Ceylon Tamil
Inscriptions

Edited by
A. Veluppillai

Part 1

CEYLON TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS

PART I

Editor

A. VELUPPILLAI, Ph. D. (Cey.); D. Phil. (Oxon.)
Senior Lecturer in Tamil
University of Ceylon

PERADENIYA
1971

417·7
VEL

Price – Rs. 8-50

DR. K. Indrapala,

With the best compliments of the Editor

A. Veluppillai

CONTENTS

PREFACE

The inscriptions edited here were selected at random from the collection of the Archaeological Department of the Government of Ceylon. Inscriptions which had been edited in standard books and Journals like Epigraphia Zeylanica and University of Ceylon Review have been avoided. This book deals with only a portion of the Tamil inscriptions; it is hoped to bring out later another publication dealing with the other Tamil inscriptions.

This book consists of seventeen articles all - written by me - about Ceylon Tamil inscriptions and seventeen pages of plates. Most of the inscriptions are edited for the first time while the the others are edited with improvements on earlier attempts. The seventeen articles cover studies on twenty nine inscriptions. The Archaeological Department agreed to publish the articles in Epigraphia Zeylanica, Volume VI, Part 1. The first thirteen articles were sent to them at different times in 1968 and 1969 and they promised to include these articles in the journal which they hoped to print in October. 1969. The fourteenth article was written by me in 1970 and a copy of it was sent to the Archaeological Department. The inordinate delay in the printing of Epigraphia Zeylanica prompted me to think in terms of publishing my articles in the form of a book. Professor S. Vithiananthan, the Head of the Tamil Department, was keen to have this work published and helped me in various ways. Professor W. S. Karunaratne, the Dean of the Faculty of Oriental studies, encouraged me in the pursuit of this idea. As the Archaeological Department was unable to promise, even in February 1971, an early publication of the Journal, 1 am publishing this work on my own.

The photographs of the inscriptions as well as information about the sites were supplied to me by the Archaeological Department. I have attempted to read the twenty nine inscriptions and have given the readings in transliteration. The reading of the ancient records, itself, is difficult. Some ancient records can be read out relatively easily while others present problems in reading certain sections. Reading of these records requires familiarity with palaeography. A knowledge of different stages of development of the Tamil and the Grantha scripts is necessary for the reading of the records. I have utilised palaeography as a ground for dating records which are otherwise undatable through Dani, the author of Indian Palaeography, has clearly shown that palaeography cannot supply infallible dates except within certain limits. The training in Tamil epigraphy which I underwent at the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1967 has made me familiar with the reading of ancient Tamil inscriptions.

I have given English translations for all the inscriptions except for fragments and for three inscriptions dealt with in the fourteenth article. One inscription from Nālanār Kōvil, consisting of three fragments, is not translated because these three form parts of the prasasti of Rajendra I, the great Cōla monarch whose records with the full prasasti are found with translations in the early volumes of South Indian Inscriptions. Fragments in the last article were not translated as enough sense could not be made out of them. Considerable difficulty was experienced by me in translating the three inscriptions of the corporation 'Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions'. The references which I came across regarding this corporation point out that relevant information on this subject can be gathered from the records edited in the Epigraphia Carnatica. It will be possible to translate these inscriptions when the particular volumes of the Epigraphia Carnatica are available

to me. The English translation of the inscriptions, given by me, will make these records useful to students of Ceylon History.

Interpretation of these records requires familiarity with the language of Tamil inscriptions. My special field of study is the language of Tamil inscriptions and for my post graduate degrees I worked on the language of Tamil inscriptions. I have also brought out recently a book, in Tamil, on Inscriptions and Tamil Studies. I have therefore approached the study of Ceylon Tamil inscriptions in this book primarily as a student of language. As the age of the records dealt with in this book range from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries, there is considerable material for further study in the History of Tamil language.

Twenty two photographs in seventeen plates, dealing with the inscriptions of the first fourteen aricles, are published in this book. As it will be evident, it has not been possible to make out certain words in some records. It is also possible that, in a few cases, there may be errors in reading and interpretation. The plates will help students of palaeography and other scholars to check with the source material of the article concerned.

There is scope for further studies on Tamil inscriptions. Familiarity with Ceylon History and Ceylon Archaeology will enrich the interpretation, and in rare places where readings are not clear, may help in the reading also. As some of the Tamil inscriptions contain Sanskrit expressions and passages, Sanskrit scholarship, too, may be similarly useful. The discovery of most of the records, which I have edited here, were mentioned in the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Reports. Wherever possible the number of each inscription as well. as the year of discovery have been identified with those

given in the list of the Register of Inscriptions (sometimes abbreviated as R. I. in the body of this work) of the Archaeological Department. What is given as the year of discovery of the inscription in the Register is same as the year of publication of that inscription in the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report.

A tentative summary of some Tamil inscriptions is available in the Ceylon Journal of Science. My reading of some records, as for example, a grant to Kāli from Kalutara, doesn't agree with the epigrahical summary. Besides these, this book may suffer from a few other shortcomings. Due to the non-availablity of Grantha letters and Tamil numeral signs in print, the Tamil texts of the inscriptions have been omitted. Because of the non-availablity in print of the necessary letters with diacritical marks, it has not been possible to consistently maintain the distinction in the representation of Tamil letters and Grantha letters.

My friend Dr. K. Indrapala, of the Department of History, has published some articles, in Tamil, in Cintanai, 'The Journal of the Arts and Social Sciences' of which he is the editor. He has given his readings and comments of some of the inscriptions dealt with in the first thirteen articles (those submitted by me earlier for publication in the Epigraphica Zeylanica). Both of us were working independently. Articles 15, 16 and 17 were written by me recently. One of them refers to Dr. Indrapala's reading and interpretation of a record published in Cintanai. Study of inscriptions could be done better as a joint work of various experts - a line of thinking I have been advocating for some years.

I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the Archaeological Department for providing me with the photographs of all the inscriptions edited here, except four. I obtained two estampages, one of Nātanār Kōvil,

dealt with in the fifth article and the other of Vihārehinna, dealt with in the fourteenth article from the late Professor K. Kanapathipillai, who was my teacher of inscriptional Tamil and whose edition of three Ceylon Tamil inscriptions appeared in the University of Ceylon Review. The late Professor K. Kanapathipillai was also helpful to me in writing to the Archaeological Department to provide facilities for me to continue the work begun by him. The Archaeological Department also provided me with a photograph of the Vihārehinna inscription and estampages of three other inscriptions. All the photographs published in the plates are copyrights of the Archaeological Department. I am very much obliged to Dr W. S. Karunaratne, Assistant Commissioner of Archaeology and epigraphist of that Department, who was very helpful to me in my work.

I am thankful to Professor V. Chelvanayakam who interested me in editting Ceylon Tamil inscriptions. My thanks are also due to the Special Arts Tamil students who helped me in going through the reading of almost all the inscriptions.

Inspite of the pressure of my friends and wellwishers to publish what I have done in the field of Ceylon Tamil inscriptions, I have been postponing the task because of my awareness of the difficulties of bringing out a good edition. But in this modern age, a person who waits patiently, tends to be pushed aside. Fortunately for me, the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, agreed to recognise the preparation of this work for publication as a reserach project and to give me a grant. I have to thank the University for the grant which enabled me to proceed with this publication.

The transliteration system followed in the work is that of the Madras Tamil Lexicon. But in a few places, well known proper nouns are spelt in their usual way.

Suggestions for improvement of this work from epigraphists and other scholars will be very welcome.

Department of Tamil,   *A. VELUPPILLAI*
University of Ceylon,
Peradeniya,
Ceylon,
20-5-71.

A PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM TIRUKKŌVIL[1]

Tirukkōvil is the name of a village in the Akkaraippattu division of the newly created Amparai District in the Eastern Province. The name Tirukkōvil itself consists of two words, tiru, which can be rendered as sacred or holy and kōvil meaning temple. The village seems to have acquired its name from the ancient temple.

This inscription was first noted, transliterated and translated by Hugh Neville[2]. Two versions of amended transliteration and translation were given by Historicus[3].

This inscription is on two sides of a square stone post about five feet or so in length. On the other sides are an elaborate Bhairava sūla and a peacock supporting the emblem of the God. This pillar was found in the mid - wall of a small Amman temple at Tampiluvil. Hugh Neville removed it and erected it in the portico of the Skanda temple in Tirukkōvil. The inscription has a sun and a crescent moon at its beginning. It is of 38 lines running on two sides of a pillar.

The record is written in the Tamil script. Only Śrī is written in Grantha. No puḷḷi sign seems to have been used in the inscription. Long medial-e-and long medial-o-are not distinguished from short medial-e-and short medial-o-.

The inscription is dated in the tenth regnal year of king Vicayapāku tēvar. His throne name is given as Śrī Caṅkapōtiparamar. Saṅgabōdhi is the throne name

---

1. This inscription is numbered 485 of 1929 by the Archaeological Department. I hereby acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. W. S. Karunaratne, the epigraphist of the Department, who guided me in editing this inscription.
2. Hugh Neville-The Taprobanian, Volme, I 1885; p. 4.
3. Historicus - Ceylon Literary Register, Volume iii (Third Series). December 1934, p. 551. The first version was that of the late Archaelogical Commissioner, communicated to Historicus by Mr. H. W. Codrington in 1934. Historicus gives his own version also.

of certain Sinhalese kings. Vijayabāhu I had both these names. Historicus dates this inscription as A. D. 1075 probably on this ground. The writing could not be assigned to a period earlier than the thirteenth century. The usage of some late words in the inscription like mātam 'month' and tiyati 'date' do not occur in the eleventh century Tamil inscriptions. Tiripuvanaccakkaravattikal, 'the Emperor of the Three worlds,' is also a title which occurs only in late Chola records and afterwards.

There were many Ceylonese kings with the name Vijayabāhu. Hugh Neville assigns this record to Vijayabāhu III (A D. 1240 - 1267) or to Vijayabāhu VI (A. D. 1398-1410). According to the chronological tables of Ceylonese kings, given in Epigraphia Zeylanica[4], many kings who ruled with the name of Vijayabāhu after Vijayabāhu I, seem to have ruled only for very short periods. Vijayabāhu V seems to have ruled in the fourteenth century and the upper limit of his reign is not definitely fixed. The History of Ceylon[5] gives his regnal years as 1335 to 1341. The present inscription definitely mentions the tenth regnal year. According to Mr. Wickremasinghe's tables, Vijayabāhu VII ruled in the sixteenth century. During the latter part of his reign, this king ruled from Kotte. But he seems to be too late. His authority also might. not have been respected by people in the south eastern coast of Ceylon. Vijayabāhu VI is not given in the list of Mr. Wickremasinghe. He should have ruled any time between Vijayabāhu V and Vijayabāhu VII. This inscription may therefore belong to Vijayabāhu V or Vijayabāhu VI of the fourteenth or the fifteenth centuries.

Vovila is now called in Tamil, Vēvil. It is a tract of fields, some four miles, south of the temple. The object of the inscription is to record the donation of Vovila to the Śiva temple. According to the inscription, if anyone violates this gift, he will suffer the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges. The

4. D. M. de. Z. Wickremasinghe - Epigraphia Zeylanica, Volume III Chronology of Ceylon kings.
5. The University of Ceylon - History of Ceylon, Volume I. p. 847.

Ganges is the sacred river of the Hindus and killing cows is considered a heinous sin among the Hindus. This statement regarding violation of the gift is also commonly found in South Indian Tamil inscriptions.

The throne name of the king is written as Caṅka-pōtiparamar. The word paramar can be a variant of varmar (Skt. Varma). a kshatriya caste name. It can also be a derivative from the Sinhalese, 'mahāparumaka' a title of the kings. The inscription mentions the month of Tai. This month usually covers the latter half of January and the early half of February.

As regards the orthography, there is a confusion in the use of the two letters n̠ (ன) and n (ந). In certain words, they are not used in accordance with the spelling in standard Tamil. For example, inta (இன்த, ll. 23-24) is written for இந்த; kon̠ra (கொன்ந்ற, line 34) is written for கொன்ற. The classical form, koṭu, which occurs generally as kuṭu, in Tamil inscriptions, is preserved here in koṭutta (ll. 21-22). The letter-r̠-(ற) is written instead of the letter -r-(ர) in the words Caṅkopōtiparamar, Tiripuvan̠accakkir̠avattikal̠ (ll 1-8). The form tēvar̠ku (ll. 10-11) is written for tēvarkku. Such assimilation is common in South Indian Tamil inscriptions. The letter -y-is missing in the word Ceytān̠ (ll. 27-28). In the line 18, one additional -ka-is found.

The last sentence in the inscription suffers from a grammatical error. The word, Ceytān̠ (ll. 27-28) is masculine singular and the predicate must have been kol̠la kaṭavān̠, also masculine singular and not kol̠la kaṭavār (ll. 37-38) which is epicene plural.

Text.	Transliteration.
Side A.	
1.	Śrī Caṅ-
	kapō-
	tiparama-
	r-āna Ti-
5.	ripuvana-

Text	Transliteration
Side A	ccakkira
	vattika-
	ḷ Śrī Vi-
	cayapā-
10.	kutēva
	ṟku ā-
	ṇṭu pa—
	ttāva-
	til Tai
15.	mātam
	20 tiyati
Side B.	
	civaṉ-āṉa
	caṅkara (ka)r
	kōyi-
20.	lukku
	koṭut-
	ta Vo-
	vila i-
	ṉta taṉ-
25.	mattuk-
	ku ati—
	tam ce [y]
	tāṉ āki
	l keṅ-
30.	kai kkara-
	raiyil
	kārām pa-
	cuvai-k-
	koṉṟa
35.	pāvat-
	tai koḷ-
	la kaṭav-
38.	ār-ākavum.

Translation

(Lines 1-16)   On the twentieth day of the month of Tai in the tenth year of Śrī Vijayabāhu Dēvar alias Śrī Saṅgabōdhi-paramar, the Emperor of the Three Worlds.

(Lines 17-23)   Vovila which was given to the temple of Sankarar alias Śivaṉ.

(Lines 23-38)   If there is anyone who violates this gift, let him incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Inscription from Tirukkovil

A SIXTEENTH CENTURY
TAMIL INSCRIPTION FROM TIRUKKŌVIL

This inscription was numbered 2701 of 1967 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. It was discovered in a slab, found in the temple of Cittira Vēlāyuta Swāmi Temple at Tirukkōvil in the Akkaraipattu Division of the Amparai District. As the annual report mentions, half of the inscription is worn out.

The first eight lines of the inscription are readable. The inscription mentions the ruler Vijayabāhu alias Saṅgabōdhi varma. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription can be dated in the sixteenth century. Therefore the ruler must have been Vijayabāhu VI. From the context, it appears that the ruler might have done some service to the temple in the form of a gift. The Hindus ought to have been delighted at this gesture of the King. They have given a title to the king 'Civa Ñana Caṅkarikal'. The word 'caṅkari' means 'destory'. The particle-kal can be said to be honorific appellative suffix. Therefore the word 'caṅkarikal' can mean 'the Destroyer'. 'Civa Ñana Caṅkarikal' will mean 'the Destroyer with the Divine Wisdom of Siva'. Lord Siva was himeself 'the Destroyer'. A ruler always takes pride in his prowess. Some rulers want to add wisdom to prowess. Therefore the Hindus must have thought it fit to confer this title on the king. The inscription is dated on the tenth year of the king.

The inscription is in Tamil script. Only 'Srīmat' and, 'Srī' are written in Grantha in two places. Grantha sa is written in māSAtti-, 'of the month'. Short-e-and short-o-are not distinguished from their long counterparts. Puḷḷis are not found.

The inscription gives the ruler the title of 'the Emperor of the Three Worlds'. In later Tamil inscriptions this title just means 'the king' as in the case of this ruler.

The ruler might have gifted a building. Two bounda-
ries are mentioned at the end of the readable part of the
inscription. East of the temple is said to be the bend
of the sea. West is said to be the temple. The word
kūnar is written for kūnal. It ought to be an ortho-
graphical error. The letter ḷa is written for ḷa in kiḷakku
'east'. The letter ṟi is found for ri in Tiṟi 'three'. The
dative sign-ku is added to the word kōvil without any
phonological change. The usual way of writing this in
Tamil is either kōyiṟku or kōyilukku. But the usage found
in this inscription is also seen in South Indian Tamil ins-
criptions. The temple mentioned in the inscription belongs
to Lord Subrahmaṇya or Lord Muruga. The word 'cuvāmi
is from Sanskrit, Svāmī, 'Lord'.

Text	Transliteration

1. SRĪ MAT Caṅkapōtivarmar-āṉa
2. tiṟi puvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ
3. āṉa Civa Ñāṉa caṅkarikaḷ
4. SRĪ Vicayapākutēvarukku
5. yāṇṭu 10-vatil tai māSAtti-
6. tirukkōyil Cittiravē-
7. lāyuta cuvāmi kōvilku
8. Kiḷakku kaṭal kkūṉar mēṟku
9. taḷikaḷ

Translation

(Lines 1-5) In the month of Tai (January-February) of the
tenth year of Vijayabāhu alias Saṅgabodhi, 'the
Emperor of the Three Worlds', 'the Destroyer
with the wisdom of Śiva'.

Lines (6-9) To the east of the temple of Cittira Vēḷāyuta
swāmi of Tirukkōyil, the bend of the sea. To
the west, Temple . . . . .
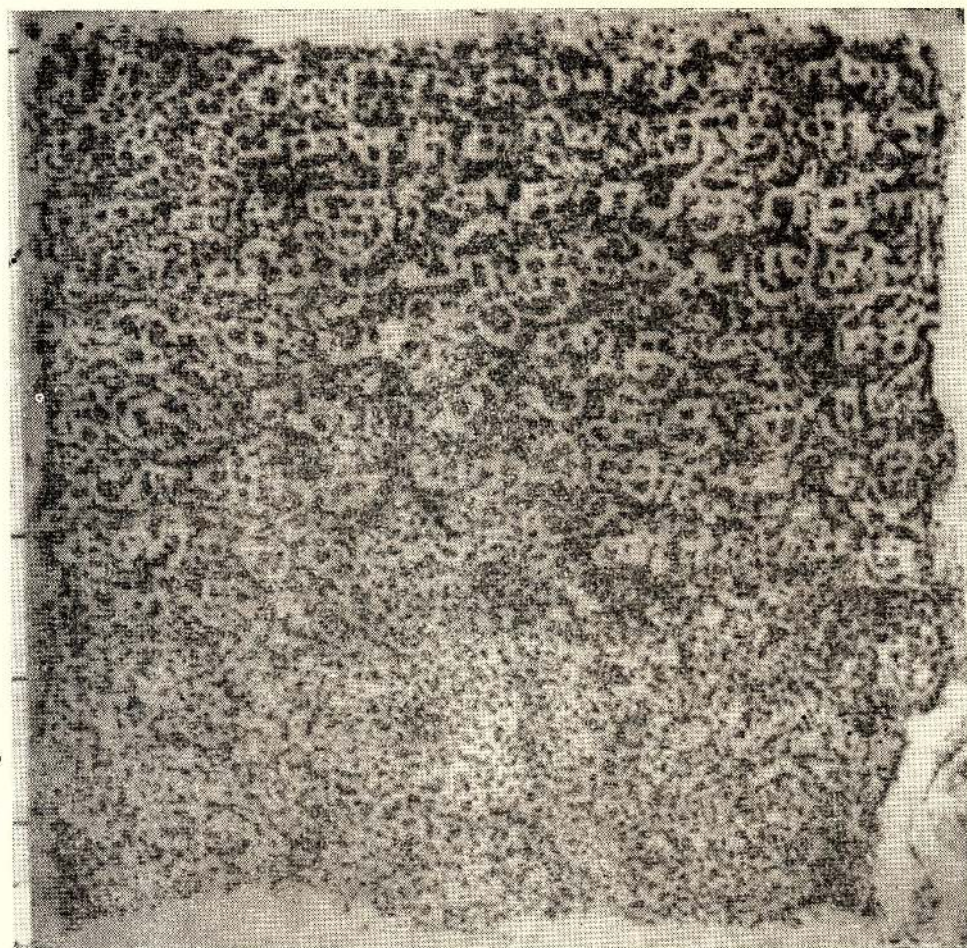
Inscription from Tirukkovil

By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaeological Department.

A NOTE ON TWO MODERN INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRUKKŌVIL.

Tirukkōvil is a village, far down south of Batticaloa. It is now in the newly created Amparai District. Inscription A is found in the well known Subrahmaṇya temple there. An ancient inscription which had been wrongfully built into another temple had been brought back to this temple. This act is referred to in the modern inscription. This inscription is said to be a little less than a hundred years old. The script unmistakably betrays its modernity but it is surprising that it preserves some archaic traits also. Inscription B seems a boundary stone. It is dated in the Saka era as 1674. In Christian era, it should be 1674+78=1752 A.D. Therefore this inscription belongs to the eighteenth century.

Inscription A has a large trident on a side of the inscription. Trident is some-times a symbol for the Hindu connection with the document. It is said to be a weapon in the hands of Lord Śiva. The last letter - ṉ - was inserted in the fourth line due to lack of space. The first letter - ta - in the second line is also written in a peculiar way. One of the archaic traits in the inscription is that many of the consonants have no puḷḷis above them. Long - o - is also not distinguished from the short - o - in vowel - consonant. Pōṭi is the title of land - owner in the Batticaloa and Amparai Districts. Tampippōṭi, the son of Pālippōṭi must have planted the pillar in the temple.

Inscription B has sun at the top and the crescent moon, at the bottom of the inscription. The Sanskrit Śaka - abda, the Śaka era, becomes cakāttam in Tamil inscriptions, the term for the year is almost always written as yāṇṭu. Āṇṭu occurs only in compounds. In the present inscription āṇṭu is used even when it occurs alone. The numeral 1674 is written in a peculiar way. According to the Tamil way of writting, it should have been written as 1000600704. But in the present record, it is written as 100060074. The sign for ten must have been omitted by mistake. Or it should be taken as indicating the influence of the decimal system of the Arabs or the

Europeans. Aravāci obviously stands for araivāci 'half'.
Ai is pronounced as - a - in certain contexts in Tamil
and the Tamil grammarians refer to it as aikārak-
kurukkam. Aravāci might have been written due to the
colloquial usage. The letter following - ci must be e -. The
line connecting both these letters does not seem to be of
any significance. This stone may be the half – boundary
mark of the paddy field, fixed in 1752 A.D.

Text

Inscription A: -

Transliteration

Pālippōṭi
Tampippō –
ṭi koṇṭu van -
tu nāṭṭiya tū
ṇ

Inscription B.

Cakāttam
1000600
74 āṇ -
ṭu nellu -
kku aravā -
ci ellai

Translation.

Inscription A.

The pillar which had been brought and planted by
Tampippōṭi, (son of) Pālippōṭi.

Inscription B.

The half - boundry of paddy (field), year 1674 of
Śaka era.

Inscription from Tirukkovil

By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaelogical Department.

A Note on the Verugal Inscription.[1]

This inscription was discovered at the modern Hindu temple at Verugal in Kottiar Pattu in the Trincomallee District. An attempt at a decipherment of the inscription was made as early as 1887 A. D.[2] Hugh Nevlle's reading is substantially correct. He, himself, has referred to certain difficulties in deciphering certain letters. I find that I can offer alternate readings.

Text	Hugh Neville's reading	alterations

Transliteration

1.	Srī Ghubramaṇya	Subramaṇya
2.	nama teṟkuma-	
3.	til kayilavaṇṇi -	
4.	yaṉār - upayam Tam -	Matima [r]-
5.	āsā makaṉ Paḻai -	ācā makaṉ Paḻai
6.	yiṟ Sīmmāpiḷḷai	yiṟ Ci [ta] mparappiḷḷai
7.	meṟkuppiṟam Mai -	
8.	ṭakkaḷappūravar Nīko -	
9.	mpukkaraiyūravar va -	
10.	ṭapuṟam ceṭṭiyal - upa	
11.	yam	

There is no clue as to the date of the inscription. The record is in modern Tamil script. But archaic traits of inscriptional Tamil like the absence of puḷḷis over consonants and the lack of distinct forms to distinguish the short - e - and the short - o - respectively from their long counterparts are also kept up. The Grantha script is used for the invocation. But here too, Ghu was wrongly read for Su in Subramaṇya. As the temple is a Subrahmaṇya temple, an invocation to him is written at the beginning. In line 5, one line seems to connect -ka- and - ṉ - in the word makaṉ. As a reading like makiṉ or makaṉai in the context makes no sense, that line is left out in the reading. In line 6, there is a long line at the middle of pa. A reading of the letter as -ya- also

---

1. This inscription was numbered 897 of 1933 in the Reg. of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department for 1933.
2. The Taprobanian - December 1887 - page 163.

makes no sense. In line 7, something, probably some mistake for the first letter of Maṭṭakkalappu had been written and erased on the stone itself. Two letters are added, one to - r - in line four and the other to -ta- in line six. The name Citamparappiḷḷai is a common name among the Tamil Saivites as Citamparam is the name of a famous temple of Siva in South India. Matimarācā can be a Tamil name and also can be the name of the chief. Considering the fact that the similar gifts were made by chief or people collectively, it can be presumed that this person too must be a person of means in those days.

Upayam is from the Sanskrit word ubhaya 'gifts to the temple'. The coastal people of Negombo in association with the people of Batticaloa are said to have built the northern wall. Ūr - avar is an appellative noun, denoting epicene plural, meaning inhabitants of the places in the coast of Negombo and in Batticaloa. As the temple of Verugal is near the northern boundary of the Batticaloa District, the Hindu Tamils of Batticaloa, taking an interest in it can be understood. As for the coastal people of Negombo, they should have gone to the north-east coast of Ceylon for fishing purposes. The fishermen of Negombo have almost all accepted Roman Catholicism. It is very doubtful that the Catholics contributed lavishly to build the wall of Hindu temple. It is very probable that the Negombo fishermen contributed to this wall before they were converted to Catholicism. The Portuguese rule ended at Negombo in the middle of the seventeenth century and the mass conversion to Catholicism there might have taken place in the first half of that century. The date of the present record also cannot be earlier than the seventeenth century on palaeographical grounds.

Hugh Neville, who reads the lines, four, five and six differently from me, says that it is just possible that Tamasa and Simma are intended for the Portuguse forms of Thomas and Simon. The Portuguese, of course, could not have been expected to build a wall for a Hindu temple. The Tamils, who had Portuguese names, were converts to Catholicism. It is difficult to believe that a Tamil Catholic built an entire wall for a Hindu temple.
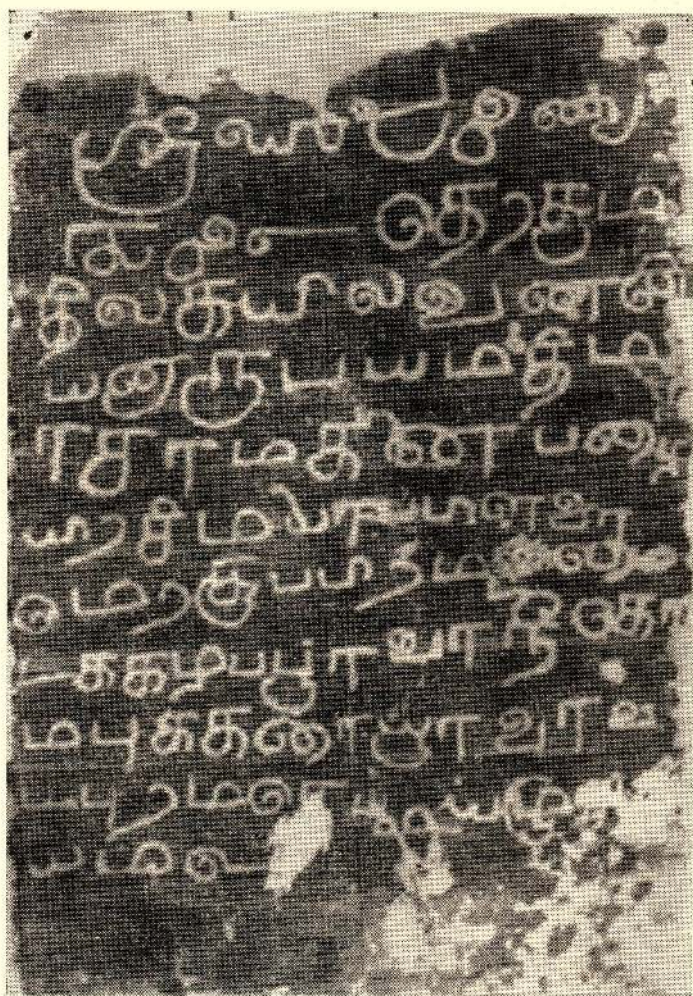
Inscription from Verugal
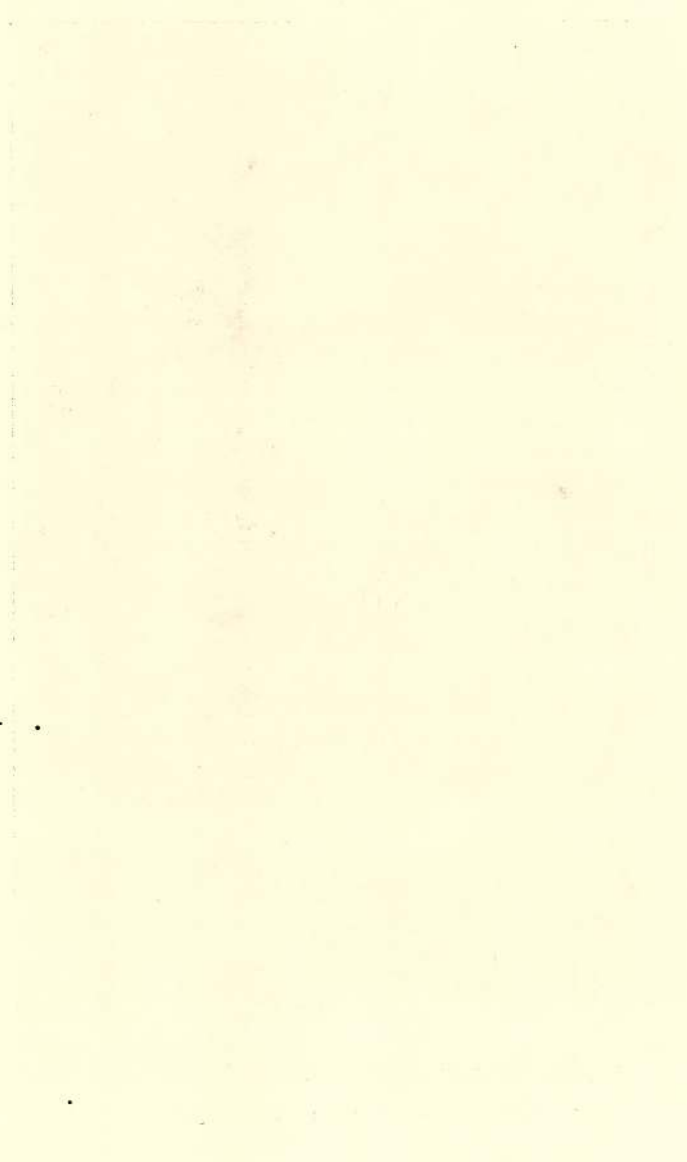
What is said for the fishermen of Negombo holds good for this individual also. Hence, my attempt to derive Hindu names instead of Catholic names is justifiable.

The change of u>i occurs in a number of words in Tamil and piram in the seventh line is an example in the inscription. In the tenth line, - 1 -. is written for - 1 -. This is an orthographic error. The form cettiyal is the colloquial form for cettikal. The word Cetti is the Tamilicised form of Sanskrit sresti. 'a Vaisya caste name'. This name is used for the business community among Tamils.

Vanniyan is the name given to a number of semi-independent Tamil chiefs who were ruling small settlements between the Kingdom of Jaffna and the Kingdom of Kandy. They shifted their allegiance to the either, depending on who was powerful at the time. They continued to rule even after the fall of the kingdom of Jaffna. They were giving trouble to the Portuguese and the Dutch, in alliance with the King of Kandy. Trincomallee, also known as Kayilai, was ruled by one Vanniyan family. The ending - ār of Vanniyan denotes honorific singular. He must have been ruling over the territory of the site of Verugal. He is said to have built the southern wall.

What the Cetties had constructed was not mentioned in the inscription. As the other three sides had been assigned to three categories of people, the cetties should be taken to have built the fourth side, i. e. the southern wall.

Therefore, the translation of this inscription can be made out as follows. 'Worship to Subrahmaṇya. The southern wall is the gift of the Vanniyan of Trincomallee. The Western side (is the gift of) Citamparappillai of Palai, son of Matimarācā. The northern side (is the gift of) the people of Batticaloa and the coast of Negombo. (The southern side) is the gift of the Cetties.

Two short inscriptions from Nātanār Kōvil.[1]

Nātanār Kōvil ɨ ɨɔ has the names, Rājarājapperum-palli and Velgama Vihāre. Velgama Vihāre is the Sinhalese name for the Buddhist shirne near Periyakulam in Kattukkulam East Division in the Trincomallee District. Palli is the term used for Buddhist and Jaina shrines in ancient and medieval Tamil and for mosques in modern Tamil. Kōvil means temple, mostly Hindu shrines. The three names seem to suggest that this Buddhist temple was patronised by the Sinhalese Buddhists, the Tamil Buddhists and the Tamil Hindus. Perumpalli means great Buddhist shrine. Rajaraja the Great, (985–1014) the Chola conqueror of Ceylon, is said to have reconstructed and patronised this Buddhist shrine which henceforth was also called Rājarājapperumpalli.

These two inscriptions were written, one after the other in the same slab. Both of them have the same object, that is, both of them provide for the burning of lamps in the temple. The first inscription does not mention any ruler. The second inscription mentions the ruler Rajendra Cōla. As the second inscription begins immediately after the end of the first inscription and as it is clear that the second insciiption was squeezed into the little space available and not vice versa, the first inscription should have been written earlier than the second inscription. Palaeographically there is no noticeable difference between the scripts of the two inscriptions. Therefore the first inscription cannot be much earlier than the second inscription.

The date of the second inscription is given as the twelfth year of Rajendra Cōla. Among the Rajendra Cōlas, only Rajendra I ruled Ceylon. As he reigned from 1014 to 1044, the date of the second record must be about 1025 A D.

---

1. These are probably 2245 and 2246 of 1953.

The records are in Tamil script. There is an admixture of Grantha letters when certain words of non-Tamil origin were mentioned. Srī,, Rājarāja -, and Rājendra- were such words. The Kṣatriya title, varma of Sanskrit is Tamilicised into patmar. The Tamil particle āna occurs between patmar and Sri Rajendra-. In the expression patmar-āna, the letter pa - is written in Tamil script while the rest is in Grantha. Stavayca Ramyanā Māṇavatiṇanāṭṭu which occurs in the third and fourth line of the first inscription, is not very clear. Nāṭu in Tamil generally means a district and Nāṭṭu is its oblique form. As this expression is immediately followed by Velgama Vihare, it can be taken to refer to the district in which that Buddhist shrine is situated.

As regards orthography, puḷḷis are not used over consonants. Short -e- and short -o- in vowel – consonants are not distingished from their long counterparts. Alveolar - ṇ - is written for dental - n - in ṇontā vilakku. Letter - ma - seems to be omitted in both inscriptions when writting Velgama Vihāre. It may be that in the Tamilicised name, the Sinhalese ending was dropped. The sign for - r - in - rai ending of Vihāre is also not found in the first inscription. The fourth case termination - ku- has not doubled as - kku when following the vowel ending noun paḷḷi— The change of -u- into -o- occurs in nontā vilakku 'perpetual lamp'. This refers to a lamp to be perpetually burnt before a deity in a temple, the installation of which was regarded as a meritorious act. It is also called akhaṇḍa - dīpa and nandā - dīpa in North Indian inscriptions. The second inscription is partly— damaged. Therefore it cannot be made out in full.

The first inscription begins with 'Srī pakavaṇ' which is the equivalent of 'Srī Bhagavan.' Bhagavan is from Sanskrit Bhagavat, 'the Lord' or 'the divine', an epithet of divinities. Here it refers to the Lord Buddha. The donor of the first inscription was Ātittappēraraiyaṇ. Araiyaṇ is the Tamilicised equivalent of the Sanskrit rāja 'king'. Pēr - araiyaṇ means the great ruler or the the Emperor. Ātittan is the Tamilicised eqivalent of the

Sanskrit Āditya. It is the name of Rajaraja the Great's elder brother who died prematurely. The donor of the grant might have been named after that yuvarājā or Crown Prince.

In the second inscription, Parakēsari was a title meaning 'lion among others'. The Cola Emperors had two titles, Parakēsari and Rājakēsari 'lion among kings' alternating among successive rulers. While Rajaraja the Great was a Rājakēsari, his son and successor Rajendra I was a Parakēsari. Rajendra Cola had honorific perefix Śrī and honorific suffix tēvar 'divine being'.

The first inscription refers to the donor of the grant as putukkuṭiyāṇ. Putukkuṭi – yiruppu is a popular name for newly settled villages among the Tamils. It may be that the donor was from a newly settled village of those times in or near Trincomalee. Eṇṇai is written for the classical eṇṇey in the second inscription. Eṇṇey is eḷ+ney which means gingelly oil. Later, all kinds of oils came to be called eṇṇey due to semantic change of generalisation. Tarā, in line ten of the second inscription, refers to an 'alloy of eight parts of copper to five of tin used for making metal vessels'. Tarā viḷa - -, in the context seems to refer to taḷā viḷakku. While the grant in the first inscription consisted of cows, the grant in the second inscription consisted of kācu 'coins'.

Numerals 4, 12 and 84 occur in these inscriptions. As Tamil had no decimal system in those days, 12 is written as ten and two and 84 is written as eighty and four.

Text	Transliteration

Inscription I

1. Srī pakavaṇ putukku -
2. ṭiyāṇ ātittap-
3. pēraraiyaṇ Stavayca -
4. ramyanāmāṇāvatiṇanā
5. ṭṭu velga veka (r) ai i -
6. rājarājapperumpaḷḷiku

Inscription from Rankot Vihare Polonnaruwa

By courtesy of the
Ceylon Government Archaeological
Department.

Inscription from Nātaṉār Kōvil

By courtesy of the
Ceylon Government Archaeological
Department.

7. vaitta nontā vi -
8. lakku – pacu 80
9. 4

Inscription II

1. Ko –pparakēcari
2. patmar-āna Srī Rājēndra -
3. Cólatēvarkku yā -
4. ṇtu 12 - ṭāvatil ko -
5. lattu tūynan pū āna
6. .. .. yan velga veka -
7. ... ya tēvarkku vai -
8. ..... rānantānaikku
9. ..... kkācu 4 ippaṭiku
10. .. .. bakattarā viḷa -
11. ..... kkeṇṇai a
12. ..... yappat - ākavu
        m

Translation

Inscription I

(Worship to) Lord Buddha. Ātittappēraraiyan, an inhabitant of Putukkuṭi, granted 84 cows for a perpetual lamp to Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi alias Velgama Vihāre, (situated) in Stavayca Ramyanā Mānāvatina nāṭu.

Inscription II

In the twelth year of King Srī Rājēndra Cóla dēva alias Parakēsari Varma ....Velgama vihāre ....
to the dēva .... four kācus ....thus ....metal lamp - lamp oil ....
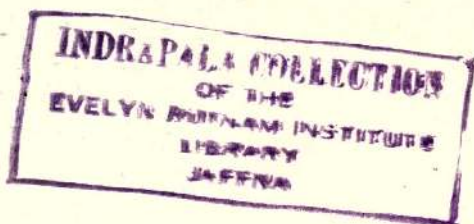
Four More Inscriptions From
Natanar Kovil Or Velgam Vihare

These were all discovered at the site of the Vihāre in Periyakulam in the Trincomallee District. Of the four inscriptions, one consists of three fragments. Of the four only one can be definitely dated being fragment of the prasasti of Rajendra I. Other inscriptions may be of the same period or slightly later, i. e , late eleventh or twelfth centuries A.D. on palaeographical grounds. All the four inscriptions may belong to the period from early eleventh century to the end of the twelfth centuries A. D. These inscriptions were mentioned in the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department for 1953.

1. Fragmentary inscriptions of Rajendra Cōla (2246 of 1953).

The first fragment runs to thirteen lines, as follows:-

1. Muyaṅkiyil mu –
2. ta JAyasiṅkaṉ aḷap –
3. ṭu pīṭiyaḷ iraṭṭapā –
4. kkamum nava neti kkulap –
5. ma vikkirama vīrar cakkarako –
6. paṭu vallai Maturamaṇṭalamum
7. vala Nāmaṉaikkoṇaiyum ve
8. ñciṉa vīrar Pañcappaḷḷiyum pā –
9. ppaḷaṉa Mācuṇitēcamum
10. vilvaṉ cīrtti Ātinakaravaiyi –
11. tiraṉ toḷ kulatt – intirataṉai
12. mā kkaḷattu kkiḷaiyoṭum [piṭittu]
13. ppala taṉattoṭu niṟai

This fragmentary prasasti deals with Rajendra Cōla's victory over the Western Cālukya ruler Jayasimha and with Rajendra's Gangetic expedition.

The second fragment runs to four lines:-

1. rum pukaḻo –
2. eḷaraiyil –
3. perumalaikaḷu –
4. koṭṭamutira –

The third fragment runs to sixteen lines:

1. m van malaiyūr eyi -
2. r ron Malaiyūrum āl
3. kaṭal akal cūl Māyuruṭiṅ -
4. kamum kalankā val viṇai I -
5. laṅkācōkamum kāppuru ni
6. rai puṇal Māppappālamum
7. kāvalam puricai Mēvilim -
8. paṅkamum vilaippantūruṭai
9. Valaippantūrum kalait -
10. takkōr pukal Talaittak
11. kōlamum tita (ta) mā val -
12. ṇai Mātamāliṅkamum kal -
13. tir kkaṭun tiral Ilāmuri
14. tēcamum tēnakka vār po
15. I Mānakkavāramum toṭu
16. r kāval kaṭu muraṭ kaṭāramu

This part of the prasasti of Rajendra Cōla deals with his expedition against Śrī Vijaya in South East Asia.

II. An inscription on a lamp:

Elunāṭan Kaṇṭan Yakkan
Iṭṭa tiru nūntā vilakku

Translation

A sacred perpetual lamp endowed by Kaṇṭan Yakkan of the Cōla country.

Elunāṭu was a name of the Cōla country. Elunāṭan is an appellative noun, meaning a man from Elunāṭu. There is one orthographical error. Nū is written instead of nu in nuntā vilakku. Kaṇṭan Yakkan means Yakkan, son of Kaṇṭan.

III. An inscription for merit from Lord Buddha.

This inscriptions runs to eleven lines. The first two lines are not clear.

1. ŚRī ... la.
2. r aṇṇal mañcāṉ
3. mummuṭicōḷamaṇṭala -
4. ttu meḷaitturu ŚRī yata -
5. ṉ Parakēcari vaḷaṉāṭṭu
6. PañCHA cantuḷakāmattu
7. Śatta vikāram āna Velgam
8. veram āṉa RĀJARĀJA perum
9. paḷḷi puttarkku ppuṇṇi -
10. yattukku vaitta pacu
11. 35 erumai 5.

Translation

Lines (3-11). Five oxen and thirty five cows were endowed for merit, to Lord Buddha of Saddha Vihāre, known as Velgam Vihāre alias Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi of Pañcacantula-gama of Melaitturu Śrīyataṉ Parakēcari vaḷanāṭu in Mummuṭicōḷamaṇṭalam.

Mummuṭicōḷamaṇṭalam was the name given to Ceylon when it formed a province of the Cōḷa Empire. Mēlaitturu Śrīyataṉ should have been a sub-division of this province. Pañcacantulagama might be the present Periyakuḷam, the village where the vihāre is situated. Puṇṇiyam is from Sanskrit puṇya 'merit'.

The first two lines should have mentioned the name of the donor of the inscription. In line 7, ana stands for āṉa.

IV. An inscription for maintenance of a sacred lamp. (2245 of 1953).

This inscription runs to sixteen lines. The first three lines are not clear.

1. SVASTI ŚRī eḷu .. ..
2. ..... PRA. RĀJA . mā
3. DAṆTHA ....
4. Cōḷatēvarku yāṇṭu
5. 25 - āvatu Irā JENDRA ci-
6. ṅkavaḷanāṭṭu ABHAYA SRī YADA
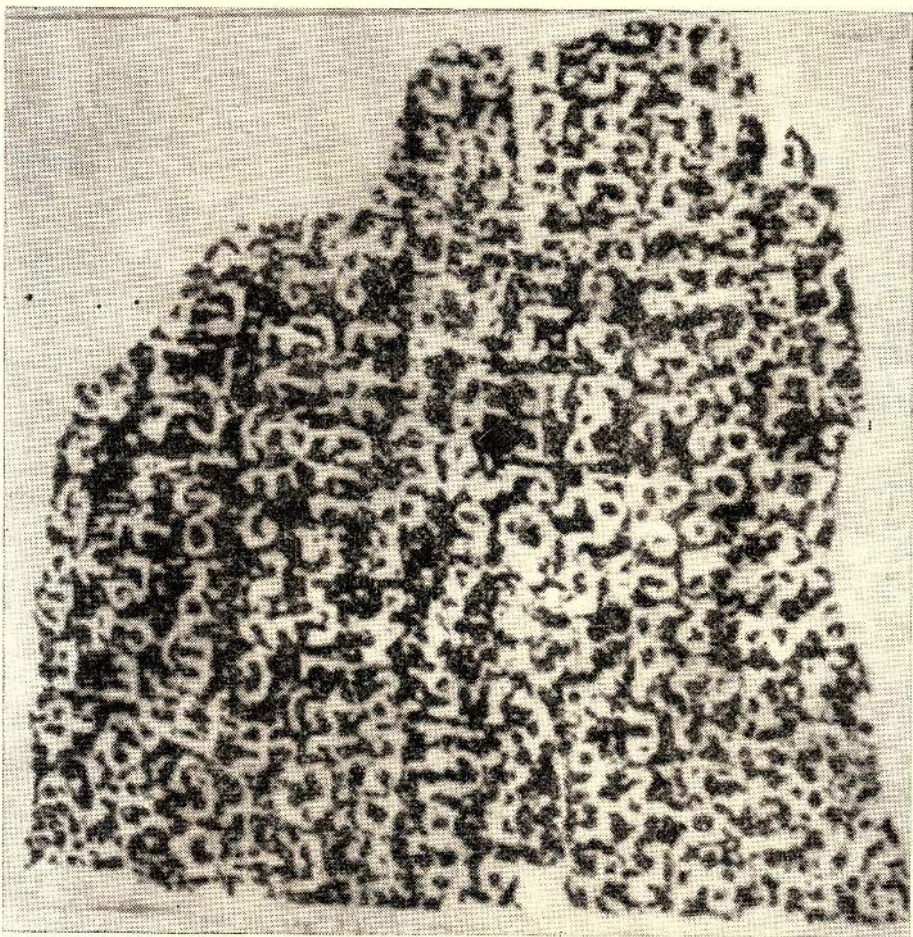
Inscription from Natanar Kovil (fragment)
By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaeological Department.

Inscription from Nātaṉār Kōvil
(Third fragment)
By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaeological Department.

Inscription from Nātaṉār Kōvil
By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaeological Department.

Inscription from Natanar Kovil

By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaelogical Department.

7. n nāṭṭu Velkāmappaḷḷi
8. velkam veram āna RĀJARĀJA
9. pperumpaḷḷi puttarkku
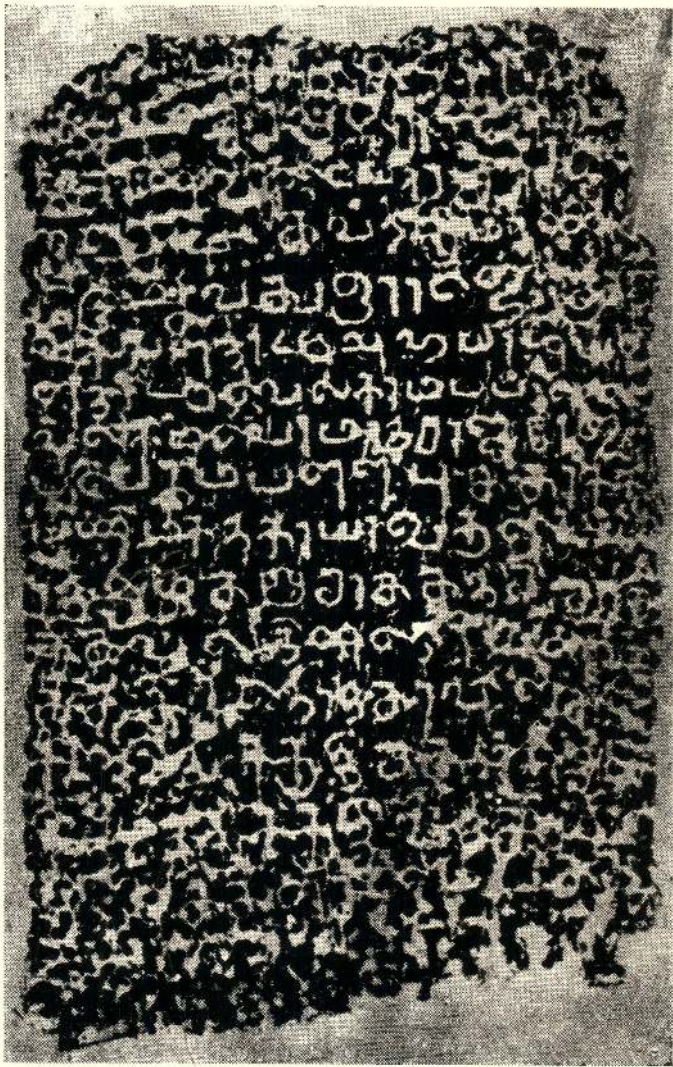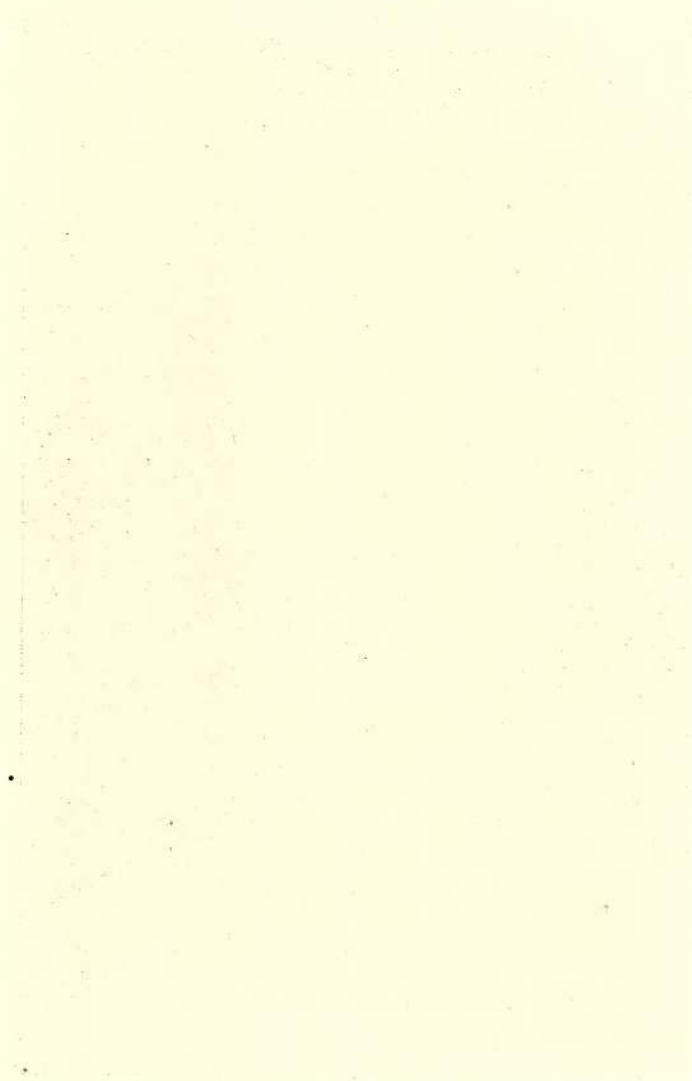10. paṇi makan Kāyāvaku Koṭiyā -
11. na Amutañ Cāttan cīcarum
12. takav (i) l nimanta (na) m̄ vai -
13. tta tiru nontā viḷakku
14. I viḷakku nicatam ney
15. uḷakkukku vaitta pa -
16. cu pattu erumai pattu.

Translation

(Lines 4-5) In the twenty-fifth year of the Cōḷa king.

(Lines 5-13) Sacred perpetual lamp endowed as a worthy endowment by the disciples of Kāyāvaku Koṭi alias Amutan Cāttan a servant, to Lord Buddha of Velgam Vihāre alias Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi, the paḷḷi at Velgama of Abhayasrīyatan nātu in Rajendrasimha vaḷanātu.

(Lines 14-16) 10 oxen and 10 cows were endowed for one uḷakku of ghee everyday for one lamp.

The name of the Cōḷa king must have been mentioned in the first three lines but unfortunately it cannot be made out The names of places seem to have changed very frequently during the Cōḷa rule. In this inscription, the name of the village, in which the Vihāre stood, is given as Velgama. The name of the district is given as Abhayasrīyatan nātu. The name of the province is given as Irajendrasimha vaḷanātu. Velgam Vihāre is corrupted as velkam veram in Tamil. Paṇi is service. Paṇi makan can be translated as servant. The word, cīcar, 'disciples' is from Sanskrit śiṣya. The master of the disciples, has two names. Amutan Cāttan is a common Tamil name. Kāyāvaku Koṭi is an unusual name. Kāyāvaku may have some connection with Gajabāhu. The alveolar nasal ending of Amutan is palatalised when the name of his son begins with a palatal sound. The letter -v-or-va- is read as -vi— to make up the word 'takavil'. The word, takaval, doesn't make sense in the context.

An endowment to a Śiva temple from Ātakaḍa[1].

This inscription was discovered at the entrance to the modern vihāre at Ātakada in the Kadavat Korale in the North-Central Province. But this inscription must have been originally sited in the precints of a Śiva temple. The Tamil text of this inscription was published in the fourth volume of the South Indian Inscriptions[2]. The reading in that publication is accurate.

This inscription has unfortunately omitted mentioning the name of any ruler. But the record begins mentioning the twenty-eigth prosperous year. The name of some ruler must have preceded this part of the inscription. On comparison with similar inscriptions, that is the conclusion that one can arrive at. Therefore it is difficult to determine the date of this inscription. The date can be deduced. The name of the the Śiva temple is Uttama Çōla Iśvaram. The word iśvaram is the general name for the Śiva temple. Uttama Cōlan was the name of the Cōla ruler who preceded Rajaraja the Great (985-1014 A.D.) on the Cōla throne. A temple could not have been named long after a king's reign. Therefore it is quite reasonable to suppose that the temple must have been named during the reign of Rajaraja, the Great. The date of this inscription, of course, can be later than the date of the temple. Palaeographically, the script can be dated either the eleventh or the twelfth centuries A. D.

The record seems to be in six parts. The last part is unreadable at present. The other five parts make up eighteen lines of a continuous record. The record is in Tamil script. Grantha script is used to write Śrī, Śva (in iśvaram) and rāmēśa (in Araṅkan Irāmēśaṉ). This record preserves the long vowel -i- sign which occurs very rarely in inscriptions. The dental -n- is written for alveolar -ṉ- in Araṅkan and Ceyvitten. Long -e- and -o- are not distinguished from short -e- and -o-.

---

1. It was numbered 446 of 1926 in the **Register of Inscriptions.**

2. It was numbered 1411 in that volume.

The object of the inscription is to record endow-
ment to the Śiva temple. Nimantam is the word used
for endowment in this inscription. Nimantam or nivantam
in Tamil is derived from the Sanskrit word nibandha.
Nibandh means 'to register'. The endowment is in three
parts. The first part is the grant of three vēlis of land.
The purpose of this grant is not specified. Vēli is a
measure of land. When related to other terms for
measures of land, Vēli[3] is equal to eight kāṇis, twenty
mās, three hundred and twenty muntirikais, six and a
quarter pāṭakams and one vāṭika or nilam, defined in
the Mayamata as 5120 square daṇḍas, the length of the
daṇḍa being four cubits; 4.48 acres. As the other parts
of the grant are specified for certain purposes, this part
should be taken for the conduct of unspecified affairs
of the temple.

The second part of the grant consisted of twenty
cows for a perpetual lamp. Nontā viḷakku is the form
used for nuntā viḷakku. The letter - u is sometimes
pronounced as - o - and then it is written likewise in
Tamil. Nuntā viḷakku is the same as nandā - dīpa and
akhaṇḍa - dīpa.

The third part of the grant consisted of fifty coconut
trees for five canti viḷakkus. Cantiviḷakku is the same
as sandhi - dīpa or sandhiyā-dīpa. Sandhi-dīpa is explained
as sacred lamp and sandhiyā–dipa as a twilight lamp,
generally lighted in the temples in the evening but some-
times in the morning[4]. Indirect reference to coconut oil
probably occurs for the first time here in the entire
field of the Tamil inscriptions and literature.

This inscription has signs for numerals 1, 28, 20, 5
and 50. As Tamil didn't have decimal system, numeral
signs were written in a peculiar way in the inscriptions:-
208, makes up 28; 210 makes up 20, 510 makes up 50.

---

3. D. C. Sircar - Indian Epigraphical Glossary - pages 143, 172, 207,
   223, 368-69.

4. Ditto - page 296.

Some comments can be made about the language of the inscription. Mahā 'great' of Sanskrit becomes makā or mā in Tamil. In the record, it becomes mā in mā tēvarkku. Numeral adjectives for mūnru are mū or mu. The length of the vowel is dependent on the succeeding letter in the compound. In the example here, it should have been mū vēli but is written as mu vēli. -Um, the conjunctive particle follows vēli. There should have been another - um at the end of 20. The last part of the grant occurs at the end of the readable part of the inscription. It is not possible at present, to say whether this part was the gift of some other person who would be mentioned later. Otherwise, if it is reckoned as the gift of the same person, then it should be inter-preted that part of the grant was left out when the record was completed in the fifteenth line and then the relevant part was written at the end of the record. Or it may be that the same person made the grant, a little later than the earlier parts of the grant. There is no predicate at the tail end of the inscription, as it stands at present, simply stating only 'fifty coconut trees for five sacred lamps.' There is only one predicate for the whole of the sentence:– nimantam ceyvitten, meaning 'I made the endowment.' The word-order in the inscription is also worth being noted. Both Tolkāppiyam and Nannūl, the authoritative Tamil grammars of Ancient and Medieval Periods say specifically that finite verbs are followed by nouns.[5] They refer to predicate - subject word order. In modern Tamil, the usual word-order is subject-predi-cate. The word order in the inscription, 'nimantam ceyvitten Arankan Irāmesan' is predicate - subject. The word pacu 'cow' and tenku 'coconut (tree)' stand for their plural forms without the addition of any plural sign. The Tamil grammarians recognise such useage and call such words pāl pakā ahrinai, 'neuter forms which cannot be distinguished into singular and plural'. According to Tolkāppiyam, the acceptance of the plural sign - kal is optional in the case of neuter plurals[6].

5. Tolkāppiyam: Collatikāram - 429 th cūttiram; Nannūl - 323 rd cūttiram.
6. Ditto. – 169th cūttiram.
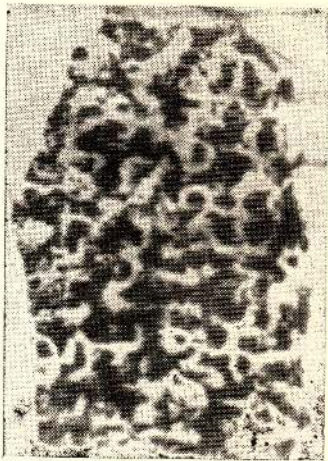
Inscription from Nātaṇār Kōvil
(Second fragment)
By courtesy of the
Ceylon Government Archaeological
Department.

Inscription from Atakada

By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaeological Department.

| Text	Transliteration
1.	ŚRī yāṇṭu
2.	28 āvatu
3.	Uttamacōḷa Ī -
4.	(ŚVA) ramuṭaiya mā
5.	tēvarkku Kallai
6.	yil
7.	Teliya -
8.	lpēṟṟi -
9.	l nila - m-
10.	vēliyu -
11.	m nontā viḷak -
12.	ku l-kku pacu 20
13.	ivai nimantam
14.	ceyvitten Aran -
15.	ka (n) Irāmēsaṉ canti
16.	viḷakku 5
17:	kku teṅ -
18.	ku 50
19.	... ...
20.	te
21.	pa ... ... j ŚRī -
22.	ka .. ..

Translation

(Lines 1-2). In the prosperous 28th year.

(Lines 3-12) 20 cows for one perpetual lamp and three vēlis of land at Teliyalpēṟu of Kallai.

(Lines 13-15). I who was Araṅkaṉ Rāmēśaṉ have made an endowment of these.

(Lines 15-18). fifty coconut (trees) for five sacred lamps.
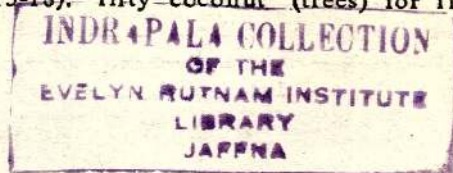
A TAMIL INSCRIPTION FROM POLONNARUWA RANKOT VIHĀRE[1].

This inscription was discovered in the ruined building between north gate of the city and the Rankot Vihāre in Polonnaruwa. It was numbered 509 of 1529 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. The record runs to fifteen lines.

The record is clear except for the first two lines. The first two letters in the second line look like ti and pa. The record is in Tamil script except for the Grantha letter - ha - in mahāmaṇṭala nāyakkaṇ.

As for orthography, puḷḷis are not used when writing consonants. Long - e is not distinguished from short-e in vowel - consonants. The form yeriñcu occurs instead of eṟintu. The word eṟintu is from literary usage while yeriñcu and eṟiñcu are from colloquial usage. Palatalisation can be said to have occured in the colloquial forms.

The inscription mentions the ruler Ceyapākutēvar, i.e., Jayabāhu. There were two rulers with the name Jayabāhu in the history of Ceylon:- Jayabāhu I and Jayabāhu II. Jayabāhu I seems to have reigned in 1110-1111 while Jayabāhu II seems to have reigned during 1467-69[2]. Palaeographically, this record can be assigned to the twelfth century rather than the fifteenth century. By the fifteenth century Polonnaruwa was also abandoned to the forest due to the Drift to the South-West. Therefore the ruler mentioned in the record could be only Jayabāhu I

This inscription mentions Cētarāyaṇ, a general of Jayabāhu. The general is said to be a Vēḷaikkāṟa. There is definite historical evidence that the vēḷaikkāṟas were very powerful in Ceylon sometime after the Cōḷa occupation of Ceylon in the eleventh century. Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe in his article on 'A Slab Inscription o f

2. University of Ceylon - History of Ceylon - page 846

the Vēlaikkāṟa's[3], discusses the importance of that mercenary force in the history of Ceylon in that period. He assigns the slab inscription itself to the confused period of Ceylon history between the reigns of Vijayabāhu I and Parākramabāhu I.

This confused period starts with the accession of Jayabāhu I, after the death of Vijayabāhu I. Jayabāhu I was murdered within one year. He was succeeded by Vikramabāhu I (1111 - 1132) and Gajabāhu II (1132-1153). But Jayabāhu I's regnal years were continuing to be recorded for many years during the reigns of Vikramabāhu I and Gajabāhu II. In an article on Katagamuwa slab inscription of Mānābharaṇa[4], Dr. W. S. Karunaratne states that 'as the rulers of the three provinces Rājaratṭha, Dakkhiṇadēsa and Rohaṇa were not consecrated kings, they reckoned the regnal years of Jayabāhu, even after his death, for the purpose of dating'.

The Tamil inscription, from the Raṅkot Vihāre, doesn't mention any regnal year. Therefore it cannot be assigned definitely to the period of Jayabāhu I (1110-1111). It may belong to the reigns of the other rulers who ruled before the accession of Parākramabāhu I.

This inscription consists of one sentence only. Even the predicate of the sentence is not found. Therefore the object of the inscription is not known. The word aruḷiya is a past adjectival participle of the verbal base aruḷ, but it is used here as an honorific particle to refer to the action of a king. The word tēvar is a Tamilicised honorific singular form of the Sanskrit dēva which means a divine being which is also used as an honorific particle to refer to the person of the king. The usages of these words as honorific particles is quite common in Tamil and Malayalam inscriptions of the period. The word niḷal has many meanings but the most appropriate

3. Epigraphia Zeylanica - Volume II.
4. Epigraphia Zeylanica - Volume V - page 142.

one here seem to be grace. The word āna is the past adjectival participle of -ā- but it is used here as a particle to connect the name and the title of the person. The word nāyakkan is the Tamilicised masculine singular form of the Sanskrit word nāyaka which means a general, a chief or a leader. Cētarāyan is said to be a mahā mantala nāyakkan, i.e., a nāyaka of mahā mantala. Mantala is generally used to refer to a province or a major division of a country. Mahā means big, large or great. In the records of the Imperial Cōlas, Ceylon itself was referred to as Ila mantala. Therefore it is not very clear whether the mahā mantala in this inscription refers to the whole of Ceylon or a part of it. Kātam, according to the Madras Tamil Lexicon Volume II, is Indian league, about ten miles.

Text		Transliteration
1		... ...
		tipa ... ...
		lam elu (nū) -
		rru kkāta —
5		m - um yori -
		ñcu kon -
		taruliya Ce -
		yapāku tē -
		var nilal
10		vēlaikkā —
		ran mahama -
		ntala nā
		yakkan āna
		Cētarāya -
15		n

Translation

By the grace of Jayabāhu tēvar, who defeated and graciously conquered the seven hundred leagues, Cētarāyan, the Vēlaikkāran and the mahā mantala nāyakkan.

A Grant to the Brahmins from Kirindagama[1].

This inscription is said to have been discovered at Kirindagama. There is a village called Kirindagama in the newly created Amparai District in the Eastern Province[2]. It may be that place. The inscription seems to be recorded on two sides of a stone, seventeen lines on one side and six lines on the other side. The record still remains incomplete.

The record is in Tamil script. Grantha script is used to write some words of Indo-Aryan origin. In some of these words, Tamil script and Grantha script are both mixed. As is usual, Svasti śrī is written in Grantha alone. In the following words, capital letters denote letters written in Grantha and small letters denote letters written in Tamil. JAYABĀHUDEVArku; JAYAÑKONŢA calāmekaccatuRVVEII - maṅkalatt -; BRAHMANArk-; DAṉam; taṉMa. ĀJNE is written in Grantha alone.

The record aloso contains orthographical errors which are purely the scribe's mistakes. Where two or more letters closely resemble each other, he seems to have the habit of writing one letter alone or one letter above the other. In the seventh line, - yu - and - m - are written one above the other. In the eighth line, – t - is written above – ka – and then - t - is made - ti –.

The inscription is dated in the twenty fourth regnal year of Jayabāhu. There were two rulers with the name Jayabāhu in the History of Ceylon. Jayabāhu I ruled during 1110 - 1111 and Jayabāhu II ruled from 1467 to 1469. Palaeographically, this record can be dated the twelfth century. This is further corroborated by the mention of the 24th regnal year. Though Jayabāhu I ruled for only one year, there is evidence that his successors reckoned the regnal years of Jayabāhu, even after his death for the purpose of dating as they were not consecrated kings upto the reign of Parākramabāhu I

---

1. This inscription is numbered 83 of 1911.
2. University of Ceylon - History of Ceylon - page 467

(1153-1181)[3]. The date of this record was 1110 + 24 = 1134 A.D. It should have fallen in the reign of Gajabāhu II (1132 - 1153).

This record deals with the restoration of loss, sustained by an exclusive Brahmin village. The first eleven lines of this inscription which deal with this aspect are very clear. The last six lines which deal with the need of protecting this grant, remain fairly intact. The portion in the middle, running to about six lines, seems to be purposefully defaced. A few letters can be made out with certainty and a few more tentatively. It is not possible to arrive at definite conclusions about this middle portion of the inscription. It seems probable that this middle portion entailed some duties, in return for the grant, on the Brahmins who might have been responsible for the defacement.

The king Jayabāhu is called Jayabāhu dēvan. Dēvan is from Sanskrit deva 'divine being'. It is used as an honorific suffix to the name of the King. Its usage might be due to the fact that in the Medieval Period, the kings were held to derive their authority from the God. The Brahmin village mentioned in the record is Jayan Koṇṭa Calāmēkaccaturvētimaṅkalam. Caturvēdin means a Brahmana versed in the four Vedas; one who has studied the four Vedas; later stereotyped as a family name among the Brahmins due to the semantic change of generalisation. Caturvētimaṅkalam is the same as agrahāra; a village owned by Brahmanas, generally tax free, also called maṅgala; written often as Caruppētimaṅkalam in Tamil. A number of such villages in South India were named after the donors or the titles of the donors. The village in the present inscription seems to have been named after Calāmēka. Going through the genealogy of the rulers before Jayabāhu I, it seems that the closest to Calāmēka was Salamevan, a title of Sena V (972.- 982). In the name of the village in the present record Calāmēka is said to be Jayan Koṇṭa which means 'victorious',

---

3. **Epigraphia Zeylanica - Vol. V - page 142.**

'who obtained victory' etc. Parantaka II, the Cōḷa ruler is said to have invaded Ceylon before his death in 973. A. D. His attack was repulsed. Credit for the defeat of the Cōḷa was given to one Sena, the Commander - in - chief. It might be that Sena V himself was the commander or in the alternative that Sena V associated himself with the campaign against the Cōḷas during his predecessor's reign and assumed a title at the end of the victorious campaign. The Brahmin village might have been created during the reign of Sena V. probably with his donation.

The restoration of the grant seems to have taken place about 150 years later. Iḷavu is loss. Iḷavu - paṭṭa means loss which had occurred. Paddy fields and 'yattalai' are said to have been thus lost. The signficance of yattalai is not clear It might be connected with yathakala - bhavin or yathakal - adhyasin 'one who may be employed (in the area including the gift land) from time to time; one who may be associated with the area about the gift land in different periods of time[4]. Therfore yattalai may mean the right to be associated with the gift land in different periods of time.

Paddy fields and yattalai had to be purchased from Vallapā. Vallabha, in Sanskrit, means herdsman. It denotes officer in charge of the king's cattle. It is also an official designation. The cause for the 'loss' of the Brahmin lands was not mentioned in the record. It should be noted that shortly after Salamevan's reign, the Cōḷa occupation of Ceylon began. During the Cōḷa occupation, the Brahmin village could not have suffered loss. The Brahmins might have sided the Cōḷas against the Sinhalese and when the Sinhalese under Vijayabāhu I drove out the Cōḷas, the Brahmin village might have suffered. This wrong might have been righted during the reign of Gajabāhu II.

Brōhmaṇar is wrongly written for Brāhmaṇar. Dānam is gift. Paṇṇu 'to do' is added to dānam to make . it a verb. Aruḷ is used as an auxiliary to the main verb paṇṇi-. Aruḷ 'to grace' can also be interpreted as an honorific particle, denoting the action of a geat person.

---

4. D. C. Sircar - Indian Epigraphical Glossary - page 385

The last six lines seem to suggest that the people who protect this grant will have double benefits. They will be those who abide by royal order or command. The word ājñā, in Sanskrit means royal order or grant. They also will not be born again. Rebirth ceases only when one attains salvation or mukti. Salvation comes to only one who performs extremely great meritorious deeds. The protection of this charity seems to be such meritorious deed. The expression used in the inscription piravāppār is a peculiar one in Tamil. The negative future epicene plural form of pira 'to be born' is pirakkamāṭṭār. Māṭṭu, here, is an auxiliary. A form of similar construction ākāppōm instead of ākamāṭṭōm 'we will never become' is found in a devotional song of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār[5]. Vallavan, in the line before the last, means one who is capable of doing damage to the grant. He was warned that snake would attack him.

Text	Transliteration
1	Svasti Srī
	Jayabāhu dēva-
	rku yāṇṭu 24 āva-
	tu Jayan koṇṭa Calā-
5	mēkaccaturvvētiman —
	kalatt-iḷavuppaṭṭa vaya-
	lum yattālaiyum val-
	lapā pakkattil ninrum
	vānki brōhmaṇa-
10	rkē dānam paṇ-
	ṇi aruḷināṛivarkaḷ
	taṇma - til - rāl
	... ta pūcikka
	eppērppaṭṭa -

---

5. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār - Atputat Tiruvantāti - 3rd song.

Inscription from Mahakirindagama

15 ttāva - mu ...
 tāka kkuṭātē -
 ... taṉma ...
 ruṉṭākiṟ ...
 ājñē
20 yātu nilatti -
 ṟ piṟavāppā
 ṟ vallavaṉai
 y-arācūḷa ēva.

Translation

(Lines 1-11). Hail Prosperity. On the 24th regnal year of Jayabāhu, (they) have purchased from Vallapaṉ, paddy fields and the right of periodical employment, lost by Jayaṅ koṇṭa Calā - mēkaccaturvētimaṅkalam and handed (them) back to the Brahmins.

A PILLAR TAMIL INSCRIPTION FROM HINGURAKGODA[1].

This [inscription was first noted in the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department in 1891. It was found in lot 1212 at Hingkurakgoda. The present article was based on estampage taken by the Archaeological Department in 1940.

The inscription was incised on one side of the pillar and it runs to 22 lines.

The record is written in Tamil script. Grantha script is used to write Sanskrit words, Śrī, Gajabāhu and Buddhastāna. Jī of Jīvitam is also written in Grantha.

As for orthography, puḷḷis are not used when writing consonants. Short -e- and short -o- are not distinguished respectively from their long counterparts. The letter -ḷa- (ள) is written for −ḻa- (ழ) in piḷaiccār. The word vikkaṉam is from Sanskrit vigna which means obstruction. In Tamil, it is usually written as vikkaṇam. Here in the inscription, -na- (ந) is written for -ṉa- (ன). This usage may be due to either the retention of the Sanskrit letter or the confusion of ṉ and n which is common in Tamil inscriptions. The letter -n- instead of -ṉ- is written in the word iṭṭen (இட்டெந்) and Ayittanen (அயித்தநெந்). The letter -ḷa- is written for -ḻa- in umpiḷa (உம்பிழ for உம்பள).

Regarding phonemic variations, −a- changing to -i- is found in umpiḷa from umpaḷa. The word piḷaiccār in colloquial usage is the equivalent of piḷaittār in literary language. Palatalisation of dental consonants have occurred here.

The record consists of two sentences. The first sentence records the donation of a piece of land to a Buddhist shrine. Ayittan, the donor of the grant, was one of the akampaṭiccakaiyar. The word 'akampaṭi' means

---

1. Dr. W. S. Karunaratne, Assistant Commissioner of Archaeology, kindly helped me in preparing this article.

'service in inner apartments of the palace'. The word 'kaiyar' may mean 'persons of low status.' This word may signify a polite usage in deference of the king and not necessarily a low grade person. The word umpalam stands as an epithet to Ayittan. Umpalam means land granted rent free for the performance of service. The -m- ending disappears when words ending in - m - serve as an attribute to words beginning with vowels according to the Tamil grammatical tradition. Ayittan must have been enjoying tax free land in lieu of service to the king.

The name of the ruler is not mentioned at the beginning as in most of the other inscriptions. But immediately following the regnal year is mentioned Gajabāhu. There were only two rulers with the name Gajabāhu in the history of Ceylon. Palaeographically, the inscription cannot be assigned to a period earlier tban the twelfth century. Besides, Gajabāhu I who seems to have lived in the second century A. D., Gajabāhu II seems to have regined from 1132 to 1153 A.D.[2]. Therefore the ruler mentioned in the inscription can only be Gajabāhu II. The regnal year mentioned in the inscription seems to be the eleventh year. The person who inscribed the record seems to have started writing the numeral one in the first line by mistake, left it off and then wrote eleven.

The first sentence in the inscription has attributes for the donor, the donee and the donation. There are three attributes for the donor:— akampaṭiccakaiyaril, Mānnālayil Jīvitam Uṭaiya and umpala. There is one epithet to the donee Taraṇimācāril. The donation seem to be one Maṇamaviccuppāṭu.

The word jīvitam means land granted tax free for maintenance. Ayittan must have had such land in Mānnālāy, probably a name of village. Pilapperu (Pilappēru?) was probably the name of his jīvitam. Maṇamaviccuppāṭu, the donation, should have been a section of the jīvitam. Taraṇimācār might be the name of the place where the Buddhist shrine was situated.

2. University of Ceylon - History of Ceylon, page 846.
3. Mānnālāy was located in Mannar District by C. W. Nicholas-Historical Topography of Ancient Ceylon in J. R. A. S. (Ceylon Branch), 1959.

The second sentence is relatively very simple. Uṇṭākil is a conditional form of the verb, a later development of the 'ceyiṉ' type of verbal participle in Tamil. The conditional verb by its very nature signifies the future tense. The word āvar in piḷaiccār - āvar also signifies future tense. But piḷaiccār is in the past tense. This type of construction is used in Tamil when the consequences of a future action are very definite[4].

Text	Transliteration
1	Śrī yāṇṭu
	ll - vatu Gaja -
	bāhutēvar a -
	kampaṭiccakai -
5	yaril[5] Mānnā -
	lāyil Jīvita -
	m uṭaiya um -
	piḷa Ayitta -
	nen eṉ Jīvita -
10	m Piḷappētti -
	l ōr Maṇamavi -
	ccuppāṭu Tara -
	ṇimācāril
	Buddhastāna t -
15	tukku iṭṭe -
	n mēl ituk -
	ku vikkanam ce -
	yvār - uṇṭā -
	kil Buddhastā -
20	nattukku ppi -
	laccārāva -
	r narakampukuvār

Translation

(Lines 1-16) In the prosperous eleventh year, Ayittaṉ who was one of the servants in the inner apartments of the palace of Gajabāhutēvar and who had his lands for maintenance at Mānnālāy, gave one Maṇamaviccuppāṭu from his lands for maintenance, known as Pilappēṟu, to the Buddhist shrine at Taraṇimācār.

(Lines 16-22) If there are persons who obstruct this, they will be those who have done wrong to the Buddhist shrine; (they) will enter the hell.

4. Tolkāppiyam - Collatikāram – 245 (Sutra).
5. According to the University of Ceylon-History of Ceylon, agampaṭi corps were very powerful at about the time of this record. It may be referring to them.

Inscription from Hingurakgoda
By courtesy of the
Ceylon Government Archaeological
Department.
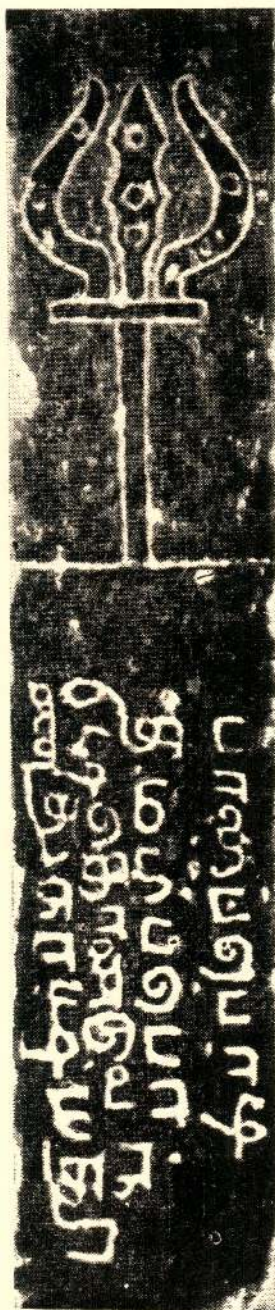
Inscription from TiruKkovil
By courtesy of the
Ceylon Government Archaeological
Department.

A Tamil Inscription from Mahiyalla

This inscription was numbered 2653 in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department for the year 1966. It was found in a slab in a place called Mahiyalla at Mallawapitiya in the Kurunegala District. According to the report itself, some of the letters are worn out.

The inscription runs to fifteen lines. Palaeographically the script is quite modern. It may belong to the period when Kurunegala or Dambadeniya were the seats of royal authority in Ceylon.

The inscription is almost worn out. Very little can be made out.

Some words or parts of words can be made out as follows:-

Text	Transliteration
1	... ...
2	... āvatu eḻu tu
3	ttam Kurunākal ke...ḻal
4	I cavayil ... ...
5	...pat.. ṭ. I āḻṭa ... mi
6	kai taḷarā aṉaivarukkum itu
7	...vācalil tiruviḷamm
8	...... iḻai veṇ paṭṭu
9	paṭṭu ... ... uṇa maṭṭum
10	... vum ... kiṟamaṭṭu ...
11	tappaṭṭum ... uṇtāṉā ...
12	... ... vittu mā niti
13	irāma. nāma nāharat -
14	tum aḻittu pukuvaṉ - āṉāṉ
15	Atitiyavarmaṉ.

The inscription mentions an year but it cannot be made out now. The third line mentions Kurunākal, i.e., Kuręnegala. Next line mentions cavayil which ought to mean 'in the assembly' in the context. The sixth line is clear meaning 'to all those who don't drop from the hand, this'. The word vācalil means 'at the gate'. The word paṭṭu 'silk' is mentioned in a number of lines. The eighth line refers to iḷai veṇ paṭṭu 'beautifulḷy woven white silk'. The last line mentions Ātityavarmaṉ who might have been a silk trader. The twelfth line mentions vittu which was dentalised from virru 'having sold' as is found in colloquial usage. Mā niti is great wealth, from Sanskrit mahā nidhi. The trader might have belonged to the Vaiṣṇavite sect of the Hindus, as the end of the inscription seems to suggest that he will suffer the fate of one who has destroyed the city of the name of Rāma.

Inscripton from Mehiyalla

AN INSCRIPTION FROM THE MUNNĪSVARAM ŚIVA TEMPLE[1]

A Tamil inscription of four long lines is found above the foundation of the Munnīśvaram Śiva temple in the Chilaw District of the North Western Province. Along with the Kōnēśvaram temple at Trincomallee and the Kēthiccuram temple at Mannar, Munnīśvaram is considered one of the ancient Siva temples in Ceylon. The present inscription does not mention anything about the beginnings of this temple. The temple is said to be already famous when the inscription was made. The first attempt at a study of this inscription was made about eighty years ago by G. M. Fowler of the Ceylon Civil Service.[2] He had given only a translation of the text of the inscription. He had not given the text. He says that parts of the inscription were illegible and that he had considerable difficulty in reading the text. On examining the photograph of the inscription, I find that I am in agreement with the author of the paper. His translation is more or less accurate. The last few letters in each line of the inscription cannot be recognised except for one or two letters. Fowler's translation seems to cover even those parts. Therefore it is difficult to comment on those parts.

The record was inscribed in the fifteenth century. The donor was said to be Parākramabāhu who was a Śrī Saṅgabōdhi, reigning in Jayavardhana Kotte. He is identifiable with Parākramabāhu VI. His regnal years were given as 1412 - 1467[3]. As the record was issued in his thirty-eighth year, the date of issue must be about 1450 A.D. The script is quite close to modern Tamil script.

1. This was numbered 2181 : of 1950 in the Reg. of Inscriptions
2. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) Volume 10 No. 35, 1887, pp. 118-119.
3. University of Ceylon - History of Ceylon. p, 847

The record contains an admixture of Sanskrit words and Grantha letters. The beginning of the inscription is in Sanskrit language and in Grantha letters. The inscription ends with a Sanskrit sloka in Grantha letters. The record has a number of epithets for the royal donor. The description of the ruler as 'Samantapatra Saraṇāravindan' meaning 'worshipper of the lotus feet of Śri Samantapatra (Buddha)' is quite common in the Sinhalese inscriptions of the period. The Sanskrit phrase 'Āditya vamsa' means the Solar dynasty. The word 'abhi – jāta' means man of noble descent.' The name Rājādhirāja occurs for the first time in the Cōla records of the eleventh century but in this record, it is only a title. The name 'Pararāja-sēkaraṉ' was quite common among the contemporary kings of the Jaffna kingdom. The last two titles were meant to extol the particular ruler in comparison with the other rulers. The rulers of the kingdom of Kotte were claiming overlordship over the whole island of Ceylon. Bhujaṅga means 'snake'. This word is some-times used to refer to the God Śiva who was adorned with snakes. But here it also is used as an epithet to royal donor. Fowler translates this as serpent to the royal and mercantile races. The title tribhuvanaccakravattikaḷ, 'Emperor of the Three Worlds' was also very commonly used in the Tamil inscriptions of late medieval period. Varma, a title of Kṣhatriyas becomes Vatmar in Tamil. Saṅgabōdhi was a title assumed by the Buddhist kings. The king's name Parākramabāhu has honorific particle both at the beginning and at the end, śrī at the beginning and tēvar (dēva) at the end.

According to Fowler, the Sanskrit portion at the end is a sloka, meaning "To this effect, this was caused to be inscribed by Parākraman through the grace of Moṉṉīsvarar who is an ocean of wisdom and lord of all the different classes of gods". The last portion of the sloka cannot be read now. The section meaning 'Parākramaṉ through the grace of Moṉṉīsvarar' cannot be made out.

The Grantha script is used in the body of the inscription to write words of Indo – Aryan origin. Īsvaram meaning temple of God occurs in the compound

Monnīśvaram. Jayavardhana means that which confers victory. Pūji -, from the word pūjikkira, is a Tamilicised verbal base from the Sanskrit pūjā. Sīmai, from sīmā, means land. When Sanskrit words are Tamilicised, it is a common rule to change -ā ending Sanskirt words into -ai ending Tamil words as illustrated in this inscription in sīmai and pūjai. Sugandha in Sanskrit means perfumes. Abatam is a derivative from Sanskrit a - baddha meaning disaster, calamity etc. Batam must be the opposite of it. There is a Sanskrit compound 'sarama svapaṇam' which Fowler has translated into 'proficient in all the sciences'. Sarama means the end. Sva paṇa may be a derivative from sarva-ābharana, meaning the person who wears everything as ornament. Sthrā means perpetual, irrevocable. Candrāditya means the Moon and the Sun. Candrāditya -varai, meaning 'till the Moon and the Sun last' is a very common phrase occuring in the Tamil inscriptions. Ksētra means field. Pārampariyamāka is a phrase meaning generation after generation. Vignam is obstacle. In the Sanskrit loan-word māsam, 'sa' is written in Grantha and the rest in Tamil.

As for orthography, pulḷis are not used for consonants. Long -e and long -o are not distinguished from their short counterparts respectively. The name of the temple is given as Monnīśvaram. U - and o - are back-vowels and the change of u- to -o— occurs in a number of Tamil words. Double alveolar nasal -nn- changes into double cacuminal nasal -ṇṇ-. Short -i- seems to have been written for long -i- in sīmai. Sīmai is the word in current usage in Ceylon Tamil today. The assimilation of -rk- into -r- as in tampirāṇārku and nampimārku also occurs frequently in the Tamil inscriptions of South India. Change of -rk- into -rr- occurs in nampimārrku.

Some terms used in the inscription are worth discussion. The date of the grant is given as 'pattām pakkam'. Pakkam is a Tamilicised form of Sanskrit pakṣa meaning lunar day. Therefore the date is the tenth lunar day but the significance of muṇ is not clear. It may refer to the tenth lunar day of pūrva pakṣa. The God of Munnīsvaram is referred to as tampirāṇār. Pirāṇ is

probably derived from பெரு-மை. This word can be compared with brhan in Sanskrit nominative singular of brhat, 'lord', 'God', 'Siva' etc. In the word tam-pirāṉ, tam is a prefix which might be the adjectival form of tām, third person plural pronoun. Saint Suntharar is referred to as tampirāṉ - rōḷar, i.e. the comrade of Siva. In this context also, tampirāṉ means Siva. The ending -ār in tampiraṉār is honorific plural sign. Priests of this temple are referred to as nampimār. Nampi is one of the titles of temple priests. Nampi also means the noblest among men. Nampi, as a temple priest, was probably a late usage. Mutalmai means headship and in the context the chief priest. In the compound tirunāmattukkāṇi, nāma is Sanskrit meaning name. Tiru is an honorific prefix. Tirunāmam means sacred name, name of a deity or holy person. Tirunāmattukkāṇi, therefore means, land assigned to a deity, as bearing his name; temple land. Uṭaimai means the state of possessing, having. Therefore uṭaimaippaṇam should mean 'the money to be obtained by the mutalmais as chief priests', in the context. Karpi- means to direct or command. Aruḷ in karpittaruḷinamai is an auxiliary meaning 'grace' It can also be taken as an honorific particle to denote the action of royal donor. Paṇam means a particular coin, usually a small gold coin. The word paṇa was in usage in North India. This word was spelt as fanam in English. Amaṇam seems to be a land measure[4]. Amutu is a Tamil derivative from Sanskrit amrta, 'ambrosia'. Ambrosia was the food of the gods. Amutu is used in Tamil to refer to the food offering to the God and then to all articles connected with food offering to the God. Amutu, occuring alone, means cooked rice offering to the God. It is also used like an honorific particle, having been suffixed to food articles as in the following instances, kariyamutu (curry) and ilaiyamutu (betel) occuring in the inscription. This kind of usage occurs in South Indian Tamil inscriptions also.

4. According to the Tamil Lexicon, amaṇam refers to 20.000 arecanuts. University of Ceylon-History of Ceylon-pp. 375-76 refers to pamuṉu form of land tenure, an estate possessed in perpetuity by a family in hereditary succession or by an institution. But they are not appropriate here.

The object of the inscription is to record donation to the temple, to the priests and to the chief priests. The king had granted both lands and money to each of the above category. Those who cause any damage to the land would be guilty of five great sins or pañca mahā pātakam. That means, they will enter the lowest hell. Those who protect the grant would reach the highest heaven or sāyucciya patam. The five great sins are killing a Brāhmaṇa, drinking intoxicating liquors, stealing gold, committing adultery with the wife of a guru and associating with anyone guilty of these crimes. According to the Saiva Sidhānta, there are four stages of heaven:- sālōkyam, sāmīpyam, sarūpyam and sāyuccyam. Sāyuccyam is said to be the highest stage.

| Text	Transliteration
1	Svasti śrī samantapadra caraṇāravintan āditya vaṁśābhijāta rājādhirāja Pararājaśēgara bhujaṅga Śrī Saṅgabōdhivatmar āṇa, Tribhuvanaccakravattikaḷ Srī Parākramabāhutēvar yāṇṭu 38 āvatukku muṉ pattām pakkam Moṉṉīsvaramuṭaiya tampirāṉārai pūjikkira nampimārai Jayavadhana kkoṭṭaikku aḷaittuviṭṭu sarama svapaṇam tā purōhi ... ... tt ... my ...
2	ceyti kēṭṭu muṉpu nampimārrku niṉra moṉṉīsvarattil simaikku uṭpaṭṭa ksētran tampirāṉārku tirunāmattukkāṇiyāka karpit - taruḷiṉamaikku pūjai kkāṇiyāka iluppaiteṉiyil vayal amaṇam irupattiraṇtum koṭṭaipiṭṭiyil vayal amaṇam muppatum mutalmaikku karpitta Tittakaṭaiyil vayal amaṇam eṭṭum itukkuḷ kuṭiyiruppuṅ kāṭum ākavum ... ... va ... ...

3

ullatum munnāli ariciyil amutu
kariyamutu ilaiyamutu sugandha
mutalānavaiyum nampimārku māta
monrukku paṇam muppatum
mutalmaikku uṭaimaippaṇam
māsa monrukku ovvoruvarkup
patinonrum ivarkaḷukku pāramparya
māka candrādityavarai sthrāmāka
naṭakkumpaṭi monnīsvaramuṭaiya
tampirānāna Umkayi ...

... ... a ... ...

4

vignam anriye irukka kkarpit –
taruḷina inta kkāṇikku abatam
ceytavarkaḷ pañca mahā pātakam
ceytavarkaḷākavum itukku batañ
ceytavarkaḷ sāyuccya patattaip
perakkaṭavarākavum
taddamgaṇanathalla Saiva aran
mahodayomon ... ...

... ... ta.

Translation

(with some alterations of G. M. Fowler's).

Hail Prosperity! On the tenth lunar day in the 38th year
of his reign, Sri Parākramabāhu tēvar alias Sri Saṅgabōdhi
vatmar, worshipper of the lotus feet of Samantapatra, of
Solar dynasty, king of kings, emperor of the three worlds
and the like of God Siva, invited to the Jayawadhana
Kotte, the nampimār who officiate before the God of
Monnīsvaram and addressing himself to the Brahmin
pandit who is proficient in all sciences amongst them,
inquired into the circumstances of that temple and bestowed
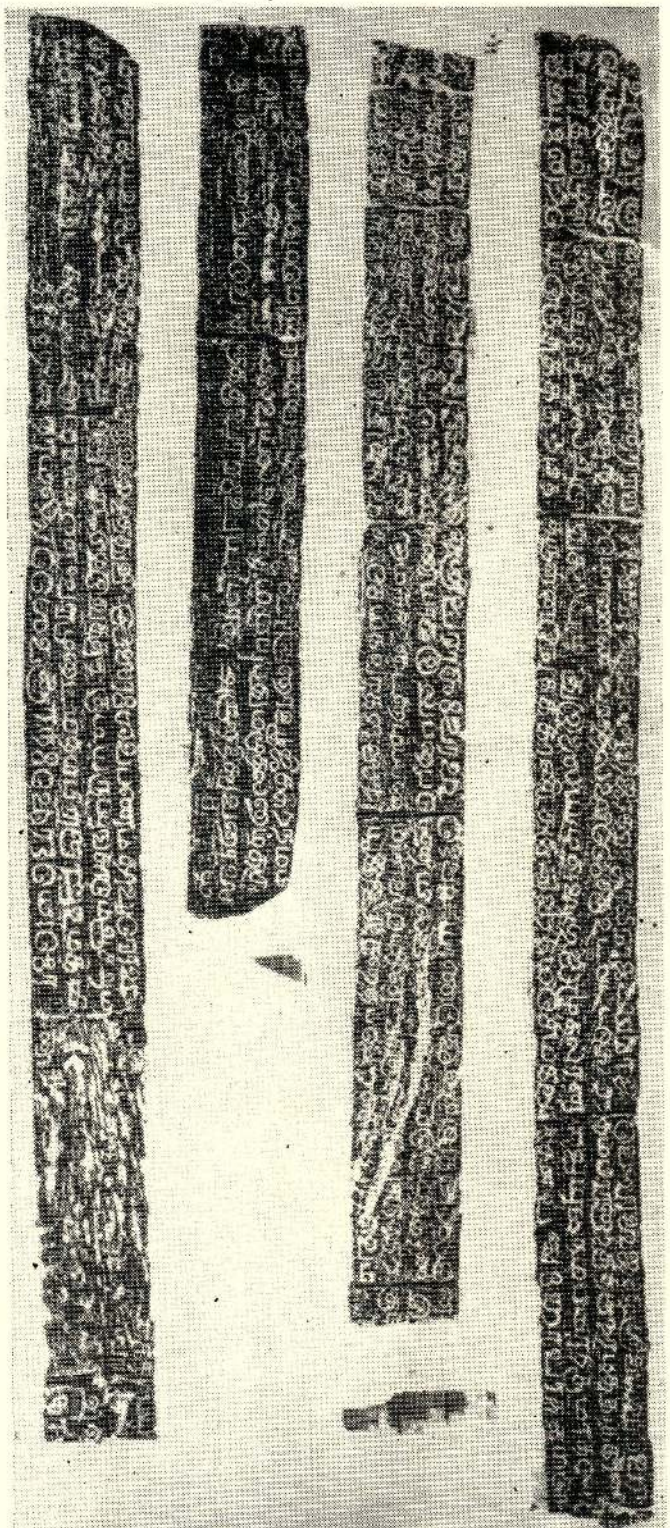
Inscription from Munneswaram

By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaeological Department.

the lands which formerly belonged to the priests, lying within the district of Moṇṇīsvaram as temple land. For the performances of worship, he granted to the priests, 22 amaṇams of field at Iluppedeniya and to the chief priests, 30 amaṇams of field in Koṭṭapiṭiya and 8 amaṇams of field in Tittakaṭai with the inhabited places and forests appertaining to these In addition to the offering of 3 nāḷis of rice, he granted 30 fanams to the priests per mensem and 11 fanams to each of the chief priests for the daily offerings of curries, betels and perfumes to be enjoyed from generation to generation while the Moon and the Sun exist, to the God of Moṇṇīsvarm which is hereby declared to be irrevocable. Those who cause any obstacle or damage to the grant will be guilty of the five heinous crimes while those who protect it will attain the the highest stage of heaven. To this effect this was caused to be inscribed ... ... ocean of wisdom in Saivism and lord of all divine beings.

A Grant to Kāli from Kalutara[1]

This record was found on a slab in the premises of the District Judge, Kalutara. The premise was very near to the well known Bo-Tree of Kalutara. The record runs to eleven lines, Only Tamil script is used in the inscription. It may be because Kāli is not a Brahmanical deity through it is included among the pantheons of Hinduism. The Kāli temple might have had no connections with Brahmins, as it is today.

The grant is said to have been made by king and mutalis. The name of the king is not mentioned. The Sanskrit word rāja 'king' is Tamilicised into rācā and not irācā as required by Naṉṉūl, the Tamil grammar. The plural sign - kaḷ is added to it to make it honorific plural. The Goddess is given the epithet aññūṟṟumar. As -v- changes into -m- in Tamil in a number of cases, this epithet can be be taken as aññūṟṟuvar 'the Five Hundred'. There was a mercantile corporation operating in South India and Ceylon under the name Ticaiyāyiraṭṭu aiññūṟṟuvar 'the Five Hundred of thousand directions' or aiññūṟṟuvar 'the Five Hundred' in short. This medieval corporation might have been operating in Kalutara also. The Kāli temple might have been constructed by them.

The king is said to have given tōṭṭāyām and vayal āyam. Āyam, from Sanskrit āyah means income. Tōṭṭāyam is a peculiar sandhi in Tamil. It should be split into tōṭṭam + āyam which should have become tōṭṭa - v - āyam. Kumpam is from Sanskrit gumpha 'heap'. Therefore it should be taken as that the king had assigned income from particular fields and particular gardens to be given in the form of a heap to the Kāli temple.

Mutali means head, chief etc. Here it might have meant the chief ruling from Kalutara. He seems to have given tāniyam, which is Sanskrit dhānya 'grains

---

1. It was numbered 546 of 1929 in the R. I. of the Archaeological Department for 1929.

or cereals'. Tāṇiyam qualifies āyam 'income'. Therefore, he too should have given lands from which income in the from of grains had to be given to the Kāḷi temple. The expression 'mutalikku koṇṭu kuṭutta' may mean 'that which was brought to the chief'. But considering the context, it should be translated as 'that which was given on behalf of the chief'. The colloquial form kuṭu - instead of the classical form - koṭu occurs in inscriptional Tamil from very early times.

It is difficult to fix the date of this record. Palaeo - graphically, the script is not very ancient. Puḷḷis are not used over consonants. Long -o- is not distinguishable from the short -o-. It may be assigned to about the fifteenth century.

Text	Transliteration
1.	aññūṟṟu
2.	mar kāḷikku
3.	rācākkaḷ ku -
4.	mpa kku -
5.	ṭutta tōṭṭā -
6.	yam vayal
7.	āyam - ivai
8.	mutalikku
9.	koṇṭu kuṭu
10.	tta tāṇiyam
11.	āyam ivai

Translation

(Lines 1–7) These are the incomes from gardens and fields granted as heap by the king to the Kāḷi of the Five Hundred.

(Lines 8-11) These are the incomes of grains granted on behalf of the chief.

Three Tamil Inscriptions of the 'Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions'[1]

The three Tamil inscriptions belonging to the 'Ticai āyirattu aññūrruvar', which Tamil phrase is rendered as 'Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions', were discovered in different parts of Ceylon. They were found at Vāhalkaḍa, Padaviya[2] and Vihārehinna. Vāhalkaḍa(Kapugollewa)lies by the side ofthe Vāhalkaḍa tank on the Yān Oya. Padaviya is by the side of the Padaviya tank which lies at the meeting place of the present Northern, Eastern and North-Central Provinces. Vihārehinna lies near Moragolla of Kandapalle Koralle in Matale North.

These inscriptions and references to the same corporation in other inscriptions were noted earlier[3]. But the texts of these inscriptions were never published. There is no direct clue to the date of these inscriptions. But the approximate date can be guessed. Palaeographically, the records belong to twelfth or thirteen centuries A. D. This was also the period when similar inscriptions in large numbers were issued in South India and South East Asia.

. The 'Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions' was the name of a corporate commercial organisation of South Indian origin. Before the Age of the Cōlas, this organisation was extending its activities throughout Peninsular India. With the rise of the Cōla maritime power, this

---

1. Similar inscriptions of this corporation had been well edited in Epigraphia Carnatica. As this journal was not available to me I could not do sufficient justice in interpreting these records. The readings seem to be unsatisfactory in some places. Still its publication may help some others to proceed from where I left.

2. According to University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon, the site of this inscription seems to be Padavi, a village near Hettipola in the Kurunegala District.

3. Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, pp. 242 – 55; History of Ceylon (University of Ceylon) Vol, I, Part II, pp. 536, 550. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Reports, 1953, p. 27; 1954, p. 23. Ceylon Journal of Science, Vol II, Part III, No. 566 (1933).
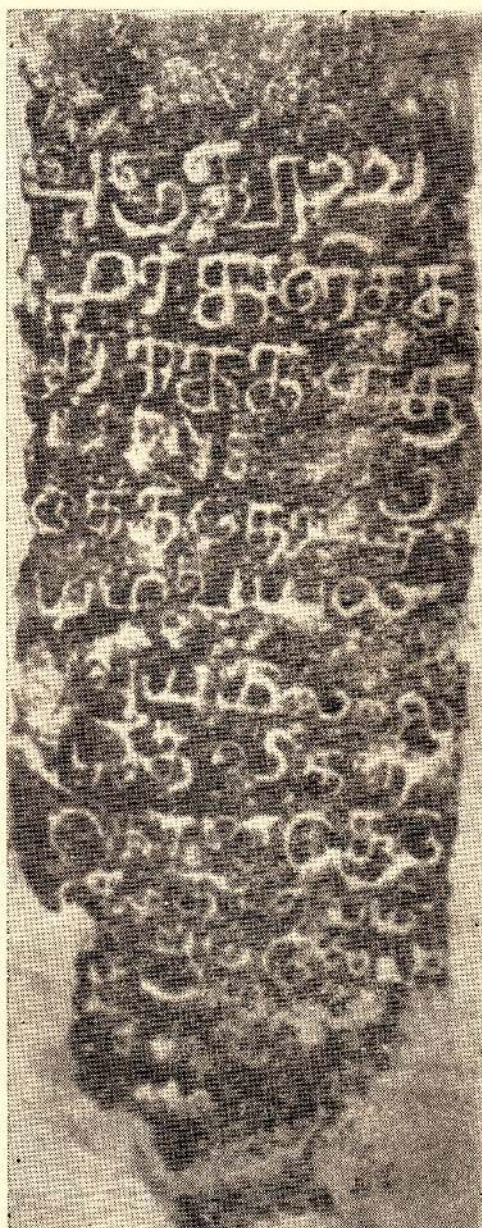
Inscription from Kalutara
By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaelogical Department.

organisation was spreading throughout South and South-East Asia[4]. Inscriptions of this organisation have been discovered in large numbers in Peninsular India. Few inscriptions are also discovered in far away places, near Barros in Sumatra, at Pagan in Burma, at Porlak Dolok in Padang Lawas and at Bandar Bapahat in Majapahit.

Compared to the other Tamil inscriptions from Ceylon, these three Tamil inscriptions are fairly long ones, consisting of 36, 31 and 37 lines respectively. The first inscription remains incomplete. Like the inscriptions of the Cōlas and the Cālukyas of the time, these inscriptions contain fairly long prasastis, extolling the corporation. The prasasti contains more or less the same details in all the inscriptions of this corporation. The texts of the inscriptions, given here, will help in the comparison of the records in Ceylon with the records elsewhere.[5]

Of the three records in Ceylon, the one at Vāhalkada is very clear. The next one, found at Padaviya is also fairly well preserved. The third one found at Vihārehinna, is partly effaced and hence considerably difficult to make out.

Some similarities in the contents of these records and the records of the same corporation in India and other countries can be pointed out. All the three records in Ceylon mention the five hundred vīra sāsanas, edicts of heroes which had been given to this corporation. Inscription from Padaviya mentions that the members of the corporation were descendants of Vāsudēva while the other

---

4. Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies. Volume I – W. M. K. Wijetunga-South Indian Corporate Commercial Organisations in South and South–East Asia, p. 494.

5. For more about these records in India and about the activities of commercial organisations, see K.A.Nilakanta Sastri - The Cōlas, pp. 595-599; A History of South India, pp. 320 - 326. T. V. Mahalingam – South Indian Polity, pp. 368-394; A. Appadorai-Economic conditions in South India Volume 1 pp. 378-402.

two inscriptions mention that they were the descendants
of Vāsudēva, Khandali and Mūlabhadra. Inscriptions from
Vihārehinna mentions the trade in pepper in line 17 and
the gifts made to four religions. The members of the
corporation are said to be nānādesis, i. e., people from
all parts or areas. Their head-quarters was at Aihole in
the territory of the Western Cālukyas. This is Tamilicised
into Aiyapolil in the records here. The special deity of
the corporation was Paramēsvarī (Durgā) according to
all the three records. Some technical terms like ankakāran
also occurs in all the records. The word ankakāra is
explained as 'a champion; same as Telegu - Kannada
ankakāra, some - times explained as a soldier or warrior
who took a vow to defend his master and fight in the
latter's cause to death[6]'. This corporation seems to have
had control over the administration of certain towns which
were henceforth known as vīra pattanams, city of the
heroes. The Vīra pattanam is mentioned in the record
at Vāhalkada (33).

Though the main portion of the records are in
Tamil language and in Tamil script, the beginnings in all
the three records are in Sanskrit language and in Grantha
script, probably because of the international character of
the corporation. Grantha script, of course, was used in
South India to write Sanskrit language. Grantha script
was occasionally used to write a few Sanskrit words in
the body of the inscriptions:- JAYAN Kontān (1-26);
SRINA (2-31), and SAMAYA SAMMATAM (3-15). Some
Grantha letters are found in Tamil words too: - paTnam
(1-11); MArra (3-15); MEnavar (3-34) GANkana (3-36).
To distinguish the scripts, the Grantha letters in the
records are transcribed in capital letters while the Tamil
letters are transcribed in small letters.

As in other Tamil inscriptions, long -e- and short
-e- and long -o- and short -o- are not distinguished in
the inscriptions. There is one example for metathesis.
The word camaintanam is written as camaitannam (1-12).
There are many examples for the confusion of the dental
-n- and the alveolar -n-. The dental -n- instead of the

6. D. C. Sircar - Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p. 21.

alveolar -ṉ- is written in a large number of words. Some of the examples are Veyyataṭān (1-4); paṭṭanam (1-6); patineṉ (1-14); Ceṭṭi Tevan (1-20); Vīrakan (1-21); āna (1-19, 21, 24, 25); āvaṇakkāran (3-11); nāṭṭinom; (3-30). The alveolar -ṉ- is written instead of the dental -n- in the following:- iṉta (1-32); ṉamakku (3-23). Long -i- and short -i- are not distinguished in a few places as in viṭiviṭaṅkaṉ (1-17). Short -u- is written for long -u- in Nurāyiran (1-23).

The grammatical aspect of the expressions in the inscriptions can be noted. Numerals like muppattiraṇtu (1-6), arupattunāṉku (1-7), patineṉ (1-14) āyirattu (1-13), aññurruvar (1-13), patineṭṭu (2-6), and āyiram (3-34) occur in these inscriptions. The word āyiram 'thousand' is derived from sahasra in Sanskrit. Sahasra has become ā ira, ā iram and āyiram in Tamil. This development can be demonstrated through inscriptional Tamil. The increment -ttu of āyirattu is a possessive sign in Tamil. Therefore the word āyirattu serves as an adjective. Aññurruvar, 'five hundred persons' is an appellative epicene plural noun from the numeral aññuru 'five hundred'. Compound numerals in Tamil are derived by multiplication and addition. In aññuru, it is multiplication, ai into nuru, 'five' into 'hundred'. Ai is the adjectival form of the numeral aintu 'five'. In muppattiraṇtu and ārupattu nāṉku, mu and aru are adjectival forms of muṉru 'three' and āru 'six'. They are multiplied by pattu 'ten' to derive muppattu and arupattu. Then iraṇtu 'two' and nāṉku 'four' are added to derive muppattiraṇtu 'thirty-two' and arupattu nāṉku, 'sixty-four'. Patineṭṭu is noun while patineṉ is adjective. The word eṉ is the adjective of eṭṭu 'eight'. When these forms are added to pattu 'ten', pattu is shortened as patu. An inflexional increment -iṉ- is added between patu and eṉ or eṭṭu.

Among verbal forms, a number of negative participles occur in the inscriptions. There are two examples for relative negative participles, paḷut-ilā-ttoḷil 'defectless work' (3-12) and kāvārā-v-a-kkālattu 'time when it were not protected' (3-30). Three forms with the negative suffix-ā- are found used as verbal participles:-taṭaippaṇṇāmal

'without causing obstruction' (2-15). viṭupaṭamal 'without being left out' (2-19) and naṉṟākātu 'without being well' (3-32). The word aṉṟi (1-11) is also a negative verbal participle. In the phrase 'aḷivupaṭal-ākāt-eṉṟu', ākātu ean be considered a negative finite verb as the phrase can be translated as 'that (it) should not become destroyed' (1-36). Present tense infixes, kiṉṟu and kiṟu which developed in Medieval Tamil, are represented in examples:—naṭāttukiṉṟa 'who carry on' (2-8); naṭakkiṟa 'who go on' (2-22) and valarkiṟa 'who grows' (2-30). All the present tense forms in these inscriptions are adjectival participles. A number of optative forms are found. Three of them, valarka 'may (it) grow' (1-18); meliya 'may (it) dwindle' (2-19) and peruka 'may (it) increase', are found in all the three inscriptions. Maravarka 'may (you) not forget' (3-37) is a negative optative form. A number of compound verbal forms with the significance of imperative-optative, are also found as for example, iruntat-ākav-um, āṭciyat-ākav-um, peruvat-ākav-um, uriyat-ākav-um in the inscription from Vihārehinna. The compound form is made up of a verbal noun plus an optative form plus an imperative particle. The verbal noun denotes the action. As the action is desired for the future, the optative form āka is added. To make the action certain, -um which has the significance of command is added later.

Some other features, which developed in Medieval Tamil language, are also represented in the inscriptions. The use of the suffix -ār, to denote honorific singular instead of the plural, is another feature which is represented in examples like Teciya Maṇṭai Aḷagiya Manavāḷanār, Muṉṟu Taram AlaiKKalaṅkāta Kaṇṭai nāṭṭu cceṭṭiyār Tecikku Iṉṉātāṉ Valakku cceṭṭiyār, Tēvaṉ Uṭaiyaṉār, Virakaṉ Ceṉāṭṭu cceṭṭiyār, etc. The pattern of forming some verbal participal forms from compounds of adjectival participles and certain nouns like piṉ, muṉ, kāl, kaṭai, etc, had been mentioned by Tolkāppiyar[7]. The Padaviya inscription has two examples of such forms with the addition of the noun, paṭi, not mentioned by that grammarian. Examples:—eḷutumpaṭi 'to write' (2-15) and mārrumpaṭi 'to change' (2-15).

---

7. Tolkāppiyam - Sūtra 229.

The three records, especially the first one, mention a number of names of persons. Many persons are referred to by two names, one of which may be a title while the other may be the name proper. Examples for names of persons:- Perrān Vītivitaṅkan āna (alias) Teci Aṭaikkala Nāṭṭu cceṭṭi; vēlān Ampalakkūttan alias Virakan; Ariñci Kulaiccān alias Māntai Toṇakkara Kaṇattār Paṭṭavarttaṉam; Kaṇṭan Aṭaimmān Nūrayiran alias Mati Virakan Cenāpati Āntān. Two persons are referred to by three names, two of which ought to be titles while the other must be the name proper. Example:- Ceṭṭi Tēvan alias Munru Taram Tiṇ Kalaṅkāta Kaṇṭa Annūrruvar Viṭān alias Virakan. A number of persons mentioned in these records are ceṭṭies < Sanskrit sreṣṭhin, the leading members of the guild. Tēci also means cetti. These ceṭṭies are some-times referred to as ceṭṭis of different nāṭus 'districts'. Some of the nāṭus mentioned in these inscriptions are Piḷḷai nāṭu, Civacāmaikkā nāṭu, Cōruṭai nāṭu, etc. It is difficult to to locate these nāṭus.

The first two inscriptions mention the Valaṅkai 'the right hand caste'. The Vāhalkada inscription mentions Cittan Cāttan Valañceyar cēnāpati Valañceyāntān and Kōnan Mātavan alias Valaṅkaiyānṭān and the Padaviya inscription mentions Viruttiyāparaṇa Valaṅkaimār. There is other evidence too that the Valaṅkaiyar or Valañjēyar lived· in Ceylon since the Cōḷa occupation and exerted great influence over politics in Ceylon especially in the period between Vijayabāhu I and Parākramabāhu I. From medieval times, in the Cōḷa period, inscriptions and other materials refer to two major caste blocs, one described as 'right-' and the other as 'left hand'. The right hand bloc was dominated by a body of rural landlords. The left hand bloc was led by the artisan and merchant communities. The English term 'hand', however is misleading. Unlike English, Tamil does not make a significant distinction between arm and hand. Valaṅkai and Iṭaṅkai are better translated as right arm and left arm castes.[7] The Brahmins

---

7. Right and Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic classification- B. Beck- The Right/Left Division of South Indian Society, pp. 1-3.

were above this division and were at the head of the
society. In Indian symbolism the right is always considered
superior to the left. The left arm usually tried to emulate
the Brahmins in order to assert their superiority over
right arm. Therefore the Valaṅkaiyar are proud of their
caste status and refer to themselves as Valaṅkaiyar to
assert their superior status.

The inscription from Vāhalkaḍa is incomplete. Some
lines may be missing. It seems to refer to the creation of
a vīrapaṭṭaṇam at Kaṭṭaṇēri. Kaṭṭaṇēri may be the Tamil
name for the Vāhalkaḍa tank. Some people seem to have
paid fines and to have become impoverished. So, there
was a possibility of the Vīrapaṭṭaṇam decaying. The ceṭṭis
of the eighteen countries as well as 'we of vīra koṭi'
wanted to prevent it. The significance of Vīra koṭi is
not clear. It may be the flag of the heroes. Probably,
Vīrapāṭṭaṇam had a vīra koṭi. Then vīra koṭiyēm may
mean 'we who bear the flag of the heroes' i. e. 'we of the
Vīrapaṭṭaṇam'. The word akkacālai should mean the place
where coins were minted.

The inscription from Padaviya seems to refer to
'nakarai araṇukku ttecikaḷ ākki' (2-23). Nakar or Nakaram
may be the organisation of the Ceṭṭis at Padaviya. Araṇ
is Hara or Lord Siva. The Ceṭṭis have become the Ceṭṭis
of Lord Siva. As the inscription was found in a slab
to the west of a kōvil, it might be that it refers to
dedication of the Ceṭṭis to the temple. The phrase kāḷi kaṇam
should mean group of Kāḷi, a form of Durga. The term
vaṭa taḷi also means kāḷi temple.

The inscription from Vihārehinna is more difficult
to make out. Traders who had been to all the eighteen
lands were named 'Cātti Kulam' and extolled. Some
ceṭṭis and their brothers felt that they too should be
honoured. They wanted to attain many things in order to
make themselves eligible for the honour. Some revenue,
assigned to the Vīrapaṭṭaṇam, seem to have been lost.
Imprecations had been made to the person who had ceased
to pay. One thousand kāṇams had been provided to the
city. As one person was not willing to serve, some
alternate arrangement seems to have been made.

I. Inscription from Vāhalkaḍa

1. SAMASTHA SANĀSRAYA PAÑCA ŚATA VĪRA ŚĀTANA LAK-
2. ṢMĪ LAMKRTA PAKUSYA LASSANI PARĀKRAMA ŚRī VASUDEVA KHAN-
3. DALI MULABHADRA K...ŚRī ayyapoḻir pura paKṢAm-āya-
4. ku makkaḷ-ākiya veyyataṭān i velvirava...
5. ceyā mati tōy Neṭuṅkoṭi māṭa patma
6. tāmuṭa i paṭṭanamum muppattiraṇṭu veḻcapura-
7. ttu arupattu nāṉku kaṭikai taru vaḻamum kā. ta.. taram
8. vaḻarkiṉra Ceṭṭiyum ceṭṭi puttiranu kava...nāmakā-
9. maṇṭalavāciyum aṅkakāraṉum āvaṇakkāraṉum mañcāṭi
10. ...mārvattu MASAyu mati kānaka.. tam...vā. ko.
11. kkuṭep paTṉam munnūrum uḷ . naṭi aram—aṉri
12. kali maliya ceṅkole munnāka camaitaṉṉam cantu naṭāttukiṉra
13. patiṉeṉ pūmi teci ticaiyāyirattaññūrruvar kaṭṭi iṭṭa.
14. .laippurattu ceṭṭi pāḻi takkina patiṉeṉ pūmi nāṭṭu cceṭṭi
15. teciya maṇṭai aḻakiya manavāḻanāraṉa muṉru taramalai kka-
16. laṅkāta Kaṇṭai nāṭṭu cceṭṭiyār āṉa tecikku iṉṉātāṉ vaṭa-
17. kku ceṭṭiyār-um perrāṉ vitivitaṅkaṉ-āṉa teci aṭaikka-
18. la naṭṭu cceṭṭiyum veḻāṉ ampalakkūttaṉ āṉa virakaṉ JA-
19. vā. vapi. na nāṭ (ṭ) ṭu cceṭṭiyārum tevaṉ uṭaiyāṉar āṉa
20. virakaṉ ceṉāṭṭu cceṭṭiyārum ceṭṭi tevaṉ-aṉa muṉru
21. taram tiṉ kalaṅkāta kaṇṭa aññūrruvar viṭāṉ-āṉa virakaṉum
22. coruṭai appaṉum ariñci kuḻaiccāṉāṉa Māntai ttoṇa-
23. kkāra kaṇattār paṭṭavartanam-um kaṇṭaṉ aṭaimmāṉ nurayi-
24. rannā [na] maṭi virakaṉ ceṉāpati āṇṭāṉum ceṅkaṇmālā-
25. r-āṉa tecippiññaṉ - um vitirācaṉ-āṉa vikkaṉ iḻapiyāṉaiy-um
26. talaitalāḻukaṉru teci paṭṭavartanamum kaṇṭaṉ JAYAṄ ko-

27. ṇṭān–āna maṭikaiyāṇṭānum centan etirāḷan mallan-ā-
28. na teci matavāraṇam-um cittan cāttan-āna
    vaḷañceyar ceṇāpati
29. vaḷanceyāṇṭānum koṇan mātavan-āna-valaṅkaiyāṇ-
30. tān-um paṭṭālakan tevanāna teci mummata kaḷirum ūṇ i
31. ṟṟa canna teci ccaṅkan-um akkacālai vikkiramātittan-āna
32. iṇta iḷañciṅkamum kaṇavaticoḷan-āna maviṭṭam
    muriparan-um
33. Kaṭṭaneriyāna nānāteciyavirapaṭṭaṇam-ākaiy-um
    tecippakaikūtti
34. perumāṇukku uttaram kuṭuttum taṇṭam iṟuttu
    ttanṟaci paṭṭa-
35. maiyil patineṇ pūmi nāṭṭuccettikaḷum vira koṭiyom-um
36. ippaṭṭaṇam-aḷivupaṭal-ākātenṟu piṇ muṟai iṭṭa makka.
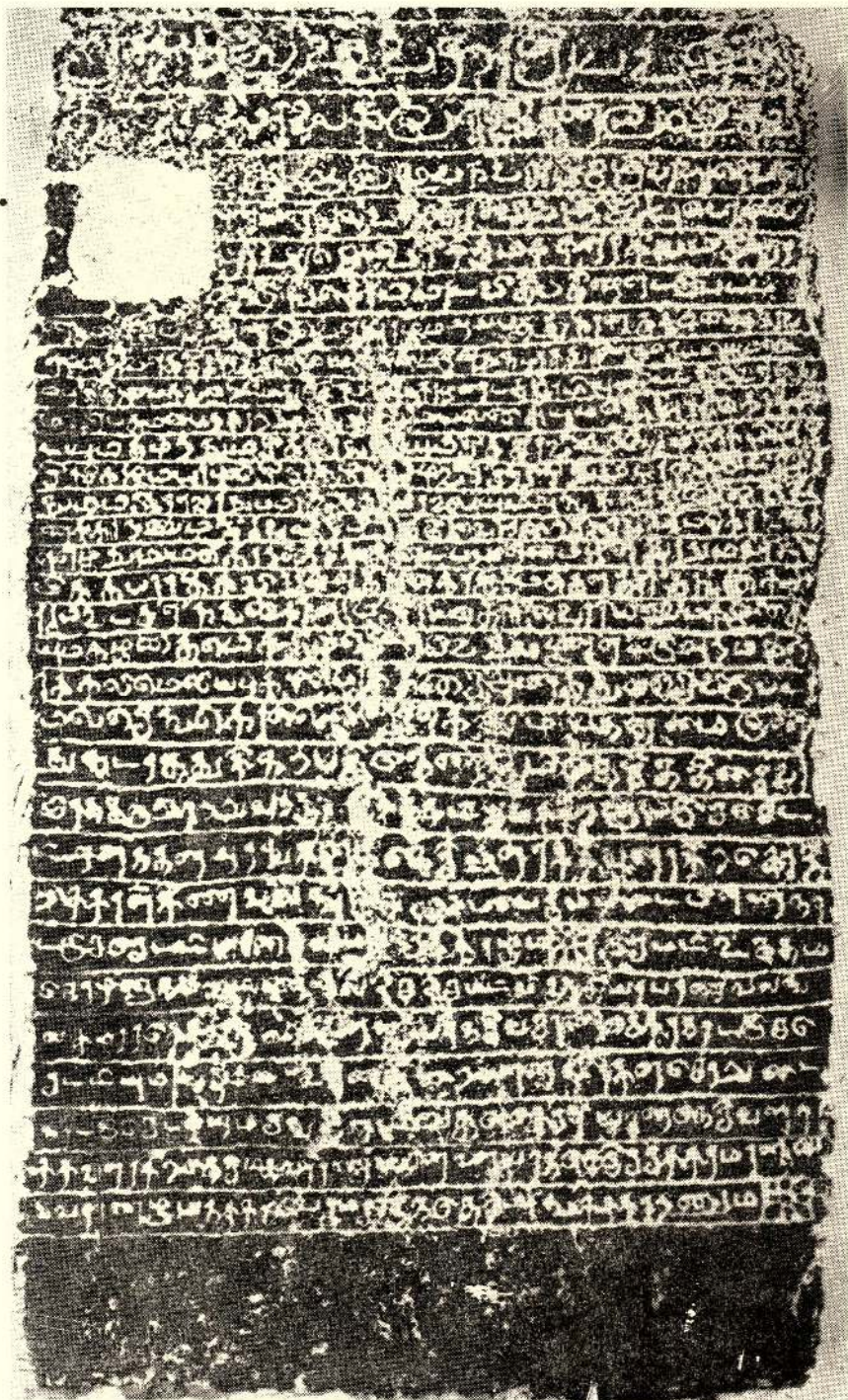
II. Inscription from Padaviya

1. ŚRĪ SARVASYA BHUVANĀ ŚRĪYA PAÑCA ŚA-
2. TA VĪRA ŚĀSANA LAKṢMĪ GUṆA LAMKRTA VA-
3.   RNŪ KULA BHUVANA PARĀKRAMA
        ŚRĪ VĀSUDEVA NA-
4.   DĀNAm ceyvittu RAKṢI ŚRĪ Aiyapoḷil
5.   pura paramecuvarikku makkaḷ-ākiya ..
6.   .. paḷar-um māṭa viti patiṇ eṭṭu paṭṭa
7. nam-um muppattiraṇṭu vecapuram-um aṟupattu nāṇku
    kaṭikai taruva-
8. ḷam-um varttakam -amaỵiya ccamaintu naṭāttukiṇra
    ceṭṭiyum ceṭ-
9. ṭi puttira (nu) m paKṢAm.. Kāmuṇṭacuvāmiyum...ttu
10. maDA perumperkāṟama ..lakaiyum.. koṭ-
11. ṭaiyum cūḷntum cit ..yum cittirayum. kai piṭi
12. ciṅkamum (pā) puli ciṟu kaḷutaiyum... civikaiyum
    pakanum ..
13. . paḷam irāJAnupamārkkattuppāḷaiyum aṅkakāraṇum
    āva-
14. ṇakkāraṇum ....•••••. pala nāṭṭārum pakkam koṭuttā-
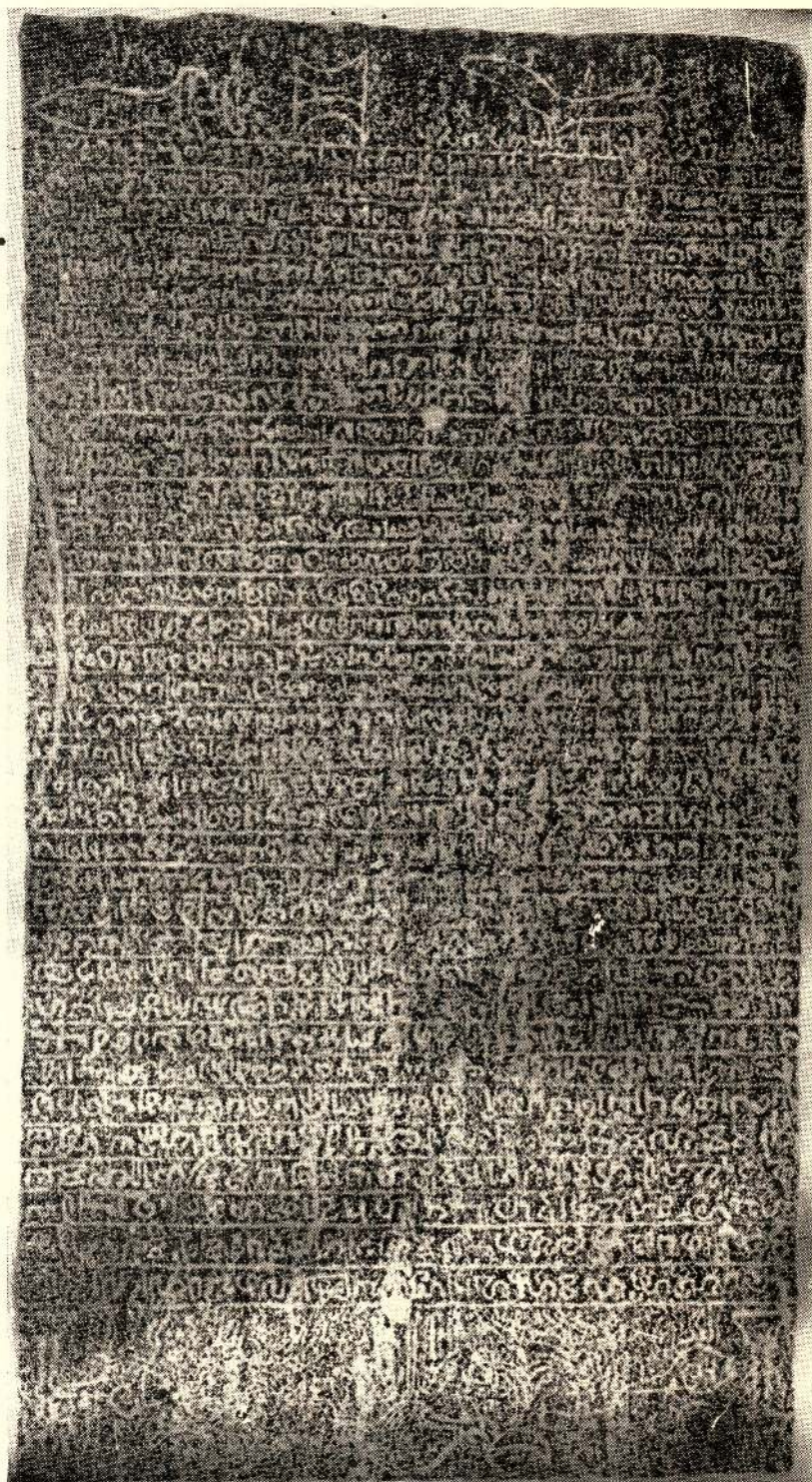15. rai eḷutumpaṭi ceytum taṭaippaṇṇāmal mārṟumpaṭi
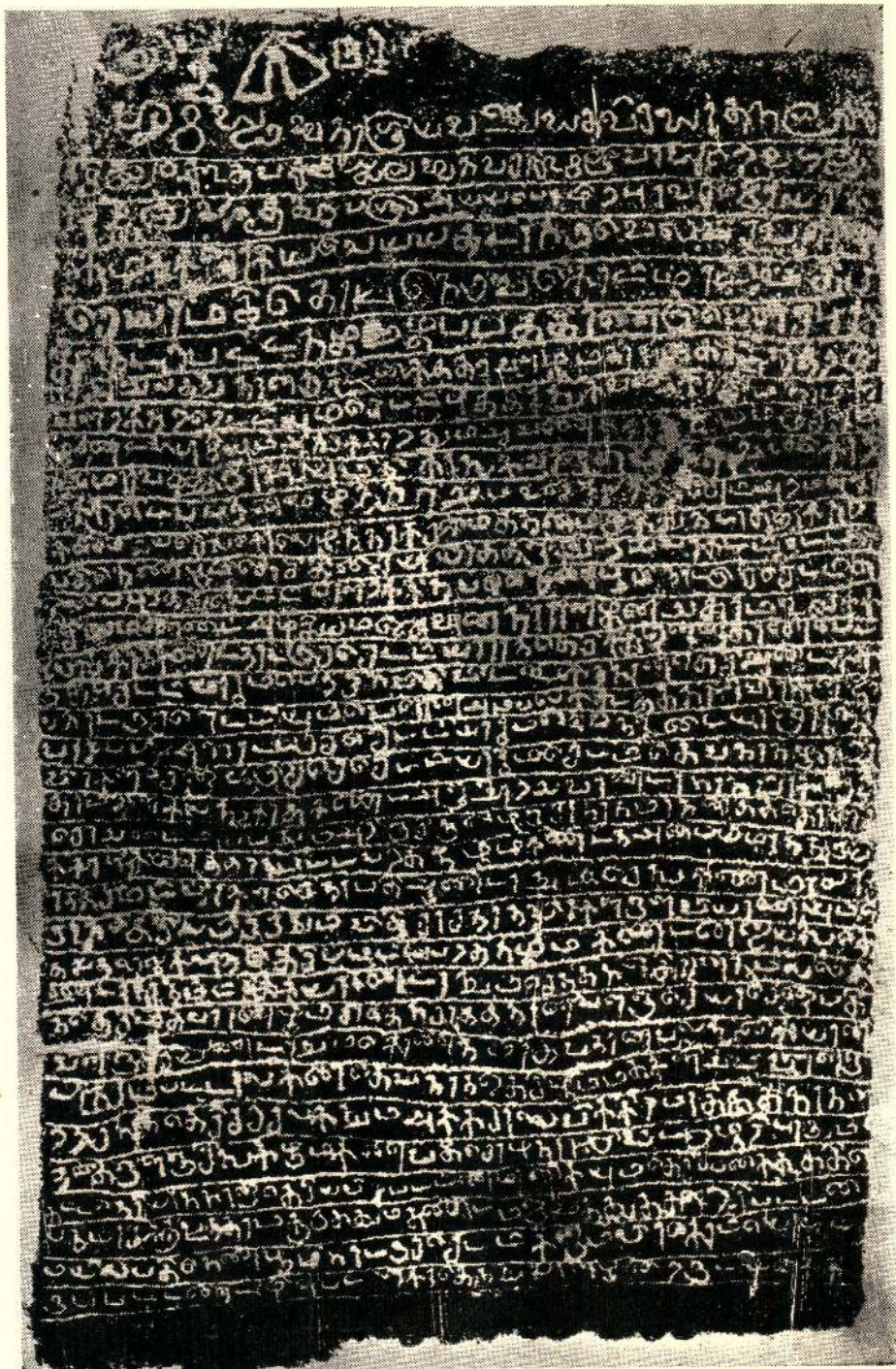
Inscription from Vahalkada

By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaelogical Department.

Inscription from Padavya

Inscription from Viharehinna

By courtesy of the Ceylon Government Archaelogical Department.

16. vittiyārtikavi ..ati . ko. makkaḷ tānaṅ koṇ (ṭ)-
17. ārum vaṭa taḷi naṅkaikaḷum ciṟiyatolavāriyaṉum kaḷutai-
18. yum kaḷutai mekkum......muṉ eṭṭu aṟam vaḷa-
19. rka kali meliya pukaḷ peruka ticai āyirattum viṭupaṭā-
20. mal ceṅkol et tikkaiyum-eytiṉami irun-
21. tu naṭāttukiṉṟa patiṉēṉ pūmi teci tticai ā-
22. . yirattaññūṟṟuvaṟku ... naṭakkiṟa nāṭṭu cceṭ-
23. ṭikaḷ nakarai aranukku ttecikaḷ-ākki vaḷarkiṟa-toni-
24. ṟi KKāḷi kaṇa valaṅkai pperumpaṭai piḷḷainā-
25. ṭṭu cceṭṭiyāṉa......kāmum ceṭṭi uttama
26. coḷaṉ-āya maṇṭalattu cceṭṭi viruttiyāparaṇa valaṅ-
27. kaimār teṟku laṅkaiyāna civacāmaikkā nāṭṭu c-
28. ceṭṭiyum ātipayiraṉ niṟaiyāna kerai coṟuṭai
29. nāṭṭu ceṭṭiyum caṅkaramaṉutan teci (yu) yāṉa teci vaḷar-
30. kka vaḷarkiṟa teci mata vārana yāṉaiyāna teci ccakkaram-āna ma
31. ta vāraṇamum na(k)karavarum ŚRīNĀ teca aṅkakkāṟaṉum.

III. Inscription from Vihārehinna

1. SVASTI ŚRī SAMASTA GUṆA ŚRī PAÑCA ŚATA VĪRA ŚĀSANA LAKṢ-
2. MĪ...............ŚRī VĀSUDEVA KHANDAḶI MŪLABHADRA.
3. ŚIVA SRASRAM DĀSA SAVA PA SAN A. TRSTIPEKHAYURACA
4. TUHITA VVAHIKAS TIKA Ñ PANA...MAYA ŚRī YA CATURSĀRA SAMAYA
5. TVAMMĀSAM paṇṇi SAKALA PARAMAVĀSI yākiya ŚRī Ai-
6. yapoḷiṟpura Parameśvarikku makkaḷ-ākiya Peyyacuṭāney
7. ....m-um muppattiraṇṭu ....
8. . aṟupattu nāṉku kaṭikai taru vaḷam-um kāvaṇattuccceṭṭi
9. yuñ ceṭṭi puttiraṉu......punkātipaṉ-uṅ kāmuṇṭa SVĀ
10. miyum maṭṭaiyaṉum maṇṭalakkāraṉum aṅkakāraṉu-

11. m āvaṇakkāranum valaṅkai pperum paṭaiyiṉum ariya mata-

12. mun tamiḻ vaḷarppippa……paḻut-ilā ttoḻil va-

13. lla kaḻutai koṭ….. muṉṉiṭṭu aram vaḷarka kali-

14. meliya ppukaḻ vaḷarka ticai āyirattum viṭupaṭāmar ceṅkole

15. MArra SAMAYA SAMMATAM ituvum-ottu niṉra patiṉeṉ pūmi nāṉa-

16. nāṭu nāṉa tecika ticai.. ticaiyāyirattaṉṉūrṟuvar taṇṭiyamu

17. .. m-uḻiṭṭa patiṉeṉ pūmi ppirakāram miḷakum miḷakaṅkāyyā-

18. .. pperu makkaḷ eṅkum nokki cceytu ciṟappippatu nam uṭa ppiṟantā-

19. ṉ campaḷam nikki nāḷaṭaṅka teci yāṇṭāṇṭ-eṉruṭai virapaṭi [na] ttu. ku

20. vaippa inta pātukai ttaḻaiy-iṭṭa piṉ potu ākiy kācu kuṭuttu viṭu koṇ-

21. ṭamaiyāl muṉ (ṉ) nittu cceyviyttu ppatiṉeṉ pūmi eṟintārai i-

22. ṅṅaṉam i cāttikkulattu ppeyariṭṭu pperuñ ciṟappu cceytamaiyil-āṅku

23. ṉamakku pperu makkaḷum ciṟappu cceyya veṇtum-eṉru niḷakkēyum mitita-

24. mumē viḷkka kkoṇṭom paṇam-uṇṇu nāṭṭu cceṭṭi kaḷum nam uṭap-

25. piṟantārum ippaṭikku paṇam-uṉāta (ta) tākavum piṭuñ cīru-māṭciyatāvum maṟṟai

26. yiruntatākavum .. pakkal paṟṟalum ceyvatuvum pāriṭai mel-iṭ-

27. ṭu aracu peṟuvatākavum ciṟiya maṉam yām viramāṉa naṭaiy-uriyatākavum

28. i ppaṇiyuñ ceyyumpotu maṭṭum puṟakum aṭikkapperuvatākavum ip-

29. pati ceyyum-itattu uttirattil alintu patu pāvattil avan piṇamā (ā) y-aliyu

30. m–āvatākavum ipparicu amaittu kallum palakaiyu nāṭṭinom kallar kāvārā

31. v-a-kkāla [t] tōn ppirarukku cceyyum ceyyappannina pakkal nānāteci ivar

32. mun vallapa nānatecikaḷ nanrākatu i viṭaya muriyāyum kūṭṭan kālanān

33. i mā nakaram-aṭiyiṭṭatarkākavum pinneyum pirakku mā-periyan kūṭṭanāna nāyaka

34. MEnavar pala paṇiyil āyirakkāṇamum pirān cāttan āna virakan cenāpati paṇi ce-

35. yya manam-illanāl-i-virakan i viyattaku māmuni kaṅkaṇanatavarum pallavam

36. māṇṭamaiyin GAṅkaṇa . nānateciyar pariṇamākiya em maṭṭan tecipa-

37. tinen pūmiyir ceyta ara-maravarka.

An Inscription from the Cemetary of the Kalpitiya Dutch Fort.

(Kalpitiya is a town in the Puttalam District. It was numbered 2147.) It might be 2147 of 1953. This is a modern inscription of the nineteenth century. This inscription might have appeared archaic when one looked at a number of Tamil numerals in Tamil characters and of the shortened forms in Tamil for year, month and day which were all recorded in this inscription. Even in this inscription, there were no pullis over consonants. The alveolar-n-was written for dental -n- in nāl (day). Short -e- and short -o- were not distinguished from their long counterparts.

But the modernity of the inscription is well attested by two forms of evidence. The Tamil script, used in this inscription is modern. The inscription itself is dated. But it is not clear which era was used here. As it was a Christian buriyal, it is quite possible that the Christian era was used. The Tamil word āti is used for the month. The Tamil month āti corresponds to late July and early August. But sometimes, āti is used to refer to July even now. Confusion, then, is inevitable. But some people have this usage even now. If the inscription here, used the Christian era, the date would be 9-7-1815. As Tamil characters were used for numerals and as Tamil name was used for the month, it is quite possible that it was the Saka era. In that case, the date would be in 1893. Considering the archaic features of the record, the earlier date could be preferred.

The record refers to the buriyal of the remains of a woman. Her name was Kiristtiṉā Paruṉāntu Vetanāyakam. The first two names were derivatives from the two well known Christian names of Christina and Fernando. The Tamilicisation of these words were in accordance with the usual rules for Tamilicisation of Sanskrit words. The principle underlying the Tamilicisation of foreign words was that the nearest equivalent in Tamil sound was substituted for sounds, foreign to the Tamil language[1].

---

1. Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram - 401 (Sūtra).

Alveolar-n-comes in the word Kṛisttiṉā because it is a convention in the written Tamil language to write dental -n-, only at the beginning of words and the alveolar-ṉ- only at the middle and the final positions. There are two Tamil sounds, the flap-r- and the trill -ṛ- which represent the prounnciation of English-r-. The -r–in Christina is always rendered as-ṛ- in Tamil. But the -r- in Fernando is more commonly rendered as-r-. But the usage of -ṛ- in this word is more common in the spoken language. In many dialects of South Indian Tamil, the distinction between these two sounds is not well preserved. The sound-f-was not found in Sanskrit and in the word Paṛunāntu, the Tamil letter-p- was chosen as its nearest equivalent.

The third name, Vētanāyakam, is found only among the Tamil Christians. Vētanāyakam is a Tamilicised compound form of two Sanskrit words, Veda – (knowledge) and nāyakah (leader). The Tamil termination -am is added. The word, Vēda also refers to the first and foremost Sacred Book of the Hindus. But the study of the Vēda, which was in the Sanskrit language, was restricted to the Brahmins. The Christian missionaries who went to work among the Tamil Hindus, needed a word which befitted the importance of their Bible. They began to refer to the Bible as Vēda or Vētam. The Tamil Hindus began · to call the Christians, 'Vētakkārar' followers of Vētam. The word, that should have actually meant the Hindus, began to refer to the Christians. I hear that this usage is confined to Ceylon. The name, Vētanāyakam is still prevalent among the Tamil Christians.

The woman is said to be the wife of Mattes ta Rosāyiruppī. Mattes or Mattēs should be the Christian name Mathews and ta should be de. The -w- sound seems to have been omitted and the preceding -e- is lengthened for compensation; A Tamil word should not have -r- sound as initial, according to the ancient and medieval Tamil grammarians. But inscriptional Tamil did not

follow that rule. Rosāyiruppī has -r- sound as the initial. Rosāyiruppī seems to stand for Rosayro Pieris. The inscription uses the possessive case sign, uṭaiya. This sign rarely occurs in poetry. Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl did not refer to it. This sign was more common in inscriptional Tamil. It occurs frequently in modern Tamil prose. The word for wife is peṇ cāti, literally 'female class'. But this word is very commonly used to denote wife in Ceylon. The word 'kalyāṇam' is from the Sanskrit word kalyāṇa, 'auspicious', 'prosperous' etc. It denotes marriage in Tamil. The phrase, iv-iṭam 'this place', becomes ivaṭam in spoken Tamil.

The numerals in Tamil chracters in this inscription are 1815, 9, 10, 17, 7, 27, 4 and 16. Compared to the decimal system which we use at present, the ancient Tamil system for denoting compound numerals was a little complicated. For 16 and 17, the characters for ten and six and the characters for ten and seven have to be written. For 27, the characters for two, ten and seven have to be written. For 1815, the characters for thousand, eight hundred, ten and five have to be written.

. The shortened forms, ஞ் for day, ம் for month and �அு for year are used in some places while the usual forms are also used in the record in the other places.

The use of auxiliary verbs in a number of places can be noted. There are three examples for the use of auxiliaries, alongside nouns, to give the verbal force to the nouns:- maraṇam aṭaintu (having died), aṭakkam paṇṇiṉatu (had been buried) and kaliyāṇam muṭittu (having married). These three examples can be taken to be examples of compound verbs. Auxilary verb proper, following a past adverbial participle as main verb, is found in vāḻnt-iruntatu 'had been living'.

Text – Transliteration

1. 1815 āṇṭu
2. āṭi ௫ 9 ௧Mattes
3. ta Rosāyiruppīy - uṭai-
4. ya peṇ cāti Kiṟistti
5. ṇā Pparunāntu Vēta-
6. nāyakam maraṇam–aṭai
7. ntu 10/ ௧ y-ivaṭattil aṭa-
8. kkam paṇṇiṇatu
9. vayatu 17 mātam
10. 7 ṇāḷ 27 kaliyā–
11. ṇa muṭittu vāḷnti-
12. runtatu ௭ : 4 ṇāḷ : 16

Translation

(Lines 1-8) Christina Fernando Vētanāyakam, who was the wife of Mathews de Rosayro Pieris died on 9-7-1815. (She) was buried here on the tenth.

(Lines 9-12) Age 17 years 7 months and 27 days. Had been married for 4 years and 16 days.

Some Comments on the Campānturai Copper plates.

Campānturai or Cammānturai, as it is more popularly known, is a village in the Amparai District. It is also the name of a Divisional Revenue district which includes the village of that name. This inscription consists of two copper plates. I came to know about it when Mrs. L. S. Devaraja, Lecturer in History, University of Ceylon, Colombo, contacted me in early 1968 to get my assistance in making out the contents of these plates. I kept with me a reading of the inscription but I didnn't try to edit it as she might want to make use of it herself. Subsequently I obtained the photographic prints of these plates from the Government Archaeological Department. Dr. K. Indrapala, published, in Tamil, a reading of this inscription and his interpretation of the language and subject matter[1]. It was a fine article but I would take here for comments only the points of difference between us. I have some comments to make on the reading as well as the interpretation. Since three years had already elapsed after Mrs. Devaraja contacted me, I think that I can publish this inscription. I will give my reading of the inscription, translation and comments.

	Text	Transliteration

First Copper Plate

1.	1615 āṇṭu
2.	Cittirai ௰ 29 tiya
3.	ti putaṇkiḷamai vi-
4.	cāka naṭcettiramum pa.
5.	vurṇamaiyum kiraka-
6.	ṇa puṇṇiya kā-
7.	lattil Pararāccecu
8.	vara Kaṇakamaṇṭala
9.	Cōlēntira Raṇacū-

---

1. K. Indrapala—Cintaṇai, Vol. II. Nos. 2 & 3 –pp. 47-49. I agree with his criticism of an earlier attempt at reading and interpretation of this record by S. O Canagartnam in 'Monograph of the Batticaloa District of the Eastern Province'-p. 31. (Colombo-1921).

10.	ra Vikkuruma Piratāpar-ā-
11.	kiya Rāciṅka Makāarācā
12.	āṇtavar tirukkaruṇai
13.	purintu Maṭṭakkaḷappu
14.	tēcattil Campāntu-
15.	raikk-aṭutta Paṇṭitti-
16.	vuvelippattukku ccē-
17.	rnta Koṇavaṭṭavā-
18.	nveliyum Kōṭṭ-
19.	āṇpattum - itukaḷukk-a-
20.	ṭutta yilavicaṅkaḷum-u-
21.	ḷpaṭa Rāmanāta pirāmaṇa-
22.	ṇārukku piḷḷai piḷ-
23.	ḷai tala muṛaikku tār-
24.	ātattam–āka kkiṭaitatu

Second Copper Plate

25.	itil yātām-orut-
26.	tar taṭai paṇṇiṇāl
27.	Kācilē Rāmēcuvarat
28.	tilē Katirkāmattil M-
29.	āṇikkakeṅkaiyilē
30.	tiy-iṭṭa pāvattil pō-
31.	vār-ākavum yippaṭikku
32.	ceppu ppaṭṭaiyaṅ
33.	keṭaitta paṇivi-
34.	ṭaipaṭiy-ākavum

Translation

(Lines 1-6) At the meritorious time of eclipse when the full-moon day and the lunar asterism of vicākam coincided on a Wednesday which was the twenty-nineth day of Cittirai month in the year 1615.

(Lines 6-12) Rajasinha, the king, the Lord, the Lord of kings, the Indra of the Cōḷas from heaven, the illustrious one, the hero and the famous one, had giftedwith sacred compassion.

(Lines 12-21) Koṇavaṭṭavāṉveḷi, Kōṭṭaṉpattu, including the free amenities which belonged to them, which existed in Paṇṭittivuveḷippattu, near Campānturai in Batticoloa area.

(Lines 21-24) Rāmanātar, a Brāhmin, received, with pouring of water (the gift to be enjoyed by his) family line, children after children.

(Line 25-31) Anyone obstructing this shall suffer the sin cf setting fire at Kāsi, Rāmēśvaram or the Māṇik Gaṅga at Kataragama.

(Lines 31-34) This is the way the copper plates were ordered to be given.

Dr. K. Indrapala had read the year at the beginning of the inscription as 1605. It should be read it as 1615. The decimal system did not find a place in the Tamil numerals. There was no Tamil sign for zero. The sign ௰ denotes not zero but ten. The numeral at the beginning of this inscription was written as ௲௬௰௫. These are the signs for thousand, six, hundred, ten and five. This should be read as 1615. To write the numeral 1605 in Tamil one should write ௲௬௫.

Dr. Indrapala had given the reading maḷḷai (line 22) for piḷḷai. The letter pi- is very clear in the photograph in my possession. I think that he must have been misled by the fact that the pi- in that controversial word does not resemble very much the pi- in piḷḷai of the same line. But it closely resembles pi- in the word pirāmaṇaṉārukku in the preceding line of the inscription.

The year mentioned in the record must be of the Saka era, though it was not specified. If Rajasinha, the king mentioned in the record, was taken as Rajasinha II of Kandy, who ruled only upto 1687 A. D, there is a difficulty in accepting this date as this would be equivalent to 1693 A. D. Either it must be some other Rajasinha or the record must be spurious. It is difficult to believe that the year, written so clearly, in the record, could be an error for an earlier date.

Indrapala also stated that the date in the inscription should have fallen on a Thursday and not on a Wednesday, as stated in the inscription. The Tamil way of reckoning a day differs from the Western way of reckoning a day. When one looks for correspondence between days, one has to be careful in criticism. The Tamils reckon the day as beginning at dawn and ending at the following dawn while the Westerners reckon the day as beginning at midnight and ending at the following midnight. Therefore, about the last six hours of Wednesday, according to the Tamil calculation, corresponds to about the first six hours of Thursday, according to the Western calculation. Therefore, in this particular point, there need not be any error in the statement of the inscription. Furthur astronomical calculations could not have been uniform, especially in that age when communication was so difficult. Unlike the reckoning of the solar days which present no problem, the reckoning of lunar days and lunar asterisms remains controversial. The scholars, who devised the Indian Ephemeris, had made use of the Gaṇita system of reckoning. Other systems of reckoning also existed. Two main systems of reckoning still exist in the preparation of almanac among the Tamils. They are the Gaṇita system and the Vākkiya system and the almanacs thus prepared are respectively called Gaṇita pañcāṅkam and Vākkiya pañcāṅkam. The Vākkiya school itself is split and ône section prepares Cutta Vākkiya pañcāṅkam. What I am trying to say is that there are considerable differences in the reckoning of lunar days, lunar asterisms, etc. These differences should have been in existence even in the days of the record. Even when there is no considerable difference in calculation, there could be a difference in assigning lunar days to solar days. The Buddhists as well as the Hindus of Ceylon hold the full-moon day and the new-moon day as sacred. For the Buddhists, the full-moon day and the new-moon day are solar days on which the lunar days of the full-moon day and the new-moon day begin. For the Hindus, the full-moon day and the new moon day are the solar days which are mostly covered by the lunar days of the full-moon day and the new-moon day. Therefore it generally happens that the Buddhists observe these

days, one day earlier than the Hindus. Mentioning astro-
nomical details, like this, was very common in the inscriptions
of the late Pandyas. There, even the Śaka era was omitted.
Therefore, there were controversies in the interpretation
of the astronomical details even in those records.

Another point, worth noting, was the occasion of
the gift. The vicāka naṭcattiram and the pavurṇamai
coincided on that day. The word naṭcattiram is a Tamil-
icised loan - word from Sanskrit nakṣatra 'lunar asterism.'
The word pavurṇamai is a Tamilicised form of the
Sanskrit paurṇimā 'full-moon day'. The word vicākam
is the equivalent of Vaiśakha of Sanskrit. The Tamil
month of Cittirai generally covers the latter half of April
and the early half of May. The full-moon day following the
new-moon day following the Sinhalese New Year day is the
day of Vesak, the day of the Thrice Blessed of Lord
Buddha, the most sacred day of the Buddhists.
The lunar asterism Vaiśakha falling on that full-moon
day gives it added importance. The day of eclipse
is regarded as a meritorious day in the Hindu
calendar. Therefore, the king should have chosen the day
deliberately to make a gift to a Brahmin and earn some
merit. The Hindu belief that a gift to the Brahmin, by
itself, constitutes an act of great merit, might have also
influenced the king.

The king was given very flattering titles. Obviously
the Brahmin was very delighted at the gift. The titles
are good examples of hyperboles with which the petty
rulers of Late Medieval Period covered themselves. The
king's dominion is not stated in the inscription, probably
because its mention would have betrayed the fact about
the king's power. The word āṇṭavar means 'the Lord.'
This is a popular term for the God among the Tamil
Christians. The king who had ruled only a part of
Ceylon was called Para-rājēśvara 'the lord of other kings'.
The word Īśvara is generally preferred by the Saivites
when they refer to the God. The king was also referred
to as Cōḷēntira, i.e., Indra of the Cōḷas. Kaṇakamaṇṭala
'golden land' refers to ponnulakam of Tamil or heaven.
The expression kaṇakamaṇṭala qualifies the Cōḷēntira. The

memory of the greatness of the Cōlas must have lingered on even in the late seventeenth century. Raṇacūra means a hero, a brave soldier. Vikkuṟuma, usually rendered as Vikkiramaṉ in Tamil, is derived from Sanskrit Vikrama which refers to a person of great strength. Piratāpar is an appellative noun from the word piratāpam. The word piratāpam is in common use in Tamil. Sanskrit word pradā means 'fame', 'celebrity'. The Tamil word is obviously a derivative. Rājasinha becomes Rācinka in Tamil. The sound-ja-disappears When the word Rājasinha is Tamilicised, it becomes Rācacinka. Due to the existence of long-ā-and another -c- in close proximity in the word,-ca- is omitted by some people in hurried pronunciation even today. The Sanskrit word karuṇā 'grace' becomes karuṇai in Tamil.

It is interesting that Batticaloa is referred to as a tēcam, deśa of Sanskrit. Tēcam can mean land. It also can mean country. The people of Batticaloa, i. e. the people of the present Batticaloa and Amparai Districts, probably had a sense of identity and they felt that Batticaloa was their country. The word veḷi means open space and the word pattu, dentalised from paṟṟu, is also used to denote land. Veḷi is used to mean land in the expression koṇavaṭṭavāṉveḷi. Pattu is used to mean land in the expression Kōṭṭaṉpattu. Both of them are used together in the expression Paṇṭittīvuveḷippattu. The classical word ilaviyam, a derivative neuter noun from the negative particle-il, is commonly rendered as ilavacam today. This record preserves an intermediate stage in ilavicam. This word should mean something like iṟaiyili 'taxfree land' of the Cōla, Pallava and Pandya records[1].

The honorific suffix-ār is added to the word pirāmaṇaṉ. The gift was to be enjoyed by Rāmanātar and his descendants. The compound talaimuṟai means generation. The expression is written as talamuṟai. The Tamil word talai 'head' is the equivalent of Malayalam tala. One of the significant differences between Tamil and Malayalam is

1, Epigraphia Indica, Volume xx, p. 53,
    South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, p. 50; Vol. xii, pp. 19, 24, 48
    Vol. xiii, pp. 110, 160.

that in a number of words where Tamil has-ai sound Malayalam has -a sound. Indian Tamils say that Ceylon Tamil is strongly influenced by Malayalam. This is worth investigating by dialectologists and linguistic geographers. The expresssion tārātattam 'gift by pouring of water' was also referred to as 'udakapūrva dharma dānam' in earlier South Indian Tamil inscriptions[2]. Tārātattam is a Tamilicised loan word from Sanskrit dhārā-dada. As this custom was adopted from North India, Sanskrit loan was used. The writing of kiṭaitatu for kiṭaittatu can be considered an orthographic error. But it can be explained that the medial consonant-t-was expected to stand for the long consonant-tt-.

In the expression yātām-oruttar, the form oruttar, which is common in spoken Tamil, finds no place in classical Tamil. The masculine singular form of this word is oruvan, the feminine singular orutti and the common uyar tiṇai form is oruvar. As the form oruvan has given place to oruvar, the form orutti seems to have given place to oruttar. Again, the word yātu [is neuter singular interrogative pronoun. The interrogative pronoun that can qualify oruttar should be yār, yāvar or evar. The auxiliary paṇṇu - is added to the noun taṭai 'obstruction' to give it verbal force. The termination – āl in taṭai paṇṇiṉāl is a conditional sign. The sin of setting fire in three sacred places is mentioned. How, fire can be set on river Māṇik Gaṅga is not very clear.

The mention of three sacred places, also should be noted. They are Kāsi (Benares), Rāmēśvaram and Katirkāmam (Kataragama of the Sinhalese). A number of South Indian Tamil inscriptions of the Pallava Period, in similar context refer to sins committed between the Ganges and Cape Comorin[3]. Here we find the places specified, limitted and extended. Kāsi is the most sacred place of the Saivites in North India. It lies on the bank of the

2. South Indian Inscriptions, Volume VII, p. 9, Vol. V, p. 138 Vol. VII, p. 10. All records of the XIII th century.

3. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, pp, 8, 95, 224; Epigraphia Indica, Vol XI. p, 228

Ganges in Bihar. The Saivites of South India look forward to pilgrimage to Lord Viśvanāth of Kāsi. Saint Kumara-kuruparar, a Tamil poet from South India of about the sixteenth century, is said to have got permission from the Moghul Emperor to establish a muṭṭ in Kāsi for the convenience of Tamil pilgrims. Likewise, Rāmēśvaram is an important centre of pilgrimage for North Indian Saivites and Vaiṣṇavites. Rāmanāth of Rāmēśvaram, is said to have been established by Rāma to worship Siva, on his return from the conquest of Lanka. The Madura Nayaks and the Ramanathapuram Sethupathis patronised this temple on a lavish scale. The kings of Jaffna also closely associated with this temple. The name of the donee in this record is the name of the deity of Rāmēśvaram. The worship of Muruga or Subrahmaṇya is very popular among the Tamils from very early times. There are many great and ancient temples of Muruga in South India, especially, in the Pandya territory. But the Hindu connection with the shrine of Katirkāmam in the south eastern extremity of Ceylon, in early history is obscure. The Buddhists claim to have built the earliest shrine at the spot. They believe that the god of Kataragama is a guardian deity of Ceylon to whom Lord Buddha had entrusted that particular task. There was a revival of Muruga worship in South India from about the fourteenth century with a considerable outpouring of devotional literature. Saint Aruṇakirinātar, a South Indian Tamil poet of the fifteenth century composed devotional songs about the deity of Katirkāmam. All these three shrines became very popular with the Tamil Hindus in about the same time during the late Medieval Age. Campānturai is a village, situated quite close to Katirkāmam. Probably the Buddhist king of Kandy too, would have liked to give prominence to Katirkāmam. It is worth noting that that the Ganges, the sacred river par excellence of the Hindus, does'nt find mention here but the Māṇik Gaṅga of Katirkāmam finds mention.

Some features of the language of the record, so far not mentioned, can be added. The distinctions between the short - e - and the long - ē - and between the short - o - and the long - ō — are not preserved. Pulḷis are not used over consonants. The short - i - is written for long - ī-in vowel - consonant; tiyiṭṭa (tīyiṭṭa), Paṇṭittivu (Paṇṭittīvu). The sounds - a - and - i - seem to get the pronunciation of - e - in a number of places:- naṭcattiram-naṭcettiram; kaṅkaiyil-keṅkaiyil, kiṭaitta—keṭaitta. Kāci+il becomes Kācil. Usually in similar contexts, the semi - vowel - y - is written to prevent hiatus. Then it would have read Kāciyil. But here, as two - i - sounds follow one another, one of them disappears in hurried pronunciation. In Tamil language, the sounds ḷ (ள) and ḻ (ழ) are both phonemic. The distinction between the two, is not well preserved in spoken Ceylon Tamil language. This record uses ḷ insted of ḻ in putaṉ-kiḷamai and Cōḷēntira. This record also has words with initial letters, not approved in classical Tamil tradition. Raṇacūra, Rāciṅka, Rāmanāta - and Rāmēcuvarattil are examples. The word ippaṭikku is written as yippaṭikku because i-has assumed a palatal tone colour. The expression ākavum in the record gives optative significance.

Some fragments of Tamil inscriptions.

A considerable number of Tamil inscriptions, that had been discovered so far, are mere fragments of once whole inscriptions. Even fragments are of two kinds. From one kind of fragments, it is possible to make out a few words and to comment on them. From the other kind of fragments, it is not possible even to guess a word; only some letters can be made out. The usefulness of giving tentative readings of some letters only - as only that is possible in a number of fragments - can be questioned. But this study is also useful in a number ways. It is useful to know the location or site of the inscription. From palaeography, it will be possible to give approximate date of the record. Further, the awareness that only so much and nothing more can be made out from those ancient records, is a definite advance in knowledge.

I. Three fragments from Muruṅkaṇ in the Mannar District.

<u>Text in transliteration</u>

(a) 1. Svasti Śrī
    2. ke ta n

This might be 2024 of 1947. This fragment is the shortest fragment dealt with here. The first line consists of two words of Sanskrit, meaning 'hail prosperity' which occur at the beginning of a large number of Tamil inscriptions. The second line consists of Tamil letters but no word can be made out from the letters available. Lines were drawn in the stone surface. Letters were inscribed neatly within the lines. There is difference in writing in lined stone surface then and ruled paper now. Now, we write on each line. When we write between the

lines, we write in a way that letters touch both the lines. But the ancient practice, as found in this inscription, is to write between the lines, without allowing the letters to touch the lines. There are not enough letters in the record even to give an approximate date, based on palaeographical ground. But considering the fact that ka and ta are well formed and distinguished clearly, a date earlier than the twelfth century cannot be suggested. The first line of this fragment is written in Grantha script while the second line is written in Tamil script.

<div align="center">

(b)   1.   . la
           2.   ma i
           3.   pa ci va
           4.   va ro m
           5.   ṭā k ku
           6.   cā y ta
           7   ma vi ya
           8.   yu m i

</div>

It is not possible to make out any word from this fragment. Only some guesses can be made. There may be a reference to Lord Śiva in the third line. The earlier part of a first person plural appellative noun seems to be missing in the fourth line. The conjunctive particle -um may be appearing in the eigth line. It also appears that these letters were inscribed on an ancient inscription whose letters were rubbed from the surface of the stone. There could have been about six lines of that inscription found above the portion which had been read above. But the fragment is tapering narrowly to the top and it is difficult to do anything more than guessing at letters. This cannot be an earlier record than the first fragment.

<div align="center">

(c)   1.   ka ṭa
           2.   ṭa ṭi ya
           3.   ṭa .
           4.   .   .   .
           5.   ma .
           6.   ti   .
           7.   yu me
           8.   ya vi

</div>

9. ma ka nu
10. ta ma ṭa
11. ṭ ṭa pa ma
12. k ku ka
13. ḷa ki ya
14. ke ta
15. pa mi ai
16. H

It is not possible to make out any word from this frag-
ment too. The conjunctive particle – uṃ may be found in
the seventh line. The nineth line may contain a word
like makaṉ 'son'. The twelfth line may contain a dative
case termination. The last letter in the sixteenth line,
is written in Grantha script.

These three fragments do not appear to be frag-
ments of one and the same inscription. These three could
very well be three fragments of three separate inscriptions.
Muruṅkaṉ area lies by the side of the Giants' Tank.
This is the most fertile area in the Mannar District.
This area lay on the route to Anuradhapura from
Mātōṭṭam.

2. A fragment from Tirukkētiśvaram in the Mannar District[1].

1. ḷai k ka
2. (ce) yvitta
3. ruḷarōm
4. vaiyākōṉāṉ

In this fragment, letters were neatly written in the
spacious interval between two lines. The letters are very
clear and there cannot be any difference in the reading
of this fragment. The second line seems to give ceyvitta,
the causative adjectival participle of cey, 'to do'. The
third line seems to have an appellative noun of the first
person plural with the termination – ōm. The last line
mentions the name of a person in Vaiyākōṉ. The term
kōṉ means a shepherd. A shepherd might have made
some endowment to the temple of Tirukkētiśvaram This
was a Śiva temple situated at Māntai or Mātōṭṭam, the

1. Ceylon Journal of Science (G) Volume I, Part 4. p. 169. 354 of 1926.

ancient port of call of Mannar area. Saint Tiruñaṇacam-pantar and Saint Cuntaramūrtti of the seventh and the nineth centuries A. D. have sung Tamil devotional songs to the Lord of this temple. The importance of this temple increased during the Cōla occupation of Ceylon. This inscription may belong to the eleventh or twelfth centuries, A. D. on palaeographical grounds.

3. Inscription from Ilakkattu Eba from the Chilaw District.

This inscription was discovered in 1970 by the Government Archaeological Department. It is not a fragment. As the surface of the stone was almost completely worn out except for few words and letters, this record is a fragment for all purposes. The beginning of the inscription, 'Śrī Samasta (bhu)vaṇā Śrī' is clear. The inscriptions of the mercantile corporation of the 'Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions' which had been discovered in various parts of Ceylon, have similar beginnings. Therefore this inscription was also assigned to that corporation. In the body of that inscription, here and there a few Tamil words can be made out:-poruḷ, vaccamai, pātaiyil, kuttiṉaṉ, eṉṟum, etc. This inscription was written in very small letters. This inscription might belong to about the same period as other inscriptions of the same corporation.

4. Inscription from Padaviya

A considerable number of Tamil inscriptions have been discovered from Padaviya. In this context, it is fit to mention two recent discoveries of the year 1970. From a seal discovered there, it was found that the ancient name of Padaviya was Śrī Pati Grāma. A Tamil ins-cription, also discovered by the Government Archaeological Department on a bell, reads as follows:- 'Svasti Śrī immaṇi iv-ūru Kauṇiyar ārā amutu'. The word kauṇiyar refers to a member of the Kauṇdinya gotra, a Brahmin lineage. This gotra, which produced Kauṇiyaṉ Viṇṇantāyaṉ in the Sangam Period and Saint Tiruñāṇacampantar in the Pallava Period, played an important part in the

history of Hinduism in South India. The members of this gotra played a prominent part in the history of ancient and medieval Hindu colonies of South East Asia[2]. Some Brahmins from that gotra were in Padaviya also. The word ūr means town or village. But in this record, it is written as ūru The addition of this enunciative – u at the end of a word coms under parogoge in linguistic terminology. Words ending in consonants take this vowel ending. This feature is almost universal in Telegu and Kannada. This is also more common in South Indian Tamil than in Ceylon Tamil. This distinction exists in modern spoken Tamil. The usage of the form ūru may mean that the donor of the bell was then a recent immigrant from South India. The semi - vowel - v- between i and ūru, doubles in classical Tamil. But in inscriptional Tamil, this rule is not always observed. How ārā amutu should be interpreted is not very clear. It may be a personal name. The word amutu is derived from Sanskrit amrta 'ambrosia.' The word ārā is a negative form that can be translated as 'unending'. If ārā amutu is taken as a personal name it will refer to the donor of the bell. But C. Sivarāmamūrtti, the author of 'Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts' seems to have interpreted this as 'unending bliss', 'perpetual bliss'. According to him, the bell tolled in the memory of a Kauṇḍinya Brahmin for his perpetual bliss. This one line inscription on the bell is easily readable. But the following inscription, of three lines is not so and it looks like a fragment. The surface is worn out. It is quite possible that the fragment was written over the rubbed surface of another record.

1. Svasti Śrī . . ma . . . . . . ma pa ma
2. aṅkamum mutar puṇai mā nati varatai ma
3. napāparanayyāril ki (ka) lāṉ Śrī mukam yāttā

The words Svasti Śrī in the first line and Śrī in the third line were written in Grantha while the rest of the record is in Tamil Script. The word 'Śrī mukam' refers to royal order, letter or message. It is more

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—Development of Religion in South India-pp. 14, 15.

commonly rendered as tirumukam in Tamil. The word kiḻāṉ may mean land-lord. He is said to have composed the order or message.

The reading of this record is tentative. More sense can be made out of this record only if the reading can be improved. On palaeographical grounds, this record can be dated about the eleventh century.

5. A fragment from Paragama.

1. Ca (kā) t -
2. tam 10005
3. 10-avatu M -
4. ā[r]kaḷi muṉṟā -
5. Kaṇṭiyil
6. Nimalutaṉ -
7. macūriyaṉā -
8. ṭa Cayavāku
9. ccayam a -
10. kakkāva -
11. nāṭaṉ-aram
12. Māttaḷa
13. ūravar
14. kkām
15. m.

This inscription begins with the mention of the Saka era. But unfortunately the numeral is not fully preserved. The signs for thousand, five and ten were there. As the first two signs are found adjoiningly, the year, mentioned here, should be one in the sixteenth century of the Saka era. As the sign for ten is clearly seen in the next line, the date should be a tenth year in that sixteenth century. In the Christian era, the date could fall towards the end of the sixteenth century or in

the early seventeenth century. A furthur clue to arrive at a date is the mention of Nimalutanmacūriyan of Kandy. He must be Wimaladharma Suriya of Kandy who ruled from 1593 to 1604 A.D. Therefore the date mentioned in the record must be 1520 of the Saka era which would be equivalent to 1598. of the Christion era. The month of Mārkaḷi, which is approximately equivalent to late December and early January, is mentioned. The king seems to have had another name in Cayavāku, i. e., Jayabāhu. The word Cayam is from Sanskrit Jaya 'victory'. The place name Māttaḷa (Matale) is mentioned in the twelfth line. The last letter - m was written in the fourteenth line and probably because it was not well written there, it was repeated in the next line. The word ūravar means members of the assembly of ūr or people of the place of Matale.

Wimaladharma Suriya was fighting against the Portuguese. This inscription is probably a commemorative record of his victory which also records a charitable act (aṟam) for the benefit of the people of Matale,

The record was written in Tamil probably because the people concerned in Matale were Tamils. Paragama is a village in Madure Korale, Vā - uda - vili Hatpattuwa in Kurunegala District.