





# CEYLON TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS

## PART II

**Editor**

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## P R E F A C E

The first part of the edition of some Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions was published by me in July 1971. This publication which forms the second part consists of fourteen articles on Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions. These fourteen articles cover studies on about thirty inscriptions.

I would have very much liked to publish these articles in 'Epigraphia Zeylanica' of the Archaeological Department. But the Archaeological Department finds it difficult to bring out this journal in time. Due to inordinate delay at the Government Press, the Archaeological Department which sent the material for Epigraphia Zeylanica, Volume VI, Part I to the Press in October 1969, has still not got the printing work completed. Therefore, I decided to publish these articles on my own.

Dr. W. S. Karunaratne, Assistant Commissioner of Archaeology (Epigraphy) was kind enough to permit me to examine the estampages of all the inscriptions, published here.

It proved quite difficult to obtain photographs of inscriptions this time. It is true that a publication in epigraphy without plates is very incomplete. But unfortunately, the Archaeological Department was unable to supply me photographs of inscriptions because of the limited allocation of photographic materials by the government. Dr. R. H. de Silva, the Commissioner of Archaeology suggested a way out by asking me to supply photographic printing paper and photographic chemicals. I duly supplied them to the Archaeological Department but could obtain only a few photographs. The Commissioner had to intervene

again to help me to obtain a few more photographs from the Department. Anyhow, it is unfortunate that this publication could not include the photographs of some of the important inscriptions edited here. I have to thank the Archaeological Commissioner for giving me permission to publish the photographs in this book.

The Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department refers to a number of Tamil inscriptions which are not covered in these two parts of this volume. Numerically, they are enough to form the third part. According to the Department, the estampages of those inscriptions are damaged and hence they cannot be made use of. The Department has also not taken photographs of these inscriptions. It is quite possible that if new estampages are not taken to replace the damaged estampages some of the inscriptions might be lost forever.

Two orthographic features, the absence of pullis in consonants and the absence of differentiation between the short-e- and the long-ē- and between the short -o- and the long -ō- are common to all the inscriptions edited here. In order to avoid repetition of mention of this fact in the discussion on every inscription, these features are not mentioned in the body of this publication.

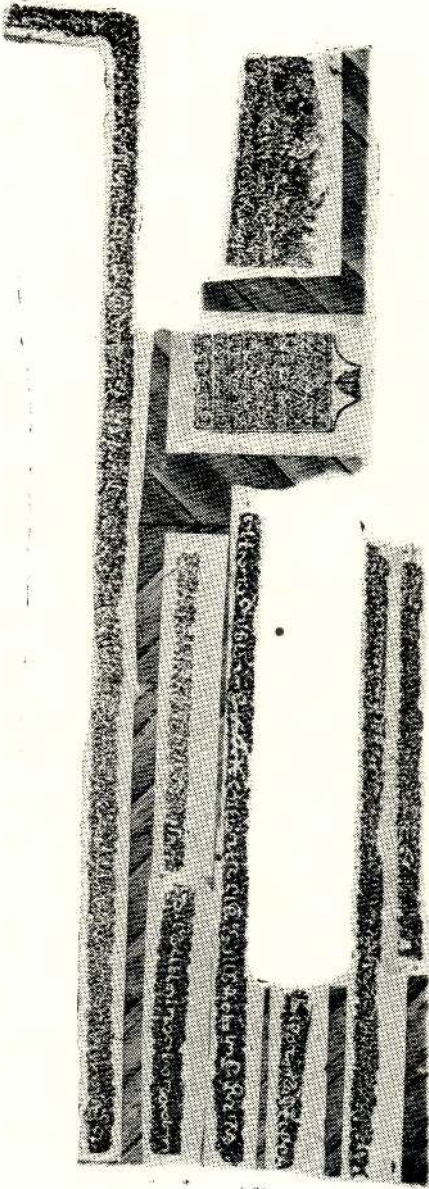
When referring to the controversial interpretation of Kotagama inscription, a small error had occurred. Mr. M. H. Srisoma informs me that John Sriman de Zoysa, in his article on the new interpretation of Kotagama inscription published in Sahityaya, the Sahitya Number of Kegalle District, attributed the record to Sapumal Kumaraya who was well versed in Tamil and who conquered the Jaffna Kingdom on behalf of the ruler of Kotte. But this information does not substantially affect the arguments used in that article.

Dr. S. Pathmanathan gave me a reprint of his Tamil article on 'Tamil Epigraphy and Research in Ceylon History'. In that article, he had quoted a prasasti of the mercantile corporation of Ticaiyāyirattu Aiññūrruvar from a South Indian record. This prasasti also could have been made use of in the study of the records of this corporation in Ceylon. Unfortunately the relevant pages in this publication were already printed by the time I received the reprint.

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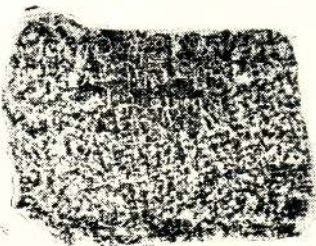
*A. VELUPPILLAI*



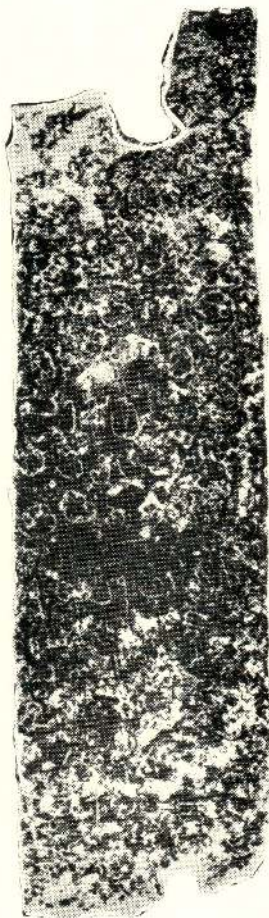


Inscriptions from Natanar Kovil





Inscription from  
Nātānār Kōvil



Inscription from  
Nātānār Kōvil





## SOME MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NĀTANĀR KŌVIL

Two articles of the present Editor on inscriptions from the above place have already appeared in his first part of Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions. This article deals with eight Tamil inscriptions not covered in that edition. Some of these have been recently edited by Dr. K. Indrapala in his Journal, Epigraphia Tamilica, Volume 1, Part 1. Nātanār Kōvil alias Velgam vihare alias Rājarāpperumpalli is located in Periyakulam of Trincomalee District.

All the eight inscriptions edited here are fragments. They are so small that very little can be made out. On palaeographical grounds, all of them have to be dated within the Cōla period, i. e., the eleventh and the twelfth centuries A. D.

### INSCRIPTION 1

2234 of 1953

It is an one line fragment about 18½" long. The difference between the letters ta and ka is not clear in the record. The sign for r resembles the sign for the medial long vowel ā in vowel-consonants.

#### Transliteration

Puttarkku JAYañ koṅṭa

#### Translation

To Lord Buddha,.....who obtained victory.

The record is in Tamil script except for the letter JA. When writing Sanskrit loan words in Tamil inscriptions, those words were Tamilicised in varying degrees. The Sanskrit word jayah assumes the Tamil ending of am and becomes jayam. The word can be Tamilicised as Cayam. But the word in the record had been Tamilicised only half way. Therefore JA is written in Grantha Script.

The word Buddha becomes Puttar in Tamil, according to the usual rules of Tamilicisation. The - ar ending of Puttar is honorific singular.

### INSCRIPTION II

2235 of 1953

It is also an one line fragment. It is 5' 10" long. The medial I of SVASTI is not seen in the record. The sign for the medial long vowel ā has been begun to be written separately as seen in many letters. The practice has not been uniform as seen in yā of yāṅṅu where the sign for the medial long vowel ā had not yet been separated from the sign for y. The sign for medial vowel e was also not separated from the consonant v as seen in ve. The numeral eleven is written like a compound letter by writing together the signs for ten and one. The vowel-consonant ṭu was written thrice in the record. The first and the third letters are similar to one another. The second one looks more like na or ra.

#### Transliteration

SVASTI ŚRī yāṅṅu II Irā JENDRA ciṅka vaḷanāṅṅu  
ABHaya ŚRīya vaḷanāṅṅu

#### Translation

Hail prosperity.....of Abhayaśrīya vaḷanāṅṅu in  
Irājēndraciṅkavaḷanāṅṅu

The record is written in Tamil and Grantha letters.

## INSCRIPTION III

2232 of 1953

It is also an one line inscription. It is 2' 5" long. As the sign for r and the sign for the medial long vowel ā were the same in this period, an attempt is made in this record to distinguish the two by writing the sign for r bigger than the sign for the medial vowel ā. This can be seen in the letters for rā in the record.

Transliteration

ppāl velkam veram āna RāJARāJA

Translation

Velgam vihare alias Rājarāja....

In this record, JA is written in Grantha script while the rest is in Tamil script.

## INSCRIPTION IV

2233 of 1953

It is also an one line inscription. It is about 3' long. The record is not very clear, especially in the middle when mentioning the name of vaḷanāṭu

Transliteration

SVASTI SRī Vīra Parakēcari vaḷanāṭṭu velkam

Translation

Hail prosperity.....Velgam of Vīraparakēcari vaḷanāṭṭu

The words 'Svasti śrī' are written in Grantha script. Parakēcari was a title assumed by Cōḷa kings, alternatively with the title Rajakēcari,

## INSCRIPTION V

2248 of 1953

This record is about 1' 9" x 1' 2". It is worn out. Very few letters can be tentatively made out. It looks as if it was purposefully defaced. A sign like the letter e with an elongated vertical line is found in many places.



The following can be made out:-

ŚRi RācēDRAcōla  
paya SRA yava  
perumpalli

#### INSCRIPTION VI

2230 of 1953

This record is also an one line inscription. But it is about 10' 2" long. This record is interesting on palaeographical grounds. It retains the older form of ka. But certain letters like ta, tu, mai, lai etc. are well evolved. The sign for i is half evolved, the horizontal line in the middle has not yet developed and the ending of the letter has yet to attain its circular form. The sign for medial vowel ā was separate when writing cā but not separate when writing yā. The loop in ca was still hanging and it did not touch the other line yet. The vertical line in ṇa, na and ḷa was very long.

#### Transliteration

(a) ṅcām pakkattu ppūcam pērra viyālakkiḷamai nāṅru iṭṭa iru cāṅē nāl viral niḷattu ttarā nilai viḷakku onru itu tiru nontā villakkāy ccantrāittaval niṅr-eriya nīcatippaṭi

#### Translation

On the fifth day of the...fortnight which day was a Thursday and (a day on which the nakṣatra was) pūcam a tarā standing lamp, two spans and four fingers long, was granted. Daily for this to burn as a sacred perpetual lamp till the Moon and the Sun last.

The lunar asterism pūcam was a loan-word derived from Sanskrit pūyah. The word nāṅru is a dentalised derivative from nāṅru 'day'. The short medial i is written for longmedial ī in niḷattu. The phrase tarā viḷakku means lamp



made of an alloy of eight parts of copper and five parts of tin. The word *niru* adds force to the sense denoted by *cantrātittaval*. Though four numerals occur in this inscription, all of them are written in letters. The numeral *añcām*, formed by adding aorist adjective participle *ām* to the numeral *añcu* 'five' is an ordinal. The words *iru* and *nāl* are numeral adjectives proper. Numeral adjectives proper and ordinal numeral formed by the addition of *ām* always precede nouns which they qualify. But the cardinal numerals can either precede or follow nouns which they qualify. But the cardinal *onru* cannot precede that noun. Here also, it is *viḷakku onru*. The variant form *nontā viḷakku* for *nantā viḷakku* occurs in inscriptional Tamil in South India also. The word *nicati* or *nicatam* itself means daily. The addition of *paṭi* to that word stresses the permanency of the offering.

The inscription is entirely in Tamil script.

### INSCRIPTION VII

2249 of 1953

The record is about 1' 11" x 1' 5". The record is worn out. The usual invocation 'Svasti śrī' seems to have been written at the beginning. The numeral 18 is written in a peculiar way. The signs for ten and eight are there. Something like an inverted trident is attached like a tail to the sign for ten.

#### Transliteration

- 1 SVASTI ŚRĪ
- 2 ŚRĪ RĀJENDRA Co-
- 3 varkku 12 āvatu
- 4 Puttare iti.....
- 5 ven.....ku
- 6 n..... ya

#### Translation

Hail Prosperity. In the twelfth year of  
 Śrī Rājendra Cōla dēva.....  
 Lord Buddha.....

The record is written in Tamil and Grantha scripts.

### INSCRIPTION VIII

2247 of 1953

The inscription is about 2' x 9". The letter nā is well evolved to its modern shape. But letters, ka and ta have not evolved even to their standard eleventh century shapes. There is a peculiarity in the writing of ṇi. But here, the sign for the medial i was written over the consonant ṇa. The third and fourth letters in the record can be read as laṇai or liṇai.

#### Transliteration

1. luralaṇai mukkuṇṇiyum kaṇiyum āka pa (cu)
2. ney tayir uṇṭikk-āka yita (ṛ) kuḷ-āḷi (vu) kkāka
3. - - - - -
4. ne (y) aṇu nāḷi

#### Translation

Six nāḷi of curd..... for expenses for meals.....  
of curd and ghee of cow..... curry and three kuṇṇis.....

Wherever ghee is mentioned, alveolar n seems to be written for dental n. The Tamil word kaṇi which has gone into international vocabulary as curry finds mention in this record. The word tayir can be translated as curd. But this word too is sometimes transliterated as tair and used in Indian restaurants in London. The words nāḷi and kuṇṇi denote measures. Eight measures of grain make up a kuṇṇi. One measure of grain is equivalent to a nāḷi.

SOME MORE RECORDS OF TICAIYAIRATTU  
AINNŪRRUVAR

Three long records of this corporation, one each from Vāhalkaḍa, Padaviya and Viharchinna, were edited in the earlier Part I.

1. Fragmentary Inscription from Vāhalkaḍa

The long inscription of thirty six lines, discovered at Vāhalkaḍa which was situated on the Yan Oya in the Anuradhapura District and published by this editor in Part I was an incomplete inscription. The fragment edited here is mentioned as a separate inscription and referred to as 2345 of 1956 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. The length of the lines in this fragment is short compared to the length of the lines in that long incomplete record. The fragment seems to be an improvisation in haste and letters are relatively more difficult to make out\* when compared to that long record. Some lines are worn out and unreadable. But lines at the beginning and at the end can be made out. These might account for the fact why these records were considered two separate records. The present fragment seems to be a continuation of the long record. It is quite possible that the subject matter of the inscription exceeded the limits of the carefully prepared stone slab and it had to be written continuously on another stone slab.

Transliteration

1. ḷum - ippattinattu
2. virakaḷaḷā (ṅ) en tāpaṅa -
3. mum malka taṅkaḷ uruva -
4. māyāvat - ākavum periya ka -
5. ṭaiyam koḷḷār (ā) ka -
6. vum - - - - -



7. - - - - -
8. - - - - - - - - -
9. - - - - - - - - - pa -
10. t̥taiyam veṇ -
11. t̥amai p̥iṭum cīru -
12. m - āyavum uṭaiya -
13. m nām paṭṭiṇamāva -
14. t-āka cīramel - āka cey -
15. tu kallum palakai -
16. yum nāṭṭinom pati -
17. neṇ pūmi virakoṭi -
18. yom ara maṇavaṛka.

The business community seems to have taken a special interest in the maintenance of aram. The word aram may mean virtue or charity. Most Tamil inscriptions refer to charitable acts. But they didn't make use of this exhortation. This exhortation 'not to forget aram', seems to occur only in the inscriptions of the mercantile corporation.

The dental n is written in a number of places for alveolar n :- paṭṭinattu (line 1); virakaḷānen (line 2); nāṭṭinom (line 16) and patineṇ (line 17). The two letters t̥ and ṭi in the first line were written together like a compound letter. Unlike Sanskrit, Tamil doesn't make use of compound letters. The word malka 'to prosper' is optative in significance in the context. It is in the affirmative while maṇavaṛka 'not to forget' is an optative verb in the negative. The inscription is said to be the work of vīrakoṭi of eighteen lands. This organisation seems to have founded a new vīrapaṭṭinam and planted stones and slabs to mark the boundaries of the city.

Some Sanskrit words were used in their Tamilicised forms. The word tāpaṇam is derived from Sanskrit stāpana 'organisation'. The word uruyam is derived from Sanskrit rūpa 'form'. The word cīr is derived from Sanskrit śrī. The word cīram is derived from Sanskrit sras 'head'.



The phrase *periya kaṭaiyam* occurs in lines 4, 5 of the record. It occurs as a first person plural appellative nominal. The word *kaṭai* stands for the shop. It has become *kade* in Sinhalese. The phrase *periya kaṭai* is used now to mean the main street or the shopping centre of the town. The word *periya* is derived from the root morpheme *per-u* by the addition of *-iya*. The opposite of this word should be *ciṟiya*. But *cinna* is the colloquial form for *ciṟiya*. In the modern city of Jaffna, both *periya kaṭai* and *cinna kkaṭai* are found.

As this fragment is taken to be a continuation of another record of thirty six lines, this fragment begins with the thirty seventh line and ends with the fifty fourth line.

## 2. A Record from Polonnaruwa

This inscription was numbered 1280 of 1934 in the Register of Inscriptions of Archaeological Department. The record was found in the Śiva Devale between the North Gate of the city and the Rankot Vihāre at Polonnaruwa. The record mentions a vihāre. Most probably, the record was brought to the Śiva temple at later times by people who could not read the Tamil record. They must have thought that the Tamil record must have had something to do with the Śiva temple.

The record can be dated in the eleventh century on palaeographical grounds. The letter *ci* occurs in three places in the record. The first *ci* is somewhat peculiar. It differs considerably in shape from the other two *ci* letters. The record has an oil lamp (குத்து விளக்கு) on one side.

The record mentions a *paḷḷi*. The word *paḷḷi* denotes places of worship of the Buddhists and the Jains in the old Tamil and mosque in the Modern period. In the

context of time and place in reference to Ceylon of the eleventh century, the word could have denoted only a Buddhist shrine. Though Jainism was quite popular with the mercantile community and though it was in a flourishing state in the Karnataka areas where this merchant community had its headquarters, there was no evidence that it had any hold in Polonnaruwa at that time. The Vihare is said to be the paḷḷi of ticai āyiravar aiññūruvar pati. The usual nominal phrase for the mercantile corporation was ticai āyirattu aiññūruvar. The phrase 'āyiravar aiññūruvar' consists of two appellative nouns of the third person epicene plural and means thousand persons and five hundred persons. There can be no doubt that the same corporation is referred to. The word pati means city. The vihare is said to belong to the city of the thousand persons and five hundred persons of all directions.

This record has some historical significance. In the present editor's Part I of this series, the phrase, ticai āyirattu aiññūruvar, had been translated as 'the five hundred of the thousand directions.' The title of the article itself was given as 'Three Tamil Inscriptions of the Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions'. The Editor followed Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri who wrote, "Nānādēśa - Tisaiyāyirattu Aiññūruvar formed the most celebrated of these guilds. This long name is susceptible of two interpretations; the Five Hundred of the thousand directions in all countries, or the One Thousand and Five Hundred from all countries and directions. Seeing, however, that the guild is described sometimes by the terms nānādēśis or aiññūruvar, the first interpretation seems to be the correct one."<sup>1</sup> But this record shows the second interpretation to be the correct one. The terms, nānādēśis and aiññūruvar, could have been the shortened forms, in general usage of the long title.

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1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri - The Cōlas (Second Edition, 1955)-pp. 595-6.



The mercantile corporation obtained charters from reigning monarchs and managed its affairs in cities called *Vīrapaṭṭanas* in places where it established itself. Most probably, a part of Polonnaruwa constituted a *Vīrapaṭṭanam*.

The reference in the record to the mercantile corporation was qualified by 'tīcai viḷaṅkum' which can be translated as 'shining in all directions'. The Sanskrit word *diśā* becomes *tīcai* in Tamil. The word *tēci* refers to *ceṭṭis*. The mercantile corporation was said to be working in eighteen lands. The number eighteen was one of the conventional numbers in Indian tradition. Therefore, it is doubtful whether this corporation spread its activities in exactly eighteen lands. In this context it is interesting to note that *Nannūl*, the Tamil grammar of the twelfth century, also refers to eighteen lands<sup>2</sup>. The context of the reference shows that Tamilnad was one of the eighteen lands. The other seventeen lands<sup>3</sup> were enumerated in an old Tamil verse which was quoted in the commentary of *Nannūl*. Of the seventeen lands, twelve were located in the Indian sub-continent. It is interesting that *Ciṅkaḷam* (*Sinhala*) heads the list of the seventeen lands. *Cīnam* refers to China. *Cōṅakam* should be referring to Arabia. *Cāvakam* and *Kaṭāram* should be located in Malaysia and Indonesia.

The mercantile corporation might have maintained this vihare for the people of the area. It is also quite possible that the corporation had Buddhists among its members. If it was a Jaina paḷḷi, it must have been meant

- 
2. *Nannūl Cūttiram* 273 - onpatir riraṅṅinir Ramīl oḷi nilattiṅum.
  3. *Ciṅkaḷam*, *Cōṅakam*, *Cāvakam*, *Tuḷu*, *Kuṭakam*, *Koṅkaṇam*, *Kaṅṅaṭam*, *Kollam*, *Teliṅkam*, *Kaliṅkam*, *Vaṅkam*, *Kaṅkam*, *Makatam*, *Kaṭāram*, *Kavuṭam* and *Kucalam*.

exclusively for the Jaina members of the corporation. The paḷḷi in the first line was qualified by two words. The significance of these two words are not clear. The word immediately preceding paḷḷi might denote the name of the paḷḷi and the word preceding that might denote the location of the paḷḷi. The post-position - il gives locative significance in Medieval and Modern Tamil.

The record consists of two lines. It is in Tamil and Grantha scripts. The predicate ākum is understood in the sentence 'paḷḷi.....paḷḷi ākum.' The sentence consists of two noun phrases only.

#### Transliteration

1. SVASTI ŚRĪ BHAHI Cintayil BHOLĀppaḷḷi ŚRĪ  
patineṇ pū-
2. mi tteci tticai viḷaṅkum ticai āyiravar aiṅṅurruvar  
pati paḷḷi

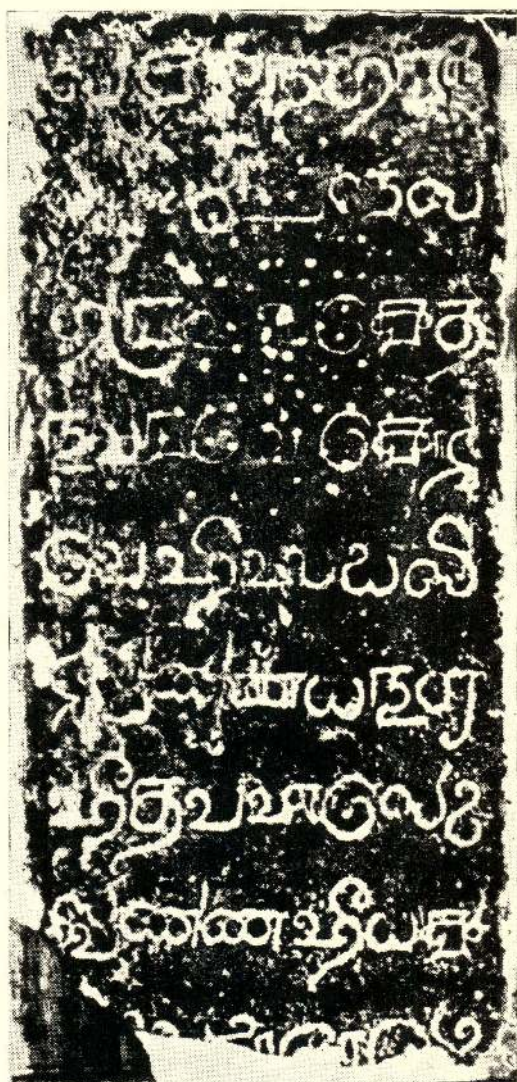
#### Translation

Hail Prosperity. The Bholā paḷḷi of Bahicintay was the paḷḷi of the city of thousand and five hundred ceṭṭis shining in all directions of the prosperous eighteen lands.





Inscription from Polonnaruwa.



Inscription from Hanguranketa.





### 3. AN INSCRIPTION OF THE VĪRAKOṬI FROM GALTENPITIYA

This was numbered 1980 of 1940 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. Galtenpitiya is located in Mahanameriya of Egoda Korale in Kurunegala District. The record was found on a slab. The record is worn out and only few letters can be made out. The Register of Inscriptions has this remark to make of this inscription, "considerably worn. Only the last few lines could be read".

This record may be assigned to about the thirteenth century on palaeographical grounds. Unlike the records of the Cōja period, not much care was taken in the engraving of the record. Most of the records of the Cōja period have neatly written letters between well drawn lines. The records of the mercantile corporation of the ticai āyirattu aiññūruvar were no exceptions. This record betrays the character of later records in this respect. Inscriptions of later records with more evolved letters should have been easy to decipher. But it was not the case with later Tamil inscriptions as relatively insufficient attention was paid to the engraving of the record.

This inscription is not the only record which mentions Vīrakoṭi, the name of the mercantile corporation with Tamil connections. This word incidentally brings to mind, the personal name Weerakody of the Sinhalese. Other Tamil inscriptions which refer to Vīrakoṭi also refer to ticai āyirattu aiññūruvar. But in the readable part of this inscription, the reference to ticai āyirattu aiññūruvar cannot be made out. But it should be noted that only very little of this record could be read by now.

The inscription consists of seventeen lines. The record uses both Tamil and Grantha scripts.

Transliteration

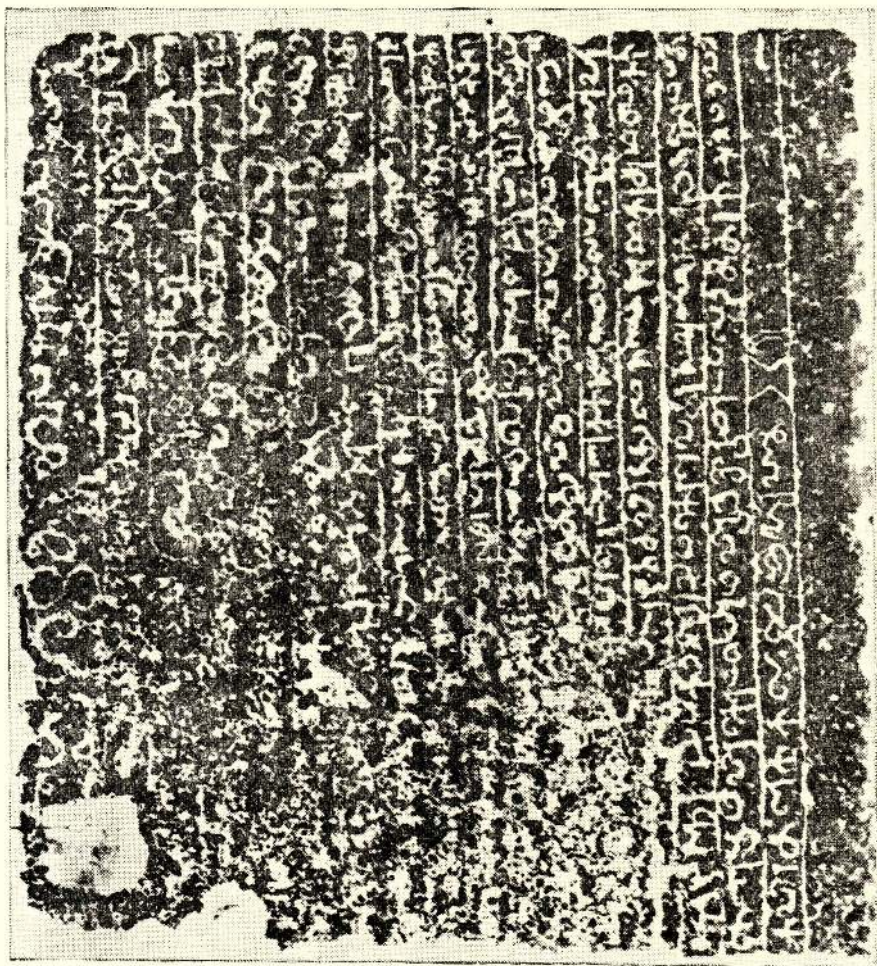
1. ŚRĪMAT SANASRAYA PA-
2. .. TA Vī. LAKSMĪ BAṆKUTA
3. .. ta . ṅkaṇa
4.                   .. pam
5.           palar .. kā
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
10. kam ka yāmiyaṅār . . . . ka
11. .. peruma . . . . .
12. ttu viṭu viṭṭamaiyilum eḷarai
13. pālāy-iṅakkātamiyil paṇa
14. ḷanta virantume .. kācum .. takka
15. .. koḷvarāka amaintamāṅom pati -
16. neṅpūmi vīrakoṭiyom piṭuṅ cīrumāy vantatāka ara  
maṅavar -
17. ka Virakaṅ Akkaṅ .. ŚRĪ SVASTI >< // .

WORN OUT

The beginning of the record closely resembles the beginning of the Vāhalkaḍa inscription, published in Part I and the end of the record also resembles the end of the fragmentary vāhalkaḍa inscription published in this article. Both records mention Vīrakoṭi. Both records might be the work of the same group in the corporation.

The invocation 'hail prosperity' occurs at the end of the record in its inverted form 'prosperity hail'. Virakaṅ Akkaṅ which occurs in the last line must be the name of the person who inscribed the record on stone. Here too, Akkaṅ must be the name of engraver. Virakaṅ must be the name of his father.





Inscription from Galtenpitiya.





Some grammatical forms in this record can be noted. The infinitive form āka, formed from the base āku, was used as an optative in line 16. In the preceding line, it functions as a particle connecting two clauses. The form iṅakkātamaiyil is a causal in the negative. The negative verbal noun iṅakkātamai was formed from the base iṅakku. The addition of -il makes it causal. The form viṭṭamaiyil is a causal in the affirmative, formed in the same pattern by the creation of a verbal noun and the addition later of -il. In Medieval and Modern Tamil, this -il takes the place of -iṅ in Ancient Tamil. The form viṭṭamaiyilum is an example for concessive mood. The dental n was written for alveolar ṅ in amaintamānom and patineṅ. In sandhi, the kurriyalukaram or the shortened -u at the end of a word disappears when followed by a word with a vowel as the initial letter. For example kācum, kāc-u+um behaves in the proper way. But in the example eṅarai in line 12, the -u should not have disappeared according to the above rule. But probably through analogy, such disappearance occurs.

#### 4. AN INSCRIPTION NEAR THE DAGOBA AT DETIYAMULLA

This was numbered 2200 of 1951 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. Detiyamulla is a village in Giratalana Korale, Devamadi Hatpattu of Kurunegala District. The record was found on the base of a door frame. The Dagoba was situated only three miles south of Panduwasnuwara, a capital city of Ceylon for a short time. The record might have belonged to the city or its suburb. This record also might belong to the thirteenth century.

The Register of Inscriptions remarks 'badly worn' referring to this record. This inscription is a long record of twenty eight lines and it is unfortunate that it is so

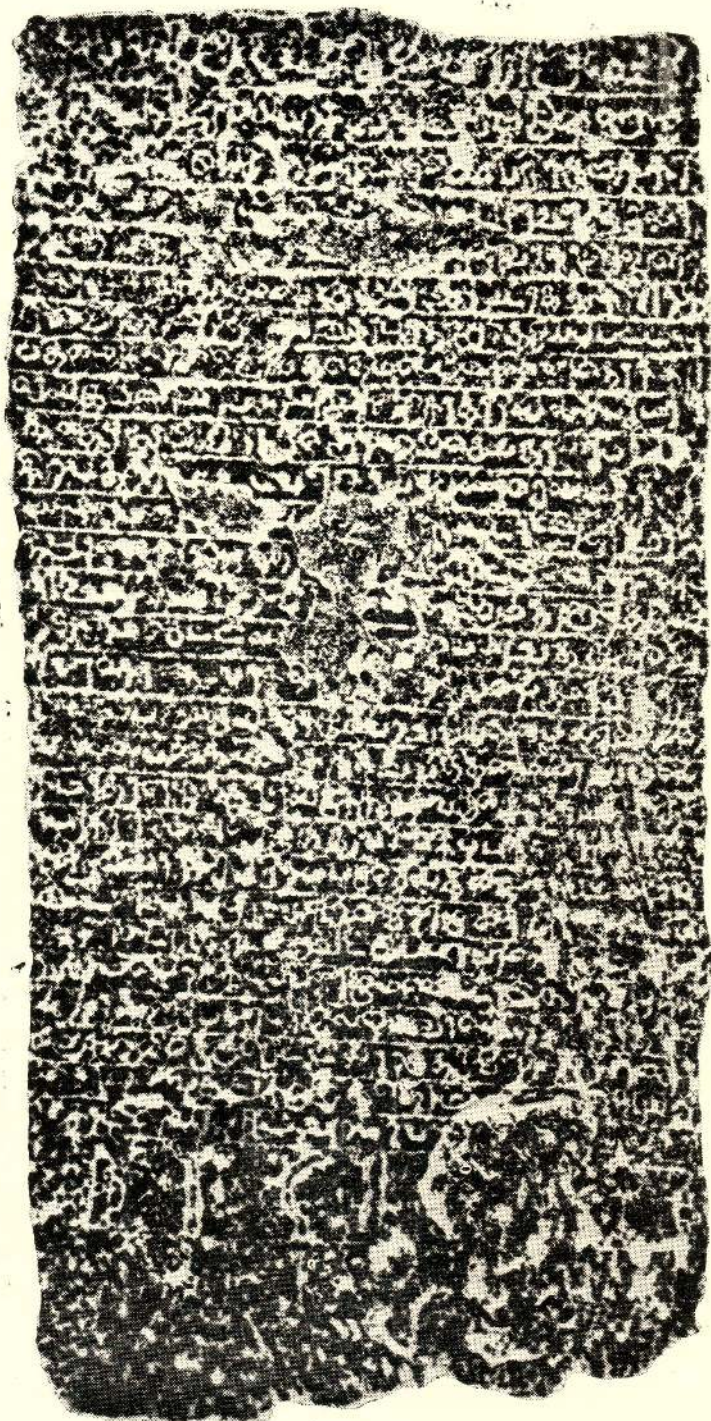
worn out. The letters were crowded together and were not very clear. The present editor gives here his tentative readings only when letters seem to constitute words or portions of words.

The beginning and the end of the record, as well as references to nānātēci in line 14 and ceṭṭi in lines 15 and 26 show that the record belonged to the mercantile corporation.

### Transliteration

1. SVASTI ŚRĪ SANASRAYA PAÑCA.
2. SATA VIRA SĀSANA .....
3. ----- Parameśvarikku makkaḷ
4. (ā) kiya ----- vaḷattil ku-
5. ----- | vara kali kaḷain-
6. ----- naṭattukira ki-
7. ri veyyānakara purantara teciyappaṭṭana p
8. patine [ṇpūmi] valattem [peṭa] yakkantīnāka tiru
9. cel tammai --- kātāy - elāmāka
10. tte pukum mā vilobhān ceṭṭāy-
11. kira pattikapattavar cāyar paṇi ceyyāta
12. yārum --- kittār avamāka
13. [nīr] puraṇṭu vaḷatta . . . . teyum
14. kāvā ppa ---- mi nānāteci ma-
15. ṇṭukamaceṭṭiy . . . . pulattukkā
16. rarai koḷvar . . . . perumān kā-
17. ṭṭuvippat-āka kaḷuv-eruvatuṅṅum pālaiyir
18. pāya aparātam-āka eruvittamaiyālum alai
19. ka mātu eḷā narakam irukka -----
20. yākāramāy aḷuntuvār-āki ppa -----
21. vīyāv-aruṇ ciraṅṅu teci patineṅ BHūmip-
22. paṭṭina ppātai aram-aṅṅi eḷukai ---
23. koṇṭorumā vaṭṭiy-ivar [k] key-iṭṭu ne-





Inscription from ██████████ Detiyamulla





24. ypavarukku kaṭṭu paṇamum veṭṭum tanamum nu-  
 25. ru varakan-iṭu paṇamāle oruvar veṭṭinat- - -  
 26. LOGAmiṇca ceṭṭiyārku tiruvillamāna ka-  
 27. .. ārvattukku ttoṭ . . . . . vum ca-  
 28. [ndrāditya]var yām ara marava[rka]

Some of the forms in this record can be noted. Line 7 seems to refer to a city of the ceṭṭis but it is not possible to identify it. Paṭṭanam is a Sanskrit word meaning city. The word ellām is a collective noun, common to both rational and non rational objects. According to Caldwell, this word was formed from the base el, the root of the word ellai, boundary. The meaning of pattikapattavar is not clear. The word cāyar means collector of dues. The word ceyyāta is negative adjective participle and it qualifies yār, an interrogative pronoun. The expression yārum gives the sense 'anyone'. The Sanskrit loan avam means base, low, etc. The expression, ..pulattukkārarai' in lines 15-16 is interesting grammatically. The suffix-kārar is derived from the Sanskrit base kṛ 'to do'. The Tamil suffix denotes the doer. In Modern Tamil, -kāraṇ, as masculine singular suffix, kāri as feminine singular suffix and kārar as epicene plural suffix, a large number of words are formed and they are in common use. Forms of this pattern begin to appear in South Indian Tamil Inscriptions of the Later Pandyas of about the same period<sup>4</sup>. The form kāṭṭuvippatu is double causal formed from the causal base kāṭṭu which was formed from the simple base kāṇ. The expression kaḷu-v-ē<sup>u</sup>r<sup>v</sup>atu, which means impaling can be taken as one word, formed by adding the conjugated auxiliary base ēru to the noun kaḷu 'stake' to give it verbal significance. The word aparātam in line 18 was

4. nivantakkārar in South Indian Inscriptions, Volume V, p. 151, 11, 13-14. vēṭṭaikkārar in S. I. I. Vol. VIII, p. 137, 1. 13.

derived from Sanskrit *aparādhah* 'crime, fault, etc'. The expression *ēṟuvittamaiyālum* occurs in the same line. It is concessive. The simple base *ēṟu* becomes *ēṟu*, a causal base. The addition of *-vi* makes it double causal. The form *ēṟuvitta* is double causal adjective participle. The addition of *mai* makes it a verbal noun. The suffix *-āl* is causative in significance. Further addition of the particle *-um* makes it concessive. In Medieval and Modern Tamil, the suffix *-āl* has almost replaced the suffix *-ān* of the Ancient period of Tamil. The postposition *-ān* signified instrumental case in Ancient Tamil. The form *āl*, as a postposition of the same significance, began to appear in Medieval Tamil. The postposition *āl* and the causative suffix *āl* are obviously one and the same thing, but applied to different sets of nouns. The disappearance of *-m* in sandhi is observed in *ēlām narakam* = *ēlā narakam* in line 19. The expression *neypavarukku* occurs in lines 23-24. The word *neypavar* means weaver as *ney* means weave. The aorist tense sign *-p-* follows the root morpheme. The suffix *avar* is remote demonstrative pronoun third person epicene plural. The word *taṇam* is a Sanskrit derivative from *dhana* 'money'. The word *paṇam* in the same line also means money. It is generally considered good style to change the word when the same meaning has to be expressed many times, one after the other. The use of these two words in the same line in the same sense can only be accounted in that way. The coin of *varākan* (the Tamil derivative word from Sanskrit *varāha*) is mentioned in line 25.

Some orthographical errors can be noted. The short *u* was written for long *ū* in *nuru* (*nūru*) in line 24. The writing of *i* for *u* was seen in *tiruvillam* (*tiruvullam*) in line 26.

## 5. AN INSCRIPTION FROM PADAVIYA

This was numbered 2241 of 1953 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. The record was written on a slab 5' × 1' 8". Padaviya is the name of a tank. It lies at the meeting point of Vavuniya, Trincomallee and Anuradhapura Districts. Another record of this corporation had already been published by the present editor in Part I. This inscription might belong to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

The Register of Inscriptions has the comment 'badly worn' in its reference to this record. This record presents the same difficulties of decipherment as the previous record. The present editor has attempted a reading which is given below in transliteration.

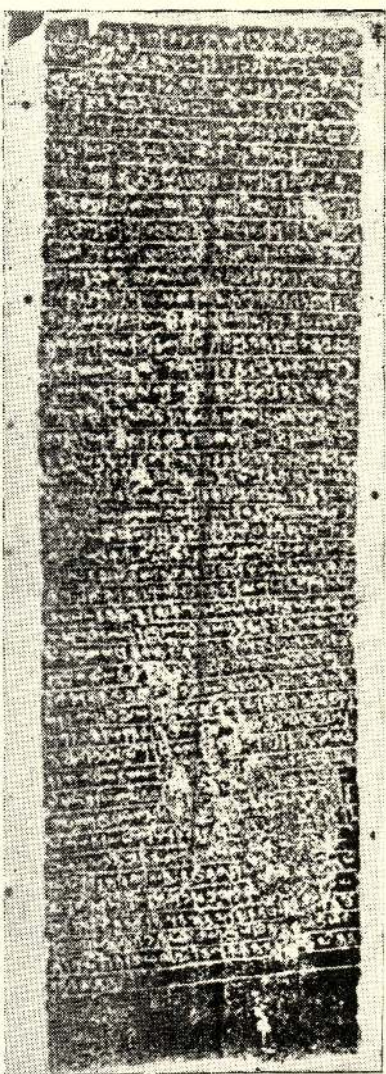
### Transliteration

1. ----- pā varḱattirḱuḷ
2. maṇai nilattil maṇaikkāraṇom-ippavaḷa
3. meṇi vaṇṇakki paḷamaiyam-ā - - -
4. ----- narom - -
5. - - pukum - atanaḷi viṭāṇ matil - - -
6. āya - - - - - nāy-uṇum maṇ
7. iru muṇaiyūm -i nakaram iraṇṭām mittu-
8. ru kaṇa paṭaiyārun - - - - -
9. tannaḷiyūm - - - - - kālī kaṇam
10. . akam kavanta teyvam-umpar-aṇai - -
11. y-aṭiyūm muntakilaṁ kaṅkar tuṅkar kuḷakar tu-
12. - - pum ayaṇṇar maṇanta nān nāḷum
13. - - - kovē paṇiy-āraṇum - - - - -
14. ----- rācaṇ-āna nāṇāteciya
15. kkoṭaikkuṭpaṭāṇ Cōḷan-āṇa valaṅkai
16. . puyaṇ coll-arūṇ Ciṅkan itil - -

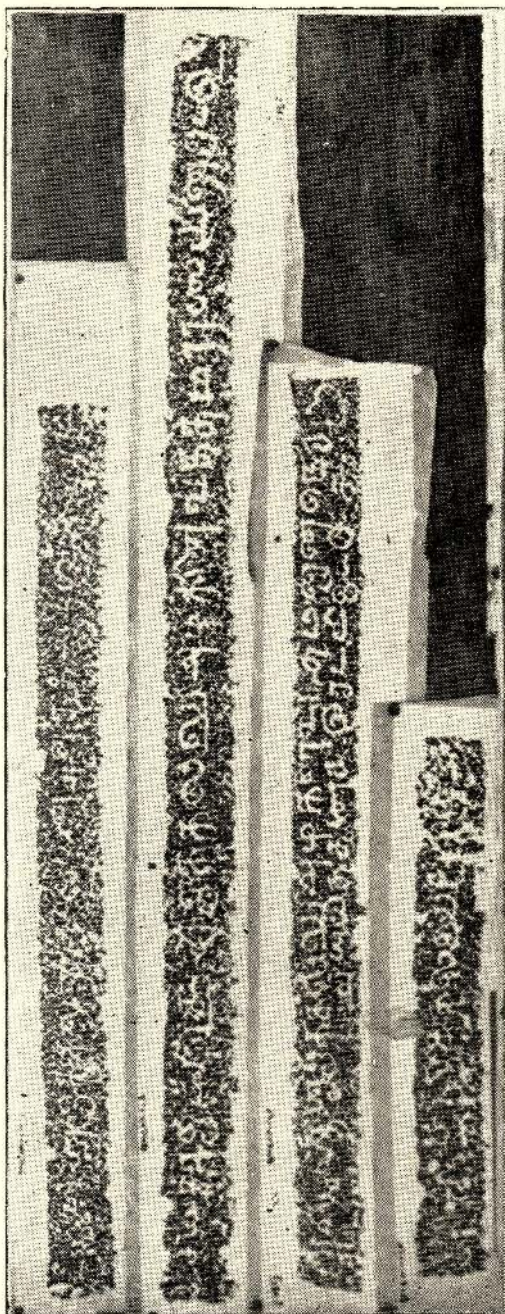


17. ṅtānum uṭan - irunṭa patineṅ pūmi - - -
18. marukārumpar tter aivar - ajiya - - -
19. - - - anaikkāri - - - -
20. viṭānkarukku (ta) lai caṭai tiruviṇai cūlum pati -
21. neṅ pūmi tticaiy - āyirattaṅṅūruvar - āntaṭavi
22. ceṭṭi iṭṭa kaiyyo - - - - -
23. - - - - - patineṅ pūmi virattu - - - -
24. - - kūtiy i ttamiṭuyā - - - -
25. . mēntu patiyōrum - ayampoḷil paṭṭinattu
26. ti (c) ai vikkirama kkaṭikai ttaru vaḷam uḷḷittu
27. i ppaṭinattu vaykka peṅum paṇamum pinna
28. ṭiyum - - - marṅu pati - - - - -
29. - - - - - paṭutte viṭuttatu aḷukiravan
30. - - - mel - - - - - vāḷa
31. ṅkokku mutta - - - - -
32. yākaṅ - aintu marṅu nāḷkaḷ torṅu ko
33. ḷḷātām aḷavu - - - - - tu vantu pu -
34. tit - āṅṅu virar muṇai - - - nai cāka kūṭṭum -
35. kāc - e - - - - -
36. ppaṭi nām vaitta - - - - -
37. peṅṭu - - - - -
38. maṅam nāy piṅam āvatuvum - - - - -
39. ṭuttavar niṅka - - - - -
40. - - vikkirakaṅ ceytu kuṭuttom - - - -
41. virakoṭiyom aṅa maṅavaṅka - - - - - ya -
42. tanay - aratt - āti anantan arav - akaṅma - - - ci -
43. ra mevū patiy ciṅaku patiyōrum mi (kko) rum - at
44. tiraḷ Vikko mel virakaṅ Akkan na(ṭāttu) vitt -
45. ān kalantu.

Some orthographical peculiarities can be noted. The dental n was written for alveolar ṅ in the following words:— nān (line 12); āna (line 14); Cōḷan (line 15); Ciṅkan (line 16); uṭan (line 17); patineṅ (lines 21-23); aḷukiravan (line 29); Akkan (line 44) and naṭattuvittān (line 45). But there is one example only in this record



Inscription from Padaviya



Inscription from Padaviya.





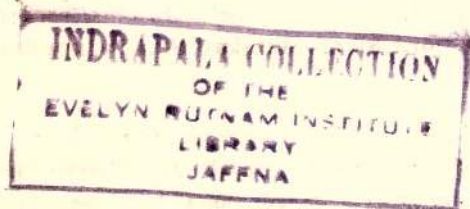


for the writing of alveolar *n* instead of dental *n* in *nāḷ* in line 12. *Paṭṭinam* was written as *paṭinam* in line 27.

It looks as if the whole record is in verse. It is very unfortunate that the verse could not be recovered by a more satisfactory decipherment. The record seems to deal with the gifts of the mercantile corporation to a Śiva temple in Padaviya. The name *Vīrakoṭi* is found in line 41. The usual exhortation not to forget Dharma is also found in the same line. The preceding line is very clear to read and it says that 'icons were made and endowed by us'. The word *āti* in line 42 was derived from Sanskrit *ādi* 'first'. The phrase *aṭatt-āti* in the context means Lord of Dharma. The word *anantan* is derived from Sanskrit *anantatah* 'Infinite one'. In this record, it should be referring to Lord Śiva. *Virakaṇ Akkaṇ* apparently organised the gift.

Some expressions can be observed here. The form *manaikkāraṁ* is first person plural appellative noun. The form *manaikkāraṁ* was formed on the same pattern as *pulattukkāraṁ* in the inscription from *Detiyamulla*. The phrase '*pavaḷa mēni vaṇṇakki*' may be referring to Lord Śiva. The colour of the body of Śiva was often compared to coral. Saint Appar, for example, says, in one stanza, *பவளம்போல் மேனியில் பால்வண்ணீறும்*. The word *vaṇṇam* is a loan word from Prakrit which derived this form from Sanskrit *varṇah* 'colour'. The form *nāḷkaḷ* is preserved in line 32. This word is current today in two forms:- *nāḷkaḷ* and *nāṭkaḷ*. The form *nāṭkaḷ* is an example for internal sandhi. But this form also gives the sense of 'toddy of the day'. But the form *muntakilam* is a rare form peculiar to Medieval Tamil. It should have been *muntukilam*. It should be analysed as *muntu-k-il-am*, i. e. verbal base + present tense sign + negative suffix + first person plural pronominal termination. Aihole, the head quarters of this mercantile corporation had been Tamilicised into *Ayampoḷil*. Lord Śiva seems to have been called *kaṅkar*, *tuṅkar*, *kuḷakar* (all in line 11) and *viṭaṅkar* (line 20). One can frequently come across these descriptions in the śaivite devotional songs of the Pallava Period.

It is difficult to make out the sense of the record. The grant seems to have been made by *maṇaikkāraṇ*, 'we, the owners of house-site.' Some gift was made on *manai nilattil* 'at the house-site.' (Line 2). This city and its friendly group of forces were mentioned. (Line 7-8). Worshippers of *Kāli* were referred to, (Line 9). When referring to various names of a *ceṭṭi*, the right hand caste was referred to (Line 15). Line 27 mentions money collected in the city. Line 38 has some reference to the stinking smell of the carcase of the dog. According to line 40, 'we had endowed icons.'



## FIVE MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM PADAVIYA

The article deals with five Tamil Inscriptions which had not been edited in Part I and in the preceding article. Of these five, four had been discovered in Śiva Devāle No. 1 of Padaviya and one had been discovered in Śiva Devāle No. 3 of Padaviya. Altogether, five short Tamil Inscriptions had been discovered in Padaviya. The fifth inscription of three lines had already been published as one of the fragmentary inscriptions in Part I. That inscription was numbered 2439 of 1961. The four inscriptions edited here, were also discovered in the same year. The records were not moved out of the place.

### 1. Four Inscriptions from Śiva Devāle No. 1 of Padaviya

2435 of 1961

This record was discovered in the south foundation of the temple. The record is an one line inscription running to 3' 5".

#### Transliteration

1. Nārāyaṇaṅ Tiruciṅṅampalamuṭaiyān-iṭṭa kallu +

#### Translation

1. Stone, laid by Nārāyaṇaṅ Tiruciṅṅampalamuṭaiyān

2436 of 1961

This record was discovered on the west side of the upper moulding. The record consists of two lines. The first line measures 1' 10" but the second line measures 4' 4".

#### Transliteration

1. SVASTI SRĪ i kkallu Varutaṅ  
 2. Tirumāl + iṭṭutu + i kkallu Aḷakaṅ VattarmārāSVayan  
 iṭṭutu



Translation

1 & 2 Hail prosperity. This stone was laid by Varatan Tirumāl. This stone was laid by Aḷakan Vattamārāsvayan.

2437 of 1961

This record was also discovered on the west side of the upper moulding. The record consists of two lines and measures 3' 2" × 1.5".

Transliteration

1. SVASTI ŚRĪ ikkallu Aḷakan Vattaman-āna Teci-
2. yyāyattuṇaicceṭṭi iṭṭutu

Translation

1 & 2. Hail prosperity. This stone was laid by Aḷakan Vattuman alias Teciyyāyacceṭṭi

2438 of 1961

This record was also discovered on the west side of the upper moulding. The record is an one line inscription and runs to 3'. This record is considerably worn and difficult to make out.

Transliteration

1. SVASTI ŚRĪ i kkallu (Patiyil) vaṇikan Taṇi (Appan iṭṭutu)

Translation

1. Hail prosperity. This stone was laid by merchant Taṇi Appan in Padaviya.

The inscriptions were written in Tamil script except for Svasti Śrī at the beginning of the last three records. This phrase as well as the compound letter sva in the second record were written in Grantha script. The dental n was written for alveolar ṇ in Nārāyaṇan (Nārāyaṇan) and

Tiruccirāmpalamuṭaiyān (Tiruccirāmpalamuṭaiyān) in the first record and Tani (Tani) and Appan (Appan) in the last record.

The spoken form *kallu* instead of the classical form *kal* occurs in all the four records. Words ending in consonants have some times an -u suffixed to them. This is very common in the Dravidian languages, especially Telugu and Kannada. This feature is called *paragoge* in linguistic terminology. The form *ittutu* instead of *ittatu* occurs in a number of places. This change should have occurred due to harmonic sequence of vowels. The harmonic sequence of vowels was a common feature in the Telegu language, a sister language of Tamil.

Most of the donors were explicitly mentioned as traders. The words *vattaman*, *teci*, *ceṭṭi* and *vaṇikan* refer to traders. The word *vattaman* was derived from *varttakan* through the intermediary *vattakan*. The Sanskrit word *vartah* means livelihood but in Tamil, the derivative word *varttakan* has the specialised meaning of trader. The Tamil word *vaṇikan* was derived from Sanskrit *vanijah* 'trader'. In the Medieval period, public works like temple building were done by kings and their officers or traders. Padaviya was never a capital city and the kings probably never took any special interest in temple building in that city. The kings of Ceylon were mostly Buddhists and they could not be expected to put up Śiva temples. There is evidence that South Indian traders had the tradition of carrying Indian culture to various parts of South and South East Asia. They built Hindu temples in Indonesia and Indo-China. Two inscriptions of the mercantile corporation of 'tīcai āyirattu aiṇṇūṟṟuvar' had been discovered in Padaviya. The merchants of this corporation probably took a special interest. They were probably responsible for the temple building activity in Padaviya. Till very recently, the *ceṭṭis* were playing a

very special role in the restoration and maintenance of ancient Hindu temples and the building and endowing of new Hindu temples in South India and Ceylon. A portion of Ramand District and of Trichi District in Tamilnad is known as Chettinād or the land of the Cēṭṭiyārs. Most of the cēṭṭis today claim to have hailed from Cēṭṭinād. It is not possible now to say whether all the cēṭṭis, who were members of the mercantile corporation in the Medieval Period, hailed from Cēṭṭinād. When the Hindu rule declined and fell, it was the cēṭṭis, who provided the necessary backing to the Hindu Institutions. The Śiva Devāle No 1 of Padaviya might be one of the early temples to be patronised by the Cēṭṭis.

It is interesting to study the personal names of the donors. The Hindus in South India belong to various sects, such as the Saivites, the Vaiṣṇavites and the Smārtas. In Ceylon, Hinduism and Saivism were almost synonymous as only the Saivite sect exists in Ceylon. The Saivites and the Vaiṣṇavites in India were sectarian and they worship Lord Śiva only or Lord Viṣṇu only. In South Indian situation, personal names connected with the favourite deities generally betray the religious sect of the people. But in Ceylon where there was no religious rivalry between the Saivites and the Vaiṣṇavites, a number of Vaiṣṇava names are current among the Saivites. Some of the donors in the records had Vaiṣṇava names:— Nārāyaṇaṅ, Varataṅ, Tirumāl and Aḷakaṅ. Though Appaṅ could refer to any male deity, Lord Viṣṇu of Tiruppati had been referred to as Appaṅ in inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Therefore it is not clear whether the Vaiṣṇava traders patronised the Śiva temple or the Śaiva traders had Vaiṣṇava names, as in Ceylon today.

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1. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. V p. 320.



The name of donor in the first record is specially interesting as Vaiṣṇava and Saiva names were stringed together. Nārāyaṇaṅ, the Vaiṣṇava name must have belonged to the donor's father. The personal name of the donor must have been Tirucciṅṅampalamuṭaiyāṅ. Tirucciṅṅampalam means Citamparam, the Temple par excellence of the Tamil Saivites. The word uṭaiyāṅ means the Lord. This person had been named after the Lord Naṭarājah of Citamparam by a father with a Vaiṣṇava name. Did the father and the son belong to seperate religious sects? It is not possible to answer this question.

These four inscriptions contain five sentences. The structure of the sentence in the first record differs from the structure of the other four sentences though all the five sentence give expression to the same idea. The first sentence is a noun phrase. The noun *kallu* is qualified by the past adjective participle *iṭṭa*. The preceding noun defines the action signified by the past adjective participle. The subject *itu* is understood. The other four sentences present the same structure. Each of these sentences can be analysed as the object, the actor and the action. The action comes at the last as in the usual word order today. The object comes at the beginning and serves as subject. The actor becomes an instrument. Thus the sentences assume the character of passive construction. But the Dravidian Languages have no passive voice. At the most, verbs formed on the pattern of *ceyyappaṭu* can be called passive in Tamil. But such verbs are very sparingly used in Tamil. The verb in these four sentences i. e. *iṭṭatu*, was not formed on the pattern of *ceyyappaṭatu*. It was formed on the pattern of *ceytatu*. Instrumental case signs were conspicuous by their absenge. Even when the object becomes the subject, it is the tradition of Tamil language to give expression as if the object were the actor. Tolkāppiyam and Nannūl refer to this tradition and both

of them do not mention passive voice. The authors of these grammatical works must have sentences of this pattern in mind when they referred to this tradition.

The last inscription seems to mention 'patiyil' which may be translated as 'in the city'. But recently, the the Archaeological Department had discovered an ancient seal which mentions Śrī Pati Grāma as the ancient name of Padaviya. Therefore it is quite possible that Pati refers to Padaviya.

INSCRIPTION FROM ŚIVA DEVALE NO. 3  
of PADAVIYA

This inscription was numbered 2434 of 1961 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. The record is about 3' 8" × 1'. The record runs to sixteen lines. Except for the invocation svasti śrī, which was written in Grantha script, the rest was written entirely in Tamil script. The record can be dated in about the twelfth century A. D.

Transliteration

1. SVASTI ŚRī
2. Uttamar ta-
3. n̄ kōyil Va-
4. lakāḷi-eṇalum
5. nitta niyamam
6. neri vaḷar ci-
7. ttamuṇaṅ cīr-i-
8. ḷamai cērṇ-
9. ta patiyil vi-
10. ḷaiy-ārampa
11. pēr-iḷamaiyā-
12. r ttukaḷ pō
13. t-āv-āyiraṅ ko-
14. ṇṭ-uraippar tiru
15. cūttam-āka muyan
16. rāṅ muyanra tiru.





Inscription from Padaviya



Inscription from Padaviya





Translation

Lines 1 to 16. Hail prosperity. As soon as one says Valakāli, the temple of the Supreme Spirit, (he attains) the wealth of one who with daily religious austerities and with his thought directed to salvation, chants (the name of God) with the offering of thousand flowers at the dust (of the feet) of the Ever Young One who was the beginning of the origin (of everything) in Padaviya which is young and prosperous. (That wealth is equivalent to) the wealth of the accumulator who accumulated justly.

Lines 2 to 16 constitute a verse. In verse form, it can be re-constructed as follows:-

Uttamar taṅ kōyil valakāli enalum  
 nitta niyamam neṟi vaḷar  
 Cittamuṭan cīr-ilamai cērnta  
 patiyl viḷaiy-ārampa per-ilamaiyār ttukaḷ  
 pōt-āv-āyiraṅ koṅ-uraippar tiru  
 cūttam-āka muyanrān muyanrā tiru

This poem is probably the earliest poem about Saiva worship to be discovered in Ceylon so far. Saint Tiruñānacampantar and Saint Cuntaramūrti of South India had sung, a few centuries ago, devotional songs on the Śiva temples of Tirukkētiṅṅaram of Mannar and Kōnesvaram of Trincomalee. These songs were collected in Śaiva anthologies called Tirumuṟai in the eleventh century A. D. But the present verse might have been composed in Ceylon by a Ceylonese poet. It is found preserved only in this record. The metre seems to be iṅai kkuṟaḷ āciriyaṅpā.

Some forms in this record are worth noting. In sandhi, the words kō 'God' and il 'house' become kōyil or kōvil in Tamil. The form kōvil is generally considered more elegant. But the form kōyil occurs in classical and devotional literature. Here too, the form kōyil is found.

The word *tam* was used as a reflexive pronoun to refer to *uttamar*. As the primary noun *uttamar* has the honorific plural termination, the form of the reflexive pronoun corresponds to it as *tam*. The form *enalum*, formed by the verbal base *en*+terminal of verbal noun *al*+particle *um*, is an example for concessive mood. The verbal base *vaḷar* functions as an adjective by qualifying *cittam*. The case sign *uṭaṅ* was used as a conjunctive. The word *cuttam* becomes *cūttam* to fulfil the requirements of the metre. The predicate is understood. The phrase '*nitta niyamam neṭi vaḷar cittaṁuṭaṅ*' should be read with '*uraippar*' in line 14. The dental *ṅ* was written for alveolar *ṅ* in *muyanṅāṅ* in line 15.

Some Tamilicised, Sanskrit words were used in the verse. The word *uttamar* was derived from Sanskrit *uttama*, 'Supreme Spirit'. The word *niyamam* was derived from Sanskrit *niyamah*, 'religious austerities'. The word *cittam* was a derivative from Sanskrit *citta* 'thought'. These words are examples for *tad-sama* where Tamilicisation didn't involve any change in pronunciation except for changes in terminations. The word *nittam* was derived from Sanskrit *nitya* 'perpetual'. The Tamil word *cuttam* was derived from Sanskrit *Suddam* 'stainless effort'. These are examples for *tad-bhava* where Sanskrit pronunciation was modified to accord with Tamil phonemic pattern. Dr. Caldwell derived the word *āyiram* from Sanskrit *sahasra*.

There is no reference to the composer of the song or to the context it was composed. But one thing is clear—this verse was composed for a merchant community. It mentions the acquisition of wealth. It extols the acquisition of wealth, accumulated in a spotless manner. To this wealth is equated the wealth of grace acquired by worshipping, with thousand flowers, the dust of the feet of the perpetually young who was the origin of the very



being. The word *pati* may be a shortened form of *Srī Pati Grāma*. The temple had the name *Valakaḷi*. The word *valam* may mean, among other things, the right side. The word *kaḷi* means marshy land. As there were many *Siva* temples in the city of *Padaviya*, each must have had its own name.

The verse had the element of *muraṇ* or contrast. God is said to be perpetually young. He is also said to be at the origin of the very being. That means, the God was very old. The phrase *cīr-iḷamai* of the city sounds like *cīr-iḷamai* and contrasts with *pēr-iḷamai* of God. The word *tukaḷ* has become *tūḷ* in modern usage. Worship of idols in temples seems to be a later development. The worship of the sacred feet was very popular at one time. *Tiruvalluvar*, the post-Sangam Tamil Poet, refers to that worship. There were Tamil devotional songs of the Pallava period extolling the worship of the sacred feet. The worship of the foot-mark at Adam's Peak in Ceylon, even, today, probably derived from that age. This verse refers to the worship of the foot-mark in the *Siva* temple of *Padaviya*.

## TWO FURTHER TAMIL RECORDS FROM POLONNARUWA

### 1. Fragmentary Inscription from Rankot Vihāre.

This fragment was numbered 1283 of 1934 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. The fragment is almost a square and measures 1' × 11". The record was neatly engraved. It is unfortunate that only a bare fragment, of the record which can be deciphered, is available now. The fragment contains few letters in four lines. The record may be placed in the eleventh century on palaeographical grounds. All the letters in the fragment are in the Tamil script.

#### Transliteration

1. patinne -
2. ṭa laṅka -
3. cevaka vi -
4. ḷḷaiyār

The first line seems to mention the year. From the letters available in the record, it can be surmised that the year could be only seventeen or eighteen. The second line might have referred to Laṅkātipaṅ, i. e., king of Lankā. The word *cevaka* was derived from Sanskrit *sevakah* 'a servant, a dependant.' The word *ḷḷaiyār*, which generally denotes Lord Gaṇeśa of the Saiva pantheon, might be denoted by the letters - ḷḷaiyār.

### 2. Inscription from Ahanlundāwa Junction

The record was numbered 2408 of 1960 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. It was said to be found on one side of the stone pillar in Ahanlundāwa Junction between Polonnaruwa circuit Bungalow and Ahanlundāwa Road. The record is partly worn out.





Inscription from Polonnaruwa.





The record is about 8'×8". Unfortunately, letters are not very clear. There is a possibility of variant readings. It is quite possible that the record was inscribed by one who was not familiar with writing of Tamil letters. The inscription may belong to the twelfth century.

The inscription runs to thirty seven lines and still remains incomplete.

Transliteration

1. SVASTI ŚRĪ
2. koṅkamā
3. civā . .
4. . . . YARĀ
5. perumān-āna
6. . . . makā
7. tevarkk-ut -
8. paṭa(ppaṭa)
9. . avar .
10. atu . . .
11. yāka - - -
12. . . . .
13. . . . .
14. . . . .
15. vantakkārar
16. paiyyūrinuku
17. m coḷava-
18. ḷanāṭṭu ŚRĪ
19. ūrkaṭ paṭṭa
20. vāraiṇmi
21. maHĀ īSVARA
22. kum ī ppacu
23. 12 kku oru
24. pakal viḷa-
25. kku viḷakku-
26. nukku vai (p)-

27. pār pacu 6
28. naiyum cinai
29. ppacu 6 lu-
30. m āka 12 pacu
31. āvumm-i-
32. v appaci
33. l onrinā-
34. l ninru patimup-
35. palam tarā
36. pakal viḷak-
37. ku o. cri.

The inscription seems to be recording the gifts of cows and bull for the provision of lamp in a Siva temple. The inscription begins with the usual invocation 'hail prosperity'. The third line suggests that the inscription mentions something in connection with a Śiva temple. A number of Śiva temples were built in Polonnaruwa during the Cōḷa occupation and this inscription seems to be referring to a gift to one of these temples. The fifth line is clear and it means 'Lord alias'. The word ceramān is derived from Cēramakaṇ. The word perumāḷ is also found in Tamil. On analogy, it should be derived from perumakaḷ. But in that case, perumāḷ should be feminine. As Lord Śiva is generally referred to as Civaperumān, Lord Viṣṇu is generally referred to as Perumāḷ. According to a Purāṇic story, Lord Śiva was the father and Lord Viṣṇu, as mōhinī, was the mother of Aiyanār, a popular god of South Indian masses. Otherwise, Lord Viṣṇu is always considered masculine. The Tamil word āḷ, 'person' does not distinguish between genders. Therefore, the word perumāḷ can be taken to have been made up of Perum-āḷ 'great person'.

Lines 6 to 8 mean 'to Mahādeva, including'. Lines 15 to 22 seem to refer to two temples. Mahā Iśvara denotes Śiva. This idol of Lord Śiva is said to belong



to a place in the Cōja country. Though Tamilnad is the land of temples in India, the territory, covered by the former Cōjamaṇṭalam, is the land of temples within Tamilnad. Though Śrī Rāngam, the temple par excellence of the Vaiṣṇavites, is found in an island formed by two branches of Kāvēri, the basin was a rich cradle of Saivism. The Cōjas were almost all Śaivites and Śaivism received great patronage in the Cōja Empire. Therefore, the particular Śiva idol was most probably brought to Ceylon from that place. Further it should be remembered that the art of the sculptor attained great heights of eminence during the Cōja Period. Some of the sculptures of that period, like that of Naṭarājah for example, still excite the admiration of art critics throughout the world. Their artistic excellence too, could have been the reason for the import of the idol.

Lines 22 to 36 are fairly clear. Twelve cows for one day lamp (22 to 25). Twelve cows consisting of six pregnant cows and six cows making up twelve cows and one bull (25 to 31). From the first of Aippaci, to burn day lamp of thirteen palam weight, made of an alloy of copper and tin (31-36). The subject matter of a large number of Tamil inscriptions of South India, especially of the period before the rise of the Cōja Empire, was the provision of lamps for the temple<sup>1</sup>. Till that time, temple building activity was limited. Temples also were very small in size. In that period the most important activity connected with the temple was the provision of lamps. Even today, in villages, burning lamp was the only activity for village deities. The endowment of cows for lamps was also mentioned in many Tamil inscriptions in South India. Unlike Ceylon, Tamilnad had and still has

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1. For a discussion of this aspect refer to  
A. Veluppillai - Cācaṇamum Tamiḷum - Tamiḷar Paṇpāṭu.

very limited coconut plantations. Coconut oil is always very expensive in Tamilnad. The ghee, obtained from cows' milk, was usually made use of to burn lamps. It should also be remembered that the cow is a sacred animal of the Hindus. The product of the cows are also considered sacred. In fact, the sacred pañca-gavyam consists of five products of the cows, such as milk, curd, ghee, urine and cow dung. This inscription from Polonnaruwa mentions the endowment of one who either followed the pattern of endowment in South India or who preferred the sacred ghee to coconut oil. Bull was also endowed so that it could be useful in impregnating cows. Six cows were given as pregnant cows and six other cows were given in normal condition, so that six cows could be milked at one time and when they ceased to give milk, the other six cows impregnated in the meantime by the bull, could be milked and thus a cycle could be maintained without interruption. Pious donors always wished the cycle to be maintained without interruption and that was the reason why they specified their endowment, in similar circumstances, as cāvā mūvā pper āṭu, 'cows that neither die nor grow old nor remain young'.

Lord Śiva was described as Mahādēva and Mahā īśvara in the record. Numeral figures one, twelve and six occur in this inscription. When the date was mentioned, numeral figure one was written. Numeral adjective 'patimu' occurs for thirteen. Due to regressive assimilation, n had disappeared in 'patimu'. For the Tamil month of Aippaci, the short a was written as initial instead of the diphthong ai. The expression onrinal, in this inscription, as in many South Indian Tamil Inscriptions, means 'from the first'. But in ordinary usage it means 'by one' or 'with one' of the instrumental case. The dental n is written for alveolar n in lines 5, 16 and 33. Aippaci coincides, more or less, with the later half of October and the earlier half of November.

## TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KANTALAI

Kantalai is a town in Trincomalee District of the Eastern Province. There is a big tank of the same name by the side of the town. The tank is fed from the Mahaveli Ganga. A colonisation scheme was started in this area in the fifties and Kantalai is now a developing town.

### 1. Inscription of Gajabāhu II on a boundary stone

The record was numbered 2291 of 1954 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. It was found on a stone boundary mark of a brahmadeya. The pillar with the record is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Anuradhapura.

The record was written in Tamil and Grantha scripts. The record runs to ten lines. The record mentions the ruler Gajabāhu. There were only two rulers of Ceylon with the name of Gajabāhu. Gajabāhu I ruled in the second century while Gajabāhu II ruled from 1132 to 1153 A. D. The ruler mentioned in the record could be only Gajabāhu II. There is other evidence that Gajabāhu II had very close connections with Kantalai. Palaeographically too, the record could be dated only about that time.

### Transliteration

1. SVASTI ŚRI (LAN-
2. KEŚ) VARAN GA-
3. JABAHU DEVAR
4. kantalāy BRA-
5. HMADEYAM piṭi
6. naṭanta BHŪ-
7. MI Iṭaiyar
8. kallil ū-
9. r tikku nāṭṭi
10. na ellai kkal



### Translation

Lines 1 to 10. Hail prosperity. The boundary stone planted, by Gajabāhu Deva, king of Ceylon, in the direction of the village Itaiyarkal to mark the land where female elephant circumambulated the Brahmin village of Kantalai.

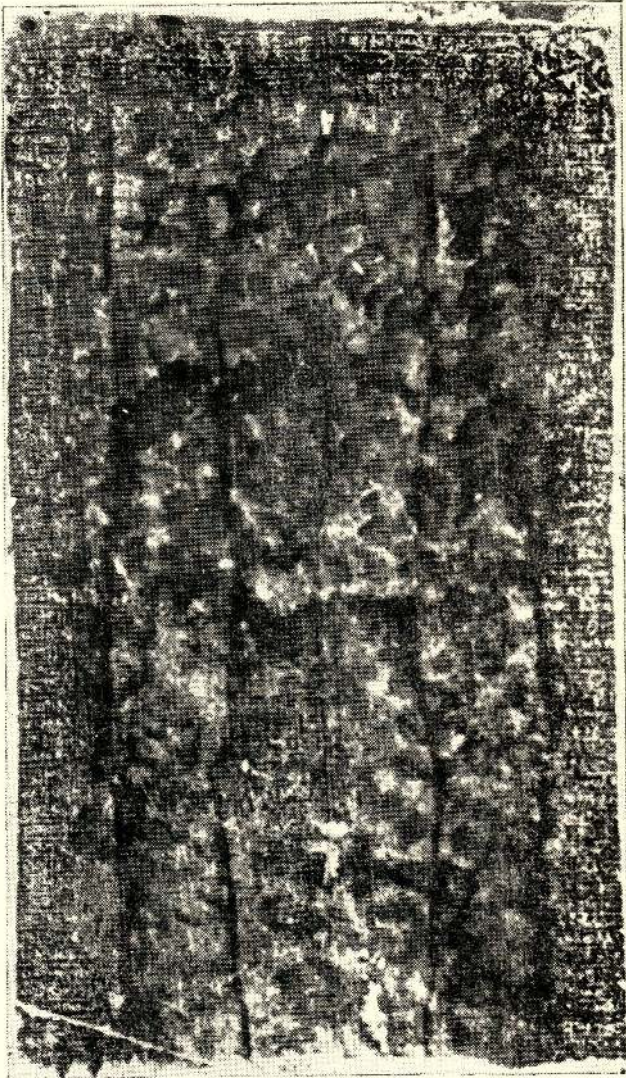
The word *Lañkeśvaran*, 'king of Lanka', is not clear from the record. But - *varan* appears clearly in the record. This word is restored in the reading here by reference to another Tamil Inscription of the ruler in South Indian Inscriptions, Volume IV, No. 1397.

Gajabāhu II patronised Hinduism. He also lived in Kantalai for sometime. The land around Kantalai tank is very fertile. Gajabāhu II seems to have made the village of that name, a brahmadeya. Brahmadeya is an exclusive Brahmin village. Only Brahmins resided in such villages and Hindus of other castes too, were excluded from such villages in South India.

Gajabāhu II was called here, a Deva, 'a celestial being'. The kings in the Medieval period were considered to have divine connections. This king might have been honoured by being called a Deva because of his attachment to Hinduism. The epicene plural ending - *r* was added here to make it honorific plural. The Sanskrit word *diṣa* becomes *tikku* in Tamil. The phrase '*piṭi naṭanta pūmi*' indicates that the boundary of the Brahmin village was demarcated after a ceremony in which a female elephant was led along the boundary. This custom was stated in many South Indian Tamil records, as for example, in the Tiruvālañkāṭu copper plates of Rajendra I.

#### 2. Inscription on a Gal Āsana near Dagoba, Kantalai.

The record is 5'2"×3'. It is numbered 2028 of 1947. The only clue for dating the record is palaeography. The inscription can be dated in the eleventh or the



Inscription from Kantalai.







|     |              |   |   |             |   |              |
|-----|--------------|---|---|-------------|---|--------------|
| 22. | kāka k       | . | . | .           | . | kaḷ cama     |
| 23. | yūkakka      | . | . | .           | . | ālapiya      |
| 24. | nālu kā      | . | . | .           | . | ya āṛi       |
| 25. | tirnta       | . | . | .           | . | l vāy        |
| 26. | īra          | . | . | .           | . | āna pacu     |
| 27. | nantā        | . | . | .           | . | m āka ta     |
| 28. | puncey       | . | . | .           | . | vaṇāma       |
| 29. | ṇ IrāJA      | . | . | .           | . | ratta.       |
| 30. | pā           | . | . | .           | . | ttava(r)     |
| 31. | ka kku . . . | . | . | .           | . | ṅkamai ve-   |
| 32. | m ve         | . | . | .           | . | mpaṇṭa       |
| 33. | m ketāra     | . | . | .           | . | uyyilu       |
| 34. | (yu)m nāl    | . | . | .           | . | paṭṭa irai   |
| 35. | voru         | . | . | .           | . | venta        |
| 36. | celva        | . | . | mpa         | . | l varu(m)    |
| 37. | eṭuppit      | . | . | l pin       | . | varuma       |
| 38. | (ti)va SAm   | . | . | yu.vaṭu.    | . | ta piṛa-     |
| 39. | mpum kaṭu    | . | . | rkam ippa   | . | ku SVA-      |
| 40. | laṇvaya      | . | . | m punaikkuḷ | . | kkuva        |
| 41. | m pākku      | . | . | m cuṇṇāmpu  | . | curuḷ 3      |
| 42. | m ilāṇ       | . | . | navirai 12  | . | kku SVA      |
| 43. | . le taṇa    | . | . | pam kalam i | . | ppā          |
| 44. | kkuṅ kūt     | . | . | kukkavum    | . | viḷakku ti   |
| 45. | . ṇṇir p     | . | . | .           | . | naḷan        |
| 46. | ākiṇa        | . | . | .           | . | kkū          |
| 47. | lum iti      | . | . | .           | . | āka niva-    |
| 48. | ntaṅ ceyā    | . | . | .           | . | naṅku niḷa-  |
| 49. | eṭṭaik       | . | . | yār payak   | . | ka yāka e-   |
| 50. | ṇaikku ney   | . | . | .           | . | karavāku pa- |
| 51. | āka ippaṭi   | . | . | .           | . | kāṭṭa . .    |
| 52. | m kuṅcappa   | . | . | .           | . | ntetā        |
| 53. | pāHava       | . | . | .           | . | ttaruma      |
| 54. | m viva       | . | . | pu          | . | ṭṭa.vāram    |
| 55. | vaṇaye       | . | . | .           | . | ippaṭi ma    |
| 56. | .            | . | . | .           | . | ippaṭi va    |
| 57. | .            | . | . | .           | . | yūr vi       |
| 58. | .            | . | . | .           | . | kaṅ ceyal,   |

Not much sense could be made of this long record inspite of the attempt to make out words as far as possible. The following words may give some clue to the purpose of the record:— ney, 'ghee (line 50) viḷakku, 'lamp' (lines 4,44); pākku, 'arecanut' (line 41); cuṅṅāmpu, 'burnt lime' (line 41); puṅcey, 'dry cultivation' (line 28); iṅrai 'tax' (line 34); nivantam, 'endowment' (line 47-48); nantā-, 'perpetual' (line 27) and pacu, 'cows' (line 26).

Line 2 seems to be mentioning elephants, horses and chariots. Most probably, these had something to do with the king. Most probably a ruler made an endowment and had it engraved on this stone. Numeral figures 3 and 12 occur in lines 41 and 42. The last word of the record 'ceyal', a derivative noun form the verbal base 'cey', means 'act'. The word ippaṭi 'thus' occurs in a number of lines, such as 51, 55 and 56. Some other words that can be clearly made out are pākam, 'portion' (line 3); āram, 'garland' (line 3); puram, 'city' (line 6); virru, 'having sold' (line 8); iṅattu, 'of the place' (line 9); vavvi, 'having taken by force' (line 9); vīṅṅar, 'warriors' (line 10); uyar, 'to be high' (line 10); kali, 'kaliyuga' (line 13); aṅcāta, 'who is not afraid of' (line 14); kūppiṅṅ, 'having invited', (line 18); vaṅakku, 'north' (line 20) taṅṅai, 'land' (line 21); paṅṅam, 'thing' (line 32); piṅṅampu, 'separate' (line 38-39); curuṅṅ, 'roll' (line 41) and kalam, a measure (line 43).



## INSCRIPTION FROM TIRUKKĒTĪSVARAM OF MĀTŌṬṬAM

The restoration of the ancient temple of Tirukkētīsvaram in Mātōṭṭam of Mannar District is being carried on now and this temple is much in the news today. Mātōṭṭam was a very ancient port in the Medieval period. The port and the temple grew in importance during the Cōla and the Pandya occupation of Ceylon. Mātōṭṭam attained importance also because of the pearl fishery in the sea between Mannar District and the Pandya territory. On palaeographical grounds, the record can be dated in the eleventh century. This record mentions Rājarājapuram as another name for Mātōṭṭam. Mātōṭṭam must have been given this new name after Rājarāja the Great who conquered the northern part of Ceylon. This name could not have survived the end of the Cōla occupation of Ceylon. This argument supports the date, arrived at, on palaeographical grounds.

A reading of this inscription was published by H. Krishna Sastri in the fourth volume of South Indian Inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The inscription was discovered on a pillar. All the four sides of the pillar were inscribed. As Krishna Sastri comments, 'at the beginning and at the end of each of the faces of the pillar, some lines appear to have been lost'. Each side of the inscribed pillar is about 4'5"×8". On examining the estampage of the inscription, the editor finds that his reading differs in a few places from the text published in South Indian Inscriptions. As that journal published only the Tamil text, the editor shall proceed to give the transliteration, the translation and the comments.

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1. South Indian Inscriptions: Volume IV, No: 1412.  
p. 495.

Transliteration of the  
published reading

Improvements of the  
Editor

Side A

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1. Coḷamaṇ-
2. ṭalattu KṢA-
3. TRIYA SIKāma-
4. ṇi vaḷanāṭ-
5. ṭu veḷār nā-
6. ṭṭu ccirukū-
7. rranallūr kiḷa-
8. vaṇ Tāḷi Ku-
9. maraṇ ḷam-ā(ā)-

10. na mummaṭi

mummuṭi

11. Coḷamaṇ-
12. ṭalattu Mā-
13. totṭam-āṇa
14. RĀJARĀjApura-
15. ttu eṭuppi
16. tta RĀJARĀJA
17. iSVArattu MA-
18. HĀDEVArkku
19. CANDRĀDITTAva-
20. (l)niṅka RāJARā
21. JA purattu naka-

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Side B

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1. nāikkoṭi nā
2. ṭ-āṇa Arumoḷi-
3. teva vaḷanāṭṭu

- |                         |                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 4. kku icaṅkum pā-      |                 |
| 5. taikaḷāl nica-       |                 |
| 6. tam irañṭu viṭṭa     | va(tṭa)         |
| 7. mu(m)piṭilikai vā    |                 |
| 8. riyum nila . .       | ivane me-       |
| 9. lluvat-ākavum i      | l-iruvat-ākavum |
| 10. raiyum iṭṭu         | vūril neyyum    |
| 11. tarikaḷāl kūṭi-     |                 |
| 12. na mutalum vaṭ-     |                 |
| 13. ṭattāl kūṭi-        |                 |
| 14. na mutalum pā-      |                 |
| 15. tai iṭaṅkaḷā        | paṭavukaḷā      |
| 16. l kūṭina muta-      |                 |
| 17. luṅ koṅṭu           |                 |
| 18. tiru KRDDH(YĀ)MAMAM |                 |
| 19. Vaiyyāci Vicā-      |                 |
| 20. kam eḷu nāḷum       |                 |
| 21. viḷāv-eṭuttu        |                 |
| 22. tirttam āṭ-         |                 |
| 23. ṭuvippatāka         |                 |
| 24. vum āya             |                 |
| 25. viṭaṅka             |                 |
| 26. ya - - - -          |                 |

Side C

- - - - -  
- - - - -

- |                    |        |
|--------------------|--------|
| 1. vaṅai peruṅ     | vaṅ    |
| 2. kolāl aiṅ       |        |
| 3. kol-uḷpata va-  | uṭpaṭa |
| 4. ṭakkum mel pā-  |        |
| 5. rk-ellai RĀJARĀ |        |
| 6. JA pperunteru-  |        |
| 7. vukku kkiḷakkum |        |
| 8. vaṭa pārk-ellai |        |



9. kammānaceri-
10. kku tterkum i-
11. vv-icaitta pe-
12. ru nānk-ellai-
13. kkuḷ akappaṭṭa
14. nilattil iv-
15. v-ūr-kkuṭi Kupa-
16. n Kāman irun-
17. ta mālikaiyu
18. m vīṭum toṭ-
19. ṭamum niṅkalā-
20. kavum i ṇṇaṭu
21. vupaṭṭa ittanai
22. yum i ttevar-
23. kku iraiili t-
24. evatāṇam-āva-

Tāman

Side D

1. onrum pāra-
2. tam arulāl
3. akkam onru
4. m ivv-ūr ney-
5. yum taṅikaḷil
6. taṅiyāl tiṅka-
7. ḷ araikkāl ak-
8. kamum iruppaṇa-
9. varṅil kuṭuppo-
10. ṇṇiṭai tiruvā-
11. yoru vaṭṭamum
12. koḷvāṇiṭai o-
13. ru vaṭṭamum ko-

pā-

tai paṭavukaḷāl

taṅikaḷāl

kācinṇā

14. ḷvat-ākavum-  
 15. āka ippaṭi ko-  
 16. ṇṭu poḷutu  
 17. iru nāliy-āka  
 18. nīcatam āru nā-  
 19. ḷi arici tīruvami-  
 20. rtum a(tuvik)ku-                      aricci(kku)-  
 21. m māṇi irāṇṭu-  
 22. kku nīcatam nel  
 23. l-eṇṇāliyum  
 24. maṭapati oruva-  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - -

### Translation

Side A. Tāji Kumaraṇ, a land owner of Cīrukūrranallūr of Velārnāṭu of Kṣatriyasikāmaṇiṅaṇāṭu in Cōḷamaṇṭalam - - - to the Lord of the temple of Rājarāja Isvaram which was caused to be erected in Rājarājapuram alias Mātōṭṭam in Mummuṭi Cōḷamaṇṭalam alias ḷḷam - - - to last till the Moon and the Sun last - - - the people of the city of Rājarājapuram - - - .

Side B. Let him pay the revenue from paṭalikai and from double commission on transport through paths going to Arumolitevavaṅaṇāṭu alias . . . nāikkoṭināṭu. With income collected from weaving looms in this city, collected from commissions and collected from transport through paths, Vedic ritual should be performed in the temple. Festival should be organised for seven days during Vaikāci Vicākam and water-cutting ceremony should be caused to be performed - - - .

Side C Including five rods which had been measured by big firm rod . . . to the north. The western boundary lies to the east of Rājarājapperunteru. In the land included

within the four large boundaries, exception had to be made to the gardens, house and the bungalow of Kunran Tāman, an inhabitant of this village (or city)? All the land within - - - as tax free devadāna to this Lord.

Side D One - - - and one akkam for transport through paths and one-eighth of an akkam per loom per month for weaving looms in this city. The tax payer should pay commission and the tax collector should pay a commission. These should be collected. Having collected these - - - (should supply) at the rate of two nālis of rice per time, six nālis of rice per day; eight nālis of paddy for two Brahmins who officiate at the pujā; - - - for the head of the mutt.

Most of the letters were neatly engraved as typical of most records of the Cola Period. The letters mu and ju were written alike. They are differently read to suit different contexts. The letter ya was written only in its tripartite form. There was no difference between the sign for the consonant ra and the sign for the medial vowel ā long.

A number of orthographical peculiarities can also be noted. An additional sign for medial ā long was found in A-9. The medial vowel short i was written for the medial vowel long ī in tirttam (tīrttam) B-22; viṭu (vīṭu) C-18 and niṅkal (nīṅkal) C-19. The dental n for alveolar ṅ is found in onṅu, D-3 and koṅvān, D-12. Two vowels were written contiguously without the hiatus consonant in iṅaiṅi, C-23. The reading, given in *South Indian Inscriptions*, has icaitta in C-11. This form occurs in a large number of Tamil inscriptions in South India.<sup>2</sup> But the form found in this inscription should be read as iyaitta. There is no difference in meaning between the two forms. The change of the phoneme c into y occurs in words like nicati which changes into niyati.

2. S. I. I. Vol. XIII, p. 157, p. 173; S. I. I. Vol. V, p. 288.



The donor mentioned in the record was Tāḷi Kumaraṇ, A-8/9, from the Cōḷa country. Kumaraṇ should have been the personal name of the donor and Tāḷi, the name of his father. The word Tāḷi is a Tamil word. Kumaraṇ is Sanskrit derivative. The word Kumaraṇ is still in popular use while the word Tāḷi is not. The Sanskrit Kumārah refers to the always young God Kārttikeya. To it is added the Tamil masculine singular suffix. There is also another proper name in the record Kunraṇ Kāmaṇ, C-15/16. Here too, the name Kunraṇ is a Tamil word while the word Kāmaṇ is a Sanskrit derivative. The Sanskrit word Kāmah refers to the God of Love. Here too, the Tamil masculine singular termination is added. The variant reading Tāmaṇ is similar and refers to the Sun, the possessor of light. These examples show how personal names were changing in the Mediaeval Period. In the Ancient period, as for example in the Sangam period, Tamils had mostly Tamil names. In the Mediaeval period, due to influence of North Indian religions, the names of people began to be derived from Sanskrit and Prakrit. Fathers who had Tamil names were giving their children Sanskrit derived names. This is also an index of the changes taking place in the language and culture of the Tamils during the Mediaeval Period.

Tāḷi Kumaraṇ is referred to as kiḷavaṇ of Cirukūṛraṇallūr. Cirukūṛraṇallūr, as the termination clearly implies, was the name of a village. The word kiḷavaṇ is an appellative masculine singular noun, derived from kiḷamai 'ownership'. He must have been the land-owner of the village. The village formed part of Vēḷārnāṭu. Vēḷārnāṭu formed part of Kṣatriyasikāmaṇivaḷaṇāṭu. This vaḷaṇāṭu formed part of Cōḷamaṇṭalam. Cōḷamaṇṭalam was the heart of the Cōḷa Empire. The reference to Lord Śiva in the Tirukketiśvaram temple resembles the reference to Tāḷi Kumaraṇ in the record. The word, which was

celebrated in devotional hymns of the Pallava Period by Saint Tiruñānacampantar and Saint Cuntarar, was ignored. The new name of the temple was Rājarāja Īṣvaram. The temple was named after Rājarāja the Great. In this connection, it is worth noting that Velgam vihāre in Trincomallee was renamed Rājarājapperumpalli. Not only the temple of Mātōṭṭam but also the city of Mātōṭṭam was renamed after Rājarāja the Great. The city became Rājarājapuram. As this record refers to Rājarājapurattu eṭuppitta Rājarāja Īṣvarattu, it could be surmised that the temple had been renōvated and enlarged, as it was in the case of Rājarājapperumpalli. The renaming of places in the Cōḷa Period can be illustrated by two examples in this record:—īlam āna Mummuṭi Cōḷamaṇṭalattu and Mātōṭṭam āna Rājarājapurattu, both in Side A. The latter names were given to places with the earlier names. The name Mātōṭṭam occurs in Tamil for the first time in the devotional hymns of the Pallava Period. The name īlam for Ceylon occurs in Paṭṭinappālai of the Sangam Literature. The Sanskrit word Īṣvara refers to Lord Siva. The temple dedicated to him is called Īṣvaram. The second letter mu seems to have been read as ma in Mummuṭi in the reading published in *South Indian Inscriptions*. The letter mu is fairly clear in the estampage. Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri also says that Ceylon, as a province of the Cōḷa Empire, was known as Mummuṭi Cōḷamaṇṭalam.

Side B refers to Arumoḷitevavaḷanāṭu. Arumoḷittēvan was the name of the prince who was later crowned Rājarāja and who still later became Rājarāja the Great. Therefore this vaḷanāṭu also must have been named after the great monarch. As this was the new name of the place, current for only sometime during the Cōḷa period, it is now difficult to identify the place. The older name of the place is unfortunately not fully preserved in the existing part of the record. There was a vaḷanāṭu of that name in South India but it is not clear whether this record



refers to that area. Some revenue is indicated by the phrase 'Arumojitēvaḷanāṭṭukku icaṅkum pātaikaḷāl nicatam iranṭu vaṭṭam'. The word icaṅku means 'to go'. The phoneme y had changed into c in this example. This word is usually found in the form of iyaṅku. The word pātaikaḷāl means through paths. The word viṭṭam, which occurs in the reading published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, means tax. If the word is taken as vaṭṭam as it appears in the estampage, it means 'money-changers' commission; trade discount'.<sup>3</sup> This revenue may refer to commission tolls which businessmen had to pay on crossing the frontiers of localities. This was an important source of revenue in those days. The commission might have been doubled to serve this sacred purpose. In the phrase piṭalikai vāri, the word vāri may mean revenue. The word piṭalikai was derived from the word paṭalikai by the change of the phoneme a into i. The word paṭalikai was derived from the Sanskrit word paṭalikā, 'name of a measure of a quantity'.<sup>4</sup> Besides these, three other sources of revenue were mentioned.

Income collected from looms in the city, income collected from commissions and income collected from transport through paths were mentioned. It is worth noting that an important source of income was money derived from weaving in the city of Mātōṭṭam. Weaving must have been a popular industry in the city. As the record is not continuous it is not beyond doubt whether these revenues were to be collected from Mātōṭṭam. But if it was not Mātōṭṭam, it should be referring to South India. It is difficult to believe that money was collected there for a temple here. The word vaṭṭam occurs at this point in the record. There was no consistency in the

3. D. C. Sircar—*Epigraphical Glossary*—p. 426.

4. D. C. Sircar—*Epigraphical Glossary*—p. 224.





reading published in *South Indian Inscriptions*. The same word was read as viṭṭam in one place and as vaṭṭam in another place. The same criticism can be made in reference to the reading of pātai paṭavukaḷāl. This was read as pātai itaṅkaḷāl, B-15 and pāratam aruḷāl, D-1/2. The word mutal is used in the record to mean revenue. There are South Indian Tamil Inscriptions which specified that mutal (capital) should not be used up but interest only should be used up. This kind of provision was made by the donor who invested the mutal and who wished that the charity should be continued in perpetuity. But here, in this inscription, as the revenues were expected to be collected perpetually, it was decreed that mutal could be used for expenses connected with the temple.

The word krddhyāmam is not clear. This should be compared to the Sanskrit term krddhimam, 'Vedic ritual'. The word tiru, qualifying krddhyāmam stands for the meaning 'sacred'. The occasion chosen for the festival was Vaiyyāci Vicākam. The word Vaiyyāci > Vaikāci denotes the Tamil month covering May-June. The word Vicākam stands for the nakṣatra viśākha. The word Vaikāci itself is said to be a derivative of Viśākha. The full moon in the month of Vaikāci falls about the nakṣatra Vicākam. The Vicākam occupies an important place in Hindu and Buddhist calendar. This nakṣatra is closely associated with Lord Muruga and he is some times referred to by the name Vicākaṅ. The Vaikāci Vicākam is also closely associated with Pattiṇi worship. The worship of Pattiṇi or Kaṇṇaki occupies an important place among Ceylon Tamil Hindus. The Kaṇṇaki worship is usually celebrated for a week. It is curious that this inscription alsō refers to a festival for seven days. The festival of Hindu deities usually comes to an end with water-cutting ceremony. Here also, the water-cutting ceremony is referred to as tīrttam. The day of Vesak,

the Thrice Blessed day of Lord Buddha, mostly falls on the day of Vaikāci Vicākam. Thus, Vaikāci Vicākam denoted a period of festivities among both the Buddhists and the Hindus of Ceylon. This might be the reason why this period was chosen for the festival of the Śiva temple. The Hindu temples generally have their period of festivals between April and September. This period must have been chosen in the interests of the farmers. During this hot season, farming, as for example, paddy cultivation, comes to a standstill except in a few places where irrigation facilities may be available. An example for double causal form is found in āṭṭuvippatu. The simple verb āṭu becomes causal āṭṭu. The causal āṭṭu becomes double causal āṭṭuvi. Vīracōḷiyam, the Medieval Tamil grammar, refers to this grammatical category as kāri-takkāritam.

Side C refers to four great boundaries of a piece of land. The phrase, 'peru nāṅk-ellai' was a conventional one, occurring in a large number of South Indian Tamil inscriptions. But only the portion mentioning two boundaries is preserved in this record. The portion mentioning the other two boundaries must be missing. The beginning of the preserved part of the record mentions 'including five rods (of land measured) by firm big rod'. The western boundary was said to be the east of Rājarājapperunteru. Even the main street in Mātōṭṭam seems to have been named after Rājarāja the Great. The word pāl used to mean 'side' was in accordance with the usage in Medieval South Indian Tamil inscriptions. This word is not commonly used now; the word pakkam is used in that sense now. The northern boundary is said to be the south of Kammāṇaccēri. The word kammāṇar, which had become kammāṇar through nasalisation to accord with harmonic sequence, means artisans. The word cēri, a derivative noun from the verbal base cēr 'to join' may mean a street



or settlement. These words should have become Kam-māṇaccēri in sandhi by the disappearance of r ending of the first word and the doubling of the initial plosive of the second word. In this example, the first part of the sandhi occurred but the second part did not. Such peculiarities are noticeable in inscriptional Tamil.

The word kuṭi in line 15 seems to suggest an inhabitant or a subject. Exception was made to the properties of Kunraṇ Tāmaṇ in the land included within the four boundaries. The exceptions were his house, garden and bungalow, designated as vīṭu, tōṭṭam and māḷikai. It is interesting that māḷikai and house were listed separately. He had probably two establishments for his residence. The Sanskrit word māḷikā also means a palace. It is not known whether Kunraṇ Kāmaṇ had any royal connection. The land was given as devadāna or gift to God. Even temple lands had to pay some taxes in the Cōḷa Empire. Therefore it was further specified as iṅaiḷi 'tax free land'. The word ittaṇai is a compound of itu and aṇai. The word aṇai gives a sense of totality to the word itu, a neuter singular demonstrative pronoun denoting proximity. Otherwise, the word ittaṇai should be considered a derivative of ittaṇai, 'this much, this extent, this number'. There were three forms formed by adding the auxiliary paṭu to nouns in Side C:— utpaṭṭa, akappaṭṭa, and naṭuvuppaṭṭa. The auxiliary paṭu gives a verbal force to the nouns. All these three expressions denote more or less the same meaning.

Side D mentions the revenue at the beginning and the expenditure at the end. The commission from transport through paths was one ákkam. Akkam was a small coin in those days. The commission from weaving looms in the city was said to one-eighth of an akkam per loom per month. The tax payer had to pay a commission for every kācu paid as tax. The word vāy is a locative case sign and the phrase kācivāy occurs in



Tamil inscriptions of the Cōja period. The tax collector also had to pay a commission. The forms of expenditure were than listed. At the rate of two nālis of rice per time, six nālis of rice were to be provided for sacred offering. For two Brahmins who worship, eight nālis of rice were to be supplied daily. There was some provision for the head of the muṭṭ also but the relevant portion is missing in the record.

The word māṇi stands for a Brahmin. In Kannada language, the word māṇi stands for a waiter. As sacred meal was mentioned just before the reference to māṇi, the reference was read as aṭuvikkum māṇi 'the waiter who cooks' in the reading published in *South Indian Inscriptions*. An attempt was made in that reading to fit in a preconceived idea to suit the context. The knowledge of the Kannada usage must have led to the error in reading. On examining the estampage, the present editor finds that the reference should be read as ariccikkum māṇi, 'the Brahmins who worship'. The word māṇi seems to have denoted a Brahmin first and then only, a waiter. What Dr. M. Chidananda Murthy says of Kannada<sup>5</sup>, should explain the situation in reference to this word in Tamil also. He says, "The word māṇi in South Canara means 'a young Brahmin boy'. The enterprising South Canara Brahmins who control most of the hotel business of South India brought young boys of their area to serve in their restaurants as waiters. The boys were addressed as māṇi! (you, young boy!). The Mysore dialect has no word 'māṇi' and the people who speak this dialect heard the word

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5. In footnote (1) of his paper on 'Semantic changes in Sanskrit Loan words in Cultivated Dravidian with Special reference to Kannada' read at the Seminar of Dravidian Linguistics - II in Annamalai University in November 1969.

only in the hotel situation. This is how the word has come to mean 'a waiter' and the meaning is getting currency in all other dialects". The word māṇi was derived from Sanskrit māṇava 'a youth, a student'. Rajaraja the Great annexed South Canara to the Cōla Empire. It may be that Brahmins from that area brought usage of the word māṇi, 'a Brahmin' to Ceylon.

The record was written in Tamil script. But Grantha script was used to write Sanskrit words. Some Sanskrit words were written partly in Tamil script and partly in Grantha script. In such words, Sanskrit sounds which would be difficult to represent in Tamil script, were represented in Grantha script. The Emperor's throne name of Rājarāja was always written in Grantha even when it formed part of the compound with a Tamil word:- Rājarāja-purattu and Rājarāja - pperunteru. Krdhyāmam was written in Grantha though it formed part of the compound with a Tamil word:- tiru Krdhyāmam. In the word īśvarattu, only the compound letter śva was written in Grantha. The words Mahādēva (in Mahādēvarkku) and Candrāditya (in Candrādityaval), both of which occur in Side A. were written in Grantha. In the word Kṣatriyiksikāmaṇivaḷanattu, kṣaatriyasi- was written in Grantha while the rest was in Tamil.

## The Naimmana Inscription of Parakramabahu

This inscription was 598 of 1930 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. It was found in an upright slab in a land called Hingangodawatte in Naimmana, Matara District. The location was about two miles north of Matara. The slab is now preserved in the Colombo Museum. This inscription was edited by Professor S. Paranavitane.<sup>1</sup> The inscription was engraved on two sides of the slab. Side A measures 2'9"×1'¼". Side B measures 3'1"×1'½".

The inscription is in Tamil and Grantha scripts. The inscription ends with two Sanskrit verses, written in Grantha. The script can be dated in the fourteenth or the fifteenth centuries. Professor. Paranavitane identifies the ruler mentioned in the record with Parakramabahu VI (1410-1467). But it is better to identify him with the scholar king Pandit Parakramabahu III who ruled from Dambadeniya. Pandit Parakramabahu had a court poet Pandit Pōcarācan. He was the author of the first known Tamil book written in Ceylon, i. e. Caracōti Mālai - a work on astrology. This work mentions 1232 of śaka era as the date of completion of the work. That date is equivalent to 1310 A. D. in the Christian era. Palaeographically too, the inscription could be said to belong to this date. The author of the astrological work was referred to as Tēnuvaraipperumāḷ (Viṣṇu of Denuwara). From internal evidence, it is clear that the author was a Vaiṣṇavite Brahmin. According to Professor Paranavitane, the ancient shrine of Upulvan began to be considered a Viṣṇu temple from about that period, due to South Indian influence.

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1. The Shrine of Upulvan at Devundara, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Volume VI-p, 73.





Inscription from Naimmina (earlier part)



It is quite possible that the grant mentioned in the record was made by the king under the influence of this poet. The letters were clumsily written in different sizes. The object of the record was the grant of the village of Nāymaṅai and other lands to the cattiram of Devarāja.

Professor Parānavitanē had published a good edition of this record. The present editor can offer only minor variations in the reading of the record. The editor will make some additional comments on the language of the Tamil section of the record. Differences in the interpretation of the record will also be referred to.

Professor Parānavitanē's  
reading<sup>2</sup>

Differences, according to  
this editor

Side A

|                             |                   |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <u>Ciṅi</u> Parākkirama- | Ciṅi Parākkirama- |
| 2. vāku tevaṅku yā-         |                   |
| 3. ṅṅu 20 āvatuk-           |                   |
| 4. ku etirāvatu Vai-        |                   |
| 5. kāci muṣi maHĀ           |                   |
| 6. <u>irācāvan</u> tiru     | irācāviṅ tiru     |
| 7. ccattira ttūcku tey-     |                   |
| 8. <u>ti irācarkkaḷ</u> ti- | ti irācākkaḷ ti-  |
| 9. ru ccannatiyil           |                   |
| 10. ni(catam) naṅakkīṅa     |                   |
| 11. cattirattukku tiru      |                   |
| 12. vuḷlam parrina          |                   |
| 13. ūr Nāymaṅai             |                   |
| 14. <u>Cūṅkaṅkoḷa</u> Pa-   | Cūṅkaṅkoḷa Pa-    |
| 15. kala Karamullai         |                   |
| 16. <u>Vertūvai uḷ-</u>     | Vertuvai uḷ-      |
| 17. paṅṅa tōṅṅam            |                   |
| 18. vayalkaḷ (1*) ivai      |                   |
| 19. <u>SATRĀntiratitta</u>  | kku cantirātitta  |

2. The system of transliteration adopted by him was changed here to bring it into line with the transliteration system in this book.



## Side B

20. varaikku nataḥ  
 21. kum paṭi ariyavu-  
 22. m (1\*) itukku akitam  
 23. niṇaittavar uṇ-  
 24. ṭākil pacuvaiyum  
 25. pirāmaṇaṇaiyum  
 26. Keṅkaiyil vati  
 27. tta pāvattil pō tta pāvattil pera  
 28. ka kkaṭavar ākavum (1\*) itu k  
 29. nilai iṭṭu kkuṭutta-  
 30. var SVARGGA MOKSAM  
 31. peravum, DHARMMA-STHI-  
 32. TYAI DVĀDAŚA BRĀHMA-  
 33. NANĀN NITYAM ŚRĪMA-  
 34. D DĒVA RĀJASYA SA (T)-  
 35. TRE(1\*) GRĀMAM PRĀDĀ-  
 36. N=NAYMMANE NĀMA RAMYAM  
 37. LAMKĀDHĪSA (H) ŚRĪ PARĀ  
 38. KRĀNTI BĀHU(H) (II\*) KĀLE  
 39. KĀLE PĀLANĀM  
 40. YETU KURYUS=TE  
 41. ŚĀM VRĀDDHI (R)-D-DEVARĀJA  
 42. PRASĀDĀT(1\*) YE VĀ-  
 43. LOBHAL-LAMGHAYE-  
 44. RA(M) L=LĀGHĪṢṬHĀS=TEPU-  
 45. NYA-ŚRĪ-KĪRTTIBHIR=VAŅCI  
 46. TĀ(S\*)=SYU(H\*) (II\*)

Though the record was written both in Tamil and Grantha scripts, the Tamil portion of the record was written entirely in Tamil script except for hā in mahā (line 5) and svargga mokṣam (line 30). This also reflects the trend in early Ceylon Tamil Literature, quite distinct from the trend in South Indian Tamil Literature of the period. The South Indian Tamil Literature of that period,



Inscription from Naimmana (latter part)





to mention only typical examples of Aruṅakirinātar and Villiputtūrar and Vaiṣṇavite commentaries in Maṇipravāla style for the Nālayira Tivya Prabandham, is noted for the large admixture of Sanskrit words, not assimilated to the Tamil phonemic pattern. But Caracōti Mālai was written in Classical Tamil. Loanwords from Sanskrit were always Tamilicised. A number of Tamil literary works were produced in Jaffna Kingdom from about the fourteenth century. The Jaffna Kings established an Academy for the development of Tamil Studies. The tradition set up by Pandit Pōcarācaṅ was followed by the literary works of the period in the style of composition. Cekarācācēkara Mālai, an astrological work by Cōmacaṅmā; Pararācācēkaram, a medical work by twelve physicians from South India; Irakuvamicam, a translation from Sanskrit Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa by Aracakēcari and Takkiṇa Kailāca Purāṇam on the Śiva temple of Trincomalee by Paṅṅitarācar are examples for the distinct style of composition of Ceylon Tamil poets of that period. But the Sanskrit scholarship of the authors cannot be doubted. Most of these works were either translations or adaptations of Sanskrit works. Most probably this inscription was also composed by Pandit Pōcarācaṅ, the author of Caracōti Mālai.

The phrase svargga mokṣam occurs at the end of the Tamil portion. The word svargga refers to heaven or land of the Devas where souls enjoy to the maximum. The word mokṣam refers to final liberation. Souls can attain these states only if they perform exceptionally good meritorious deeds. The primitive Vedic religion stressed svargga as the final goal of life. Buddhism and Jainism stressed mokṣa as the final goal of life. Later Hinduism accepted mokṣa or complete liberation as the final goal of life. Hinduism didn't renounce the earlier goal. Therefore both of them remain the goals to which Hinduism inspire the people. Mokṣa will inspire the other worldly

type of people while svargga will inspire the this wordly type of people. In this way, the charity was expected to be maintained by all people.

The Sanskrit word śrī was Tamilicised as Ciri. In medieval and modern Tamil, the word tiru generally takes its place. The Sanskrit word Parākramabāhu was Tamilicised as Parākkiramavāku. There is no trilled sound, ṛ in Sanskrit. Therefore, the usual Tamil rendering of these words should be ciri Parākkiramapāku. The Sanskrit word Brahmin was Tamilicised as piṛāmaṇan-ai in line 25. Here also the trilled ṛ was used. This usage which can be counted as an orthographical error, may be illustrating a mannerism of the scribe as it was found in a number of places in similar context.

There was close resemblance between ti and ku in this record. The letter ti in this record looks exactly like the modern ku. It differs from ku of that period only by lengthening its tail to form about three fourths of a circle round ta. The form uḷpaṭṭa (lines-16-17) occurs usually in the assimilated form of uṭpaṭṭa. If the word tēvaṅku is split as tēvaṅ and ku, there is no orthographical error. The usage of the masculine singular termination began to denote persons of inferior status after the Sangam period. Therefore it is difficult to believe that a donor king of the fourteenth century was referred to with a masculine singular termination instead of an honorific plural suffix. From this premise, the word should be split as tēvar and ku. Then the proper sandhi form should be tēvarkku. But the difference in pronunciation between the words tēvarkku and tēvaṅku is slight. The usage of one form instead of the other was also found in South Indian Tamil Inscriptions<sup>3</sup>. In the fifth line,

3. nāyaṅāṅku in S. I. I. Vol. VIII, p. 82; tēvaṅku in S. I. I Vol. VIII, p. 76; ūṅku in S. I. I. Vol. V. p. 118, nācciyāṅku in S. I. I. Vol. IV. p. 133.



the letter mu stands as a shortened form for mun pakkam 'first fortnight'. The Sanskrit word rāja assumes a prothetic i and occurs as irācā 'king'. Though the classical Tamil word manṇan and the Tamilicised loan-word aracaṇ were preferred in written Tamil, the form irācā is the most common spoken form. The Tamil script has no compound letters. But some compound letters occur rarely in inscriptional Tamil. In the word tōṭṭam in line 17, ṭṭa occurs as a compound letter.

Professor Paranavitane, in his introduction to the inscription, says that it was issued in the tenth year of the king. But in the reading of the record as well as in his translation, he mentions the twentieth year of the king. Though the numeral symbol is a little peculiar, the intended number is more probably twenty.

The present editor finds it difficult to agree with Prof. Paranavitane's interpretation of the phrase cattirattukku tiruvuḷḷam parrina' in lines 11-12. This can be translated as 'which he kindly thought for alms-hall'. The phrase preceding this portion 'irācākkaḷ tiruccannatiyil ni (catam) naṭakkira' has to be translated as 'which goes on daily in the sacred presence of the king'. This interpretation applies equally to the royal umbrella and to the alms-hall. Considering the grant of lands, the donation can be taken to apply to the alms-hall.

The last line of Side A was read by Professor Paranavitane as 'satrāntiraditta' and translated as 'as long as the royal umbrella last'. But the present editor has shown that it can be read differently. The latter reading derives further support from the outline drawings of the sun and the moon in Side A. The usual phrase in such transactions 'till the moon and the sun last', should have been intended.



The grant was made to Devarāja 'king of Gods'. It is not clear whom the word represents. According to Paranavitane, the word refers to Upulvan of Devundara. This place has another name Devinuvara. The word Tēnuvarai i.e., Denuvara, also obviously referred to this place. The city around the temple was associated with god. Probably Devarāja-nuvara was the original name which assumed different shapes in course of time. The deity of Devinuvara is now considered Viṣṇu. Whatever the deity might have been originally, it seems that in the period of the record, it must have been considered Viṣṇu. The outline drawings of saṁkha and the cakra (the conch and the disc) in Side B are emblems of Viṣṇu.

The alms-hall was granted for the benefit of the Brahmins. The king must have been persuaded that maintaining Brahmins was one of the greatest meritorious deeds. The killing of a Brahmin must have been considered a heinous sin. That must have been the reason why the record says that people who obstruct this charity shall suffer the sin of killing cows and Brahmins on the banks of the Ganges. The Ganges is the most sacred river of the Hindus. The gravity of the crime increased when it was committed in a sacred place. Cow is a sacred animal for the Hindus. Cow is worshipped in certain rural areas in India. The ritual slaughter of cows for food by Muslim is said to be the occasion for Hindu-Muslim riots in certain rural areas of North India. A few years ago, there was a movement of orthodox and conservative Hindus in India to ban the slaughter of cows completely throughout India. In South India, too, Brahmins received grants of lands. They propagated similar ideas there also. They encouraged rulers and landowners to part with their lands to the Brahmins and thereby earn merit. When they became owners of vast areas of land

including the major portion of the Kaveri delta in the Tanjore District, the most fertile part of Tamilnadu, those families abandoned their priestly and scholarly functions and became hereditary feudal lords.

The Sanskrit word *ahitam* 'damage' was Tamilicised as *akitam*. The Sanskrit loan *Gangā* becomes *Keṅkai* in Tamil. The Sanskrit verbal base *vadh* (*vadhati*) 'to kill', gives rise to *vatitta*, past adjectival participle in Tamil. Loan-words coming into a language are generally nominals. Only when the contact between two languages is very intimate, verbal forms, etc., come in. There are a few examples for verbal forms, thus derived from Sanskrit, being used in Tamil, especially inscriptional Tamil, even in earlier periods<sup>4</sup>. This record provides an additional example.

The Tamilicised loan *cattiram* answers to two Sanskrit words: *chattra* 'umbrella' and *sattra* 'alms-hall'. This record uses *cattiram* in both senses. As the Tamil alphabet doesn't have many sounds peculiar to Sanskrit and as large numbers of Sanskrit words were Tamilcised by the rule of substituting the nearest equivalent sound in Tamil for peculiar sounds of Sanskrit, pun making was one of the important characteristics of literary productions.

The word *teyti* 'date' is synonymous with *tikati*, and *tēti*. The Sanskrit word *samnidhi* 'presence' becomes *cannati* in Tamil. This word also occurs as *canniti* and *cannati* in Tamil. But *cannati* is the most popular form in current usage. The temple of Lord Subrahmaṇya at Tondamannar in Point Pedro is generally referred to as *cannati* by pious devotees, living even many miles away because they feel that God manifests himself there.

4. *Cammatittu*, S. I. I. Vol. VII, p. 9; *aṇupavittu*, S. I. I. Vol. VIII, p. 107; *niṇceyitta*, S. I. I. Vol. VIII, p. 87; *pućikkum*, S. I. I. Vol. V, p. 380; *ārātittu*, S. I. I. Vol. III, p. 93.



Some other Tamil forms can be noted here. The form *uṅṭākil* 'if there were' is in conditional mood. In the form *niṅaittavār*, the sign of past tense is the long consonant *-it-*. There are a number of Tamil verbal forms of the past tense where this long consonant *-it-* alternates with the nasalised consonant *-nt-*. The difference in the sign of tense denotes some difference in meaning. But the form *niṅaittavār* does not denote any different meaning from its alternate form *niṅaintavār*. The form *kaṭavār* (line 28) generally has optative significance. Ārumuka Nāvalar mentions this usage in his work *Ilakkaṇaccurukkam*. The form *kuṭuttavār*, instead of the classical Tamil form, *koṭuttavār* occurs in this record. This *kuṭu* form, which is also the spoken Tamil form, is found in inscriptional Tamil from very ancient times. The form *nilai iṭṭu kkuṭuttavār* answers to 'those who maintained'. The auxiliary *iṭṭu* gives the noun *nilai*, verbal force. The word *kuṭu* is an auxiliary which gives a sense of finality. The form *nilai iṭṭu* is past adjectival participle. The following plosive *-k* becomes long consonant *-kk-*. In sandhi, the plosive following a past adverbial participle doubles only when the past tense sign *-t-* becomes a long consonant *-tt-* in those participle forms. There is no sandhi change when the tense sign *-t-* remains a simple *-t-* or a nasalised *-nt-*. The phrase *tōṭṭam vaylkaḷ* is an *ummaittokai* or *dvandva* like compound in Tamil. The neuter plural termination *-kaḷ* was added to *vayal* but not to *tōṭṭam*. Such usage is in accordance with Tamil grammar and the compound means 'gardens and fields'. The form *naṭakkum paṭi* is an adverbial participle formed by the addition of the noun *paṭi* to the adjectival participle *naṭakkum*.

Some comments can be made about use of postpositions in relation to nouns. First, reference could be made to the absence of postpositions in a number of



places. The Tamil language doesn't make much use of case signs. In verses, their usage is rare. In prose, they are more frequently used to give clarity to expressions. The nouns *etirāvatu* in line 4 and *teyti* in line 8 have locative signification but they have no case signs of location. The form *etirāvatu* is peculiar. It really stands for *etir āṇṭu āvatu*. The nouns *akitam* and *svargga mokṣam* were used as objects but there were no accusative case markers. The form *irācāviṇ* consists of the noun *irācā* and the inflexional increment *-iṇ*. It gives possessive significance. Second, reference could be made to the use of inflexional increment between noun and case marker:— *cattiram + ku* becomes *cattiram + ttu + ku* i. e. *cattirattukku* in line 11; *pāvam + il* becomes *pāvam + ttu + il* i. e. *pāvattil* in line 27. There are many examples where no inflexional increment occurs:— *pacuvai*; *pirāmaṇaṇai*; *tēvar̥ku*; *avarukku*; *keṅkaiyil*; *ivaikku* and *itukku*. Though the last two forms are used in spoken Tamil, written Tamil, in accordance with grammatical tradition prefers *ivai + rru + kku*, i. e. *ivar̥rukku* and *itu + an + ukku*, i. e., *itanukku*. Third, reference could be made to wrong usage of postpositions, i. e. usage of one postposition instead of the other. The form *ivaikku* in line 19 is nominative. Hence the postposition *-ku* is unnecessary. The form *pāvattil* in line 27 is accusative. Hence *ai-* should be used instead of *-il*.

The inscription consists of four Tamil sentences in 31 lines. The first one is a long sentence of about 18 lines. The third sentence consists of about seven lines. The other two sentences are short sentences. Thus inscriptions have long sentences as well as short sentences. The short sentences are so short that they consist of only about four words each. The last Tamil sentence has the pattern = subject -object-predicate= which is the most common pattern in present day Tamil. The second and the third sentences don't have their subjects. The subjects

are understood. The subject of ariyavum in the second sentence may be the Tamil word for 'all' or 'everyone'. The subject of pōkakkāṭavar ākavum in the third sentence should be avar 'they'. In these sentences, the predicates come at the ends and the objects precede them. The third sentence is more complex. The subject and the predicate consists of many words and therefore those units have to be analysed further. But the main sentence pattern remains the same. The subject itukku akitam ninaittavar can be analysed as dative-accusative-predicate. The predicate 'Keṅkaiyil vatitta pāvattil perakkaṭavar ākavum' can be split as two sub-units 'Keṅkaiyil vatitta pāvattil' occurring as an object to the predicate 'perakkaṭavar ākavum'.

The first sentence is relatively long because it describes the occasion of the gift in 8 lines and the details of the gift in 6 lines. Paragraph system and tabulation procedures were unknown in those days and hence the writing of long sentences. The first sentence has no predicate. The predicate is understood. The past adjectival participle parrīṇa is the main verb of the sentence. The list of donations follows that participle. The sentence ends there.

### Translation

(With some changes of Prof. Parānavitane's) Lines (1-31) On the fifth of the first fortnight of Vaikāci in the year opposite the 20th year of Sri Parākramabāhudevar the anniversary of the raising of the glorious umbrella by the great king. To the alms-hall which carries on daily in the sacred presence of the king (i.e., the officers of the king) the village of Nāymaṇai and the gardens and fields including Sungaṅkoḷa, Pagala karamullai and Vērduvai (were given). Be it known that these are to last as long as the Moon and the Sun last. Should there be any person who have thought of anything detrimental to this they would suffer the consequences of the sin of having

slain cows and Brahmins on (the banks of) the Ganges. Those, who shall cause the maintenanse of this, will obtain heaven and final liberation.

(Lines 31-46) For the maintenance permanently of charity towards twelve Brahmins at the alms-hall of the illustrious king of Gods, Sri Parākaramabāhu, the sovereign lord of Lanka, granted the pleasant village called Nāymanne. Should there be any, who from time to time, cause the maintenance (of this grant), to them shall there be prosperity through the favour of the Gods. Should there be, on the other hand, any who would abstract it through greed, they, the meanest (among men) shall be deprived of merit, affluence and fame.

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## Some comments on the Tamil Inscription from Lankatilaka Vihare

This Tamil Inscription was numbered 1629 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. It was discovered on a rock to the south of the Buddhist Vihare in the village of Rabbegomuwa in Madapata Korale, Udunwara of Kandy District. It was written below a Sinhalese inscription. The Sinhalese inscription consists of two parts, i.e. one part, a record of Bhuvanekabāhu IV of Gampola and the other part, a record of his successor Vikramabāhu III. The writing in the lower stretch measuring 21' by 16' 11" is in Tamil and runs into 46 lines. Professor S. Parnavitane had already published a good edition of this inscription. The present editor finds that he can offer slight improvements in the text of the inscription as well as some comments on the language of the record.

The present editor has to acknowledge that the proposed improvements in the reading of the text do not make any substantial change in the meaning of record which Professor Parnavitane gives in his transliteration. Still, the present editor feels that it is better to put the record straight. In line 2, Professor Parnavitane reads colluvaiyāle. The proper Tamil word should be collukaiyāle. On examining the record, the present editor finds that due to the weathering of the rock, the particular letter in that word is difficult to be made out with certainty. Therefore, the proper Tamil word could be preferred. In line 7, Prof. Parnavitane reads iṭuvitt-ūr. But it should be read as iṭuvittat-ūr. In inscriptional Tamil, the short u is sometimes written for long ū. That usage is found

1. Lankatilaka Inscriptions—University of Ceylon Review Vol. XVIII, No. I and II. January 1960. The Tamil inscription was No. 45 in the list of Tamil Inscriptions in H. C. P. Bell's Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1911-12.

in line 2 in two places where Prof. Paranavitane had transcribed as long ū. In line 8, Prof. Paranavitane had Divāṇā. It should be read as Divāṇar. The vowel-consonant ṇā should have been written as  $\text{ṇṇ}$ . But in this inscription,  $\text{ṇṇṇ}$  was written. As the record has no pullis to mark off pure consonants,  $\text{ṇṇṇ}$  should be read as  $\text{ṇṇṇṇ}$ . Prof. Paranavitane had given the alveolar  $\text{ṇ}$  for dental  $\text{n}$  in the word mantri sresthan in line 42. This inscription does not clearly distinguish between ka and ta. Prof. Paranavitane confuses ka and ta in a number of places:—Delkottaiyil (for Deltottaiyil) in line 9; ceyvikkamiyir (for ceyvittamaiyir) in line 17; taraṇa (for kāṇa) in line 29; kaṭaikkapaṭi (for kaṭaittapaṭi) in line 26. In line 12, he reads ivaiyirriṭila. It should be read as ivaiyirriṭil. Prof. Paranavitane reads ivaiirrukkum in two places in line 18. But the record clearly has ivaiyirrukkum. The short medial i, for long medial i, is found in line 19 in viṭṭāl where Paranavitane had given viṭṭāl. Prof. Paranavitane had read maṇṭala-cārākkukku for maṇṭala-ccarakkukku in line 22. The word vāṇipaṇkaḷāl was read as vāṇiyaṇkaḷāl in line 22. The word oru in 27 was read as oṭu. The word ventu in line 29 was marked as vēntu. The word kuvikkappaṭṭa in line 43 was read as kuvintappaṭṭa. The word rāḷakkaḷai was read as rāḷarkkaḷai in line 44. The word vattikkira was read as vaṭṭikkira in lines 44 and 45. Some of the other improvements are the following:—manattāl (for manattāl) in line 28; nūru (for nūgu) in line 32; kuṭi colli (kūṭi ccolli) in line 20; nānūru-rūvam (for nānūr-uruvam) in line 16.

Some orthographical peculiarities of the record should be noted. The vowel consonant ṭi closely resembles ma, especially in lines 3 and 15. The word kaṭaitta in line 26 stands for the word kiṭaitta in the context. Similarly, pakarntu in line 24 stands for pakirntu. This word may be the transcription of the pronunciation of this word in



a Tamil dialect of South India as the present editor has come across this change in pronunciation among some up-country Tamils in Ceylon. The word *matineṇ* in line 23 is not clear. Prof. Paranavitane also confesses that he could not satisfactorily explain it. The letter *ma* is probably a mistake for the letter *pa*. In that case, it will mean eighteen and it will refer to the eighteen lands already referred to in the preceding line of the record. The alveolar *n* was written for the dental *n* in the following words:- *nurumuppattaru* in line 29 and *nām* in line 20. The dental *n* was written from alveolar *n* in *poṭiyinai* in line 39. In the word *iṭṭa*, *ṭṭa* were written like one compound letter in line 16. The diphthong *ai* is sometimes shortened as *a* in pronunciation. This feature, which is a distinguishing trait in the evolution of Malayalam language, is sometimes seen in Tamil also. It is recognised in Tamil grammatical tradition. Two words in this record can be cited as examples:- *paḷaya* (for *paḷaiya*) in line 7 and *tenna maram* (for *tennai maram*) in line 13. It is worth noting here that in South India, coconut trees in large numbers were found only in Kerala, the Malayalam speaking area.

This inscription reflects the style of Tamil, prevalent in Tamilnadu in the same period. There was a large admixture of Sanskrit words. A considerable number of Sanskrit words were not Tamilicised. Grantha letters occur freely throughout the record in writing Sanskrit words. The literary style associated with this style of language was commonly referred to as *Maṣipravāḷam* in South India. Just as a jewel was made of alternanting precious stones and pearls, this style was said to be formed by alternately writing Tamil words and Sanskrit words. Though the Jaina authors started this style in the Pallava period, it was continued in the period of this inscription by Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas who wrote elaborate commentaries



to Vaiṣṇava devotional songs of the Pallava Period. The excessive influence of Sanskrit on Tamil was also seen in poetry of about the same period in Saint Aruṅakirinātar and Villiputtūrar.

Prof. Parnavitane had split the compound yāḷattarai, occurring in a number of lines in the beginning of the inscription as yāḷatt-arai. The word yāḷa was a loan-word from Sinhalese and denoted sowing extent. The word yāḷa could not have assumed -tt- for Tamilicisation. The long consonant -tt- could not have come in sandhi if the word was not something like yāḷam. Some Sanskrit loan words, of course, assume -m ending for Tamilicisation. But such a possibility need not be postulated here. The compound could be split as yāḷa-ttarai. The word tarai, a variation of tarai 'land', is found in spoken Tamil. Spoken Tamil of South India frequently confuses ra and ra sounds. Spoken Tamil of Jaffna very rarely confuses these two sounds. Yet the form tarai is found in spoken Tamil of Jaffna. The word tarai / tarai is a derivative from Sanskrit dharā, 'the earth'.

This inscription has many examples for Tamilicisation of Sinhalese words. The laws of Tamilicisation of Sinhalese words do not differ from the laws of Tamilicisation of Sanskrit words. But still, it is worth being illustrated by examples. A number of Sinhalese words in the Sinhalese inscription of the same place were Tamilicised in this Tamil inscription. Some words were partly translated and partly Tamilicised. Examples: piṭa madigha of Sinhalese, becomes puṛa maṭikai in Tamil; atuḷa madigha in Sinhalese becomes uḷ maṭikai in Tamil. A considerable number of Sinhalese place names were Tamilicised: Siṅguruvaṇa (Ciṅkuruvāṇai) Kirivavula (Kirivavulai); Badalagoḍa (Vatalakoṭai); Gonvāṇika (Konvāṇikkai) Sitdavulla (Cittāvullai); Yakālla (Yakāllai); Kasambiliyāgoḍa (KaSampiliyākoṭai); Nāramgoḍa (Nāraṅkoṭai) and Goḍavela (Koṭavelai).

Some place names were not completely Tamilicised as in Deltota (DEltoṭṭai). There were some personal names which were partly Tamilicised:— Satruvan Patirāja (Satruvan Patirāyar); Jayasiṅha Patirāja (JAyciṅkappatirāyar) and Divāṇa (Divāṇar).

This inscription has many forms to express honorific plurals. In Early Old Tamil, there were only singulars and plurals. Even god and king were addressed in the singular. The plural form always denoted plural number. But in Medieval Tamil, there was a change. The plural forms began to be used for single persons if that person had a higher status. The words mantirikaḷ in this line 1, Senālaṅkātikārikal in line 2 and Vecātikārikal in line 7 are plurals in form but singular in meaning because the persons referred to were men of high status. The kaḷ termination which was restricted to neuter plurals in Early Old Tamil began to be used for honorific and epicene plurals also in the Medieval period. All these three are examples for that usage. Personal pronouns were also used as honorific plurals in this record. The first person nām in line 2 and the third person tām in line 13 were plural in form but singular in significance. When taking case-markers, the long vowels of these forms become shortened and these forms assume the forms of nam and tam. These forms, by themselves, are capable of being used as genitives or possessives. But the postposition uṭaiya is sometimes used to reinforce the possessive significance as in nammuṭaiya in line 1 and tammuṭaiya in line 14.

This record has many forms to express causative sense. A number of forms with the termination-vi appear. Most of them are causative forms formed from the verbal base iṭu 'to endow'. The form iṭuvitta, past adjectival participle, occurs a number of times in the record. The form ituvittu, past adverbial participle, occurs in line 7. The form iṭuvikka, infinitive, occurs in the very first line.



The finite neuter singular form of *iṭuvittatu* is found in line 7. The finite first person plural form *iṭuvittōm* occurs in line 27. The past adverbial forms *kalluvittu*, in line 4, from the verbal base *kal*, 'to dig' and *eḷutuvittu*, in line 27, from the verbal base *eḷutu* 'to write, were also found.

A number of present tense forms occur in this inscription. One finite verb is found in *kūṭā niṭrār* in line 40. The present tense suffix here, according to Nannūl is *āniṭru*. This can be further split as *ā-niṭrū*. The form *niṭru* is clearly a past tense form, formed from the base *niḷ* 'to stay'. The word *ā* is equivalent to 'to be'. This present tense sign, formed from these elements, therefore denotes an incomplete action. The action has begun but it is not yet complete. This is the origin of this present tense sign. Even in Medieval Tamil, this form was rarely used. It has gone out of use now. Nannūl also mentions *kiṭru* and *kiṭu*. The form *kiṭu* is a variation of *kiṭru*. In modern usage, *kiṭu* is more popular but *kiṭru* is considered more elegant. All the examples found in this record are present adjectival participles of *kiṭu* form:- *eṅkiṭa* (line 6) *eḷuntaruḷiyirukkīa* (line 16), *ceyvittuppōtukīa* (line 26), *tōṅrukīa* (line 44), *uṅṭākīa* (line 45), *varukīa* (line 45) and *irukkīa* (line 46).

There are many optative forms in this inscription. The *ka* termination gives optative significance when added to verbal bases. The form *āka*, an optative, is formed by the addition of *ka* to the verbal base *ā* 'to be'. The form *āka* is added to the finite form to give it optative significance as in *anupavippārkaḷ-āka* in line 30. The word *māṭṭu* is an auxiliary verb that gives a negative significance. This auxiliary verb was added to the main verb which was in infinitive form and from that addition, a finite form was formed. To that formation was added this *āka* as in *kāṇamāṭṭārkaḷāka*, as in line 32. The addition of *um* reinforces the optative significance as in *kāṇamāṭṭārkaḷākavum*, as in line 33. Optative forms formed by



adding āka to finite forms formed from the verbal base ā are added to nominal forms as in antyar-āvarkaḷ-āka and kaṭai-āvarkaḷ-āka, both forms in line 31. The finite verb peruvarkaḷ in line 36 is optative in significance in the context in which it is found. Verbal forms of the pattern kaṭavaṅ, kaṭavaḷ etc., also give optative significance. They are usually added to infinitive forms. This record has kuṭukka kkaṭavarkaḷ in line 20 and koḷḷa kkaṭavatu in line 21. The existence of double plural forms in most of these optatives should be noted. As the plural forms began to denote honorific plurals, the necessity for double plurals arose to distinguish the proper plurals. The forms anupavippārkaḷ, antyarāvarkaḷ, kaṭaiāvarkaḷ, kāṇamāṭṭārkaḷ, peruvarkaḷ and kuṭukkakkatavarkaḷ are double plural forms denoting plurals proper. All the double plural forms here are formed by adding kaḷ termination to the earlier epicene plural forms. The earlier epicene plural forms should have been so much identified with honorific singulars that they must have been felt by the composer of this record to be incapable of expressing plurals proper. This development marks an important stage in the development of the Tamil language. Later, these double plurals also begin to denote honorific plurals. At present, in ordinary Tamil usage, double plurals are frequently used when referring to equals and masculine singular and feminine singular are used when referring to inferiors or youngsters. There are double plurals even in neuter forms. They must have been formed on the analogy of rational forms as there is no necessity to attach honour to neuter forms.

This record has a considerable number of verbal forms with Sanskrit bases. Languages in contact generally use loan words in the sphere of nominals. This observation was already made by Cēṇāvaraiyar, the great commentator of Tolkāppiyam, when he was discussing word classification

in Tamil<sup>2</sup>. There were rare examples of Tamil verbal forms with Sanskrit bases in inscriptional Tamil even before his age of the thirteenth century. In this record of the next century, many forms are found. The Sanskrit base rakṣi, 'to protect', took many forms:— rakṣittu, past adverbial participle, in line 25, rakṣitta, past adjectival participle, in line 34, rakṣikkirāṇ, masculine singular present finite verb, in line 38 and rakṣikkaiyir, verbal noun, in line 36. From the Sanskrit anubhavaḥ was formed the verbal base aṇupavi. This gives rise to aṇupavippārkaḷ, epicene plural finite verb, in line 30. The Tamil auxiliaries paṭu and paṇṇu were used to give verbal force to Sanskrit nouns:— paṭu in priyappaṭtu, past adverbial participle in line 27 and cakāyappaṭtu, also past adverbial participle, in line 33; paṇṇu in āccinaippaṇṇinom, first person honorific plural past finite verb, in line 21 and ārādhanam paṇṇinār, third person honorific plural past finite verb, in line 37. The Sanskrit word ājñā, 'order' become āccinai here. Both paṭu and paṇṇu are still used to give verbal force to loan word nouns from English and other languages.

Some more forms in this record can also be noticed. The term kōyil generally refers to a Hindu temple. The usual Tamil term for the Buddhist temple is paḷḷi. But the Tamilised Pali word for Buddhist temple is vikāram. In this inscription, the terms vikāram and kōyil were used to denote the Buddhist vihāre. The variant form of the classical word peyar 'name' is pēr. The word pēr is the modern spoken form. In this inscription, the word pēr occurs in line 46. In the first line itself, the form vēṇum occurs. It is also the modern spoken form, softened from the classical form of vēṇṭum. The word tōppu, 'collection of trees' derived from tokuppu, occurs in line 5. Its plural form tōppukkaḷ occurs in line 13.

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2. Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram - Eccaviyal - First sūtra.



This word also occurs in *Tēcavaḷamai* which was a codification of the then laws and customs of Jaffna in the Dutch period. Sometimes, this word is wrongly attributed to the Dutch language by people who were not familiar with its earlier usage, as for example, in this inscription. The Sanskrit derivative *kalliyāṇam* was used in the sense of marriage in line 24. There is a peculiarity in the addition of inflectional increment to proximate neuter plural demonstrative pronoun, *ivai*. The forms *ivaīy-ir-ṛ-il* (line 12) and *ivaīy-ir-ṛu-kku* (line 11) are found in this record. According to *Tolkāppiyam* and according to general usage, these forms should be *iv-ar-ṛ-il* and *iv-ar-ṛu-kku*. The form *ippaṭi* occurs in line 11 and 23. This form is a common usage in inscriptional Tamil. The form that is usually preferred in written Tamil is *iṅṅaṇam*. *Nannūl* refers to this form when it refers to words with *ṅ* as initial letter. The word *iṅṅaṇam* is popular in Malayalam-speaking area. It is now assumed to be a nasalised form of *iṅkaṇam*, i. e., *iṅku+an+am*, a change that can be explained in terms of Tamil and Malayalam phonology.

Honorific particles also occur in this record. The word *śrī* occurs as an honorific particle when referring to the *vihāre* as in *śrī mahā vihāram* in line 1 and *śrī vihāram* in line 16. The Tamil word *tiru*, considered by some to be the Tamil derivative of *śrī* occurs when referring to things connected with the *vihāre* as *tiru viḷakku* in line 10, *tiru ppaḷittāṁam* in line 17, *tiruppaṇi* in line 17 and *tirupparivaṭṭam* in line 18.

The transliteration of the text, where simple letters denote the Tamil script and the capital letters denote Grantha script, will show to some extent the preponderant influence of Sanskrit language on the Tamil language of that period. The system of transliteration had been changed from that of Professor Parānavitane to bring it into line with the system, followed in this book.



Transliteration

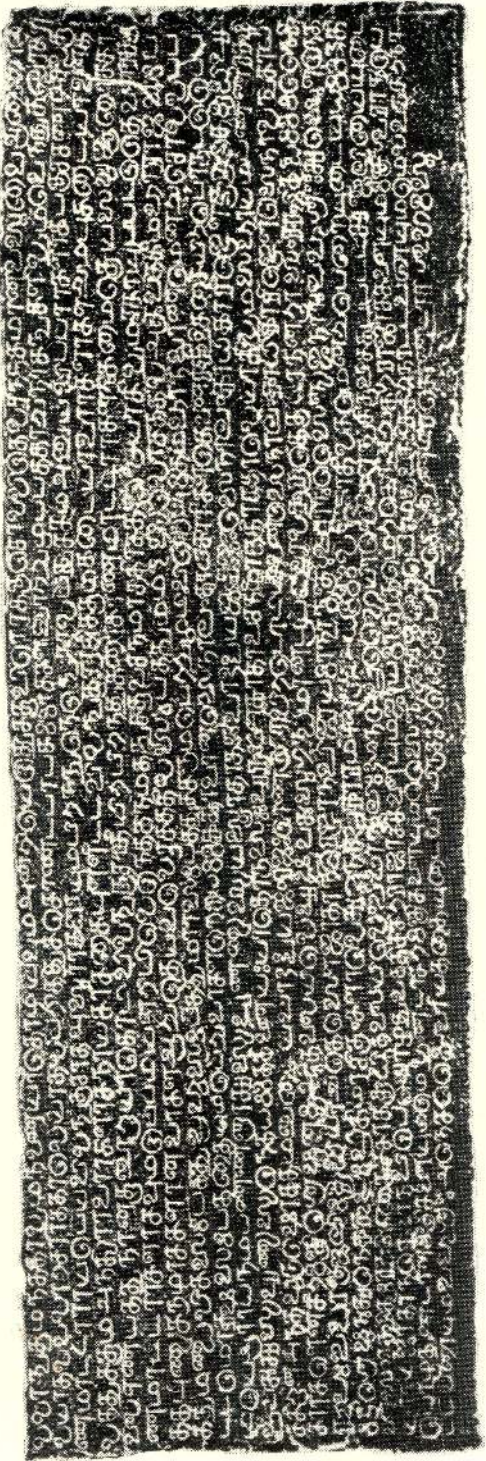
1. SVASTI ŚRI (\*) Inta ŚRI maHĀ viHĀram mel varuttanaiyir poruṭṭu itukku PRATIṢṬHAIy-iṭuvikka vēṇum-enru nammuṭaiya man irikaḷ-ā-
2. na SENā Laṅkātikārikaḷ namakku ccollukaiyālē nām-i-kkōyilukku iṭuvitta RAKṢAIy-āvatu (I\*) Ciṅkuru-vāṇaināṭṭil
3. Kirivavulaiy-enkīra ūr oru yāḷa-ttaraiyum (nām-um mutalikaḷ) um nāṭṭavarum kūṭi pputit-āka āvaṇamum aṭaittu vāykkāluṅ ka-
4. Iḷuvitt-iṭuvitta Putiya Vatalakoṭaiyil āṅu yāḷa-ttaraiyum Paḷaiya Vatalakoṭaiyil aṅcu yāḷa-ttaraiyum-āka-ppa-
5. ṇṇiraṇṭu yāḷa-ttaraiyum-āka (ivvu) rkaḷil nāl-ellaikk-uṭpaṭṭa kāṭum mā ppuliy-uḷḷiṭṭa tōppum ūr nattamum
6. SENĀ Laṅkātikārikaḷ tammuṭaiya pārampariyam-āṇa ūrāl-iṭuvitta Cittāvullai Konvāṅikkaiy-enkīra iraṇ-
7. ṭ-urāl oru yāḷa-ttaraiyum vecātikārikaḷ - iṭuvittat-ur Paḷaya Vatalakoṭaiyil Yakāllaiy-enkīra vayalāl yāḷa-ttaraiyum
8. SATRUvaṅ patirāyar iṭuvitta kaSAmpiliyākoṭaiy-enkīra ur oru yāḷa-ttaraiyum DIVĀṇar uṭaiyār-iṭuvitta Nāraṅ-
9. koṭai oru yāḷa-ttaraiyum JAyciṅkappatirāyar-iṭuvitta DELtoṭṭaiyil paṇṇiraṇṭ-amaṇa-ttaraiyum Caṅṭāṇā aṭa-
10. viyilē tiru viḷakk-enṇaiikk-āka iṭuvitta (viṭiyela) m-āka kāṭum Ciṅkuruvaṇai nāṭṭavar kūṭi āvaṇam-um(m) aṭaittu vā-
11. ykkāluṅ kalliy-iṭuvitta Koṭavelai (oru)yāḷa-ttaraiyum ākay-ippaṭi i-kkōyilukku nāmum mutalikaḷum nāṭṭa-

12. varum-āka kkūṭiy-iṭuvitta KṢETRAM patineḷu yāḷattu  
ppanniraṇṭ-amaṇa-ttara<sup>p</sup>iyum-ivaiyirril nāl-ellaikk-  
muṭaṭṭa kā-
13. ṭu tenna maram (cappu) mā ppuliy-uḷḷitta tōppukkaḷum  
ūr nattaṅkaḷum-iṭuvittu SENĀ Laṅkātikārikaḷ tām-i-  
kkō-
14. yilukk-iṭuvitta poṅ velli veṅkalam-irumpu mutal āna  
pūJĀBHĀNTAṅkaḷum ivar tammuṭaiya kalliyāṇa-aṭi-
15. maiyāy<sup>u</sup>m kāc-iṭṭu kkoṇṭu iṭuvitta āṇ-aṭimai peṇ-  
aṭimaiyāl irunūr-aṭimaiy<sup>u</sup>m pacu erumaiy-uḷ-
16. ḷiṭṭa māṭu kanru kāliyāl nānūr-uruvam ippaṭi iṭṭa inta  
ŚRĪ viHĀrattil eḷuntaruḷiyirukkira SARVAJŅArkaḷ
17. DEVASTHĀ (naṅ)kaḷ ivarkaḷukku ceyvitta (maiyr)  
poruṭṭum amutuṭaṭi tiru viḷakku tiiruppaḷḷittāma-
18. m kūt-ōlakkam mutal-āna pūcai ivaiyirrukkum tiru  
pparivaṭṭam āparaṇam ivaiyirrukkum (Laṅ)kātilakam e-
19. nru irāJYAvāSikaḷ pēr ākaiyil irācciyavāSikaḷ ellārum  
kūṭi āṇṭ-onṅukku oru paṇam-ā-
20. ṇṭu tōṅum kuṭukka kkaṭavarkaḷ-āka nāmum mutalikaḷum  
kūṭi ccolli maṇ kalan-taṭuttu poṅ kalam eṭuttum  
taṭuttum
21. vaḷaittum taṅṭikkoḷḷakkaṭavat-āka āccinaippaṇṇinōm  
(1\*) Puṇa maṭikaiyālum uḷ maṭikaiyālum onpaṭu
22. turaiyālum patineṭṭu tēcattil niṅṅum vanta vāṇipaṅkaḷ-  
ālum koṇṭu vanta pala maṇṭala ccarakkukku nūrruk-
23. ku kkāl kuṭakkum paṭi matineṇ viSāyam-āka kkūṭi  
vaittu kkuṭuttu cempilum kallilum eḷuti kkuṭuttārkaḷ  
ippaṭi
24. iṭuvitta RAKṢAlyāl vanta VASTUv-ellām-aṅcu kūr-  
āka ppakkarntu BUDDHA-DHARMMA-SANĀGHAM-  
ākiya ratnatrayattukku mūnru kūr<sup>u</sup>m





Inscription from  
Polonnaruwa



Inscription from Lankatilaka Vihare (latter part)





25. teyvaṅkaḷuk-oru kūrum SENĀ Laṅkātikārikalūṭaiya  
VAṅSAttile tōṅri inta DHARMMattai RAKSIIttu  
tiruppa-
26. ṅi ceyvittu ppōtukira BANDHUKkaḷukku oru kūrum-  
āka kkaṭaittappaṭi ippaṭi inta DHARMMAM CANDRĀ-  
DITTAvarai naṭakkum
27. paṭi cempilum kallilum eḷuvitt-iṭuvittōm ippaṭiyai  
ellārum PRIYAppaṭṭu kkoḷḷavum(1\*) Itukku-oru po-
28. llāṅku maṇattālum niṅaiyāt-oḷiyavum aṅṅiyē itukku  
virōtaṅ colli itil cantakam-āṅa VASTUvai ācaiṅ-
29. ley-ātal valārkarattālēy-ātal paṅṅittu kkoṅṅa pāpa  
karmmakkaḷ nūrumuppattāru narakaṅkaḷilum ventu  
karai kā-
30. ṅa māṭṭārāy pēy vīlaṅku cāti aSURarkaḷ -āyumu piṅṅantu  
neṭuṅ kālam tukkam aṅṅupavippārkaḷ-āka paṅṅa caṅṅāla  
ku-
31. laṭṭukkum aṅṅYAr-āvarkaḷ āka nāy kakkaiy-ullīṭṭa  
vīlaṅku cātikkum kaṭaiyāvarkaḷ-āka eṅṅumpu kaṭai yāṅai  
ta-
32. lai eṅṅpattunāṅku nūr-āyira kōṭi vīlaṅku cātiyir piṅṅantu  
karai kāṅa māṭṭārkaḷ-āka MaITREya SARVAJṅArai  
kkā-
33. ṅamāṭṭārkaḷ ākavum (\*1) Ippaṭiy-aṅṅiyilē inta taṅ-  
mattukku vacana māṭṭiratṭālēy-ākilum cakāyappaṭṭu  
itaṅṅai RAKṢI-
34. tta puṅṅYA kaṅṅmakkaḷ āru teyva lōkattil SAMpattum  
maṅṅṅYA lōkattil CAKRAVATTI maHĀRĀJA SAMPA-
35. TTU maṅṅṅalika SAMpattu BRAHMA SAMpattu  
māra SAMpattukkaḷum peṅṅru muṭivilē aMṅṅtamaHĀ  
niṅṅRVVĀṅam eṅṅru collappa
36. ṭṭa moKṢA SAMpattaiyumu peṅṅuvarkaḷ (1\*) Inta  
DHARMMa KARTTĀv-āṅa SENĀ LAṅkāDHikārikal  
itaṅṅai RAKṢIkkaiyir poruṭṭu ippa-

37. tiyē arāDHA<sub>n</sub>am paṇṇinār (1\*) ASYA PUṆYAŚYA  
YAS-TRĀTĀ TAT-PĀDA DVAYAJAM RAJAḤ (1\*)  
SENĀ LAṆKĀDHĪKĀRINDRAU KURUTE  
MŪRDHNI PU-
38. ŚPAVAT (11\*) ASYA PUṆYAŚYA inta DHARMMĀ-  
ttanai yaḤ yāt-oru SAT PURUṢAN TRĀTĀ vacana  
māttirattāle ākilum SAHĀYampaṇṇi RAKṢI-
39. kkirān anta PURUṢOttamaṇuṭaiya PĀDADVAYAJAM  
RAJAḤ irāṇṭu kālir poṭiyinai SENĀLAṆKĀDHĪKĀRIN-  
DRAU SENĀ LaṅkāDHI-
40. Kārikal eṅkīra MANTRI ŚREṢṬHAN MŪRDHNI  
taliayilē PUṢPAVAT SUGANDHAM āna pū ppōl kurute  
kūṭānirār (1\*) SAMRAKṢITUM DHARMMAM-  
ANAĪKA-
41. RŪPAM BADDHĀṆJALIM MŪRDDHA(NI\*) YĀ-  
CATE 'SAU (1\*) JĀTĀ(N\*) NARENDRĀN-API  
JĀYAMĀNĀN-MANTRĪSVARĀN SAINYA JANĀN  
BĀHU ŚRĪḤ (11\*)
42. MANTRI-ŚREṢṬHAN ANEKARŪPAM PRATIMĀ  
CITRAṆkāḷāle ANEKA PRAKĀRAM-āna inta  
DHARMMAM Laṅkātilakam eṅṅu pēraiṅ - uṭaiya  
DHARMMAttī-
43. nai SAMRAKṢITUM RAKṢIKkai (ā)ka MŪRDHNI  
talaiyilē BADDHĀṆJALIM DAŚANAKHA PRABHAI-  
yālē viḷāṅki kuvikkappaṭṭa AṆJALIyayī- uṭai-
44. yar-āya JĀTĀ(N\*) NARENDRĀN API i pp oḷutu  
vattikkīra rācākkāḷaiyūm JĀYAMĀNĀT mēṅ tōṅrukīra  
rācākkāḷaiyūm maNTRĪSVARĀN ip-
45. poḷut uṇṭāna MANTRIKāḷaiyūm [mēl uṇṭākirā MAN-  
TRIKāḷaiyūm SAINYAJANAU ippoḷutu vattikkīra  
nāṭṭavaraiyūm mēl varukīra nā-
46. ṭṭavaraiyūm BĀHUŚRĪḤ Anēkam aiŚVARiyattaiy uṭai-  
yār-āy irukkīra inta MANTRI YĀCATE vēṇṭikkōṇṭār  
(1\*) ŚUBHAM ASTU (1\*)



### Summary

(Line 1-13) Sēnā Laṅkātikārikaḷ, our minister, requested me the king to grant lands for the maintenance of the illustrious vihāre. Lands in Kirivavulai, New Vatalakoṭai, Old Vatalakoṭai, Cittāvullai, Konvāṇikkai, Yakāllai, Kacampiliyakōtai, Nāraṅkoṭai, Viṭiyela and Koṭavelai, equalling seventeen yālas and twelve amaṇas were granted by the king, his chiefs and the people. The lands were free of taxes and comprised the forests, the gardens and sites for houses.

Line (13-27) Sēnā Laṅkātikārikaḷ granted to the shrine, the following:- (1) utensils for religious worship made of gold, silver, bronze and other metals. (2) two hundred slaves, both male and female and (3) four hundred head of cattle.

For the purpose of conducting sacred services, for offerings of food, for lamps, for garland, for dances, for audiences and other observances, the inhabitants of the realm had agreed to pay one paṇam per household per year. The collection of this impost was made obligatory. Customs dues equivalent to quarter percent on the value of the merchandise was also imposed. Income thus collected was to be divided into five shares and distributed to the respective beneficiaries. This charity should go on perpetually. The order was written on copper and stone.

Line (27-37) The sufferings of the sinners who appropriate this charity and the enjoyments of the virtuous who protects this charity were listed.

(Line 37-46) Sēnā Laṅkātikārikaḷ was willing to place the dust on the two feet of the protector of the charitable endowment, like a flower on his head. He was appealing to present and future kings, present and future ministers and present and future citizens to maintain this charity.

## An additional fragmentary inscription from Paragama

This fragment formed part of the inscription which was numbered 688 of 1931 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. The record was discovered in a land called Bajjandanavela in Paragama, Vandavili Hatpattu in the Kurunegala District. The Archaeological Department supplied the present editor, a photograph of the record and he gave his reading and comments in part one of Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions. Subsequently he went through the estampage of the record. It seems that the photograph must have covered only one side of the pillar. He found an additional part of the estampage which might have covered another side of the pillar. The reading of this part of the estampage doesn't give much substance. The reading of the other two sides might help in making out the contents of the record. The editor is giving here the reading of this part of the estampage which was not available in the earlier edition.

### Transliteration

1. tuy
2. yā
3. nāl
4. taral
5. .mpa
6. muntit
7. nīlame
8. kane ma
9. kaṇār
10. malan
11. ney pa-

12. cu 5 SRi
13. makavan
14. pāva
15. m ko-

The record seems to refer to the grant of five cows for the supply of ghee by one Malan----, son of Nīlamēkaṇ. The last few lines seem to state that if anyone violates the gift, he will suffer the sin of----- . The third line seems to be nāḷ, 'day'. The sixth line seems to be munti 'earlier'. Lines seven to ten seem to mean 'Malan----, son of Nīlamēkaṇ.' In the eleventh line, ney means ghee. The word pacu (lines 11, 12) means cow and the word pāvam (lines 14, 15) means sin.

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## A Modern Inscription from Adam's Peak.

This record is 2670 of 1967 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. Adam's Peak is the name of a well known mountain in Ratnapura District. The peak of the mountain has the mark of a foot at its top. The foot is an object of pilgrimage for the followers of all the four great religions of the world. Every religion associates the foot mark on the peak with the foot mark of someone very dear to them in their religious hierarchy. The Christians and the Moslems consider the foot-mark as that of Adam, the first man on earth created by God, according to their belief. The English name of the peak was derived from the belief of the Christians. The Buddhists regard the footmark as that of Lord Buddha and the Saivites regard the foot mark as that of Lord Śiva.

It is very unfortunate that the record could not be made out except for a few letters. The record was found on a rock in Siripa Maluwa, Adam's Peak, Kuruvita Korale, Ratnapura District. In one line, 'cupam vā' can be made out. In the next line, something like-llam can be made out. From these, it is not possible to make out the substance of the record.

It should be admitted that it is difficult to fix the age of the record on palaeographical grounds as only few letters are available. Considering the worn out character of the record as well as the shapes of letters which can be recognised, a date of about the thirteenth century can be suggested.







## Inscription from a Cemetery of Kalpitiya

Kalpitiya is the name of a town in Puttalam District. A fragment of an inscription was discovered in a cemetery there. The fragment measures 1' × 10". It was numbered 2687 of 1967 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department.

The fragment is considerably worn out. It also preserves the ancient Tamil numeral forms and the shortened forms for date, month, etc. Due to these factors, this inscription might have been considered an ancient record. But palaeographically it is a modern inscription. The inscription seems to have borne a date but the portion bearing the date is partly broken in the limestone. However, the symbols for hundred and thirty are preserved in the fragment. It is not clear whether the record mentions the Śaka era or the Christian era. As it is a Tamil record mentioning the Tamil month Tai and preserving many ancient Tamil forms, it can be presumed that the record mentions the Śaka era. The record probably mentions 1730. of Śaka era. If so, it will be equivalent to 1808 of the Christian era.

### Transliteration

1.  $\pi \text{ } \overline{\text{15}} \text{ } \overline{\text{10}} \text{ } \overline{\text{2}}$
2. Tai  $\overline{\text{15}} \text{ } \overline{\text{10}} \text{ } \overline{\text{3}}$  ta
3. pō. taḷam
4. ceviya . . pa
5. . . ntu va
6. ccira. 1

The month of Tai coincides approximately with the latter half of January and early half of February. The date is also missing in the third line. The word in the third line may be pottalaṃ (Puttalam). The rest cannot be made out.

## A Note on Two Bilingual Inscriptions.

In the list of Tamil inscriptions found in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department, two inscriptions are mentioned as written by interspersing Tamil and Sinhala letters. The inscriptions are numbered as 2141 of 1950 and 2220 of 1952. The first one was discovered at Dellegama Devale at Tambuttagama in Anuradhapura District. The second one was discovered in a rock at Miyanakandura in the Pūtāva Division of the Kandehena Tea Estate.

### 1. Inscription from Dellegama Devale

It was written on four sides of a pillar. On each side, the record measures 1'1"×6". Top and bottom portions of the pillar are missing. Hence, only a fragment was discovered. Symbols of a fan, a weapon and a crow were inscribed. Side A is worn out. Some signs of writing are found here and there. Only two lines at the top and two lines at the bottom can be made out. But there are no Tamil letters. Side B consists of thirteen lines of writing. Side C consists of twelve lines of writing. Some letters on these two sides can be read as Tamil letters. But they were not written continuously to form any Tamil word. Side D consists of five lines of writing. The record is worn out between these lines and the symbols. The lines are very small, consisting four letters on an average. An attempt can be made to read Tamil words only in Side D. In the one line before the last, the word *tuṅika* 'determine' can be read. Even here, *ṅi* looks *ṅī*. In relation to this word, something like 'aiyan *tuṅika* eta (*ṅaiyum*) *naṅru*' can be squeezed out. But the last letter looks like Sinhala *la*. My impression is that it may be a Sinhala record with a few Tamil letters. Equivalent Sinhala letters were available for the Tamil letters, used in the record. There is no need for mixing

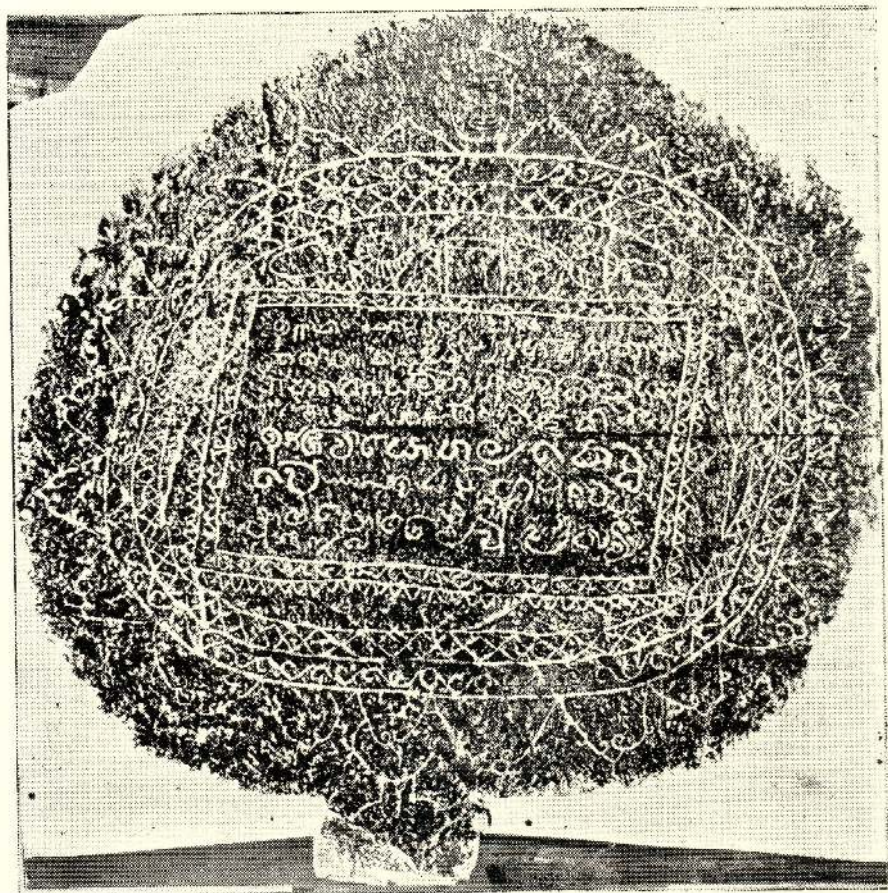




Inscription from Dellegama Devale.







Inscription from Miyanakandura.





up. Probably the author wanted to show off his knowledge of both scripts. The Tamil script can be dated in the eleventh century on palaeographical grounds. This was also the period of Cōla rule in that area.

Subsequently I consulted Mr M. H. Sirisoma, Publications Assistant of the Archaeological Department. He says that the whole inscription can be read as a Sinhala inscription and dated in the ninth century A. D.

## 2. Inscription from Miyanakandura

This record was engraved in the middle part of a circular drawing. The circle consists of inner circles as well as various embellishments. This diagram probably represents the Sun. The outer circle was drawn with a radius of 2' 4". The rectangle in the middle where the record was engraved measures 2' 6" × 1' 5". This is also a Sinhala record with few Tamil letters. Grantha letters too, can be recognised. The Tamil letters are well evolved. The record cannot be dated earlier than the fourteenth century.

The record consists of seven lines. First line can be read as Tamil and Grantha 'tāmima CRIYA GADAYA'. Lines 2 and 3 seem to be entirely in Sinhala. In line 4, the Tamil letter ca is clear. A number of Sinhala letters can be made out. Some letters are not clear. Line 5, 7 and 8 seem to be entirely in Sinhala. In line six, some letters are Sinhala while other letters are not clear.

The record might be a magical formula in worship of the Sun. Magical formulas were always associated with some secrecy. The writing of the formula interspersing both scripts might be an attempt to keep the full formula secret from common people except those proficient in both languages.

## A Grantha Record from Hanguranketa.

This record was numbered 1207 of 1934 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. It was discovered at Hanguranketa in Nuwara Eliya District. The record was found on two sides of a pillar piece, now lying in the Pansala at Hanguranketa, said to have been brought from Biri Ella at Unantenne in the Diyatilaka Korale. The record measures 1'10" × 10.5".

The record was written in Grantha script. As Grantha script was associated with South India, this inscription was listed with the other Tamil inscriptions by the Archaeological Department.

The record consists of nine lines on each side. The present editor's reading of the record is given below.

### Transliteration

#### Side A

1. ŚRĪ ŚUDSA KATAJA
2. VARṢA GO-KṢĀ
3. DAHASSA-LATA
4. LILLAPADA SAMINI
5. CAṢALAYĀ ---
6. -- SA --- PRRA
7. DSA PA - JHEPRHA
8. SPATI DDĀ MEDAVASA
9. VIJAYA ŚRĪ

#### Side B

1. VARATANAGARA
2. -- NESA
3. GARU U KETA
4. ṆA CA VEKODA
5. KHEHI SADASI



Inscription from Hanguranketa.





6. DA PANNA THANAGARA
7. HI TAVA E SEMA
8. SVARNNA HIYAKA
9. --- MA --

Very little can be made out from this reading. Varṣa in line 2 of side A means year. Lines 7-8 in Side A refers to Thursday. The first line in Side B may be the name of a town. Line 8 in Side B seems to refer to giving away gold.

## A NOTE ON THE CONTROVERSY REGARDING THE KOTAGAMA INSCRIPTION

This inscription had already been published in a number of books and journals<sup>1</sup>. Mr. M. H. Srisoma, Publications Assistant of the Archaeological Department, told me about the controversy and referred the inscription to me. This inscription was number 42 in the Register of Inscriptions of the Archaeological Department. It was discovered on a slab at Kolahangodālla, Kotagama in Kegalle District. It is now preserved in the Colombo museum.

The present editor had come across this record in English and Tamil publications. According to them, this record was composed to celebrate the victory of the king of Jaffna over Sinhalese king. Mr. Srisoma had come across an article in Sinhalese where this record was held to celebrate the victory of the Sinhalese king over the king of Jaffna.\*

The record was written in modern Tamil script. The record was dated in the fourteenth century. The record was very clearly inscribed. The record consists of five lines. When writing the third line, two letters—k—and —kai—were left out between paṅkaya and mēr. Those two letters were written, just below paṅkaya, but above the fourth line. Just above the end of paṅkaya, there is a sign like the modern plus sign which points down to the letters left out. This practice differs from the modern practice of writing the letters above and placing the sign below the line concerned. But there is no controversy about the reading of the record.

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1. For examples, South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV. No. 1413. Vēṅkaṭacāmi, Mayilai. Cīni - Cācaṇa cCeyyul Mañcari (1959)—p. 144.



688  
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Inscription from Kotagama

கங்கையாண்டி  
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Inscription from Kantalai



Transliteration

1. Cetu
2. kaṅkaṇam vēṅ kaṅṅ-iṅaiyār kāṭṭinār
3. kāmar vaḷai ppaṅkayakkai mēṅ tilatam pārittār
4. poṅk-oli nīṅ Ciṅkainakar Āriyaṅai ccērā
5. v-Anurēcar taṅkaḷ maṭa mātar tām

Except for the only word in the first line, the record was composed in verse. It is nēricai veṅpā in metre. Two examples of compressed simile 'tokai uvamai' were found:- vēṅ kaṅṅinai, 'spear like pair of eyes' and paṅkayakkai, 'lotus like hands'. Two sandhi forms in this record are peculiar. The first one is mēṅ tilatam. According to grammatical tradition, it should have been mēṅ ṛilatam. But this is a difficult sandhi form. To get over this difficulty, Ārumuka Nāvalar, the pioneer of modern Tamil prose, used to write mēlē tilatam. The second one is nīṅ Ciṅkainakar. This should have been nīṅ cCiṅkainakar. But sandhi forms like these occur in inscriptional Tamil. Probably, these conformed to the pronunciation of such forms in popular speech. Having corrected these sandhi forms according to grammatical tradition (as these forms were most probably scribal peculiarities that could not be associated with the learned poet), the verse is rewritten as follows in accordance with its metre:-

kaṅkaṇam vēṅ kaṅṅ-iṅaiyār kāṭṭinār kāmar vaḷai-p-  
paṅkayakkai mēṅ ṛilatam pārittār ---poṅk-oli nīṅ -c-  
ciṅkainakar -Āriyaṅai ccērā-v-Anurēcar  
taṅkaḷ maṭa mātar tām.

The last two lines of the record are interpreted alike. They refer to the young women of the kings of Anuradhapura, who were the enemies of the Ārya cakravartis of Ciṅkainakar which was situated by the sea.



The third and fourth lines of the record refer to the actions of these women. Professor M. Rākavaiyāṅkār had referred to *cilētai* in the use of some words in this part of the record<sup>2</sup>. *Cilētai* is a figure of rhetoric, a paronomasia, in which a word or phrase has a double meaning, a pun, a quibble. In footnote two on the same page, the relevant words and their meanings were also given. The word *kaṅkaṇam*, equivalent to Sanskrit *kaṅkaṇa*, means *kaikkaṭakam* (bangle). The word *tilatam*, derived from Sanskrit *tilakam*, means a small circular mark on forehead. The word *kaṅkaṇam*, compound of *kam* and *kaṇam*, means tears. The word *tilakam*, compound of *tila* and *kam*, means sesame and water. Therefore, the late Professor seems to have anticipated the controversy. But he didn't discuss the matter.

According to the usual interpretation, the queens of the Sinhalese king had become widows. This record refers to their crying and performing rituals in honour of their dead husband. Widows perform a ceremony by pouring water with sesame, in honour of their dead husbands. According to the new interpretation, the queens of the victorious Sinhalese king were wearing the auspicious mark on their foreheads and as their hands were raised to their foreheads, they appeared to show off their bangles through their spearlike eyes. The reason for the new interpretation was, the present editor was informed, the difficulty in believing whether the king of Jaffna could have extended his conquests, so far down South in Ceylon.

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2. Professor M. Rākavaiyāṅkār-CāSAṅga Ttamiḷ kkaṇi Caritam - p. 219 in second edition. First edition of the book was published in 1937. He was quoting from Sketches of Ceylon History-p. 47.

The present editor accepts that the verse can be interpreted both ways. But the traditional interpretation should be accepted as the correct one for a number of reasons. Firstly, the record, written so far down South, was composed in the Tamil language. A record commemorating the victory of the Sinhalese king could not have been written in Tamil in that area in that period. Secondly, the first line of the record mentions Cētu. The word Cētu refers to Rāmēśvaram. The kings of Jaffna prided themselves as Cētu kāvalar, 'the protectors of Ramesvaram'. They had the word Cētu on their seal and coins. Tamil literary works of the period of Jaffna kings, like Cekarācacekaramālai and Taṭṭiṇa Kailāca Purāṇam refer to Cētu kāval when referring to those kings. This word could not have been written at the beginning of this inscription if the record was written to praise the victory of the Sinhalese king over the Jaffna king. Thirdly, the reference to the king of Jaffna was more explicit. He was Āriyaṅ (Ārya Cakravatti) of Ciṅkai Nakar. The capital city of the Jaffna king had been given the attribute 'poṅk-oli-nīr'. The Sinhalese king had been referred to in one word only as Anurēcar, the kings of Anuradhapura. Anuradhapura had long ceased to be the capital of the Sinhalese kings. The Sinhalese kings, in their decline, were probably speaking of their glorious past of their ancestors in Anuradhapura. This also shows that the record must be celebrating the victory of the Jaffna king. Fourthly, the third line refers to beautiful bangles of lotus-like hands, Therefore the word kaṅkaṇam in the second line could not be referring to the same bangles by another word.



Then the question can be raised why the poet composed a verse which yields diametrically opposite interpretations. Relating this verse to the general characteristics of Tamil literature after the Cōla period, the answer can be deduced. Composing cilētai verses was one of the characteristics of Tamil literature of that period. The poets of that period apparently wished that their works should not be understood easily. Hence, verses, obscure in meaning, were highly rated in that society. The sense of a verse could be made out, only after effort even by learned people. This verse fitted well in that environment.

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