at all costs." (Living Architecture Indian – page 44)

The slant or declivity of the land structure was also taken into account. The city should be built on soil that slopes towards the northern or eastern side. Hindus believed that a south-bound declivity would bring death, a southwest-bound slope would bring sufferings, a west-bound slope would bring poverty and destruction of crops, and a declivity towards the northwest direction would lead to war. After the most suitable land for constructing the city was chosen in this way, a guru with great scholarship in astrology would select the appropriate variety from the 32 different varieties of 'Vaasthu Purusha Mandala.' The city would be constructed in a square shape (or, if impossible, in a rectangular shape). Andreas Volwahren states in his 'Living Architecture Indian' (page 47) that from the information given in the 'ancient books' ('suvadikal')

on varieties of architectural styles and patterns, we learn that cities of perfect square shapes belonged to the Brahmins alone, and other castes should live only in rectangular-shaped cities. The layout of a city thus constructed with the right and suitable Vaasthu Purusha Mandala would appear as follows:

Fortifying walls would be built around the city.

The city would appear as a large square comprising many smaller squares, separated by roads that run north-south and east-west.

The city would have been divided into two parts by two broad royal roads that run north-south and east-west.

The royal roadway thus built would differ according to the character of the city. For instance, in the case of large cities, this royal roadway would be 12 meters wide; in ordinary cities, it would be 10 meters wide; and if it is a city with just a marketplace, it would be only 8 meters wide.

To encircle the city, a road would also be built on the interior side of the fortifying wall. This road would be as wide as the royal roadway.

Apart from this, ancient Hindu architectural texts also describe what sort of people would live in which direction of the city. The following can be cited as examples:

- a. The habitats of people such as Brahmins, astrologers, royal authorities, and police forces should be in the North and Northwestern regions.
- b. The dwelling places of goldsmiths and those who perform similar works should be in the Southeastern region.
- c. The dwelling places of prison authorities, soldiers, fishermen, and cowherds should be in the Southwest.
- d. The marketplace should be in the Northeast.
- e. Places like royal palaces should be in the East.

Thus, ancient Hindu architectural texts specify. Although these rules and regulations could not be fully adhered to while constructing every city, the dwelling places within the city should certainly be built with caste-wise divisions. All these points clearly illustrate the role that caste played in the field of city layout.

Chapter 10: The Temple Cities of South India

South Indian temple cities such as Srirangam and Madurai reveal that the South Indian concepts and norms of Vaasthu Purusha Mandala differ ideologically somewhat from those of the Vaasthu Purusha Mandala described in North Indian architectural texts. The central space, where the main temple would be situated, belongs to the formless Brahma, who has neither beginning nor end. In this region, the primary temple would be built, surrounded by fortifying walls. The area adjacent to this belongs to the rest of the gods, and the region even beyond that belongs to human beings. The outermost portion belongs to evil spirits and 'poothas.'

Brahma's reign

The region of other gods

The region assigned to human beings

The region of the 'Poothas'

If the North Indian Vaasthu Purusha Mandala describes creation, the South Indian Vaasthu Purusha Mandala reveals the order and regularity that prevail in the 'created' universe. This can be observed in the structure and organization of the temple cities mentioned above. The temple city of Madurai is a beautiful city adorned with temple towers. It is aptly called 'Naan Maadak Koodal' (The Communion of four towers). As a renowned temple city, it encompasses famous temples like the Madurai Meenakshiamman temple and Sundareswarar temple, which feature towers and fortifying walls, including a 'thousand-foot' Mandap, a temple pond, and fortifying walls surrounding all these, with entrances on all four sides. Nallur was not merely a temple city like Madurai; it was also a capital city—a Rajdhani. This is why Nallur possessed the characteristics of both a temple city and a Rajdhani.

It should be noted here that there is a reason for my referring to Madurai as a temple city. In Madurai city, the region where the temples are situated is itself constructed in the manner of a city. It is this region or place that is referred to as the temple city of Madurai.

Kanagasurya Singaiariyan, who was defeated by Sabumala Kumaraya, spent his later days in Tamil Nadu with his sons Pararasasekaran and Segarasasekaran. During that period, the influence that temple cities like Madurai had on Prince Pararasasekaran might have been the reason why he transformed Nallur Rajdhani into a temple city when he expanded it.

Varieties of Ancient Indian Cities

Thus, adhering to the rules of Vaasthu Purusha Mandala, numerous varieties of cities were built. They were given various names such as Thanthaga, Sarvadhapatra, Nandhiavartha, Padmaga, Swaasthika, Prasthira, Kaamukaanda, and Sadhurmuga. Of these, some varieties were best

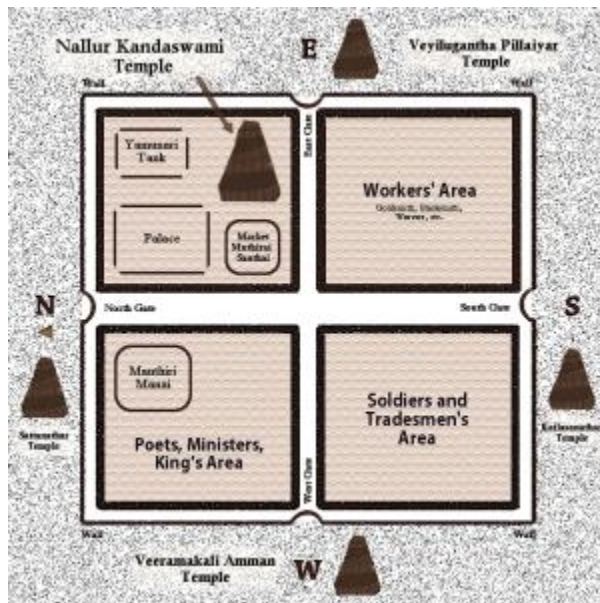
suited for small cities or villages. For example, the 'Thanthaga' variety is notable. Such small cities or villages had two main gateways. Cities of the 'Nandhyavartha' variety had a temple as their axis or central point. Among those varieties that featured two main roadways running North-South and East-West, meeting in the center, and possessing fortifying walls, 'Swasthika' was particularly significant and the most popular.

Apart from these, there were other varieties as well. Cities of these types were often designed to belong to a particular social group only. For instance, 'Kheta' was a type of city where only 'Shudras' were allowed to live. As they occupied the lowest strata of the caste-based social system of Hindus, they were considered incomplete or 'imperfect' humans, so to speak. Consequently, cities constructed exclusively for this class of people were also built in an 'imperfect' manner. The structure of such cities lacked an important or central place, and their layout diminished the importance of both the city and its overall structure. The layout of these cities thus reflected the unfortunate status of the Shudras, who lived in an insignificant layer of the social strata.

The significant role that religion, caste, and other such factors played in the architectural style and pattern of Hindu city layouts is still revealed and highlighted today by the information found in ancient Hindu architectural texts.

Chapter 11: Nallur Rajadhani's City layout

So far we have seen the historical factors about Nallur Rajdhani and also several details about the city layout and architectural norms, styles and patterns of the ancient hindus. Further, in several places I have given some facts about the Nallur Rajdhani that might have existed once. Now, let us review all those in detail. The following can be called the very first step that I took up in examining the layout of the city; that the market place of the city was situated at the centre.



Market Place , Centre of the City and the Main roads

Generally, a market place would be situated in the region where the main roads converge. This arrangement is important for the success of the market. The fact that right from Anuradhapura which was one of the important big cities of the Buddhists, in many ancient cities the market place was situated in the region where the city's main roadways meet. That's why I arrived at the conclusion that there must have been a market place in the central part of Nallur Rajdhani. And, so I concluded that the place called 'Muthirai Sandhai(market)' must be referring to this market place mentioned above. When we view the city's layout with the market place as the central part, its structural order and regularity is clearly revealed. To put it more effectively, the order and discipline of the city's layout originates from this central point and this lends further strength to my conclusion. Secondly, I arrived at the conclusion that the capital city of Nallur was divided by two principal roadways. The following can be cited as proofs for my contention:

That there were entrances at the western and northern sides of the Rajdhani is revealed by the historical books and notes. The names of lands that are in vogue in the eastern regions of the city such as Kottai Vaasal, Kottai adi (Fort – Entrance, Fort – base) implied that there might have been the eastern entrance in that region. As the historical works hold that

Veeramakaliyamman temple was safeguarding the west-side entrance and the Sattanadhar temple stood for the safety of the Northern entrance, I arrived at the conclusion that the Veiyilugandha pillayar temple must have been guarding the east side entrance. Historians claim that the king Singai Pararasasekaran had built those four temples Veeramaakaliyamman temple, Sattanadhar temple, Veiyilugandha pillayar temple and Kailasanadhar temple for safeguarding the city from all the four directions. Taking this theory into consideration I concluded that there must have been a southern entrance to the Rajdhani and that it must have been guarded by Kailasanadhar temple.

After deciding on these I went on to conclude that because the Rajdhani had four gateways the city should have been divided by the two main – North South, East West roadways that connect the four entrances to the city. After arriving at the conclusion that the city was thus divided by the two principal roadways it became easy to go from there and reach that the market place was situated in the region where the two main roads converged.

Conclusion

On concluding that the city had been built as having four entrances and two main roadways and four temples safeguarding the four gateways there arose some problems. The temples seen today were those demolished by the Portuguese. How then to find out their locations during the period of Nallur Rajdhani? As mentioned earlier, when I arrived at the conclusion that the region called the 'Muthirai Santhai' (market place) must have been the central part of the city, I could see from the present city maps that the distance between this point and the Veiyilugandha pillayar temple and also the distance between this central region and the Sattanadhar temple were exactly the same. Moreover, the fact that the Veiyilugandha pillayar temple was situated in the east and the Sattanadhar in the west was also taken note of (As for the rest of the temples, that they were built in the same way as mentioned earlier, in the chapter on field research work, was also taken note of) From these the following conclusions are arrived at:

As the distance to the Sattanadhar temple and to the Veiyilugandha pillayar temple from the centre place, i.e, 'Muthirai Santhai' (the market place), is exactly the same, these two must have been rebuilt in their same old locations or somewhere close by.

As the Nallur Kandasami temple was rebuilt in 'Kurukkal Valavu' it could be that the Veeramaakaliyamman temple and Kailasanadhar temple were constructed having this as the central point. The city layout of the Rajdhani: Moreover, as the distance of the Sattanadhar temple and that of the Veiyilugandha pillayar temple (from the royal market) is exactly the same, and as the place where the market place was located had been the centre of the Rajdhani we can say that the shape of the Nallur Rajdhani city structure might have been either square or circular. As from the available information and details on the ancient architectural styles and norms of the Hindus we come to know that the Hindus adopted the square-shape and also, as the tamil kings were hindus it was concluded that the Nallur Rajdhani's architectural form was square-shaped. As per the data and proofs given by the architectural books of the Ancient

Hindus we can understand that the city was castewise structured. Further, the names of plots / lands that exist in today's Nallur and the monuments there also emphasize this aspect. It is understood that Nallur Rajdhani too had been built thus caste - based structured divisions. (But, in truth, it should be seen as vocation – based than of caste – based division)

As per the information imparted by the ancient architectural writings of the ancient Hindus the north and northwestern region were considered proper for the brahmins and astrologers and the eastern region for the king. But, the information gathered from the field research work conducted in Nallur tell us that in North western region itself, locations proper and suited for brahmins (Kurukkal Valavu) and court bard (Arasakesari) and also places like Pandarakulam, Sangilian Thoppu, Sangiliyan street etc did exist. The reason for this could be the fact that the main Nallur Kandan temple (the region where the church is seen today) and its sacred pond were situated in the Northeastern region. Further, as the notes and references of the Portuguese describe the Nallur Murugan temple as a great grand shrine with fortifying walls, the land belonging to the temple must have been of a huge area and circumference. And, this would have posed some difficulties. This could have been the reason for most of the places that were proper for the royalty to have been established in the Northwest region. Still, there might have been some places belonging to the king in the northwest region also. Pandian maaligai varalaru (Pandian palace) that is seen in this region lends strength to this contention.

That the region belonging to those like the goldsmiths and such other craftsmen must have been in the southeast side. So opine the architectural books of the Ancient Hindus. As lending credibility to this claim we come across the dyers' street and such other places belonging to the labour class in the south-eastern region of Nallur. Likewise, the soldiers and the palace staff must have dwelt in the southwest region and the information gathered from field research work and the architectural books of the ancient Hindus prove this point. As the architectural books of the hindus say that the market place should be in the Northeast side of the city, the conclusion that in Nallur Rajdhani also there should have been a road round the fortifying walls on its inner side, was arrived at.

So far we have seen how the city layout of the Nallur Rajdhani had been planned and constructed. When we look at the city structure of the ancient Hindus we see that some of them were built as temple-cities and some others as Rajdhanis (capital cities). In Nallur Rajdhani's case our research work proves that it was structured in such a way as to be a temple city and also a Rajdhani. This is the reason why Nallur Rajdhani's city layout differs from that of the other cities. And, this is its significant aspect too.

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V.N. Giritharan



V.N. Giritharan is a Tamil writer from Sri Lanka, currently residing in Canada. He was educated at Vavuniya Mahavidyalayam and Jaffna Hindu College, and is a graduate in Architecture from the University of Moratuwa. He also holds a degree in Electronic Engineering from Centennial College in Toronto and has various qualifications in Information Technology. He began his writing career in Sri Lanka and has continued to write since moving abroad. He has been the editor of the online magazine 'Pathivugal' since 2000.

His works have been published in magazines and newspapers by Sri Lankan, Tamil Nadu, and diaspora Tamils. Research papers on his diaspora fiction have been presented at academic forums in Tamil Nadu. Students in Tamil Nadu universities have conducted research on his works for their doctoral and master's degrees in philosophy. Notably, his short story 'Ponthupparavaigal' (Cave Birds) has been included in a Tamil language curriculum for students by the Singapore Ministry of Education. Another work, 'America,' is part of the curriculum at American College (Tamil Nadu, India).

He has won awards in the Ananda Vikatan Platinum Jubilee competition and the global science fiction short story competition organized by the writer Sujatha Trust and Aazhi Publishers. He received the Iyal Award for Literary Achievement from the Tamil Literary Garden of Canada in 2022.