THE NAKARAM OF THE NĀNĀDESIN IN SRI LANKA
The Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam at Vihārēhinna

The existence of a mercantile town called Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam at a locality in the vicinity of Galevela in Dambulla, during the Polonnaruva period, is known exclusively from an inscription found at Vihārēhinna. The text of this inscription was deciphered on the basis of an estampage prepared by the Archaeological Department and published by A. Velupillai in 1971.¹ This text, based on a reading of an estampage, which has not been carefully prepared, was very defective and the studies based on this text have led to serious misunderstandings.

In August 1997 a team of Sri Lankan, Indian and Japanese scholars led by Noboru Karashima prepared fresh estampages of the inscription, and this effort has facilitated a successful decipherment of almost the entire text which consists of 37 lines.² The inscribed slab, which is of unusual length, is found within the premises of a medieval monastic establishment the architectural remains of which are found scattered over a large area. The principal building had as its main components the sanctum housing a colossal image of the Buddha and a hall the roof of which was supported by stone columns of considerable height. The superstructure had


² The team consisted of Japanese, Indian and Sri Lankan specialists in History, Archaeology and Epigraphy: Professor Noboru Karashima (Taisho University), Professor Sato (Taisho University) Dr. Yasushi Ogura (Tokai University), Professor Y. Subbarayalu (University of Tanjavur), Professor P. Shanmugam (University of Madras), Dr. Siran Deraniyagala (Commissioner General, Department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka), Dr. Malini Dias, (Director, Department of Archaeology), and Professor S. Pathmanathan (University of Peradeniya).

The estampage of the inscription was prepared by Professors Subbarayalu and Shanmugam. The text was deciphered by Prof. Subbarayalu. Professor Velupillai made the pioneering effort to decipher the inscription. He could not read the Sanskrit portion and his decipherment of the Tamil portion is found to be unsatisfactory. As the letters engraved on the stone are small and crowded they cannot be easily identified. Professor Subbarayalu had the advantage of wide experience and a clear understanding of concepts and terminology usually found in the inscriptions of merchant guilds. The text as reconstructed by him is found to be a complete and intelligible one. Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions ed. A. Velupillai, Peradeniya, 1971, p. 54; e. Supparayulu, pa. Canmukam, "Ilankaíyil aínñurruvar kelveṭṭukal", āvanam 9 patippāciriyar ka frācakōpāl, tamlakat tolliyal kalakam, tañcavur, 1998, pp. 33-34.
The temple was constructed within a rectangular courtyard surrounded by walls of brick construction. The existence of a monastery at a distance of about 75 yards from the site of the temple is suggested by the scattered remains of a brick-building and its ground plan.

The fact that the inscription was set up within the premises of the temple is significant as suggesting the possibility of close interaction between the Buddhist institution and those who were responsible for setting up the inscription. The physical dimensions of the temple and the existence of a medium-sized tank in close proximity to it suggest that the area in which they were located was the centre of a flourishing agricultural settlement. The penetration of itinerant merchant communities had the effect of transforming a local centre of commodity exchanges into a major marketing centre linked to the arteries of internal and external trade.

The inscription from Viharehinna is indited in an admixture of Tamil and Grantha characters of the 12th century. On the top and the bottom portions of the inscribed slab are found representations of objects which had a symbolic value. At the extremity on either side of the top portion are found the representations of metallic lamps of the traditional type (kuttuvilaku). By the side of each of these objects the figure of a conch is to be found. An unfolded umbrella is depicted at the centre, and it is flanked on the left by the figure of a crescent. In the Indian cultural tradition, these symbols are associated with prosperity, authority, royal power and benevolence. They probably formed part of the insignia of authority of the mercantile towns administered by some of the merchant guilds. ³

At the bottom of the slab there are representations of three objects; namely, a sword, a drum (mattu) and a weapon which resembles a scimitar. Figures which resemble these objects are also found engraved on the slab inscription of the Virakkoṭi from Budumuttāva. The representation of weapons on the inscriptions of the mercantile communities is generally indicative of their association with military groups. In fact most of the inscriptions of the merchant guilds found in Sri Lanka are said to have been set up by groups of warriors.⁴ In this particular instance, the

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³ It may be noted here that the pacumpai, "the money-bag", which is peculiar to the merchant communities as a symbol is not depicted on this slab. The symbols depicted on this slab seem to have had some association with notions of authority rather than with the mercantile profession. The figures of the umbrella, conch and traditional lamp are usually found on royal seals.

⁴ The Virakkoṭi, a group of warriors, associated with the Nānāṭeḻci merchants, are said to have established the inscriptions pertaining to the mercantile towns of Nānāṭeḻciya-virapaṭṭinam (Vahalkada) and Vikkiramacalāmēkapuram (Māgala). S. Pathmanathan, "The Tamil Slab Inscription of the Virakkoṭi at
military community that had set up the inscription were the Erīvīrār. It may be assumed on the basis of the engravings on the inscribed slab that the Erīvīrār had the sword as their principal weapon.

The inscription from Vihārāhinna is of unusual significance as a source of historical information. It refers to a market town called Tammacākarap-pattinam, which is otherwise unknown. The preamble of the inscription provides a clear indication of the close association between two merchant guilds, the Anūruvāruvar and the Viravaāñciyār in the establishment of the town concerned. It is perhaps the only inscription from any locality which specifically refers to the establishment of a virattānam. Another interesting detail found in the text pertains to an incident of conflict between a local chieftain and the merchants.

The town referred to in the inscription had two alternate names, Mācenakāmam and Tammacākarap-pattinam, of which the first was doubtless the earlier one. The name Mācenakāmam appears to be a Tamil form of the Sinhalese or Pali name Mahāsenagāma which is formed by combining the expressions mahāsaṇa and gāma. The locality was originally a village as indicated by the expression gāma and was probably named after Mahāsena, who is known to have constructed a large number of irrigation works. The tank at Galevela to which reference has been made earlier, in all probability, had its origins under the ruler Mahāsena (274-302).

The second name of the locality, Tammacākarap-pattinam, suggests that the locality which was originally a village (gāma) had grown into a town (pattinam) on account of some social changes that took place during the Polonnaruva period. The development of trade through the agencies of the itinerant merchants seems to have provided the stimulus for this development. The development of the Tammacākarap-pattinam suggests that it had become a centre of market oriented exchanges involving the collection and distribution of local products and the staples of long distance trade, and also as a focal point where routes traversed by caravans of merchants converged. The importance of the locality was further highlighted by the fact that it provided access to the regions of Malayadesa where some of the staples of itinerant trade such as pepper, ginger, cinnamon, saffron and arecanuts were to be found.


mahāvamsa trans. into English by Wilhelm Geiger, London 1964, 44.

These commodities were among the staples of international trade. They are referred to in many of the inscriptions set up by the mercantile communities in South India. They were also exported from the island in substantial
The name Tanmacakara-pattinam, which is formed by combining the expressions Tanmacakara and pattinam, is significant as suggesting a close connection between the merchant communities, which had established this particular pattinam and the Buddhist temple of the locality. The expression Tanmacakara, which means the 'ocean of dharma', is reminiscent of the names Amirtacakarar and Kunacakarar, which belonged to two reputed Tamil grammarians both of whom were Jainas. The word Tanmacakara may be considered as an epithet of the Buddha, and as there are several instances where towns dominated by merchants were named after the epithets of deities it may be assumed that the pattinam at Vihārshinna was named after an epithet of the Buddha. Such an explanation is supported by the consideration that the inscription pertaining to the town was set up within the premises of the Buddhist temple.

The Nanadesis and other merchant communities at Tanmacakara-pattinam had probably established a reciprocal relationship with the monastic establishment and the temple which occupied a dominant position in the religious, social and cultural life of the community of the locality. Rare commodities of distant origin such as camphor, sandal-wood, incense, oils, silks, cloth and porcelain required for these institutions were probably supplied by itinerant merchants by special arrangements and it may be supposed that the merchants occasionally made substantial donations to them. Such an interaction seems to have given the merchants free access to a wider community beyond the limits of the town.

The close interaction between the merchant guilds and Buddhist institutions is recorded in inscriptions from Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva and Budumuttāva. The Tooth Relic Temple at Polonnaruva was once placed under the custody of a military unit serving the nakaram of the Valaṅceyar in that city. When that military unit assumed control over the temple that institution was named after that military unit. At Vikkiramakalā-mekapuram there was a Buddhist temple called Aṉuṟruvan-palli, quantities to the South Indian ports for resale and distribution.

Amirtacakarar was the author of the grammatical treatise called yāpparunkalam. The commentary on it was written by Kunacakarar.

The expression nakarattār found in the text of The slab Inscription of the Vēlaikkaras from Polonnaruva may be construed as one which denotes the members of the governing body of a nakaram or "market-town". South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV ed. Krishna Sastrī, No. 1412; S. Pathmanathan, "The Nagaram of the Nanadesis In Sri Lanka Circa A.D. 100 - 1300", The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities Vol. X, Nos. 1 & 2, 1984, pp. 136 - 139.
which was obviously named after a merchant community. At Tanmacakarappatinam the relationship was in the reverse order. Here, we have an instance where the town established by merchant communities is named after Tanmacakarar, which, in the contemporary Sri Lankan context, could be none other than an epithet of the Buddha. Such a situation presupposes that the merchant communities of the locality had enjoyed the support and patronage of the Buddhist establishment.

It would appear from a careful scrutiny of the preamble of the inscription concerned that two merchant communities, the Nanadesis and the Viravalañceyar, were jointly responsible for constituting the pattinam. The portion of the inscriptive preamble which describes these two communities translates:

Hail Prosperity. The refuge of the entire world. The Viravalañceyar possessing the long, luminous and fiery spear, endowed with the edict of the Five Hundred Heroes, famous throughout the world on account of their valour, whose breasts are adorned by the goddess of wealth, are the descendants of Sri Vasudeva, Kandhali and Mulabhadrā. They observe steadfastly the noble law of the association (samayam) in the eighteen pattinam (towns), the thirty-two velāpuram and the sixty-four katikaitiṭava. They are the children of Paramesvari of Aiya(p)polil who resides in all towns.

The prasasti of the mercantile communities is generally a poetic and conventional description, which records myths, traditions and historical information pertaining to their origins, social status and activities. The adoption of the prasasti of the Aññarruvar by other communities has resulted in a great deal of confusion. All of them claim descent from a trinity of divinities: Vasudeva, Kandhali and Mulabhadrā. All of them acknowledged Aiya(p)polil Paramesvari as their tutelary deity. Yet, it should be noted that such claims do not provide any indication of the history of their social origins or their religious affiliations. The merchants were of high social status and the membership of the guilds was of a composite character. They were mostly adherents of cults included within the fold of Hinduism. It is probable that some of them were devout Sāktas. Yet their attitude in matters of religion was one of eclecticism. They are generally known to have extended support and patronage to Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Jaina and Buddhist institutions.


The inscriptions of the Ayavavole and other merchant guilds are mostly found at the premises of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Jaina and Buddhist Shrines in Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh. There are instances where the main shrines affiliated to one or the other of these four traditions have been named after
The three categories of localities called *pattinam*, *velapuram* and *katikaittvakam* represented different levels at which market oriented exchanges were conducted by merchant guilds. The ones called *pattinam* were market towns with rows of shops, warehouses and bazaars where business was transacted continuously by local residents and itinerants. There were hundreds of such towns in South India and a great deal of historical information pertaining to them is found in inscriptions. The *velapuram* and *Katikaitavalam* cannot be easily defined and epigraphic notices on them are only a few in number. The only available reference to a locality where an institution called *velapuram* existed is to be found in the inscription from Barus in Sumatra, which has been fully deciphered, edited and published recently by Noboru Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu. The *Katikaitavalam* has been defined as a fair held periodically, on designated days of the week.


The inscription from Barus, Sumatra, refers to the *Velapuram* in *Varōcu* otherwise called *Māntakari* - *Vallava-ṭēci-Uyyakonta-pattinam*. The English translation of the text as rendered by Karashima reads:

"In the Saka year 1010 current (1088 AD), month Masi. We the Five Hundred (aṭṭhūruvaṛōm) of the Thousand Directions, known in all countries and directions, having met at *Velapuram* in *Varōsu alias Mātangari* - *Vallava desi - uyyakonda - pattinam*, decided to grant as follows to our son(s), [e] *nagara-senāpati nāṭṭu ceṭṭiyār, padinen-hūmi-dēsi-appar* and the māvettugal.

"[Each of] the ships...ships’ Captain and the *kōvigaḷ* (boat-rowers) shall pay the fee *aṇṭu - tuṇḍāyam* in gold according to the price of the Kastūri and [then only] may step on the cloth-spread."

"Thus we the five Hundred of the Thousand Directions known in every direction in all the Eighteen Lands got this stone written and planted. Do not forget charity. Charity alone is the good companion." - Quoted from the abbreviated text of a lecture delivered at the Faculty of Arts, University of Peradeniya, 10 August 1998.
where groups of merchants halted their caravans and conducted business transactions with local inhabitants and traders. The words vēḷa and katiṅkai which are prefixed respectively to puram and tāvana seem to suggest that they denoted localities where trading operations were conducted during certain designated periods of time. It may be suggested that the vēḷapuram designated marketing centres where the peak period of activity was seasonal. The numbers 18, 32 and 64 which are associated respectively with pattinam, vēḷapuram and katiṅkai-tāvana are conventional and do not have any significance.

The consideration that the prāṣasti of the inscription concerned consists of two parts each of which is devoted to a description of one of the two merchant communities, the Virav aḷaṇcėyar and the Nāṇādesis is significant as providing an indication of the fact that the Tammacākarkappāṭṭinam was composite in character. It may be suggested that both these communities were represented in the pāṭṭinam as it was the case at Vahlakada. The Viravaḷaṇcėyar perhaps, functioned in that town as auxiliaries of the Nāṇādesis in a subordinate capacity.

The epigraph under consideration records some information relating to an incident of conflict between a local chieftain called Venatu-utaiyar and the merchant community. A certain (Mukudavalan) Muttan, otherwise called nāṇateciyāṅṟan, who belonged to the military community of erivirar was seized, his hands were fettered with chains (piśṭṭuc ciṟai ceṭyu onpściukait talai-yiluppīn pāṭu) and was taken captive by the chieftain. The perumakkal of the pāṭṭinam are said to have secured his release by paying a sum of money (āṭakacu kututtu viṭu koṇṭamaiyil). The perumakkal of the pāṭṭinam are said to have conferred some honours and privileges on the erivirar. They were presented with silver amulet(s) and the pāṭṭinam was named after them and called erivirantānam. The military community reciprocated by surrendering the right to collect oil for burning lamps. They also promised that the nāṭu-cetis who collect some dues in the pāṭṭinam will no longer be allowed that privilege. Instead they were to receive maintenance during day-time (pakar-cōru) and the customary payment of four kācu and enjoy the freedom of access into the pāṭṭinam.

The circumstances leading to the arrest of Nāṇateci-yāntān by venatu-utaiyar are not mentioned in the text of the inscription. The identity of the chieftain also cannot be ascertained. The expression venatu-utaiyar is a compound of two separate words venatu and utaiyar. The first of these words denotes a territorial division while the second one is the designation of a chieftain of such a division. Venatu mentioned here is not to be confused with Venatu in Kerala. The merchant communities seem to have had their own lists of names to designate territorial divisions in Sri Lanka and Venatu seems to have been one of them. Or else it could be the Tamilised form of a Sinhalese name. Nevertheless, he may be recognised as

a chieftain who exercised authority over the region in which the Tanmacākarappattinam was included. It is also possible that he was a military chief serving under a ruler. The conflict he had with the merchants may be explained in two ways. He could have abused his position of authority to demand a ransom from the merchants and arrested one of their agents when his demands were not met. Another plausible explanation is that the pattinam was in default in respect of some payment which had to be made to the higher authorities. The affair was settled by the intervention of the perumakkal, the governing body of the pattinam.

The erivran-tanam referred to in this inscription seems to be synonymous with viratalam, an expression which is recorded in the concluding portion of the inscriptions from Budumuttāva and Galtenpitiya. These expressions are also found in some Indian inscriptions recording the activities of merchant communities. For instance, Ārrur of Ārrur-nāṭu is described as eriviratalam in an inscription from Cittaiyan-kottai in Tintukkal. On the basis of information found in this inscription it may be assumed that the pattinam established by the Aṇṇārruruvar and the Vīravallāncēvar at Vihārēhinna was renamed as Erivirantēnam after the name of the military community called Erivirar who were under their service. Such a step presupposes that the merchant communities of the pattinam had conceded to the warriors certain privileges to which they were not entitled to earlier.

The inscription from Vihārēhinna records the names of ten persons who belonged to the group of warriors called Erivirar. They are:-(1) Tira(jana ... varakāltarakanāluka) nāṭuccetti, (2) Cūrālan Kampan otherwise called Pillaić-Cakalan nānātecic-cestti, (3) Munai vallapa nānātecikkon, (4) Nātan otherwise called nam-vattu-muriyān, (5) Kūttan Kālan otherwise called nūrāyiran tacamați mummata-vāranap-pillai, (6) Virakan Murperaraiyan Kūttan otherwise called aṇṇārruruva manṭla ayiraštālam, (7) Pirān Cattān otherwise called Virakan cenāpati-yāṭīn, (8) Kampan Villan otherwise called (cenāpati) virakan, (9) Nattarayan Kānan otherwise called aruvan ampalapillai-yāṭīn and (10) Tiruvarkān Tēcī-yāpāranap-pillai. They refer to themselves as patinerpumi vīrarōm, which expression is the first person plural form of patinerpumivīrār. The assertive character of this group, which is suggested by the tone and contents of the inscription, provides an indication of the fact that they had considerable influence and authority in matters pertaining to the activities

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14 The expressions arrūnāṭu ārrūruṇa erivra-talattu which translate: Ārrur otherwise called eriviratalam of Ārrunāṭu clearly suggest that the word viratalam denoted an institution and an area over which it exercised authority and the limits of which corresponded with those of a village. In this particular instance the village of Ārrur had been transformed into a viratalam. Viratalam may therefore be construed as an alternate designation of Virappōttinam. Pa cankaralinkam, "cittaiyan koṭṭai kalveṭṭukkal", āνāṇam 4. 1994 paṭippācciriyar e. cupparāyalu, tamitl tolliyal kalakam, putukkōttai, 1994, p. 35.
of the merchant communities. In addition to providing security they seem to have exercised some administrative functions.

A group of warriors called Erivăran are sometimes mentioned in the list of communities associated with the mercantile communities in inscriptive preambles. But the reference to them as a group of people engaged in specific activities at a locality in the island is exclusively from the epigraph from Vihārēhinna. The expression erivăran ūnaṁ clearly suggests that the paṭṭīnaṁ was named after the military community called Erivăra. The position held by them at Tanmacākarappattinam was similar to that held by the Virakkōti at Vikkiramacalāmekapuram, Vahalkada and Galtenpitiya.

In conclusion it may be stated that the formation of Tanmacakārappattinam coincided with the peak period of commercial activities in pre-colonial Sri Lanka, which provided a fresh impetus for the process of urbanization and inter-cultural communication. The paṭṭīnaṁ was probably organized by two merchants guilds, the Nānādesis and the Vīravālaṁcēyar and named after an epithet of the Buddha on account of the close connections it had with the Buddhist establishment of the locality.

It would appear from the tone and contents of the text of the inscription that at a particular stage of its development the paṭṭīnaṁ was named after the military community of Erivirar as Erivirantānam on a decision made by the governing body of the paṭṭīnaṁ, which was dominated by merchants. Such a decision on the part of the merchants presupposes that the power and influence of the military community within the paṭṭīnaṁ was growing on account of some circumstances the precise nature of which cannot presently by ascertained.
S. PATHMANATHAN

Text

svasti sri samasta bhuvanasraya pancasata virasasana laks.
mi-lanktra vakshasthala sri vatsudeva kandhali mulabhadrot
bhava sri astadasa-pattana dvatrimsat velapura ca
tusasti katikaisthana disaiyarsraya divyasarasamaya
dharma sampurma sakalapura nivasiya kiya sri
ayapolipura paramesvariku makkalakiya veyyacutar netu
vel viravalanceyar patinetu pattinamum muppattirantu vela puramu
marupattu-nanku katikaitavalamum tavallatuc cetti
yun cetti putiranun kavarai katirpanun kamuntasva
miyam ottanum [ulpacumpaikkaranum ankakaranu]
mavanakkaranum [eri] viranum pavatai viranum ariyabto
tajrun tamil valla ca...lanum palutilat tolil va
va kalutai meva...vanumullittu aram valarak kali
meliyap pukal [perukat] ticaiyanaittun cevitu patamar cenkole
munnaka samaya dharmani mitu natattukirna patinepummi nanku
ticai nanatecit ticai vilanku ticaiyayarat-tanurruvvar kantiyamu
[ttar] ultta patinepummi [vi] virarom macenantamama tanmacakarap pattana
[ttup] perumakkal [enkalai] nokkie ceyta cirappavatu nam utappiranta
mu...valan muttanana nanateciyanatnai venututaiyar pitittuc ei
raie ceytu onpatukait talai yiluppin potu atankacu kututto vittu kon
tamaiyalum vellittali ceyvittup patinepummi erirvan taname
nu naman cattik kulattin perittup perun cirappuc ceytamaivil nan
talum nam perumakkalukkuc cirappuc ceyya ventumenru [ni lattuki]
viitum vilakkennaiyum panumunnu nattuc cettikalam nom utap
pirantarum ippattinattil panamunnati-takavum virun cirumattuttavum
[pal]raie
kattie erititakavum iwarukku pakarcoru peruvatavum pavatai menatai
nalu kacu peruvatakavum ippatic ceyya viramuraimai aliyac ceyta
lpaniyum ceyiyum otukki muttum purakum atikkappe ruvatavum ip
pati ceyyum[i]tattu utirattilaliintu patuvanakil avan pinam nayelavu
mavatavukum ipparicu camaintu kallum palakaiyum mattinom tiralan...
[varakahntara kattiyulla] nattuc cettiyum tiralan kampanana pillacakalan
nanateci itta
munaivallapa nanatecikkonu - natan namvittu muriyanum kuttan kalanana
nurayiran tecamati mummata varanap pillaiyum virakal murper arayan
kuttanana virakal
ainnurruva mantila ayirastanamum piran cattanana virakal cenapatyiyanatum
kampan villanana cenapati virakalayum natarayan kannanana aruvanampala
pl
laiyananum tiruvarkan eranana teciyaparanap pillaiyum [vatateca]pa
tinenpumi virarom aramararka
Hail Prosperity. The refuge of the entire world. The Viravajañeyar possessing the long luminous and fiery spear, endowed with the edict of the Five Hundred Heroes, famous throughout the world on account of their valour and whose faces are adorned by Lakṣmi are the offspring of the lineages of Sri Vāsudeva, Khaṇḍhali and Mūlabhadra. They observe steadfastly the noble law of the association (ṣaṃayam) in the eighteen paṭṭinam (towns), the thirty-two veḷāpuram (coastal towns) and the sixty-four kaṭikait-tāvalam. They are the children of Paramesvari of Aiya(p)polil who resides in all towns.

The eighteen paṭṭinam, the thirty-two veḷāpuram, the sixty-four kaṭikait-tāvalam, the cettiputtirar, the kavarai, the kat ripan, the kāṁuntasvāmi, the oṭṭan, the pacum-pauk-kāran, the anakkāran, the anakkāram, the... vīrān, the pāvatai-vīrān, those who are proficient in Sanskrit and Tamil and those who ride donkeys which never falter, those who conduct their business in conformity with laws so as to enable the sceptre to be held forward prominently so that righteousness shall prevail and evil will disappear, with their fame spreading in all directions. All these are the Five Hundred of the thousand directions in the eighteen countries and the four quarters (of the earth).

We, the heroes of the eighteen lands (pattinippūmi-vīrār) including Kantiyamuttar, attached to them (make this resolution): We have been greatly honoured by the perumakkal (governing body) of the Macenākānam otherwise called Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam. They secured the release of our 'companion' Mudavalan Muttan otherwise called nānāteciyāntān, who was arrested by Venātutaiyār and put in chains, after paying a ransom in money (ātankacll). Besides, they have made (a) silver amulet(s) and presented them to us, and have named [attested by us] the patinippumivirār. Tiralan... Varakalatara-kattillullu nattuccetti, Tiralan Kampan otherwise called Pillacekakaalananatecei itta Munivallapapanatecik-kon, Natan namvittumuriyan, kuttan kalan otherwise called Nurayiran tacamati-mummata-varanappillai, virakol Murperarayan Kuttan otherwise called Ainnruuruva-mantilayirastanam, Piran Catan otherwise called Cenapatiyantan, Kampan Villan otherwise called Cenapati virakalai, nattarayan Kannan Aruvanampala-pillai-yantan, Tiruvarankan Eran otherwise called Teciyaparanap-pillai. Forget not justice.

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