

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CEYLON

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF
CEYLON

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

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worthily the name of Lañkā-Tilaka, which signifies the jewel of Lañkā. And he made there a standing image of Buddha of the full size, which was delightful to behold, and called it Lañkā-Tilaka¹.

This description more or less tallies with what remains still to be seen in the ruined building where the inscribed guard-stone is *in situ*. Mr. Bell² is, therefore, quite justified in identifying the ruin with the Lañkātilaka image-house built by Parakkama-Bāhu I. Mr. Hocart, however, thinks that as the balustrades do not fit the present stairs, they might have been brought from another building³. Possibly the guard-stones only are in their original position.

The *Mahāvamsa*⁴ states further that towards the end of the reign of Parakkama-Bāhu II (1236-1269 A.D.), his son Vijaya-Bāhu IV (1270-1272 A.D.), made extensive reparations in Połonnaruva. This goes to confirm what our inscription records in the second *gāthā*. We cannot, therefore, be wrong, if we count Lañkātilaka as one of the many shrines restored by Vijaya-Bāhu IV.

The question whether he had the epitaph engraved on a guard-stone which his workmen specially made and set up at the entrance to the temple or whether it was engraved on the guard-stone which was already there *in situ* can only be settled by a careful examination of the difference of workmanship in the two periods.

The following edition of the inscription is based on two estampages supplied by the Ceylon Archaeological Survey. We have also examined the text published by Mr. Bell for the first time in his *Annual Report* for 1910-1911⁵.

TEXT.	TRANSCRIPT.
1 (යං) ලංකාතිල	1 (Yam) Lañkātila-
2 කං පරක්ක	2 -kañ Parakka-
3 මි භුජේ කාරෙ	3 -ma-Bhujo käre-
4 සි ලංකිස්ස	4 -si Lañkissa-
5 රො [1] කු(ඳ්දාම මා)	5 -ro [1] ku(ḍḍam mā)
6	6
7	7
8	8

¹ Ch. lxxviii, 52-55. Wijesinha's translation.

² *A. S. C. Annual Report*, 1910-1911, p. 37.

³ *A. S. C. Annual Report*, 1920-1921, p. 8.

⁴ Ch. lxxxviii, 92-121.

⁵ In the second volume of the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* just to hand, we find on p. 11 this faulty text reprinted. It is a pity that the epigraphist was not consulted beforehand on the matter.

TEXT (<i>continued</i>).	TRANSCRIPT (<i>continued</i>).
9 .. (භවෙ) [11] (නං) සු	9 .. (bhave) [11] (taṃ) sū-
10 (රො වි)ජයාදී	10 (-ro Vi)jayādi-
11 බාහු වසුධා	11 Bāhu-vasudhā-
12 නාථො මහීම	12 nātho mahī-ma-
13 (ඛ)නං [1] ජිණ්ණං	13 (ṇḍa)naṃ [1] jīṇṇaṃ
14 වස්සසතං	14 vassa-sataṃ
15 තදෙව භව	15 tad eva bhava-
16 නං කාරාපයී	16 -naṃ kārāpayī
17 සාධුකං [11]	17 sādhukaṃ [11]

TRANSLATION.

Parakkama-Bāhu. Lord of Laṅkā, caused **Laṅkātilaka** to be built . . . (the wall) . . . that same temple (*bhavana*)—an ornament of the earth—which had been in dilapidation for a hundred years, the mighty **Vijaya-Bāhu**, Lord of the Earth, caused to be thoroughly [re-]built.



No. 3. THE ORUVAĻA SANNASA

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

THE document now published is an oblong copper-plate $10\frac{1}{16}$ inches long by $3\frac{1}{16}$ inches broad, with a thickness of $\frac{1}{16}$ inch. On each side are fifteen lines of writing, on the left of which appear ☉ in a flourish below the sun and moon on the obverse, and Vishṇu's *cakra* and chank-shell on the reverse. The *sannasa* for many years has been in the possession of Mr. W. P. Ranasinha, Notary Public; no claim is based on it, and it has every appearance of authenticity. The reproduction of the plate, much pitted with rust, is due to the courtesy of the Surveyor General. I am indebted for the loan of the *sannasa* to the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.

The document, attested by one Pālāttarun, purports to have been granted in the fourth year of **Siri Saṅgabo Śrī Parākrama Bāhu** at **Jayavarddhanapura** or **Kōṭṭē**, and rehearses that two Brahmans, one **Potā Ojjhalun** and his nephew **Avuḥaḷa Ojjhalun** of the Śāṅḍilya *gotra*, served as chief *purohita* 'until His Majesty our king **Mahā Parākrama Bāhu** . . . had worn the crown fifty-five times', and received for their maintenance the village of **Oruvaḷa** in Aturugiri Kōralē. Subsequently another king made this village a perpetual *dānakṣetra* in favour of the nephew and also granted him another village in the neighbourhood. **Avuḥaḷa Ojjhalun**, not content, applied either to the same king or to one of his successors for a copper-plate, the one now under consideration, by which the land held by him was permanently declared a *dānakṣetra* subject to an annual payment of fifteen fanams to the god Vishṇu.

Oruvaḷa is situated in the Aturugiriya pēruwa of Pallē Pattu of Hēvāgam Kōralē, about three miles SSW. of Navagomuwa. I am informed by the Kōralē Mudaliyār that the eastern and southern boundaries as given in our document are correct and that Pōrē and Koratoṭa villages lie on the north and west, but that the other places mentioned are not now to be traced.

For the present I defer the consideration of the epigraphy. Meanwhile the subscript letters should be noticed. Some errors in orthography appear, such as ఊరినా , కొల and నాన .

(A) Line 4. కలకొనా , &c. A similar phrase occurs in the Kuḍumirisa inscription, which grant was made at the 'Sumaṅgala prāsāda'.

Line 5. The names Avuḥaḷa Ojjhalu Paḷaiporokku Perumālun of the Kauṅḍinya *gotra* and Śennā Ojjhalun of the Harita *gotra* are found in the Kuḍumirisa record. These people appear to have been Vaishṇava Telugu

Brahmans. The continued existence of the office of *purohita* in the Kōṭṭē period is worthy of notice.

Line 6. *Mahā Parākrama Bāhu vāḍa vun tena oṭuṇu pas-panas dharana turu.* The expression 'had worn fifty-five crowns' is of particular interest. It clearly does not imply fifty-five successions from Parākrama Bāhu I as has been suggested; this would bring us down to the nineteenth century. The solution is given by Couto:

'Este (sc. Caipura Pandar) não foi coroado mais de quatro vezes, porque costumavam aquelles Reys coroar-se cada anno huma vez no proprio dia, em que a primeira foram coroados; e por aqui se contam os annos do seu governo peles vezes que foram coroados' (*Dec. V*, liv. i, cap. 5).

'He was not crowned more than four times, because those kings were accustomed to be crowned once every year on the same day as that on which they were first crowned; and for this reason the years of their rule are counted by the number of times that they were crowned' (Ferguson, *J. R. A. S. C. B.*, xx, p. 70).¹

The Kōṭṭē kings thus wore their crown in state on the anniversary of their coronation, much as William the Conqueror did at Christmas and Easter.

The two Brahmans had served '**Mahā Parākrama Bāhu**', and one was still alive when our grant was made. '**Mahā Parākrama Bāhu**' thus can be no other than **Parākrama Bāhu VI**, whose reign is given in the *Rajāvaliya* as having lasted fifty-two or fifty-four years and by Valentyn as fifty-five. The term 'Bodhisatvāvatāra', moreover, is applied to him in his own documents (*Pāpiliyāna sannasa I*, published in *Vidyodya* vol. i, No. 8 ff.) and is hardly applicable to Parākrama Bāhu I.

Our official document shows that Parākrama Bāhu VI reigned after his anointing for fifty-four years and an unknown number of days or months, the fifty-five years being counted from the coronation year inclusive. What was the **initial point of the reign**? In the contemporary documents there appear to be two reckonings:

- (a) i. Nāmavaliya. Tenth year, Śaka 1343.
- ii. Pāpiliyāna I. Seventeenth year, 1972 A.B.
- iii. Moggallāna Pañcikāpradīpa. Accession 1955 A.B., forty-fifth year, Śaka 1379.
- iv. Gaṇitasimha. Accession, 1955 A.B.

¹ The Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner draws my attention to the following passage in the *Thūpavaṃsa* (Colombo ed., 1926, p. 108) relating to King Kāvan Tissa, who is said to have reigned for sixty-four years: Kāvan Tissa rajjuruvō su-sāṭa vihārayak karavā su-sāṭa voṭunnak paḷāṇḍa maḷōya, 'King Kāvan Tissa having built sixty-four vihāras and worn sixty-four crowns died'.

- (b) i. Kāvyaśekhara. Thirty-fourth year. (? Accession) 1958 A.B.
 ii. Pāpiliyāna II and Saman Dēwālē. Thirty-ninth year. Accession 1958 A.B.
 iii. Denavaka. Forty-fourth year. Accession, 1958 A.B.

The *Saddharmaratnākaraya* in one place gives 1953 as the year of the accession, and in another 1958. As it equates this last with the year 1722 from the Conversion of Ceylon, thus putting the Buddhist year beyond doubt, it seems certain that the date 1953 is due to a copyist's error.

It is sometimes assumed that (a) is the date of the accession, and (b) that of the coronation. But there seems to be no documentary evidence for this assumption, and the *Pārakumbā Sirita* definitely states that the king was crowned at Rayigampura. The *Rājāvaliya* states that he lived at this place for three years and then went to Kōṭṭē. This last named city, according to Couto, was refounded by Parākrama, and the year 1958 perhaps may mark this event and, if we may press the expression මුළුතෙලුදිව එක්සත් කොට රජපැමිණි occurring in the Denavaka *sannasa* referred to above, the complete subjugation of the country.

I have given reasons in *Vidyodya* (loc. cit.) for fixing the initial point of the reign at some date either on or after the full moon of Vesak, 1955 A.B., and before the new moon of the following Poson, that is not earlier than April 26 and not later than May 3, 1412 A.D. What we do not know is whether there were two reckonings of regnal years, the one from 1955, the other from 1958, or whether, in spite of the use of the latter date, the reckoning from 1955 was carried throughout the reign. We may find a clue in Śrī Rāhula's practice. This priest was eminent for learning, was of the royal stock, and in close touch with the Court, and his evidence is valuable. The *Kāvyaśekhara* was written in the thirty-fourth year and at the beginning mentions the year 1958. The astronomical data in the *Sāḷalihinī Sandēśaya* yield a negative result, as they fit the thirty-sixth year reckoned from 1955, or 1958. But the *Moggallāna Pañcikaḥpradīpa* is dated in the forty-fifth year, Śaka 1379, with the initial year falling in 1955 A.B. Now this is the very period of the reign when we find the year 1958 in use. While a change in the course of the reign from the initial point in 1955 to one in 1958 can be understood, the reverse seems improbable, and the fact that Śrī Rāhula calculates so late as the forty-fifth year from 1955 tends to show that the initial point throughout was in that year, even where documents mention 1958. I take it that Parākrama Bāhu reigned from 1412 A.D. until 1466 or 1467.

We may now consider the expression වැඩ මුත් නෙත, නැත, or නැත්. It occurs in the Kuḍumirisa inscription towards the end of the record, where it appears to refer to the grantor's father mentioned in the earlier part (පිතෘ

මහරජුරුවන් වහන්සේ වැඩ ඉන්ද්දි). It is also found in the Demaḷaduva copper-plate, and in the Denavaka *sannasa*, fragments of which still exist at Pāpiliyāna. Here the Aramanapola Vihārē is said to have been built, to acquire merit for the queen, on the orders of 'Seḷiyadarayārun vāḍa un tān' (සෙලියදරසරුවන් වැඩ උන් නැන් වදාල මෙහෙවරින්). The expression literally should mean 'the place where he was', but as in line 8 of the present document it is qualified by මහ, must be understood analogous to the later *vāsala*, *maha vāsala*; it clearly refers to a person. The Kandy Nātha Dēvālē inscription uses it of the reigning king; thus it is 'His Majesty', 'His Highness'. Seḷiyadarayārun probably was a prince¹. The spelling නෙන is found occasionally in the Pāpiliyāna documents and elsewhere.

Line 7. *sēvādivala*. In later times this would imply a land held for military service. This cannot be the case with Brahmans, and *sēvā* must have its original meaning of 'service'.

Line 8. *sahajāta putra rājakumārayan*. There is no necessary implication that Parākrama Bāhu VI's successors were his actual sons. The reference is to the general duty of a *purohita*.

Lines 9, 10. Though not impossible, it seems more probable that the first gift of land as *dānakṣetra* was not made by the grantor of our copper-plate. This was given in his fourth year, and we know from line 11 that the land had been held for some time. If the grantor of the *sannasa* was Parākrama Bāhu VIII, the first gift as *dānakṣetra* may have been made by Bhūvanaika Bāhu VI.

Lines 11, 12. A few notes are required as to the **procedure adopted in the grant of land**. The Baṇagama Oruvaḷa was first given to the two Brahmans as *sēvādivala* or land for their maintenance, held in consideration of service. The next step was its presentation as *dānakṣetra* or gift-land to Brahmans, accompanied by a grant of additional land; this presentation may have been, as often, by word of mouth. The third stage was the application by the surviving Brahman for a *svasthira* ('permanent') plate, by which he got as *dānakṣetra* the land already received as well as further properties in Aturugiri-gama, all subject to an annual tax payable to Vishṇu. With this procedure may be compared that commonly

¹ Seḷiya = Pāṇḍyan. The Portuguese Tombo, vol. iii, foll. 14, 14 v. mentions that Madampe Pandar, son of Vīra Parākrama Bāhu (VIII) married a daughter of the king of Pandya, called Cholia Pandar. According to Couto, Ulukuḍaya Devī married 'Cholca Raya' of 'the race of the ancient kings'. The same writer makes Sapumal Kumārāyā's father to be a 'panical' from the Coast, 'of the caste of those kings'; he married a woman of rank. Perhaps he and Ulukuḍaya Devī's husband both were Pāṇḍyan princes. Ulukuḍaya is a Tamil name.

adopted in Kōṭṭē *sannas*, by which *paraveni* or heritable land became *svasthira*, 'permanent', in virtue of the grant, the possession so guaranteed sometimes being specified as the enjoyment of the produce. The tax or quit-rent is not confined to grants to Brahmans. Those to laymen, such as the Demaḷaduva *sannasa*, are also so qualified. This was no new departure; it is found in the Nāgama inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. II, No. 4) and in the Doraṭiyāva ola document (*J. R. A. S. C. B.*, xxix, No. 77). The object in making the land technically temple property may have been to render the grant more secure from royal rapacity.

Line 15. The construction of කුඹුටුල නි සායෙන් is obscure.

(B) line 2. *Kapurā Kumārayā*. Compare Couto's 'Caipura Pandar', the son of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI, that is Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu VII.

Line 3. *gam-mudala*. This should not be rendered 'villages (and) money', but 'village revenue'. It is the later *gam-pañḍuru*.

Lines 3, 4. The tax or quit-rent is payable to Vishṇu, the grantees being Vaishṇava Brahmans. For the same reason we find his *cakra* and chank-shell on the reverse of the plate. For *pāsida* compare the Dondra grant of Vijaya-Bāhu VII (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 97).

Line 5. *Svastira* for *svasthira*. Here applied to the plate itself.

Line 7. *At-āvuda bālayan*. 'Young men' or 'inferiors' armed with hand-weapons¹. Compare යන එන සේවාබාලයන් of the Ganēgoḍa *sannasa* (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 93). *Daḍavāddan* is a well-known term; 'hunters armed with sticks or clubs' (*daṇḍa*), as opposed to 'hunters with dogs', the later *kūkkān maḍuva* people.

Line 8. *mēvarak patak daḍak muḍak*. I take the second word to be derived from *prāpti*, 'profit', 'gain', or perhaps from *pratta*, 'given'. The expression *daḍa muḍa* is still in colloquial use and may belong to the same class as *iḍam kaḍam* and the like. If *muḍa* is to be translated by itself, Mr. H. Gunaratna Mudaliyār suggests its derivation from *muṇḍa*, 'shaving'; if so, it would mean 'shearing', 'exaction', 'extortion'.

Paṭiya or 'vengeance', according to D'Oyly, was the 'fine taken when a man ascends a tree or shuts himself up in a room threatening to hang or starve or poison himself on account of another, recovered from the man on account of whose misconduct the threat was made'. *Marālaya* was a death duty, amounting to one-third of the movables of a deceased if he left a son, and to the whole if he had none.

¹ At-āvuda Mudiyaṅsēlāgē people in Daṁbadeni Hatpattuva are said to have been of the royal body guard, armed with *kastāna*.

We can now consider the identity of the grantor of the copper-plate. Parākrama Bāhu VI was dead. We are left with the seventh, the eighth, and the ninth kings of the name. Mudaliyār Rasanayagam informs me that 'a Brahman can become a *purohita* of a king if he is above the age of eighteen years and has attained the knowledge of a Guru. There were chapters of priests in several parts of South India who examined a candidate for the Guru priesthood and passed him. Such a person only could have become a *purohita* to the king, as he was considered on account of his learning in the Vedas and the Śāstras as one of the king's ministers'. Now Parākrama Bāhu IX came to the throne in 1509, or some forty years after the demise of Parākrama Bāhu VI. If the younger of the two Brahmans had been twenty years of age in 1469, he would have been about sixty-four when the grant was made. But it is distinctly stated that Avuhaḷa had succeeded his uncle as *purohita* under Parākrama Bāhu VI, and it is unlikely that he would have been so young as twenty at that king's death. Forty would seem to be a more probable age for the successor to so important an office. Even so, it is possible that he was still alive about 1512 or 1513. The wording of lines 5 and 6 of the obverse of our plate, however, in which Parākrama Bāhu VI is spoken of as 'our king' and 'an incarnate Bodhisatva', leaves the impression that the document was written while his memory was still fresh, and is more appropriate to the reigns of Parākrama Bāhu VII or VIII rather than to that of the ninth of the name. Before touching on the epigraphical question, it is desirable to have the chronology of the Parākramas more or less fixed.

We have seen that Parākrama Bāhu VI died in or about 1466 or 1467. He was succeeded by his grandson Jaya Bāhu or Vīra Parākrama Bāhu. According to the *Rājāvaliya* Sapumal Kumārayā, on receiving news of the accession, left Jaffna, slew the new king, and ascended the throne as Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI. But the *Budugūṇa Alaṅkāraya* has :

සමනස් ඉනිඳු පිරිනිවි වස පවන් ල	ද
දෙදහස් පසලොසක් අවුරුදු පිරුණු ස	ද
දියගොස් පැනිරි බුවනෙක බුජ නිරිඳු ස	ද
පිරිවස් තුනෙහි සිර ලක රජ බිසෙවි ල	ද

which with the following verses, interpreted by the usage of the inscriptions, means that the book was written in the third year after his inauguration in 2015 A.B. expired or 1472/3 A.D., or some six years after the death of Parākrama Bāhu VI. Couto, who had good information, states that, when Maha Pracura Mabago (Vīra Parākrama Bāhu) had reigned one and a half years, his uncle, the ruler of the Kōralēs, died and his principality was given to the brother of the king of

Jaffna. The king only reigned a few years and was succeeded by his son, a witling from birth. The regent, the boy's aunt, Manica Pandar, after governing as regent for two years with difficulty owing to disturbances, sent for the king of Jaffna who assumed the crown. Two points deserve notice. The 'ruler of the Kōralēs' clearly was the 'yuvaraja of Māyādunu-nuvara', who is mentioned by Śrī Rāhula in the *Parevi Śandēsaya* written in the forty-fifth year of Parākrama Bāhu VI. According to Couto, Madune Pracura Mabago was the younger brother of that king, and the part attributed by the *Rājāvaliya* to Aṃbulugala Raja, Sapumal Kumārayā's brother, during the latter part of Parākrama Bāhu's reign must be assigned to his predecessor in the Māyādunna principality. Secondly, Valentyn, dealing with the reign of Vīra Parākrama Bāhu, states that Aṃbulugala Raja was the youngest son of the king's mother's sister. The king's mother was Ulakuḍaya Devī and Aṃbulugala's mother perhaps was her first cousin. But whether this was so or not, it is clear from Couto that Aṃbulugala and his brother were of the same generation as Vīra Parākrama Bāhu, a fact which explains the length of their reigns aggregating at least twenty-seven years, if not more, a remarkable thing in itself if these princes were own sons of Parākrama Bāhu VI, who himself ruled for over half a century. The expression කෙසෙ in the Dādigama record has to be explained by adoption.

To Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI is assigned a reign of seven years by the *Rājāvaliya*. But the Dādigama inscription is dated in his ninth year, and if the Demaḷaduva *sannasa* can be attributed to him we have to add yet another year. His reign thus lasted from 1472/3 to about 1480 or 1481. He was succeeded by his son, Pañḍita Parākrama Bāhu VII. Couto calls the new king 'Caipura Pandar' and states that he ruled not more than four years and was slain by the king of the Kōralēs. The *Rājāvaliya* implies that his reign was short. If this be so Aṃbulugala or Vīra Parākrama Bāhu VIII came to the throne about 1481 or 1482, but quite possibly his accession may have been as late as 1484/5. He reigned according to the *Rājāvaliya* for twenty years. It is unnecessary here to discuss whether this is correct, or whether he continued on the throne longer with his sons as joint-kings.¹

¹ Vol. iii, fol. 14, of the Portuguese Tombo in an account of Mādampē, dated March 5, 1614, states that Vīra Parākrama Bāhu (VIII) died '190 years ago more or less'. This would place his death about 1424, which is impossible. The numerals throughout the Tombo are written in words and not in figures, but the not infrequent errors in additions show that the rough copy or the original notes had figures. We must postulate three figures here, and the easiest emendation is '100' in lieu of '190'. This would place his death about 1514. It was reported in 1513 in a letter of D'Albuquerque to the King of Portugal (*Alguns Documentos*, p. 297).

These sons, Parākrama Bāhu IX, and Vijaya Bāhu VII, appear to have ascended the throne in the same year. The accession of the former is given in the Kālaniya inscription as having occurred in 2051 A.B. or 1508/9 A.D. In the Dondra stone record, now in the Colombo Museum, Vijaya Bāhu's rule is reckoned from Śaka 1432. This after the usual computation is 1510/11 A.D. The Kadirāna *sannasa*, however, was granted in the ninth year of the reign on the fifteenth of the waning moon of Poson, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. Now an eclipse took place on the new moon of Āṣāḍha, in two years, namely on 18 June 1517 and 8 June 1518. The second eclipse is said not to have been visible in Ceylon, and we are left with 1509 as the year of the accession. The Śaka year, therefore, in this instance was 'current' and not 'expired'.

We have seen that the fourth year of Parākrama Bāhu IX or about 1512/13 A.D. is a possible, though improbable, date for the granting of our *sannasa*. We do not know that Jaya Bāhu was styled officially by the name Parākrama Bāhu. Pañḍita Parākrama Bāhu VII may have reigned till his fourth year, but this is far from certain. It thus seems likely that the grantor of the document under discussion was Vīra Parākrama Bāhu VIII or Aṃbulugala Raja. He was the adopted son, or brother of the adopted son, of Parākrama Bāhu VI, and the terms almost of affection, which have been noticed above, would be in place. But is the epigraphy of our record that of the eighth decade of the fifteenth century?

A quotation from Mr. H. C. P. Bell's admirable exposition on the subject of **the script** of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is essential. He writes (*J. R. A. S. C. B.*, xxii, no. 65, p. 360):

'The student's attention is specially drawn to the quaint forms of such letters as the ☉ and ☿, and in particular to that infallible test letter ☿, the interesting evolution of which is so marked. From the "keyhole" and "pear" type of the middle and later part of the 14th century it took a "tadpole" form, gradually developing the "tail" from the 15th century onwards, until the letter became the "long-stalk tuber" of modern manuscript.

'The transition in the shape of this specially characteristic letter was far more rapid between 1350 A.D. and 1450 A.D. than later. The literary activity of the reign of Parākrama Bāhu, and its long period of internal peace, tended towards the adoption of a more settled standard. Thus, it is a comparatively simple matter to differentiate between a record of Bhuwanēka Bāhu IV or Parākrama Bāhu V and the Kāragala inscriptions of Vijaya Bāhu VI and Parākrama Bāhu VI; but not so easy to fix the exact decades of *sannas* belonging to the 16th and 17th centuries. In the 18th century the style of writing became florid and more decided.'

The reader is referred to the plates accompanying the above, as well as to reproductions of the records mentioned below.

As a *terminus a quo* we have the Vēgiriya inscription of 1957 A.B. and Śaka 1337 (current) or 1414 A.D. (Bell, plate H) and as *termini ad quem* the Dondra and Kālaṇiya lithic records, the first being dated in the fifth year of Vijaya Bāhu VII or *circa* 1513/14 A.D., and the second in the nineteenth year of Parākrama Bāhu IX, or *circa* 1527/8 A.D.

In the Vēgiriya inscription the ζ approximately is of the 'pear' shape, though in certain instances it is open at the top. In the \odot the head is large and bold,

its bottom left-hand corner forming a distinct point, and the tail being ¹⁴¹⁴ carried up to a point level with the top of the head. We may here consider other undoubted records of the reign of Parākrama Bāhu VI. In the Kāragala inscription of the eleventh year (*circa* 1425), with its schedule referring to a previous grant by a Vijaya Bāhu, the ζ often is of the 'pear' shape, open at the top, but with a tendency to the 'tadpole' form, which also appears.

^{c. 1425} The head of the \odot is becoming smaller. The point is pushed out distinctly to the left and at least in one case (Kāragala No. 1, line 11) is less pronounced; in this case also the head appears to be almost closed. The tail usually is carried farther round than in the Vēgiriya record. By the time of the well-cut inscriptions, still partly extant at Pāpiliyāna (Pāpiliyāna *sannasa* II, thirty-ninth year, and Denavaka grant, forty-fourth year; my plates A, B), the ζ may be said

to have assumed the 'tadpole' shape definitely, the open-topped 'pear' ^{c. 1453 & 1458} surviving very occasionally. The \odot has the open head and differs little from the Kāragala type, though it is more uniformly drawn. So far development is normal. The divergence of the script in the oddly worded Beligala *sannasa* (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 94), purporting to be of the same reign, from that employed in these records of undoubted authenticity is remarkable and will be referred to again.

We next have the Dādigama inscription of the ninth year of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI (*Report on the Kegalla District*, plate opposite p. 81). The ζ generally speaking is of the 'tadpole' form, but open at the upper right. ^{c. 1480} A minute tail, however, also appears; with this should be compared the ζ of the Demaḷaduva *sannasa* (e.g. lines 2, 6, 8; *J. R. A. S. C. B.*, xxii, No. 65, plate V, inserted after p. 290).¹ The \odot is assuming a more modern form, the pro-

¹ The attestation of the Demaḷaduva grant by Sanhas Tiruvaraṅgan Perumāḷ proves little as to the reign. The same name appears in the Kāragala record of Parākrama Bāhu VI as well as in the Kālaṇiya inscription of Parākrama Bāhu IX.

jecting point almost always being rounded and very often tending to disappear, while the head of the letter is apt to become a closed circle. The tail usually is carried over to a point nearly above the centre of the letter, and occasionally slightly to the left of the centre line.

So far, with the exception of the Beligala grant, the epigraphy of the period is hardly in dispute. There are two periods in which it is unsettled, namely that before the reign of Vijaya Bāhu VII and that comprising the reign of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII. For the reign of Vijaya Bāhu VII we have three documents, the dated stone inscription from Dondra (c. 1513/14 A.D.) and the copper *sannas* of Uḍugampola (1517 A.D.) and Dondra (c. 1519 A.D.). The first named document (my plate D) is of some interest. The ㊦ assumes several shapes (lines 4, 5, 7), on the whole not unlike the Dādigama forms. But it is the ㊧ which is most peculiar. The 'keyhole' reappears in line 2, perhaps the 'pear' in line 5, and a most unusual form in line 1, the line which is prolonged into the short
 c. 1513/14 'tail' being carried to the *right* of the head or commencement of the letter¹. The form of ㊧ with a very short 'tail' occurs. The appearance of archaic and peculiar forms may be due to the fact that the record was cut at Dondra, at a distance from the capital. The Uḍugampola *sannasa* has a fairly uniform ㊧, though the 'tail' slightly varies in length. The ㊦ has the open as well as the closed head, and its tail is carried well over the centre of the
 1517 letter. The workmanship of this grant is poor. It is the Dondra copper-plate (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 96) which illustrates the script best. Here the ㊧ is developing its 'tail'. This in some instances is longer than we have found it hitherto; usually, however, it is of moderate length and not
 1519 so developed as in the Ganégoḍa *sannasa*. In the ㊦ the head is closed, the sharp point on the left has disappeared, and the curve of the tail is carried well over, even more so in some instances than in the Uḍugampola plate. We may also notice the appearance of the Malayalam ㊨, e.g. in lines A 5 and B 7. In the Kālaṇiya inscription (*Ceylon Antiquary*, i, p. 153) the 'tail' of the ㊧ usually is longer than in the Dondra copper-plate; the ㊦ has the open head, often nearly closed, but it retains the sharp point on the left, and the
 c. 1527/8 tail is somewhat less pronounced than in our Oruvaḷa grant.

We now come to the periods of which the epigraphy is unsettled. Of the Kuḍumirisa inscription I was not fortunate enough to obtain a satisfactory stampage owing to the very uneven surface of the rock; thus my plate C is poor.

¹ For an embryonic form of this, see the Gampola inscription, A lines 6, 7 (Bell, plate E).

The 'tail' of the ඊ is fairly short, more so than the longer variety of 'tail' in the Dondra copper-plate, and in some cases is almost the same as in the Demaḷaduva letter. The Kuḍumirisa ඊ is distinctly later than the Pāpiliyāna. Kuḍumirisa, however, agrees with Pāpiliyāna in the shape of the ම. This document is dated in the tenth year of a Parākrama Bāhu and confirms a grant made by his royal father. This previous grant is stated at the end of the inscription to have been given 'in the time of His Majesty Śrī Parākrama Bāhu' (ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රම බාහු වැඩි උන් නැන් අවසිය). As we have seen, the script is posterior to the reign of Parākrama Bāhu VI; it cannot be as late as that of Parākrama Bāhu IX. Unlike the Pāpiliyāna records it 'abounds with orthographical mistakes' (J. R. A. S. C. B., x, No. 34, p. 96), a characteristic also of the time of Vijaya Bāhu VII. I take it that we have a document of Parākrama Bāhu VIII, written in the early years of the ninth decade of the fifteenth century.

The Oruvaḷa *sannasa*, if granted by the same king, is some six years earlier in date. Yet the script differs from that of Kuḍumirisa. The ම with the closed head lies midway between one form of the letter in the Dādigama inscription and that employed in the Dondra copper-plate. In many instances the head is almost closed; not infrequently it is open, as, for example, in A 7 මයෙන්, the initial ම in line 8, and මේ in line 9. For the sharp point on the left, the reader is referred to B 9 ඇත්තමි, 10 මහ පරමපරාක්‍රයාන, 11 මේ, and මහ බොධිසත්‍ය, and the last words of 15. With the Dondra plate form the Oruvaḷa ම agrees. The ඊ with the short 'tail' probably is not later in shape than that used by Vijaya Bāhu VII. This is of common occurrence in our *sannasa*, but other forms also appear. The ඊ with a minute 'tail', as at Dādigama and in the Demaḷaduva grant, is seen in A, line 2 රාජ, 4 විවරා, and 13 වදුරාමුල්ලේ and in B 8 උද්දරණයන් and 11 පරාක්‍රම. A form of the 'tadpole' occurs in B 10 in the රා of පරමපරාක්‍රයාන; this also is in Dādigama A 2. We now come to the variants of the peculiar ඊ of line 1 of the Dondra stone inscription. In our plate the letter is begun with (a) a short stroke drawn upwards obliquely from left to right; it then (b) curves downwards and (c) round to left, and so (d) upwards, the (e) tail being carried across the downward curve (b) at a point to the right of (a). For this form, see A 1 රාජපුත්‍ර, 2 මහාරාජා and සිරි, 4 පුරෙහි and the ඊ in පිරිවරා, and 7 මරුවල. A variant, in which (b) is bent inwards, or rather is drawn with a short vertical before beginning the outward curve, occurs in A 6 බොධිසත්‍යවිහාර; this form is of interest, as it connects the later ඊ with the 'keyhole' form, in particular that in lines A 6, 7 of the Gampola inscription (Bell, plate E) and with the twelfth-century letter. On the whole we may decide that the script is somewhat earlier than the reign of Vijaya

Bāhu VII. This means that the plate has to be assigned in all probability to Parākrama Bāhu VIII. Yet the Kuḍumirisa inscription, of a later regnal year, in some ways shows an earlier style of writing, as, for example, in the formation of 𑀲.

But, though we may be certain as to the general development of the Sinhalese script, it is dangerous to be too dogmatic. There is always the possibility of the existence of at least two forms of writing at one and the same time, namely that of the elder generation and that of the younger. We see illustrations of this in the Gampola and Hapugastāna inscriptions (Bell, plates E and D), written within a year or so of one another, and again in the archaisms of the Dondra stone record. We may attribute, provisionally at least, both the Kuḍumirisa inscription and the Oruvaḷa plate to the same king, Parākrama Bāhu VIII.

Before concluding, a word may be said on the subject of the Ganēgoḍa *sannasa* (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 93 with plate). This hitherto has been attributed by Mr. Bell to the reign of Bhuvanaika Bāhu V. Comparison now is invited between the forms assumed by 𑀲 and 𑀳 in this plate and those in the Sagama record of Bhuvanaika Bāhu V's reign (Bell, plate F) and in the inscriptions of Parākrama Bāhu VI at Vēgiriya, Kāragala, and Pāpiliyāna. The Ganēgoḍa plate, I venture to suggest, at the earliest must date from a period after the middle of the fifteenth century. This means that we have to assign it to Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII. Luckily for purposes of comparison we have at Nākolaganē in the Kurunāgala District an inscription dated in 2101 A.B. (1558/9 A.D.), only a few years after Bhuvanaika Bāhu's death, which agrees in the form of the distinctive letters with this *sannasa*. This lithic record, which begins with the words 𑀲𑀳𑀴𑀵 is cut immediately under a carefully executed fourteenth-century document of thirteen lines and is continued on its left; it is reproduced in my plate E. The defect at the right-hand bottom corner is not due to the condition of the inscription, which is complete, but to its position in the cave temple which renders the taking of an estampage of that corner somewhat difficult.

A document with a similar script is the charred and fragmentary so-called Palkuṃburē Vihārē *sannasa*. The grant of Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha apparently attributes it to Jayavīra of Kandy. But the fragment itself is of the reign of a Bhuvanaika Bāhu, whose regnal year is missing, and conveys land in Divigoḍa in the Galle Kōralē, apparently to a priest. The *paramparāva* is traced in the Kandyan *sannasa* from a brother of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII, who on that king's death went up-country (Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, ii, 687, 688). Thus the burnt plate may have been given by Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII.

The cross over the 𑀓 in the Ganēgoḍa *sannasa* is worthy of note. If it be the Christian emblem, it may have been put in surreptitiously by a convert workman. But the king's concurrence is not impossible. He was in the hands of the Portuguese. At a much later time the Christian monogram occurs on certain coins of Kashmir, the king having been persuaded that it would bring him luck.

The next specimen of writing in point of time is the Sītāwaka *sannasa* of Śaka 1499 or 1577 A.D. (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 97.) The general appearance of this hand is modern enough and with the flourishes to the letters differs much from the script both of the Ganēgoḍa plate and of the Nākolaganē record, which precedes it only by nineteen years. A new era is indicated not only by the development of the writing but also by the marked change in the traditional form and style exhibited by the Sītāwaka document. This new era coincides with the practical disappearance of the Kōṭṭē monarchy; the younger generation would have found the Court of Sītāwaka, the national centre, more congenial to their aspirations, and such literary activity as existed would have secured royal patronage there. Yet this *sannasa* and the Dondra and Ganēgoḍa copper-plates as well as the Nākolaganē record (line 17) are linked together by the presence of the Malayam 𑀓¹.

Finally the Beligala *sannasa* may be dealt with. The phraseology of the document is peculiar and unlike that of other grants; its short sentences more resemble the popular style. The execution is as unusual as the language, half of the lines on either side being written upside down. In it is a date, 1958 A.B., Vesak pura 7, Thursday, Pusē nākata; this the *Rājāvaliya* gives as that of the deportation of Vijaya Bāhu. The script differs totally from that of genuine documents of Parākrama Bāhu VI's time, as a study of them in the plates mentioned in, and attached to, this paper will show, and is more closely allied to that of the sixteenth century. The *sannasa* must have been executed then. The forgery of royal documents is no new thing, witness the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.

POSTSCRIPT.

Ganēgoḍa Sannasa. Plates I and II of Schurhammer's *Ceylon* give the signatures of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII and Māyādunnē. That of the first named is 𑀓𑀓, i. e. 𑀓𑀓, the subscript letters having disappeared; that of his brother and rival is 𑀓. The signature of Bhuvanaika Bāhu appears on the Demaḷaduva copper-plate. The Ganēgoḍa *sannasa*, however, has 𑀓 on one side and 𑀓 on

¹ This 𑀓 is found also in the Hapugastāna inscription.

the other. Perhaps it was issued by Māyādunnē in the name of his brother, whose nominal sovereignty may have been admitted. If so, the cross is perplexing. The date of the grant falls in 1546-1547 A. D. It was in 1547 that Māyādunnē surprised Moniz Barreto on his retreat from Kandy by the friendliness of his reception. This was a bid for an alliance with Portugal, which actually was consummated the next year. Māyādunnē's letter of 26 October 1547 in Schurhammer's book is written in Portuguese. Thus, Portuguese and Christian influence was not absent.

TEXT.

- A. 1 ස්වසනී ශ්‍රී චෛවස්වන මනු සංඛ්‍යන මහා සමමන පරමපරාක්‍රයාන සුයසී
 වංශොත්භූත සුමිත්‍ර රාජපුත්‍ර පවිත්‍ර
- 2 ගොත්‍රානිජාන මහාරාජාඛි¹ රාජ ශ්‍රී සීහලාඛිචේර නවරත්නාඛිපනී ශ්‍රීමත් සිඛි
 සහබො ශ්‍රී පර්කුම බාහු වක්‍රවනීනී සවා
- 3 මිත්වනත්සෙව තුන්වත්තෙන් මනු අවුරුදු ඇසළ පුර විසෙතිය සකල
 නගරාග සම්පතියෙන් සමුච්චි ජස
- 4 වසීනපුරෙහි මඟුල් ප්‍රාසාදයෙහි ඇමැනි ගණයන් පිරිවරා සීහාසනෙහි
 වැඩ හිඳ ලොව කලමනා වැවසා විවරා වදරන සමයෙ
- 5 හි ශාඛිලය ගොත්‍රයෙන් අ බමුණු පොනා ඔස්කලන් මෙකු බණණ අමුහල
 ඔස්කලන් මෙ කී දෙනා පලමු අ
- 6 පගේ රාජාඛිරාජවු ශ්‍රී සීහලාඛිචේර¹ බොධිසත්ථාවතාර මහා පර්කුම බාහු
 වැඩ වූත් තෙන ඔවුණු¹ පස්පනස් බරන තුරු ක
- 7 මයෙන් මෙ කී දෙනා අග පුරොහිත තෙව කරන කල්හි මෙකුන්ට සේවා
 දිවලව දුන් බණගම ඔරුවල මෙ කී අයට
- 8 ම පැවැන එන ප්‍රසාචව මහ වැඩ වූත් තෙන ඉකුත්ව වදල තෙන සහජාන
 පුත්‍ර රාජකුමාරයන් කරන්ට සුදුසු අපරත්‍රි
- 9 යා තෙව මෙ කියන බමුණු අමුහල ඔස්කල පුරොහිතයන් කළ නිසා බො
 හො ප්‍රසංසා කොට සන්තොපව වද,
- 10 රා මෙකුන්ට පැවැන එන ගම නිබැදි දැනසෙත්‍ර කොට අමුතුව වෙනින්
 ගම් සැලස්මක් නියම කර වදල තෙන
- 11 එ කියන පුරොහිතවරුන්ට භිප අවුරුද්දක් නිබු බණගමෙයි යන ඔරුවල
 නඹ පන දෙවා වදරන්ටයයි කියා සැ
- 12 ල කළ තෙන මෙ කී අමුහල ඔස්කලන්ට දැනසෙත්‍ර කොට සිතා වදල
 අතුරුහිරි කොරලෙ බද බණගමට හිමි

¹ Subscript letter.

- 13 නැගෙනහිරින් වළුරාමුල්ලේ කරදගස ඇළ හා දකුණු දිගින් මරුවල පිටියෙ ඇළ හා බස්නාහිරින් බ
- 14 ලැලිල අගනාන පොරේ ඉම පරගස අත්මග හා උතුරු දිගින් කොරනො ඉම දියවුණු මනොරණ මිගස
- 15 සිල්පාත් දෙළ අඹුඵවාසෙ කුඹුවල ගනි සාසෝ මෙ කි සතර මාහිමට ඇතුලත්වූ සරිය හා මෙ

- B.
- 1 කියන මරුවල ගමට පලවූ පටන් වෙතින් පැවැන ගෙන ආ උඩවෙලින් කුඹුරු එකමුණු දෙපැලක් බිඳුවට සරි
 - 2 යත් සිරිමිත්ත එක පැළ ප(ල්ලා)සක් අතුරුගිගම මැද කපුරා කුමාරයාගේ වත්ත හා මෙහි බද කුඹුරු එකමුණු
 - 3 දෙපැලක් ඇතුළුවූ වල් විල් කුඹුරු ඔව්ට ගම්වුදල ගෙවතු ගස කොළි ආදී සියල්ලම උත්පලවණින් දිව්
 - 4 රාජොත්තමයාණන්වහන්සේට අවුරුදු එකකට පණම් පසලොසක් බැගින් පැසිද මෙ කියන¹ අඹුගල බස්ක
 - 5 ලු පුරොහිතයන්ගේ දරු මුනුබුරු පරම්පරාවට ආ ව්‍යදාක්ක සපාසිව පවතිනා පණතටත් සලසවා සමසතිරව
 - 6 පත් ලියා දෙන්නෙයයි මෙ කියන ගමට රජ පුවරජ මහා අමාත්‍යදී කෙන කුත්තෙන්වත් බාහිරවූ කොරලකරන්නන්වත්
 - 7 බෙත්ම අනාවුද බාලයන් විසින්වත් ඇත්තලසින් බලුවැද්දත් දඩුවැද්දත් මෙ කී නොයෙක් දෙනාගෙන්වත් බහක් බුල
 - 8 තක් මෙවරක් පනක් දඩක් මුඩක් පලියක් මරාලයක් අවුලක් උද්දරණයක් කළ කී කෙනෙක් ඇත්නමුත් කියලා කැ
 - 9 රවු අයෙක් ඇත්නම් සඳ්ව කාළසූත්‍රාදී අට මහා තරකයෙහි පැසි ගොඩ නො දැක අනන්ත ජාතීඝමයා
 - 10 න පුනව උපදිනානු නම් වෙහි මෙ ලෙස නො වි අපගේ මහ පරම්පරානු යාන මහරජ කෙනෙක් ඉදිරි පැවු
 - 11 ණුනුහොත් මෙ ගමට සහායව නිල ලා බලේ ලා දුන් මහරජරුවනෙක් ඇත්නම් අපේ මහ බොසිසනි පරකුම බාහ
 - 12 මහ රාජොත්තමයාණන්වහන්සේ පස්පනස් ඔටුනු ලංකාවෙ පැළද පින් කොට මෙ මඟුල් සක්වල වක්‍රවල වක්‍රවනී
 - 13 රජව කෙළවර මහ බො වඩා ලොවුතුරා බුදු බව සිටිවුණානු නම් වෙහි කියා මෙ ලෙස වදාළ මෙහෙවරින් මෙ ස
 - 14 ත්භස් තාඹු පත්‍රය ලියා දුන් බවට පාලාන්තරුමෙ—දැන පාලනයොමේධෙය ද
 - 15 නාලේවුයානුපාලනම් දැනත් භවගිමවාපොනාහි පාලනාදවුනම් පදම්

² Subscript letter.

TRANSLITERATION.

- A. 1 Svasti śrī Vaivasvata Manu saṁkhyata Mahā Sammata paramparānuyāta
 suryya-vaṁśotbhūta Sumitra rājaputra pavitra
 2 gotrābhijāta mahārājādhi¹rāja Tri Siṁhaḷādhīśvara navaratnādhipati
 Śrīmat Siri Saṅgabo Śrī Parākkrama Bāhu cakravartti svā-
 3 mīnvahanseṭa tunvannen matu avurudu Āsaḷa pura viseniya sakala
 nagarāṅga sampattiyen samurdha-vū **Jaya-**
 4 **varddhana-purehi** Maṅgul prāsādayehi āmāti gaṇayan pīrivarā siṁhā-
 sanehi vāḍa hi¹nda lova kaḷamanā vāvasthā vicarā vadārana samaye-
 5 hi Śāṅḍilya gotrayen ā Bamuṇu **Potā Ojjhalun** meku byāṇa **Avuḷaḷa**
Ojjhalun me kī denna paḷamu a-
 6 pagē rājādhirāja-vū Tri Siṁhaḷādhīśvara¹ Bodhisatvāvatāra **Mahā Parā-**
krama Bāhu vāḍa vun tena oṭuṇu¹ pas-panas dharana turu kra-
 7 mayen me kī denna agra purohita teva karana kal-hi mekuṇṭa sēvādi-
 valaṭa dun baṇagama **Oruvala** me kī ayaṭa-
 8 ma pāvāta ena prasthāvāṭa mahā vāḍa vun tena ikut-va vadāḷa tena
 sahaḷāta putra rājakumārāyan karaṇṭa sudusu aparakri-
 9 yā tēva me kiyana Bamuṇu **Avuḷaḷa Ojjhalu** purohitayan kaḷa nisā
 boho prasamsā koṭa santoṣa-va vadā-
 10 rā mekuṇṭa pāvāta ena gama tibādi dānakṣetra koṭa amutuva venin
 gam sālasmak niyama kara vadāḷa tena
 11 e kiyana purohitavarunṭa kīpa avuruddak tibū baṇagameyi yana **Oruvala**
 taṁba pata devā vadāranṭayayi kiyā sā-
 12 la kaḷa tena me kī **Avuḷaḷa Ojjhalunṭa** dānakṣetra koṭa sitā vadāḷa
 Aturugiri Korāḷe bada baṇagamaṭa him
 13 nāgenahirin Vaṇdurāmullē Karaṇḍagasa-āḷa hā dakuṇu digin Oru-
 vaḷa-piṭiye-āḷa hā basnāhirin Ba-
 14 llāvila Aggona Porē ima Paragasa atmaga hā uturu digin Korato ima
 diyavuṇu matorāṇa mīgasa
 15 sīlpān doḷa **Aṁbuḷuvāye Kuḍuvala gati yāyen** me kī satara māhi-
 maṭa ātuḷat-vū sariya hā me
- B. 1 kiyana **Oruvala** gamaṭa paḷamu paṭan venin pāvāta gena ā Uḍavelin
 kuṁburu ekamuṇu de-pāḷak bijuvaṭa sari-
 2 yat Sirivinna eka pāḷa pa(llā)sak **Aturugirigama** māṇḍa Kapurā kumā-
 rayāgē vatta hā mehi bada kuṁburu ekamuṇu

¹ Subscript letter.



- 3 de-pālak ātuḷu-vū val vil kuṁburu ōviṭi gam-mudala ge-vatu gasa koḷa ādi
siyallama Utpalavarṇṇa divya-
- 4 rājottamayāṇavahanseṭa avurudu ekakaṭa paṇam pasaḷosak bāgin pāsida
me kiyana ¹ **Avuhaḷa Ojjha-**
- 5 **lu** purohitayangē daru munuburu paramparāvaṭa ā candrārkkā sthāyīva
paṅvatīnā paṇataṭat salasvā svastira-va
- 6 pat liyā denneyayi me kiyana gamaṭa raja yuvaraja mahā amātyādī kena-
kungen-vat bāhira-vū koraḷa-karannan-vat
- 7 betma at-āvuda-bālayan visin-vat āttalayin balu-vāddan daḍa-vaddan me
kī noyek denāgen-vat batak bula-
- 8 tak mevarak patak daḍak muḍak paḷiyak marālayak avulak uddaraṇayak
kaḷa kī kenek ātnamut kiyalā kā-
- 9 ra-vū ayek ātnam Saṅjīva Kāḷasūtrādī aṭa mahā narakayehi pāsī goḍa
no dāka ananta jātiśmaśā-
- 10 na preta-va upadināhu nam veti me lesa no vī apagē maha paramparānu-
yāta maharaja kenek idiri pāmu-
- 11 ṇunuhot me gamaṭa sahāya-va nila lā balē lā dun maharaja-ruvanek āt-
nam apē maha Bodhisatva **Parākrama Bāhu**
- 12 maha rājottamayāṇavahanse pas-panas oṭunu Lamkāve pāḷaṇḍa pin koṭa
me maṅgul sakvaḷa cakravaḷa cakravartti-
- 13 raja-va keḷavara maha bo vaḍā lovuturā Budu bava siddhavuṇāhu nam
veti kiyā me lesa vadāḷa mehevarin me sa-
- 14 nhas tāmbra patraya liyā dun bavaṭa **Pālāttarumha**—Dāna pālanayor-
mmadhya da-
- 15 nārccreyānupālanam Dānāt svarggam-avāpnoti pālanād accutam padam

TRANSLATION.

Hail! prosperity! On the fifth of the waxing moon of Āśaḷa in the year following the third of Our Majesty the Overlord **Śrīmat Siri Sangabo Śrī Parākrama Bāhu**, the great king of kings, born of the spotless clan of Prince Sumitra, sprung from the race of the Sun in lineal descent from Mahā Sammata named Manu Vaivasvata, sovereign of Tri Siṁhaḷa and lord of the nine gems, [this command was given] what time We were vouchsafing after due inquiry edicts fit to be carried out in the world, seated on the lion throne surrounded by our ministers in the auspicious palace at **Jayavarddhana-pura**, which is perfect with all the necessary qualities of a city.

¹ Subscript letter.

The two Brahmans **Potā Ojjhalun** and his nephew **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalun** of the Śāṅḍīlya clan first of all served as chief domestic chaplains (*purohita*), one after the other, until His Majesty our king **Mahā Parākrama Bāhu**, sovereign of Tri Siṃhaḷa and an incarnate Bodhisatva, had worn the crown fifty-five times¹, and received as maintenance for their service the *baṇagama Oruvaḷa*. While he was continuing to possess, on His Majesty's demise this aforesaid Brahman **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalu** performed the subsequent rites fit to be observed by royal princes, a king's legitimate sons. For this cause His Majesty gave him much praise and showed His pleasure by making the village, which had continued in the possession of these (Brahmans), a perpetual² *dānakṣetra* (gift-land), and ordered a fresh grant of a village apart. On the prayer that We should grant a copper-plate for the *baṇagama Oruvaḷa*, which these domestic chaplains had held for a number of years, We have contemplated making the same a *dānakṣetra* in favour of the aforesaid **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalun**, and [accordingly] have written and given a permanent plate, granting it with a command that as long as the Sun and Moon endure there shall continue in the lineal descent of the children and grandchildren of the aforesaid domestic chaplain **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalun** the following lands:

The *baṇagama* in Aturugiri Kōraḷe, to wit, the extent from **Kuḍuvaḷa gati yāya** of **Aṃbuḷuvāya** within these four boundaries:

East, Vaṅdurāmulle Karaṅda-gasa āḷa,

South, Oruvaḷa-piṭiye āḷa,

West, The boundary of Ballāvila, Aggona and Pora, and the Para-gasa atmaga,

North, The boundary of Korato[ṭa], Diyavuṇu matorāṇa mī-gasa, and Sīlpān-doḷa.

Fields of 1 *amuṇa* 2 *pālas* sowing extent from Uḍavela, and Sirivinna, 1 *pāla* 5 *lahas* [in extent], which though apart have belonged from the first to the aforesaid village **Oruvaḷa**.

The garden of Prince Kapurā in the midst of **Aturugirigama**, and fields of 1 *amuṇa* 2 *pālas* [extent] in the same.

All these together with jungles, meres, fields, *oviṭas*, village-revenue, residing gardens, trees, shrubs, and the like, on payment of 15 fanams every year to the lotus coloured king of the gods [Vishṇu].

Should any one, whether kings, sub-kings, great ministers, or others such as

¹ Literally, had worn fifty-five crowns.

² Taking කවැදි as a clerical error for කවැදි.

administrators of *kōraḷēs*, or subordinate military officers of divisions, or people of the elephant stalls, hunters with hounds, hunters with clubs, or any such recover (maintenance in) rice, betel, service, profit, fines, recoveries, *paḷiya*, or *marālaya*, or cause by deed or word any trouble or disturbance, or should any one have [already] so done, he will be boiled in Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, and the remainder of the eight hells, without release therefrom, and thereafter be born in endless births a graveyard *preta*. Should in the future a king of our great lineage appear and there be a sovereign who, without risking this fate, helps this village by giving the necessary services and authority, may he wear his crown fifty-five times in Laṅkā as did our great Bodhisatva the great king **Parākrama Bāhu**, and, acquiring merit, become a monarch whose wheel rolls everywhere in this auspicious universe, and, going in the end to the great Bodhi tree, become a Buddha transcendent in the world.

I, **Pālāttarun**, [certify] that this *sanhas* copper plate was written and granted in obedience to His Majesty's command to this [aforewritten] effect.

Of giving and protecting (what has been given), protecting is nobler than giving. By giving one attains to heaven, by protecting Nirvāṇa.

KEY TO PLATES.

A.	B.
<p>1. සක් මාචි කාලක් ලුණු දු ක් සුවද මල් දහ ස් නැළි දෙකක් දු 5. මව් අගිල් පලම් තු යහා අච්චුරුදු පුජාව ව පොල් දහසක් හා(ම) පුර පසලොස්ව(ක) යක් පොල් දෙසිය 10. සකව ගුණි එක්ද(හ) නක් මාචි රත් දෙම(ස්) එකකව ලුණු දසය කව පිළියව පණ(මි) ල් සයක් ගෙනෙහි(වැ) 15. ස්සක් මාචි රත් අව න් නෙලව පොල් සය සක් විධානේ නැනව (බු) අවක් පුවක් විසිස(න)</p>	<p>1. (ඔ)සළියදරයාරු(න්) (පි)න් පිණිසැ නවයො (ප)ය ලැගුම් ගෙය (ල්)පන්දෙළු වෙලි 5. (නා)මෙමැ නැන ගෙව (ව)කුඹුර බිජුවව (න්)දන්ගෙවු හා ව (න්) බිජුවව දැමුණ (ඔ)දල්තොට කුඹුර 10. (ව)ල් විල් හා ගැනු පි හා ගරුනාඩ සහිත (ඔ)න් සුනෙහා මහදෙ කොටැ සලස්වා ද (හා)රයව නාසකමු 15. (න්)වැවිරාත් කාලය (න්)ලෙයොනු පාල (ව)නුනම්පදම් (සෙයි)</p>

C.

පරාක්‍රම හුජ

D.

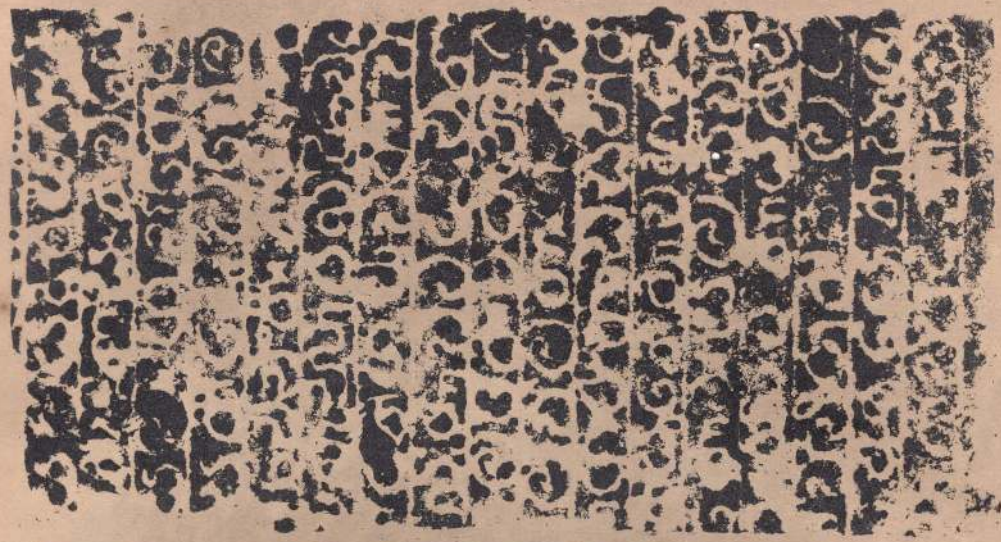
- 1. සවිසති ශ්‍රී කුඩ ශක වරුෂ
එක් දහස් සාර සිය දෙ
නිස් වන්තෙහි රජ පැමිණි
සවිසති ශ්‍රී මහා සම්මත
- 5. පරම්පරානුයාන සූරිය
විෂානිජාන ශ්‍රී ලංකාධිප
ති ශ්‍රීමත් සිරිසගබො
ශ්‍රී විජය බාහු චක්‍රවර්ති
සවිමිත්වහන්සෙව සන

E.

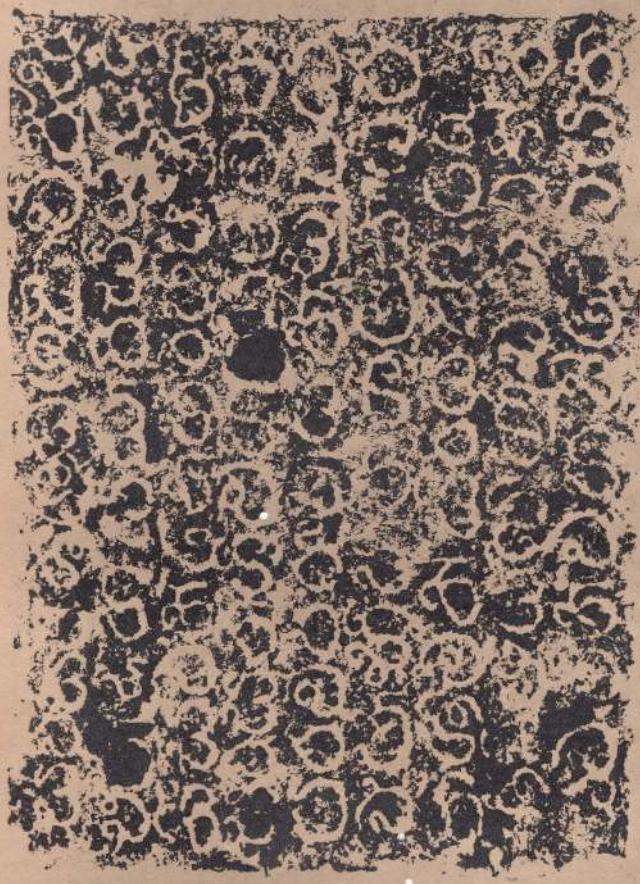
- (a) 1. විජයනාධාරපොතත් අමුඛු සුමෙධා
දෙවින් පුවෙණින් වලිඤ ආ සෙරියා
ව්‍යවසථාවට බද නැතින් නාගලට
කුසලාන් කොටැ පිදු සැට මඩලැස්
- 5. සපි ඉන් පටවනැ දකුණු දිගින්
පසමුණෙක් වටනා පසයටයි
සිටිවිණෙත් කුසලාන් දිග්පිටියයි
මෙකුත් පුත් පරාක්‍රම අතර මිඤ්ඤ
දෙනනා පුවෙණින් ව්‍යවසථා කොටැ වලිඤ ආ
- 10. නාගලට වටනා පසයට පිදු මුහයිනයි
පඵලගොඩැ පත්තිස් යාලෙ බද වල්වසරින්
ගිරිහඬු සානා කුමාරයන් නාගලට කුසලන්
කොටැ පිදු කුඩා මුහලන මුහ මුහලනයි
- (b) 15. බුටවෂී දෙදස් එක් සිය එකයි උඩුවෙ
රියෙ මුග්ගිලි මල්බහ නැගිනි මෙකුත් මැනි¹
න් සමඟිව නාගලට කුසලාන කොට පිදු කුරු
ගොඩ ඉදිරිපිට දසමුන¹ කුසලාන පසමුන¹ වටනා
පසනටඩවැ තුනමුනයි ආභිගම ආදිවට

Malayalam න.

B



D

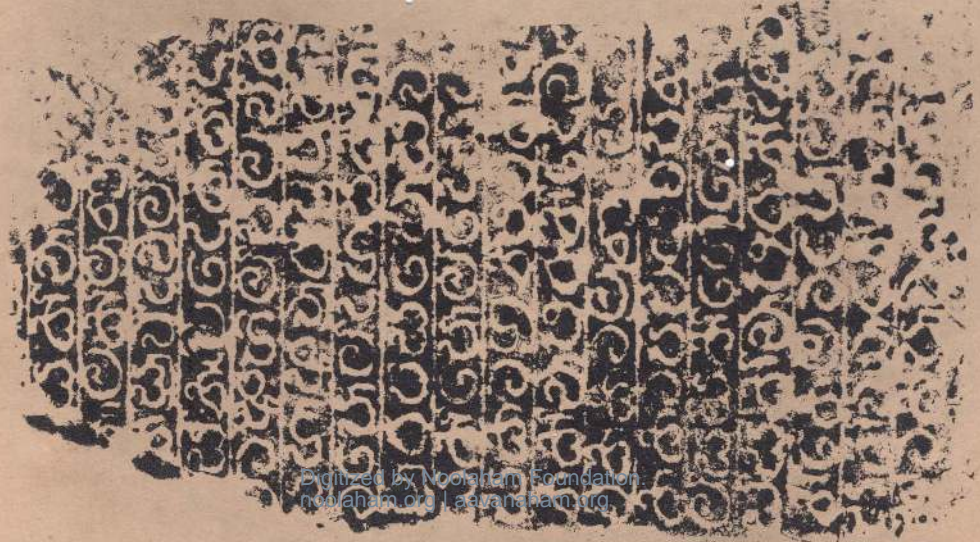


Stone Inscription from Dondra

C



A



E



Nākolaganē Inscription

At side :—

20.

නාගලී
 බදු මග
 ස්ථිලි
 පසමුනි
 කුසලා
 නයි

No. 4. BADULLA PILLAR INSCRIPTION (A.S.C. No. 350)

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

About three miles to the north-east of Mahiyaṅgaṇa¹, one of the largest, oldest and most venerated among the Buddhist *stūpas* in Ceylon, lies the Horaboravāva, the most important among the ancient irrigation works in the province of Ūva. This tank, though it does not equal the great reservoirs of the northern part of the island, is still a work of the first magnitude². Mr. John Bailey, the

¹ Mahiyaṅgaṇa is connected with the story of the first visit of the Buddha to Ceylon, and the *stūpa* is said to have been first founded by the God Sumana to enshrine some hair relics which the Buddha gave to him on this occasion. (See *Mahāvamsa* Chapter I, vv. 21-43.) Many references to this place are found in the *Mahāvamsa*, for which see Mr. John Still's *Index to the Mahāvamsa s.v.* Mr. Herbert White in his *Manual of the Province of Uva* (p. 25 ff.) gives a good account of Mahiyaṅgaṇa. He says: 'Mayiyaṅgaṇa is literally the *alpha* and *omega* of the Mahāvamsa. It is referred to in the first chapter and in the last chapter and continually throughout the chronicle.'

² The following is Sir Emerson Tennent's description of the Horaboravāva: 'It is a stupendous work—a stream flowing between two hills, about three or four miles apart, has been intercepted by an artificial dam drawn across the valley at the point where they approach; and the water thus confined is thrown back till it forms a lake eight or ten miles long by three or four miles wide, exclusive of narrow branches running behind spurs of the hill. This embankment is from fifty to seventy feet broad at the base. But one of the most ingenious features in the work is the advantage which has been taken in its construction of two vast masses of rock which have been included in the retaining bund, the intervening spaces being filled up by the earthwork and faced with stones. In order to form the sluices it is obvious that the simplest plan would have been to have placed them in the artificial portion of the bank; but the builders conscious of the comparatively unsubstantial nature of their own work and apprehensive of the combined effect of the weight and rush of the water, foresaw that the immense force of its discharge would speedily wear away any artificial conduits they could have constructed for its escape; and they had the resolution to hollow out channels in the solid rock, through which they opened two passages each sixty feet deep, four feet broad at the bottom, and widening to fifteen or twenty at the top. The walls on either side still exhibit traces of the wedges by which the stone was riven to effect the opening.'

then Assistant Government Agent at Badulla, writing about this tank in 1857, mentions the pillar which forms the subject of the present paper. He says: 'There is no authentic tradition of the origin of Horaborawewa. It is vaguely attributed to Tissa, 140 B.C., brother of Dootoogamunu. A stone pillar 11 feet 8 inches in length by 9 inches which has an inscription on each of its sides (each inscription 8 feet in length) lies in the midst of what is now forest which once was without doubt a range of paddy fields. . . . It would probably throw some light on the subject¹.' The Horaboravāvawas restored by the Government in 1870, when this pillar was removed to Badulla and set up near the junction of the Kandy and Baṇḍāavela roads, a few yards distant from the local Kacceri. We find another reference to this pillar in 1893 by Mr. Herbert White in his *Manual of Uva*, p. 53, where he says: 'The inscription on the pillar which commemorates the construction of the former work (i.e. Horaboravāva) which is now set up in Badulla has, I believe, up to the present not been deciphered².'

The credit of discovering the true importance of this record belongs entirely to Mr. H. W. Codrington. It has been standing in the heart of the Badulla town for over fifty years, without attracting any attention from scholars or antiquaries, till Mr. Codrington, when he was Government Agent at Badulla in 1920, made an eye copy and a transcript of it and drew the Archaeological Commissioner's attention to its historical value. The present writer is very much indebted to him for permission to utilize his eye-copy as well as the transcript.

As it stands at present, the pillar measures 9 inches by 10½ inches by 8 feet 5 inches in height; and is surmounted by a capital 1 foot 2 inches high. The inscription covers all the four sides of the pillar, and the letters which vary in size from half an inch to one and a half are engraved within ruled spaces 2 inches apart. Side A, containing forty-seven lines of writing with an average of nine letters in each, is considerably weather-worn; Sides B and C, each containing forty-nine lines of writing, are in a good state of preservation, save for three or four lines at the top where the stone is damaged. Side D, containing fifty-eight lines, is the worst preserved, and, to add to the difficulty of deciphering, the engraver, finding the available space not sufficient has compressed two lines of writing in each of the nine ruled spaces from the thirty-eighth. Consequently, the letters here are very small; some of them less than half an inch in height. In fact, I have not seen such small characters in any other Sinhalese stone inscription. Owing to this, there are

¹ Sessional Papers 1857, quoted in the *Manual of Uva* p. 33.

² As will be seen from the translation given below, this statement regarding the nature of the contents of the inscription is mere speculation.

several lacunae in the text of the concluding paragraphs of the document, and a few of the readings, likewise, are open to doubt. Containing, as it does, two hundred and three lines and close upon two thousand *akṣaras*, this is by far the longest pillar inscription known to me in Ceylon.

The **characters** belong to the alphabet that was in use during the middle of the tenth century ; but throughout the whole record and more particularly in side D, they show a marked tendency to cursive forms. Some of the letters are written in more than one type as may be seen from the following examples : *a* 𑀓, 𑀓 *i*, 𑀓, 𑀓, 𑀓, *ka* 𑀓, 𑀓 *ba* 𑀓, 𑀓, 𑀓. The first form of *ba* given here is interesting as it helps us to connect the medieval symbol for this letter with the same character 𑀓 occurring in second-century records¹. The conjoint consonants 𑀓 *ndra* and 𑀓 *gra* have not yet been noticed in any other Sinhalese inscriptions of this period. Attention may also be drawn to the form of *da* 𑀓 occurring in l. B 25 which very nearly approaches *ha*. The hook at the beginning of letters is very inconspicuous and it is with some difficulty that one can distinguish between the letters *ga* and *ha*, *ta* and *va* or *va* and *pa*.

As regards **orthography**, one of the chief peculiarities is the rarity in which the nasal is used before the consonants *g*, *ḍ*, and *ba*. According to the style affected during this period, there is a decided predilection for the nasal at such places and is found introduced where, etymologically, it has no place². But in the present record, it does not occur even where a nasal is to be expected etymologically, as in the case of *madāpaya* and *abu* (Skt. *maṇḍapa* and *ambikā*). The writing of the Sanskrit *vaṇiggrāma* with a single *ga* and the *svaṛabhakti* in *savāmi* are other points deserving notice. As regards **grammar**, the following are peculiarities worthy of note. *Ukāvas* and *upādā* are older forms than the more frequent *okāvas* and *ipādā*. With regard to the former, it may be interesting to compare it with *uk* (Skt. *ikṣu*). The contracted form *vēr* occurs side by side with *veher*. The change of *ka* to *ta* in *sut* (Skt. *sulka*) is unusual, but the same phonetical change is noticed in some Pāli words. Compare P. *takkola* (Sin. *takul*) for Skt. *kakkola* and, on the other hand, the change of *ta* to *ka* in Pāli *khānu*, (Sin. *kanu*) for Skt. *sthānu*³. In *viseniyi*, the locative case is seen in *yi* and in *gamhi lā*, the use of the particle *lā* after the same case is noticed.

The inscription is **dated** in the second year of **Siri Saṅg-bo Udā** who is to be identified, as will be shown later, with **Udaya III**. The initial date of this

¹ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 208.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³ See *J. P. T. S.* for 1908, p. 108.

monarch is given variously by different authorities; but 941 A.D., that of Dr. Hultzsch, which he arrives at by the help of South Indian synchronisms¹, is the most worthy of credence. Accordingly, the date of our inscription would be somewhere about 942 A.D.

The **object** of the record is to publish certain rules enacted for the administration of a village named **Hopiṭigamu** in the Sorabara division. These are in the nature of a charter granted by the king to some mercantile corporations at the place and was the outcome of a complaint against the local magistrates made to the king when he visited Mahiyaṅgaṇa. These rules contain very interesting data for the student of village institutions and give us some insight into the life of the peasant and the trader in Ceylon during the tenth century. Particular attention may be drawn to the fact that the local mercantile and other corporations were empowered to levy fines, arrest murderers and in other ways, assist the royal officers in the administration of justice. From this record we also learn that the practice of exacting fines by moral compulsion (by placing in the *vālākma*) which prevailed at the time of the British occupation of the Kandyan Provinces was an old institution dating back at least to the tenth century. There are several rules concerning the levying of toll dues and other matters connected with trade. A detailed discussion of these and other interesting points in the record will be found in the notes attached to the translation. Here, I may only state that many of the institutions noticed here find their parallels in South Indian inscriptions.

As regards the place-names mentioned, Mahiyaṅgaṇa and Sorabara² have already been commented on. The maps do not give any place named Hopiṭigama in the neighbourhood of Mahiyaṅgaṇa; nor is there any information to be gathered about this place in the chronicles. Evidently, the place where the pillar was found is the site of this village which, from the accounts given in this epigraph, seems to have been a place of considerable commercial importance.

TEXT.

A.

1 Siri- bara kät-ku-
2 -la kot Ukāvas-

3 rad-parapuren ba-
4 -ṭ Lak-div-poḷo-

¹ *J. R. A. S.* for 1913, p. 524.

² The *Mahāvamsa* (lxx, v. 187) mentions a place named Sobara where the army of Mānābharāṇa of Rohaṇa encamped itself before advancing towards Poḷonnaruva to check the victorious career of Parākramabāhu in the Rājaraṭṭha. This Sobara seems to have been the same as Sorabara of our record.

5 yon parapuren hi-
 6 -mi vū e me kulen ba-
 7 -ṭ **Samidi** ¹ **Gonbiso**
 8 tu[mā] kusā upādā āpā-ma-
 9 -hayā-siri vidā piḷiveḷa
 10 se rādā pämiṇā rādā ka-
 11 -ḷa **Sirisāṅbo Udā** ma-
 12 -ha- radahu tumā sat lä-
 13 -ṅgu devana havurudu-
 14 -yehi Nikinni Sa[nd]
 15 ava viseniyi [||*] **Sora-**
 16 **-barahi** āvū **Hopiṭi-**
 17 **gamu** padiyā ² vāpāra[ya-]
 18 -n kuḍin vat- himiya[n-]
 19 vahanse **Miyaguṇ-ma-**
 20 **-ha-vēr** vāḍi kalā gi-
 21 -ya davasā padi-lad da-
 22 -ḍanāyakayan gātta-
 23 -n **Sataḷosā pirinivi-**
 24 **-yan** vahanse davasā
 25 kaḷa vāvasthā ikmā a-
 26 -nnāyen daḍa gat-ha

27 no sirit paḍuru ga-
 28 -tha gamin piyeyi-
 29 -si vāḍi tānā dānvū-
 30 tānin **Sataḷosā (va-**
 31 **-hanse)** davasā kaḷa siri-
 32 -tak misā annāyen
 33 karana dāyak nokara-
 34 -nā sāṭiyaṭ vāvas[thā]-
 35 -vak liyavā taba[nnā]-
 36 -ṭ vadāḷen sabhāye
 37 lekam-gehi sam-da[ru]-
 38 -van hind[ā si]ṭ vū vāva-
 39 -sthā siriti [||*] **Me Hopiṭiga-**
 40 **-mu** (padi lad) kenekun
 41 gāttan gamaṭ ā [ka-
 42 -lā] mandraṇḍin vaṇigrāma-
 43 -n ³ Mahāgrāmayan hindā
 44 **Sataḷosā- piriniviya-**
 45 **-n** vahanseyi davasā
 46 vāvasthā se pere-siri-
 47 -t daḍa ganut misā ani-

B.

1 -[yā] no karanu isā
 2 gam-laddan gātta-
 3 -n mandraṇḍin hindā [vi-]
 4 -tāra koṭ piri-kapā da-
 5 -kvā dun daḍa ganut
 6 misā gam vaṭā genā
 7 ge tirā genā daḍa
 8 no eḷvanu isā
 9 daḍa gāmā hindā e[.l-]

10 -vat misā kuḍin
 11 gāmin piṭat koṭā
 12 no genā yanu isā
 13 no piri-kāpū daḍat
 14 vālākme no gan-
 15 -nā koṭ isā li
 16 daḍat savāmi ginu-
 17 -t misā abu-daru-
 18 -van vālākme no

¹ Can be read as *samadā* also.

² Can be read as *vadi* also.

³ Read *vaṇig-grāmayan*.

19 gannā isā gama-
 20 -ṭ ā radolan raha
 21 mas dī gitel no
 22 gannā isā vatu-
 23 pet vet vādā raha
 24 no gannā isā
 25 sora-veladam [no]
 26 karanu isā poho-
 27 dā sal kaḷākuge-
 28 -n vāpudayaṭ te-
 29 -l paddak gannā
 30 isā **Miyugun-ma-**
 31 **-ha veherā** vāpuda
 32 pavatvanu isā vā-
 33 -pudayaṭ no läbuṇā-
 34 -kugen pere sirit

35 daḍa vāpudayaṭ ga¹
 36 gannā isā ba-
 37 -ḍu genā gam van
 38 goṇi-gon no ga-
 39 -nnā isā me gāmā si-
 40 -ṭā raṭ-dag no gannā
 41 isā vāḷātā vana
 42 uḷvāḍu kaṇakka-
 43 -run gamaṭ āku-
 44 -la no karanu isā
 45 mekun gāttan ga-
 46 -maṭ vadnā raha ma-
 47 -s dī gitel² pāhā-
 48 -rā no gannā i-
 49 -sā padi³ vadanā ba-

C.

1 -ḍu pere magaṭa
 2 gos no gannā
 3 [isā] (vā gavā) lahi
 4 t kusalān k[ä]-
 5 [-rā] genā dī tamāge
 6 [kārā] ginut misā nosi-
 7 -tak no karanu isā
 8 [gaṇa] lahassen mi-
 9 -sā sesu lahasiye-
 10 -n no mananu isā ga-
 11 -m van baḍu gāmā vik-
 12 -kā misā genā yet sut-
 13 vat no gannā isā [no-]

14 pā viki baḍiyehi dīṇa
 15 sut-vat ganut misā
 16 ākula no karanu isā
 17 no pāṭu⁴ madaḍiyen (no
 18 yen⁵) nokiranu isā su-
 19 -t-baḍu notānā hindā
 20 no vikuṇanu isā sa-
 21 -l no kaḷa manā tānā no-
 22 kiranu isā sal no
 23 kaḷa manavun no kiranu
 24 isā kaḷa-masu⁶ puravat
 25 sī miyā⁷ vāṭena masu
 26 unu koṭā no gannā-

¹ This syllable seems to be superfluous.

² Can be read as *dīhi-tel* also.

³ Can be read as *vadi* also.

⁴ Can also be read as *novāṭu*.

⁵ The three symbols *noyen* are evidently a clerical error, and should be considered as a repetition.

⁶ Mr. Codrington reads, *kula masu*, see *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 198.

⁷ [*y*]*i misā* according to Mr. Codrington.

27 koṭ isā bulat pu-
 28 -vak maḍapaye tabā
 29 vikunānu koṭ isā no-
 30 tānā tabā vikka duṭu-
 31 -vā radolan haravā ga-
 32 -nnā isā demuḷā bad
 33 valvalā daḍu pat no
 34 kapanu koṭ isā me-
 35 -he-karuvanaṭ ākula
 36 no karanu isā mega-
 37 -mhi aṭadenā ge navatā-
 38 -n no gannā isā

39 vat-himīyan vahan-
 40 se vāḍiyā āpā rad-
 41 daruvan vāḍiyā pere
 42 sirit paḍuru denu i-
 43 -sā gamlad-nāyaka ke-
 44 ṇekun paḍi ā kalā Sa-
 45 -talosā pirinivīyan
 46 vahanse davasā
 47 pere sirit paḍuru pa-
 48 -s vīssa no genā
 49 annāyen van.

D.

1 ganitī ku-
 2 -ḍin[hi pīrikapā]
 3 vāḍi tānā dān-
 4 -vū tānin pere
 5 sirit pas-vi-
 6 -ssa ganneya yi
 7 vadāḷa tānin paḍura-
 8 -ṭ pas-vīssa ga-
 9 -nnā koṭ isā
 10 me gāmhī lā minī ko-
 11 -ṭā yet radolanaṭ [lā-
 12 bi] navatnā se[ki-]
 13 -n navatanu isā
 14 demuḷan(ṭa raṭa nā)-
 15 tān daru avā
 16 no denu isā ma . . -
 17 -vuṭiyen bolā
 18 si [n] kiravu a (gā)
 19 me lā hā kra ra [ṭṭu]
 20 . . isā kuḍin ge
 21 kāruṇu ākulaya-
 22 -ṭ Samdaruvan lābi
 23 ākula haravanu isā

24 sam-daruvanta no lā-
 25 -buṇu kuḍiyak āta
 26 lagaḍu hoḷ daḍu no si-
 27 rit karanu (para)kapā
 28 bat no de-
 29 nu isā veḷadām go-
 30 -vi-kam a gāmi-
 31 -n piṭat ka
 32 no vādā
 33 . . varada novel ga[m]
 34 aḍaviya aṭadenā
 35 . . ma [nigaha] lābuvan
 36 (rad-daḍa) aṭa-denā pīrivaha-
 37 nnā hindvā illanu i-
 38 sā me varadaṭ vādā
 39 no (na) ganu isā
 40 me vāvasthā ikīnā ga-
 41 -maṭ radolan ani-
 42 -yā kaḷa sabhāye leka-
 43 -m geyi daruvan ṭa kiyā
 44 [a] vul haravā
 45 dun yukti
 46 [me pahaṇ hindvannaṭ ā]

47 sabbhāye hindnā Tak-	53 -lā devu isā Maṅgul Ma-
48 naru Udagi isā Mula [vasa]	54 -hale Samannā Araksama-
49 Sen isā	55 -ṇan varā Kuḍasalā vat-
50 -lā varā Mekāppar Maṇi [ti]-	56 kāmidevu ātuḷvā metuvā-
51 -lā Kiliyem isā la	57 -k sam-daruvan avud [me sa-]
52 Golobāgama Ni-	58 -[m]vatā pahaṇhi[ndvanu ladi][u*]

TRANSLATION

[Lines 1-15] On the fifth day of the waning moon in the month of Nikini (July to August) in the second year after the raising of the umbrella of dominion by the great king **Siri-Saṅgbō Udā**, descended from the lineage of king Ukāvas (Ikṣvāku) the pinnacle of the illustrious Kṣatriya race; who is by right of descent lord of the soil of the island of Laṅkā [which is comparable to] a young damsel; who was born in the womb of **Queen Gon Samidi** descended from the same lineage; and who has been established in dominion having attained to the sovereignty in regular succession after having enjoyed the dignity of Prince and Crown Prince.

[Lines 15-39] Whereas, on the occasion of his visit to the great monastery of **Miyugun**¹, when merry-makers came from the village, it was brought to the notice of His Majesty, by the merchants and [other] residents of the market [town] of **Hopiṭigamu**, that in days gone by, the subordinate officials² of the magistrate in charge of the market transgressed the regulations enacted during the time of the **Lord who expired at Sataḷosa**³, exacted fines illegally and received presents contrary to custom; and, whereas, it was ordered [by His Majesty] that a decree should be passed and promulgated⁴ prohibiting the unlawful acts committed in violation of the institutions established in the time of 'the Lord who expired at Sataḷosa', the following rules and observances were established by the officials of the Secretariat (*lekamgē*) connected with the Council of State (*sabhā*).

[Lines A 39-B 1] When the subordinate officials of the magistrate in charge of this market of **Hopiṭigamu** come to the village, they should hold session with the *mandrāḍi*, the corporation of the merchants and the Mahāgrāmas, and levy such fines as are in keeping with former custom, and according to the regulations

¹ Pāli Mahiyaṅgaṇa.

² Literally 'servants'.

³ This may also be rendered as 'the Lord who died in the 17th (year of his reign)'.
⁴ Literally 'written and kept.'



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of the time of 'the Lord who expired at Sataḷosa'; but should not do anything contrary to law.

[Lines B 2-8] [They] should receive only such fines as are pointed out after due deliberation and assessment, by the subordinate officials of the village headmen and the *mandrāḍiās* in session; but fines should not be demanded by having the village surrounded or having the houses occupied [by force].

[Lines B 9-12] Fines should be demanded within the village, without taking villagers out of the village.

[Lines B 13-15] For fines not [thus] assessed, villagers should not be put in the *välākma*.

[Lines B 15-19] For fines imposed, only the master [of a house], and not his wives and children, should be put in the *välākma*.

[Lines B 19-26] Royal officers who have come to the village should not receive liquor, meat, curd¹, or ghee [from the villagers]; they should not enter gardens and demand toddy, and they should not take part in illicit trade.

[Lines B 26-36] From whosoever trades on sabbath (*pōya*) day, a *padda* of oil should be levied for the offering of lamps; and this offering of lamps should be done at the great monastery of Miyagaṇ. From any [such] persons from whom [this quantity of oil] is not received for the offering of lamps, fines according to former custom should be taken for the offering of lamps.

[Lines B 26-39] Pack bulls entering the village bringing commodities should not be seized.

[Lines B 39-41] *Raṭ dag* should not be levied from this village.

[Lines B 41-C 3] [The officers named] accountants of the *ulvādu* who are in the vicinity should not create any disturbance to the village. The servants (or subordinates) of these [officers] should not rob liquor, meat, curd, and ghee being brought to the village. Commodities being brought to the village should not be robbed [by them] on the way.

[Lines C 3-7] As regards [the lands which are] religious endowments one should only take them on lease and enjoy [the benefit of] the rent paid; but no untoward designs should be contemplated.

[Lines C 8-10] [Commodities] should not be measured with *lahasu* measures other than the *gaṇa lahasa*.

[Lines C 10-16] Toll dues should be levied on commodities brought into the village, only if they be sold within its limits; but not on those that are only

¹ If the alternative reading *dihī tel* be adopted these two words ought to be rendered 'curd and oil'.

passing through it. In the case of those commodities sold without being shown [to the authorities] double toll dues should be taken; but no other disturbance should be created [on that account].

[Lines C 17-18] Weighing should not be done by *madadi* weights which are not [duly] stamped.

[Lines C 18-24] Commodities liable to toll dues should not be sold in improper places; they should not be weighed at such places as are not suitable for their sale. Those commodities which are not for sale should not be weighed.

[Lines C 24-27] When husked beans are being measured, (*lit.* filled) those beans which overflow and fall on the ground should not be discounted.

[Lines C 27-32] Betel leaves and areca-nuts should be sold in [the special] shed [intended for the purpose]. If it be seen that they are sold at other places, they should be removed by the royal officers.

[Lines C 32-36] Timber should not be cut down in the forests belonging to the two fraternities [of the Buddhist Order]; and no disturbance should be caused to the workmen.

[Lines C 36-38] Lodgings should not be taken [by officers on circuit] in the houses of 'The Eight' of this village.

[Lines C 39-43] On the occasion of a visit of His Majesty or of the royal princes, presents according to former usage should be given.

[Lines C 43-D 9] As the complaint was made by the householders on the occasion of [His Majesty's] visit that, when the chief who has obtained the village comes to the market, (fines?) which are illegal are being taken instead of (*lit.* not taking) the present consisting of the twenty-five (pieces of money?) according to former custom in the time of 'the Lord who expired at Satalosa', and as it was ordered [by His Majesty] that the twenty-five of the former custom may be taken, the twenty-five [only] should be taken [by the chief] as the lawful present.

[Lines D 10-13] If any person leaves this village after committing murder, he should be arrested¹ in the same manner as he would be arrested when encountered by royal officers.

[Lines D 14-16] The office of district headman (*raṭa nā?*) should not be given to Tamils; [and] daughters² should not be given in marriage to them.

... ..

[Lines D 20-31] Should any discord happen in the houses of the villagers, the officers should be informed and the dispute settled. Should any such villager

¹ Literary 'stopped.'

² *daru*, P. *dāraka*, 'children'.

not fall into the hands of the officers, [even] such unusual punishments as beating with clubs and punishments by torture may be inflicted. If he happens to enter the village for purposes of trade or husbandry he should be driven out of the village.

[Lines D 32-39] . . . 'the Eight' of the village, and 'the Eight' of the forests . . . who had received injury . . . the Eight who . . . and the *pirivahannā* should sit in session and make investigation. For this crime . . . should not be levied.

[Lines D 40-46] If the officers commit any illegal act in connexion with this village, contravening the above regulations, the Officials of the secretariat of the State Council should be informed and the grievances [thus] redressed. . . .

[Lines D 46-58] **Taknarū Udagi** and **Mulavasā Sen**, Members of the State Council, Mañitilā Kili of the body-guard and . . . **Goḷabāgamu Nilādevu** [both] in the service of . . . and **Kuḍasalā Vatkāmi Devu** in the service of the Chief Secretary **Samannā Araksamaṇa** having come [to this village], this Edictal Pillar was set up.

COMMENTS

[Lines A 4-6] *Lak-div poḷo yon paraḷuren himi*. For Mr. Wickremasinghe's explanation of this phrase see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 248, n. 7. The alternative rendering given there is, in my opinion, preferable to what he has adopted in his translation. In this metaphor, the island of Ceylon is compared to a maiden of whom the king is, by right of descent, the husband. As the word *Lak-div* is of the neuter gender, and consequently its being joined together in a metaphor with a word of the feminine gender would make the author liable to the charge of allowing, in his composition, the defect named *bhinna-liṅga* in Sanskrit poetics, a feminine noun *poḷo* has been introduced to the compound. The similar phrase *Lak-div-poḷo mehesana paraḷuren himi* occurring in the Vessagiriya slab of Dappula V¹ is also to be translated in the same manner equating *mehesana* with Skt. *mahiṣī* and not with *maheśāna* as taken by Mr. Wickremasinghe. The occurrence of the word *mehesuran* in a similar phrase in the Aṃbagamuva inscription², does not militate against this view, as it is in quite a different context. For Mr. Codrington's comments on this phrase, see *J. C. B. R. A. S.*, vol. xxix, p. 308 ff.³

[Line A 7] Samidi—P. *Samiddhi*. The name of Udaya II's mother would

¹ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 213.

³ Compare also the phrase *Lamkā paḷhavi yobbanāya alaṃkata vadane viya* in the *Mahāvamsa-fikā*, p. 208.

then be Samiddhidevī, but no such name is found in the chronicles. If the alternative reading *Samadā* be adopted, the translation would run 'Queen Gon of equal birth'. But as the phrase *e me kulen baṭ* (descended from the same lineage) occurs immediately before, this is unlikely to have been the correct reading.

[Lines A 8-9] *Āpā* and *mahayā* are equivalents of the words *ādīpāda* and *mahādīpāda* used in the later chapters of the *Mahāvamsa*, and it is generally believed that they are corruptions of the Pāli words in question. But the fact seems to be that the Pāli terms are mistranslations of the Sinhalese titles. In Ceylon inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries, the word *aya* (Skt. *āryya*, P. *ayya*) is used to denote a prince¹. *Ayaputa* (Skt. *āryya-putra*) is the title by which royal princes, governors of provinces, are referred to in the inscriptions of Aśoka². In the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter xxii, v. 15), Uttiya, the brother of the king of Kālaniya is called an *ayya*. To this princely title *aya* was added, in later times, the honorific suffix *paya* or *pā* (Skt. *pāda*). The Tamil *ayyan-aḍigal*, occurring as the title of a prince in the Koṭṭāyam plates of the Chera king Sthānu Ravi³ has precisely the same significance. The word *ayapaya* thus formed was contracted, on the one hand to *āpā* and on the other to *yāpā*. The intermediate form *aypaya* is preserved in the 'Jetavanārāma' inscription of Mahinda IV⁴. *Mahayā* is a contraction of the compound *maha-aya* and *mahapā* of *maha-aya-paya*. The author of the *Cūlavāmsa*, in giving the Sinhalese words a Pāli garb did not take the trouble to find their correct etymology; and especially as the word *ā* corresponding to Skt. *āryya* and Pāli or Prakrit *ayya* had become obsolete in his time and as a word *ā* representing the Pāli *ādī* was in common use, he adopted *ādīpāda* as equivalent to *āpā*; whereas it ought to have been rendered by *ayya-pāda*. Thus, etymologically, *āpā* means 'prince' and *mahayā* or *māpā*, 'the great prince' or 'crown prince'.

The royal birth by itself does not seem to have carried the right to use this title unless that rank was conferred by the reigning monarch; and, it also appears that, in order to have a legitimate claim to the throne, it was necessary to have been previously created an *āpā*. For, we are told in the *Mahāvamsa*⁵ that

¹ See *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911-12*, p. 95 and Parker's *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 444, 451, 454.

² Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 176.

³ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. ii, p. 61 ff.

⁴ The word *mahaya* is found in a second-century inscription from Vessagiriya (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 21), and in a record from Kandēgamakanda published by Mr. Bell in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. iii, p. 209.

⁵ *Mv.* lix, v. 84 f.

Dappula III, in order to continue the succession in his own line, by keeping off his brother's son, did not make an *ādipāda* of the latter. And this prince considered the step to be of such gravity that he raised a rebellion and lost his life in the attempt. Among the princes who held this rank, the one who is intended by the reigning king to be his successor, it appears, was distinguished by the title *maha-āpā* or *mahayā*, i. e. the chief among the *āpās*; and, to all intents and purposes, this word has the same connotation as 'heir-apparent'. This explains the reason why, in their epigraphic documents, the kings of Ceylon of this period almost always insert the phrase *āpā mahayā siri viñḍā* (having enjoyed the ranks of *āpā* and *mahayā*) before the statement *piḷivela se rādā pāmiṇā* (having attained to the sovereignty in regular succession). In unsettled times, of course, enterprising aspirants to the throne assumed, of their own accord, the title of *āpā*, as was done by Vijayabāhu I. The princes who held the title of *āpā* were very often deputed as governors of provinces; but an *āpā* does not necessarily mean 'a governor' as has been assumed by the translator of the *Mahāvamsa*. The *mahapā* was very often the *yuyarāja* also; but sometimes there were different princes holding these two offices, as, for example, in the reign of Udaya I¹.

[Lines A 10-11] *Rādā kaḷa* = Skt. *rājye kṛta*. This phrase cannot be taken to mean 'who reigned', as the word *rādā* is in the locative case and, moreover, such a rendering would imply that the king who issued the grant had ceased to be on the throne when this document was written. There is no reason to infer that this edict was engraved after the death of Udaya III. Therefore, I have translated these two words by 'established (*kaḷa*) in sovereignty (*rādā*)'. But by whom was he established on the throne? A comparison with the practices of later times might enable us to give a satisfactory answer to this question. When Rājādhirāja Siṃha of Kandy died, the prince who succeeded him on the throne—the last king of Kandy—was elected by an assembly of the chief ministers of state, the heads of the Buddhist Church, and the governors of the provinces². It is true that, on this occasion, those assembled did nothing more than give their formal consent to the first Adigar's choice, but the mere fact that such an assembly was held points to the conclusion that the elective principle was recognized in the installation of a monarch on the throne. Coming to earlier times, we read in the *Mahāvamsa* that after the death of Vijaya-bāhu I (1065-1120 A.D.), the deceased king's sister, her three sons, the chief officers

¹ *Mv.* li, v. 90-3.

² For an account of the methods adopted in selecting a candidate to the throne see Davy's *Travels in Ceylon*, London, 1821, p. 159 f.

of state and the monks who dwelt in the eight chief *vihāras* 'took counsel together and with one mind anointed the sub-king'¹. Probably, a similar procedure was adopted in the tenth century, in inaugurating the rule of a new king; and the practice followed in the Kandyan times, as many another of the institutions in vogue during the Kandyan period, was one dating back to the medieval age. It is also possible to trace it back to still more ancient times. In the Vedic as well as in the epic Sanskrit literature, there are several references to 'king-makers' (*rāja-karttārah*²) who take part in the consecration of a king. It is the opinion of some scholars that these 'king-makers' not only took part in the ceremonial of the king's consecration; but also performed the function of electing him³. The passage in the Mahā Govinda Sutta⁴ which mentions the 'king-makers' (*rāja-kattāro*) may be adduced in support of this theory. If this term is thus understood, it would be interesting to see 'the king-makers' of the Vedic and Epic ages functioning in Ceylon during the tenth and twelfth centuries and the tradition still kept up—though in a shadowy form—as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century.

[Lines A 11] *Sirisāṅgbō Udā*: There were three rulers of Ceylon who bore the name of Udaya; but as the first was an Abā Salamevan and as the present record belongs palaeographically to a period later than his reign, he is out of the question; and we have to decide which of the two—the second or the third of this name, both of whom had the *viruda* of Siri Saṅgabo—has to be identified with Siri Saṅgabō Udā of our record. The statement that he visited Mahiyāna-gaṇa in the Rohaṇa country might, at first sight, seem to give us a clue. But on reference to the *Mahāvamsā*, we find that both these monarchs visited the Southern Principality during their respective reigns; the one (i. e. Udaya II) to escape the fury of the populace whom he had alienated by his violation of the rights of the Ascetics' Forest⁵; and the other flying before the victorious arms of the Coḷas⁶. Therefore, we have to decide this question by other evidence. From the Puliyāṅkuḷama slab inscription⁷, we learn that Udaya II's parents were Mihind Mahayā and the princess Kitā. The name of the father of Udā Siri Saṅgabo of the present record is not given and that of his mother, though

¹ *Mv.* lxi, v. 1-3.

² See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. ii, p. 210 for references in the Vedic literature.

³ For the discussion of the term 'king-maker', and how far the ancient Indian king was elective, see K. P. Jayaswal's articles in the *Modern Review* for 1913, N. N. Law's *Aspects of the Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 90, 170, 208-9, and R. C. Majumdar's *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 102 ff.

⁴ *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, p. 233.

⁵ *Mv.* liii, v. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. liii, v. 44.

⁷ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 186.

mentioned, is unfortunately not quite clear. But this much is certain, that she was a *bisō*, i. e. an anointed queen, and therefore his father must have been a crowned king. And as Udaya II's parents were not such, we have to identify the author of this record with Udaya III (circa 941-949 A.D.)

[Line A 14] *Nikinni*. The name of the fifth Sinhalese month, the same as the Sanskrit *Śrāvana*. In the inscriptions of the fourth century, the name is written as *Nikamaṇiya*, which form may be connected with P. *Nikkhamana* 'departing'; but why this month is so called, I am not able to explain.

[Line A 17] *Padi*. Owing to the close resemblance between the symbols for *v* and *p* throughout this record, it is difficult to decide whether *padi* or *vadi* is the correct reading. In my text, I have adopted the former. From the context it is clear that this word is applied to the mercantile quarter of a town. It may be derived from Pāli *paddhana*, a word occurring in the *Dīgha Nikāya*¹ and translated by Prof. Rhys Davids by 'village street'² or from Skt. *patha*, 'a road'. Compare Skt. *vaṇik-patha* which literally means 'trader's path'; but has also the connotation of 'merchant's shop' (see Monier Williams *s. v.*) and is used in that sense in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya³. *Padi* in Tamil means 'a town'. In a grant of Dhruvasena II, king of Valabhī, the word *pathaka* connotes 'a territorial division' (Kālāpaka-pathaka). Dr. Bühler, who has edited this grant in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. vi, p. 13), remarks that "'Pathaka" occurs in the sense of "mahāl" or "tālukā" on the Chālukya plates of Aṅḥilvād pretty frequently'. If the *padi* of the present record is equivalent to *pathaka*, the Hopiṭigam *padiya* was a territorial division comprising several villages. If the alternative reading be adopted, it may be compared with the Tamil *vadi* 'a path or road'. In South Indian Tamil inscriptions it occurs very frequently in proper names such as Pallavanāraṇa-vadi⁴, Paramēśvara vadi⁵, Vayirmēga-vadi⁶, &c. These are translated 'the path called Pallavanāraṇa-vadi, &c.' That a word which originally meant 'a road' assumed the secondary meaning of 'market' is natural. The word *vīdiya* (Skt. *vīthi* 'a street') is applied at present to the market-place in some of the interior villages, and the headman in charge of it is styled the *vīdiye āracci*. The word *pāra* (road) is also used in some districts to denote the local market.

[Lines A 18-19] *Vat-himiyan vahanse*. This has been interpreted as 'master

¹ *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. lii, p. 349.

² Dr. Samasastry's edition, p. 63.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁴ *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. ii, p. 369.

⁵ *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii, p. 324.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

of religious ceremonies'¹, by equating it with Skt. *vrata-svāmin* and again as 'Lord of Property' (Skt. *vastu-svāmin*)². It is found used as a title of respect in speaking of the king, members of the Buddhist clergy, and sometimes of high officials. The way that the word is used in the *Dharmaṣāstradīpikā* (p. 98)³ shows that it is merely a term of civility and has no official significance attached to it. As the word is used in this record in speaking of the king, I have rendered it by 'His Majesty'. I am unable to suggest anything as regards its derivation.

[Lines A 21-22] *Padi lad daḍanāyaka* was evidently an officer whose duty it was to look after the affairs connected with markets. Compare the office of the *kaḍa goṣṭiyehi ātto* mentioned in the inscription on one of the pillars of the Audience Hall of Niśsaṅka Malla at Poḷonnaruva⁴. In the sixteenth century, there was a prince named *Vīdiye-baṇḍāra*⁵. Can it be that this was only his official title and not a proper name, and that he was a similar functionary to the *padi-lad daḍa-nāyaka* of our record? *Daṇḍa-nāyaka* means literally 'one who applies the rod', and signifies a magistrate. It is also the title of a military commander. A general of Parākramabāhu I was called Laṅkāpura Daṇḍanātha. This term (*daṇḍa-nāyaka*) occurs also in the Jetavanārāma slab-inscription of Kassapa V (Vol. I, p. 47)⁶.

[Lines A 22-23] *Gāttan* in modern Sinhalese means 'servants'. In the *Heranāsika*⁷, the word *gāti* is used in the sense of 'belonging to'.

[Lines A 23-24] *Sataḷosā pirinivīyan vahansē* occurs more than once in this record as the name of a ruler whose institutions, it was the object of the present edict to confirm. It is not a proper name; but appears to be an honorific title by which a deceased ruler is referred to. I take Sataḷosa as a place-name and translate the phrase as 'the Lord who died at Sataḷosa'. In this I am guided by the South Indian usage according to which deceased kings are often referred to by the name of the place in which they happened to die. For instance, the Chola king Āditya I is named *Ārrūr tuṅḷiṅga dēvar* (the lord who slept or died at Ārrūr) in the epigraphs of later kings⁸ and Parāntaka II, *alias* Sundara Choladeva, was known by the posthumous title of *Pon-māligai tuṅḷiṅga dēvar*⁹ (i. e. the lord who

¹ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 99, n. 1, 2.

³ Dhammārama's edition, Colombo, 1915.

⁵ Dr. P. E. Pieris, *Portuguese Era*, vol. i, p. 75 ff.

⁶ *Sam daruvan daṇḍa nāyakayan hiṇḍā vicāra koḷ, &c.*

⁷ Colombo, 1911, p. 29. See also *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 239, n. 10.

⁸ See *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1907*, p. 71 and *S. I. I.*, iii, p. 71.

⁹ K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, pp. 238, 387.

² *Ibid.*, p. 199 n.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, ii, 248.

died in the golden palace). In the early Tamil poems of the third *saṅgam*, a king of Madurā is named 'the Pāṇḍyan who died at Kūṭāgāram ¹.' A point of interest in this phrase is the use of the word *pirinivi* (P. *parinibbuta*) when speaking of the death of a king; whereas, strictly speaking, it could only be used in connexion with the decease of a Buddha or any other personage who had completely cut asunder the fetters of the *saṃsāra*, the cycle of births and deaths. But the metaphysical subtleties associated with this word would have hardly been intelligible to the ordinary man, and the popular notion of it would be as a word by which the idea of death could be expressed with the highest degree of reverence. According to the etiquette of the Sinhalese court, the same vocabulary was used in speaking of the Buddha, the gods, and the king. Therefore, what would be more natural than to use, in connexion with the death of the king whom the people adored as a divinity on earth, the word by which this idea could be conveyed with as much of respect and awe as possible? The popular belief that every king of Ceylon was a potential Buddha ² might have had something to do with this transfer of a word which originally appertained to the Buddha and the *arhats* alone, to the king. As an analogous instance may be cited the posthumous name Nirvāṇapada (who has attained Nirvāṇa) of Sūryavarman I (*circa* 1049 A. D.), king of Kamboja ³.

This may also be interpreted as 'the Lord who died in the seventeenth (year of reign)'. If this were adopted, we may, with some reason, identify this ruler with Kassapa IV, as he was the only Sinhalese monarch before Udaya III, the author of this edict, whose reign lasted for this particular number of years ⁴.

[Lines A 28-29] *Piyeyisi*. This word is not given by Clough; nor does it occur in the *Ruvanmala* and other Sinhalese lexicographical works. Considering that *ya* and *va* are sometimes interchangeable in Sinhalese ⁵, we may connect it with the word *piyavisi* which is given in Kassapa V's glossary to the *Dhammapadatthakathā* as equivalent to Pāli *sāmajja* (Skt. *sāmājya*). This last word occurs in the Aśoka edicts as *samāja*, *samaje* and in various other forms ⁶ and is

¹ *Puraṇānūru*, lii. 5-6.

² See the Jetavanarama inscription of Mahinda IV (above Vol. I, p. 240) which says that it was assured by the Buddha that 'none but Bodhisattas would become kings of prosperous Laṅkā'.

³ Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. iii, p. 121.

⁴ I am now inclined to believe that the latter alternative is more feasible.

⁵ Compare *tiyuṇu* and *tivūṇu*; *diyūṇu* and *divūṇu*. (Skt. *likṣṇa* and *dvigūṇa*). See also Geiger, *L. S. S.* § 24.

⁶ See Woolner, *Aśoka Glossary* (p. 140) for variant forms of the word.

interpreted in different ways by the scholars who have dealt with these records¹. I have adopted V. A. Smith's rendering as suited to the present context. Of the two forms *piyavisi* and *piyeyisi*, I take the former to be the earlier form, and the change of the *va* to *ya* in the latter to be owing to the influence of the preceding syllable *ya*. Another Pāli word which has a kindred meaning to that of *samajja* is *pekkha*², and the first member of the word under discussion (*piya*) is most probably derived from it. The second member *visi*, I take to be a corruption of the Pāli *visūka* of similar meaning and the word *piyeyisi* or *piyavisi* a *dvandva* compound formed of these two distinct words. By this is meant, most probably, a party of dancers, jugglers and the like, brought by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Hopitiḡamu, for the entertainment of the king, when he visited Mahiyaṅgaṇa. The modern word *hēvisi*, applied to the beating of drums in Buddhist temples, seems to be a further corruption of *piyavisi*, by the contraction of *ya* to *e* and the change of *pa* to *hā*³. (*Piyavisi* < *pēvisi* < *hēvisi*).

The Honourable Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka informs me that *hevisi-pāvisi* is used as a pair word in the colloquial dialects of some parts of the island. The word *pāvisi* is undoubtedly the same as *piyavisi* of our inscription and may be derived from P. *pāda visūka* 'wriggling of the feet' i. e. dancing.

[Line A 37] *Lekam-gehi*. This term occurs here for the first time. It may be compared with such expressions as *Mahayā gē bālātun* and *rad gehi bālaya* in the Puliyanakuḷama slab-inscription, and *Māgē Goṅgayan* in the Vessagiriya Slab No. 2⁴. In these words, I think, we can recognize the beginnings of the use of *gē* or family names such as the modern *Liyanagē*, &c.

[Lines A 37-38] *Sam-daruwan* literally means 'nobles' though I have rendered it by 'officials'. It is equivalent to Pāli *sāmiputta*. The use of the word *daru* (P. *dāraka*) is similar to that of *putta* in Pāli words such as *gahaṇṇaputti*, *setṭhiputti*, &c. Compare also the use of *pillai* 'son' in such Tamil words as *kaṇakapillai*. By this term is evidently meant the scions of good families whom the Sinhalese kings brought up in the palace to be trained for filling state offices⁵. The modern representatives of this word *handuru* and *hāmuduru* are

¹ See Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 2, n 4 where references to previous writers on this word are given.

² For Prof. Rhys Davids's interpretation of *pekkha* see the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. i, p. 7, n. 4.

³ For the change of *pa* to *ha*, compare Sinhalese *herabadu* (*erabadu*) for Sanskrit *pāribhadra*.

⁴ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 38. Mr. Wickremasinghe takes *māgē* as 'mine'. But there seems no reason why it should not be the same as *mahayā-gē*. Compare the expression (*Māyā-gehādhinātha* occurring in the *Mahāvamsa* (lxx-lxxii) as the title of one of Parākramabāhu I's generals.

⁵ *Mv.* lx, v 1.

used as titles of the highest respect and are used indifferently in speaking of, or to, the Buddhist monks, high officials and the gods. In l. D 43, the word *daru* (children) is used alone instead of *samdaru*.

[Line A 42] *Mandrandi*. This word has not been noticed in any other document of the period; and its meaning is not quite clear. Most probably, it is the same as Tamil *manṛāḍi* which occurs in South Indian inscriptions¹. The insertion of the corresponding sonant after a nasal when followed by a liquid is in accord with the rules of Sinhalese phonology. Compare, for instance, Sin. *vaṇḍuru* (Hindi *bandar*) for Sanskrit *vānara* and *āmbul* for *amla*. The Tamil *manṛāḍi* are often mentioned in inscriptions as receiving, from the village assembly, the gifts of sheep made to temples for providing sacred lamps; and therefore this word has been interpreted as 'shepherds'. In this record, the *mandrandis* are empowered to sit in council together with the corporation of merchants, the subordinates of the village headmen, and another corporation known as the Mahāgrāmas; and to decide the amount of fines to be levied. Shepherds or herdsmen are sometimes authorized, in the Hindu law books, to take part in deliberations regarding the affairs of the village administration. In the case of disputes over a village boundary, it is enjoined by Manu that the aged, the herdsmen, those who draw the line of boundary, and other foresters, should decide the boundary line². But we are not absolutely certain whether the *mandrandi* of our record are herdsmen; and therefore the word is left, for the present, untranslated. There is another possible interpretation. *Manṛu* in Tamil means 'the village assembly' and *āḍi* a 'servant'. Hence *manṛāḍi* or *mandrandi*, as the word is spelt here, may mean a servant or employee of the village assembly. This would be in keeping with 'the servants of the village headman' with whom the *mandrandis* are associated in the sentence immediately following.

[Line A 42] *Vaṇigrāma* for Skt. *vaṇiggrāma*, 'a guild or corporation of merchants'. See Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s. v., where reference is made to the *Daśakumāracarita* (1925) II, 123. 10 for this meaning of the word. It is also used in the same sense in the following verse from the *Kathāsaritsāgara*:

Lajjite 'tha Vaṇiggrāme rājā sañjāta-vismayaḥ.
kimetaditi papraccha sa tām Devasmitām svayam (ii. 5. 12).

¹ See No. 251 of the Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1909 and Copper plate No. 13 of the Annual Report for 1911.

² *Manu*, viii, 260.

Considering that the Sanskrit *va* is sometimes changed to *ma* in the vernaculars, it may be interesting to draw attention to the similarity of this word to Maṇigrāma, the name of a guild of merchants mentioned in the Koṭṭāyam plates of Vīrarāghava¹. Other references to the same guild occur in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman², in a copper-plate grant of Sthānu Ravi³, another ruler of the West Coast of South India, and in a Tamil inscription found at a place named Takopa in Siam⁴. Of the Maṇigrāmas, the Sthānu Ravi plates say that 'should they themselves commit a crime they are themselves to have the investigation of it'—a privilege which the Vaṇigrāmas of our record, too, seem to have enjoyed.

[Line A 43] *Mahāgrāma*. From the context, it appears that this, too, was the name either of a guild or of a local corporation. *Grāma* sometimes has the meaning of 'a body of men'; and *mahāgrāma* might signify a general assembly. Compare the word *mahājana* used in the same sense in the Tamil inscriptions. Perhaps, the *mahāgrāma* was the assembly representing inhabitants of the place in general while the Vaṇigrāmas represented the mercantile community alone.

There is another possible interpretation of this word; that is, to take it to mean the residents of a town named Mahāgrāma. And, curiously enough, there is some evidence to show that a town of this name existed near Mahiyaṅgaṇa or that the last-named itself had that appellation. Ptolemy, in his geographical account of Ceylon, after describing Anurogrammon (Anurādhapura) as the royal residence, mentions a place named Maagrammon which he calls the metropolis and places it beside the great river (Mahavāligaṅga)⁵. Commenting on this, Sir E. Tennent says: 'His (Ptolemy's) Maagrammon would appear on the first glance to be Mahagam, but as he calls it the metropolis and places it beside the great river it is evidently Bintenne whose ancient name was Mahawelligam⁶.' If the word *Mahāgrāma* of our inscription be taken in the latter sense, it would afford a remarkable confirmation of Tennent's hypothesis about the identity of Maagrammon.

[Line A 43] *Hindā*. See above Vol. I, p. 249, n. 7.

[Lines B 2-4] The entrusting of the administration of justice to the local corporations is in keeping with the injunctions of the Hindu law-givers. In

¹ *Ep. Ind.* vol. iv, p. 290 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.* vol. iii, p. 333 ff.

³ *Travancore Archaeological Series* vol. ii.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.* for 1913, p. 337.

⁵ *Ptolemy's Geography of India*, edited by McGrindle, 1885, p. 250.

⁶ *Ceylon*, Vol. i, p. 536, n. 2.

enumerating the different kinds of law courts, Nārada says: 'Family meetings (*kula*), corporations (*śreṇī*), village assemblies (*gaṇa*), one appointed by the king, and the king himself, are invested with the power to decide law-suits; and of these, each succeeding one, is superior to the one preceding it in order¹.'

[Line B 2] *Gamladdā*, the headman of the village, Skt. *grāmaṇī*; Pāli *gāmahojaka*.

[Line B 4] *Pirikapā*: Past participle of a verb derived from Skt. *pari-kalp*. See Vol. I, pp. 91, 117.

[Line B 8] *Elvanu*, demand. Compare *denaviṭaka dena tek ungen elavimaku nu vū heyin* (as there was no demand made from them until such time as they would themselves return) in the *Saddharmmaratnāvalī*².

[Line B 14] *Väläkma* (verbal noun from *valakanu* 'to restrain' or 'stop') was the technical name given to a method of recovering debts by moral compulsion that was in vogue among the Sinhalese. It prevailed at the time of the British occupation of the Kandyan kingdom and is described by D'Oyly as follows:

'Whenever he (i. e. the creditor) meets his debtor in the street or road, he stops him abruptly and draws a circular line around him on the ground with a stick, or sometimes without this ceremony, sits down besides him, and forbids him by the king's command to move from the spot without paying his money. The debtor is obliged to sit himself also, and in respect of the king's name, neither can stir, till some other person approaching and interfering, engage to be answerable for the debt, or for the person, in the presence of witness, to call both before the proper chief, to have the case investigated and settled. This is called Welekme Damanava or placing under inhibition³.'

In the present record, the practice of putting in the *väläkma* is mentioned, not in connexion with the recovery of debts, but of the exaction of fines due to government or more correctly the local officers. That the practice of the *väläkma* was also resorted to for this purpose, we learn from the same authority.

'The superior chiefs usually recover their fines by imprisonment—the provincial headmen by placing in the Welekma, which in some cases amounts to an

¹ Kulāni śreṇayaścaiva, gaṇāścaādhikṛto nṛpaḥ, pratiṣṭhā vyavahārānām gurvabhyastūsttaros taram.

² Colombo, 1925, p. 700.

³ D'Oyly, quoted by F. A. Hayley in his *Sinhalese Laws and Customs* p. 516, where a good account of the *väläkma* may be found.

absolute punishment, or rather a torture to compel payment. The culprit is delivered to the charge of one or more persons and seated on the ground with head uncovered, exposed to the sun, and thus detained till he makes satisfaction. Sometimes to increase the inconvenience of the situation, a heavy stone is laid on his shoulder which he is obliged to hold with both hands; and is allowed only to shift from one side to the other but does not throw off for fear of immediate corporal chastisement. The fatigue and pain of this situation soon compel him to submit and to send for the money, or a place, if he has it; or induce a relation or a friend or inferior headman to become security and obtain his release. The latter mode of extorting payment (by loading with a stone) is adopted only towards refractory persons who refuse to comply with the sentence, show contempt of authority, or have before deceived, or for whom, on account of their character, no one will readily undertake to answer. It is scarcely acknowledged by the superior Kandyan chiefs to be strictly legal, though it is certainly a custom of some antiquity and was practised and tolerated in the country till the dissolution of the Kandyan Government. It has also, I understand, been employed, but in rare instances, to enforce payment of revenue¹.

Knox gives a similar account of the second method of the *väläkma*, and illustrates it by a drawing². Dr. P. E. Pieris tells us that this custom prevailed in the maritime districts under the Portuguese rule³. Marco Polo, when he visited South India (Maabar) in the thirteenth century, observed this custom among the Tamils and gives us a quaint story how the king himself, on one occasion, had to submit to this extortion⁴. From lines 15-19 of our record it appears that sometimes women and children were also thus put in the *väläkma*; but this practice has been declared unlawful by the regulations embodied here.

Mr. F. A. Hayley has already compared this practice with the method of compulsion named *dharnā* which was once prevalent all over India and is still practised in Nepal. A similar method of extorting debts, that was in vogue among the dice players, is mentioned in the Sanskrit drama named *Mṛcchakatikā*, a work ascribed to the early centuries of the Christian era. There, the magic circle within which the debtor is held in restraint by his fellow gamblers, is

¹ D'Oyley's *Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom*, Archaeological Survey Library Copy, p. 59.

² *Knox, Historical Relation*, p. 104.

³ *Portuguese Era*, vol. ii, p. 86.

⁴ *Travels of Marco Polo*, edited by Sir Henry Yule, London, 1926; vol. ii, p. 343. For the editor's note on this custom see p. 350, where reference is made to Varthema, Kazivini, and Arthur Hamilton for their observations on it.

named *dyūta-maṇḍalī* (circle of dice)¹. For a very similar practice see the *Gāmaṇicaṇḍa Jātaka* (*Jātaka*, ii 301 ff).

[Lines B 19–22] From this injunction it would appear that the petty government officers of those days were in the habit of harassing the people when they visited the villages in the king's service. References are not wanting in literature where they are depicted as inordinately fond of flesh and wine. The following passage from the *Rasavāhinī*² reads like a comment on these lines of our record and gives us a glimpse into the dealings of these underlings of the government with the villagers :

Anurādhapure aññataro rājakammiko ten'eva kammena jīvikam kappento viharati. So kir'ekadivasam rañño kenacideva karaṇīyena Muggāyatana-raṭṭham gantvā tatth'ekam kevaṭṭa-gāmaṃ agamāsi. Tattha manussā rājakammiko ayam 'ti bahuṃ suram upanāmesum. So tehi saddhim suram pivivā matto sabbarattim kilivā pana divase chinnāya surāya chātajjhatto maṃsena bhattam atthi'ti pucchi. Te rājadūto ayam'ti kukkuṭa-maṃsa-rasena sappinā saddhim sāli-bhattam upanāmesum.

'In Anuradhapura, there was a certain royal officer who earned his livelihood by that selfsame profession. One day, on some business of the king, he went to the Muggāyatana Country and arrived in a village of fishermen. The people there, thinking "This is a servant of the king", brought a goodly quantity of liquor. In their company, he drank and made carousal the whole night through, and on the following day, when his drunken fit was over, he felt exceedingly hungry, and inquired whether there was any rice and meat. As he was a royal messenger, they brought him a meal consisting of rice together with curries of the flesh of fowls and ghee.'

[Lines B 22–23] *Vatupet*. In modern Sinhalese, *vatu* means 'a garden' or 'plantation'. It is derived from Pāli *vatthu* (Skt. *vāstu*) 'a house site' and therefore must have originally had that meaning, and, probably, it is used in that sense here. *Peta* may be derived from P. *panti* 'a range' (see Vol. I, p. 105, n. 13).

[Line B 27] *sal-kaḷākugen*. The *Ruvanmala* explains the word *sal* as 'a place where things are kept for sale by merchants'³. In Sinhalese literature, the word *sal-pila* is frequently used in the same sense. With these words to

¹ See *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, Act II. For the practice of *dharmā*, see Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 148.

² Colombo edition of B. E. 2444, p. 180.

³ Colombo, 1892, p. 27, v. 175. *Baḍu vikiṇīyaṭa vesun tabana tān sal nam vē*. The *Piyummala* also explains it similarly. *Sal yanu vikuṇaṇṭa velaṇḍun baḍu tabana tānaṭa namī*.

guide us, there is no doubt that *sal* here means 'trading' and this interpretation suits the context quite well. This word also occurs in lines 20 and 22 of side C.

[Line B 28] *Vāpuda*. I take this to be a corruption of *vāt-puda* (Skt. *vartti-pūjā*). *Vāt* originally meant 'the wick of a lamp'; but in course of time, its meaning was extended to include the lamp itself. Compare the phrase *pahayā Budnaṭ vāt telat dun dasa kalaṅḍak isā* in the Vessagiriya record of Dappula V¹.

[Line B 29] *Padda* is evidently derived from Skt *prastha* through an intermediate Tamil form. Hence, it is synonymous with *pata* derived from the same word direct. This word also occurs in an inscription from Āppāvala: *sunu paddak ātulvū metuvāk dā*.

[Line B 33] *No lābunākugen* 'From whom receipt is not made'. The grammatical construction of this phrase is somewhat unusual.

[Line B 38] *Gonī-gon*. *Gonī* (Skt. *gonī*) means a sack. The same word occurs in the inscription on the stone Canoe near the Gedige at Anurādhapura.

[Line B 40] *Raṭ-dag*. So far as I know, this word has not been noticed elsewhere and its exact meaning is not clear. Evidently, it is the name of a tax. *Dag* may be derived from the Pāli root *jag* (in *jaggati*, &c.), and would therefore mean 'watching or guarding'. *Raṭ* of course, is Pāli *rattha* and is applied to a territorial division corresponding to a modern Kōralē. The term *raṭ-dag* seems to be of the same significance as *nāḍu-kāval* occurring in the inscriptions of South India as the name of a tax².

[Line B 41] *Vālātā*. Not given by Clough. It is the same as *vālāta* occurring in the *Sikhavalaṅḍa Vinisa*³ (p. 24) and the *Dharmmapradīpikā* (p. 92)⁴. The *Ruvānmala* has the slightly different form of *vālahat*⁵. Its etymology is not clear.

[Line B 42] *Uḷvāḍu* or *Uḷpāḍu*. This word occurs in the Buddhannēhāla pillar inscription, and Mr. Wickremasinghe comments on it as follows: 'These seem to be the names of certain low-caste communities. *Uḷvāḍu*, probably same as *hulvāḍu* basket weavers (*Ruvānmala*, p. 50)⁶.' But it appears from our record that the *uḷvāḍu* were a class of officers. Most probably it is the same as Tamil *uḷpāḍu* which occurs in several inscriptions from Travancore. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, the learned editor of these inscriptions, comments on the word as follows: 'In all probability, the terms *uḷpāḍu* and *perumudiyān* should

¹ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

³ Edited by D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1924.

⁵ Colombo, 1892, p. 65.

² *S. I. I.*, vol. iii, p. 289.

⁴ Dhammarama's edition, Colombo, 1915.

⁶ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 199, n. 12.

have originally indicated some officers connected with the temple. This is apparent from the very passages which mention them. What their precise and primitive functions were it is not possible to fix; but this much may be safely advanced, viz. that they were entrusted with the care of temple funds or properties which were left in their charge. From the subjoined record, we learn that these persons issued gold from the temple¹. *Kanakkar* means an accountant, and the whole compound *ulvādu kanakkar* might signify 'the accountants in charge of the temporalities belonging to a religious establishment'. The occurrence of the word *kusalān* meaning a 'religious gift' in the sentence immediately following might lend some support to this interpretation; but unfortunately this sentence is imperfectly preserved and the context not sufficiently clear.

[Line C 4] *Kusalān*. As stated above, the sentence in which this word occurs is fragmentary, and, therefore, we are unable to say in what connexion it is used here. But there is no doubt as to the meaning of the word itself. The evidence put forward by Mr. Bell in support of his interpretation of the word as meaning a religious benefaction against that of Mr. Wickremasinghe is quite convincing², though the etymology suggested by him does not seem tenable.

[Lines C 4-7] The text being not quite certain, the translation of these lines offered above is only tentative. As regards the word *kara* (rental), see Mihintale slab inscription of Mahinda IV line A 44³. I have taken the word *nositak* as it is found on the stone; but, on the other hand, if it be taken as a clerical error for *nosiritak*, which is likely, the translation ought to be modified by substituting 'nothing contrary to custom'.

[Line C 8] *Gaṇa lahasa*. In this word, too, the reading *gaṇa* is not certain. This seems to have been the name of a standard measure. South Indian inscriptions afford us with the names of several such standard weights and measures used in the Tamil country, e. g. *Viḍel Viḍugu kal*⁴, *Rājakeśari Nāli*⁵ or *Rājakesari marakkāl*. If the above reading is correct, the measure seems to have received its name either from a guild or the community of monks, the word *gaṇa* being applicable to either of these. The former is more likely to have been the case. A *lahassa* (mod. Sin. *lāha*) consists of four *nāli* (T. *nāli*).

¹ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. iii, p. 64.

² *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. x, p. 6 ff.

³ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 105, n. 1.

⁴ K. V. S. Aiyer. *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 377.

⁵ See No. 140 of the Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1912 and No. 361 of 1911.

[Lines C 13-16] In the case of merchants trying to evade the payment of the government dues, Manu enjoins that eight times the usual rate be imposed¹.

[Line C 14] *Dīṇa* a contraction of *diyuna* (Skt. *dviguna*), 'double'.

[Lines C 17-18] *Nopātu* is formed of the negative prefix *no* and p. p. p. of the verb *paṭavanu* which most probably means 'stamped', in this place. Compare the phrase *san ota manavan sanin paṭvay* in the Mihintale tablets². *Madadi* is a rare form of *madaṭa* or *madaṭi* (Tamil *mañjāḍi*, Pāli *mañjetṭhi* Skt. *mañjiṣṭha*) the name of a weight, the twentieth part of a *kalaṇḍa*³. If the word *nopātu* has been correctly interpreted, it would show that weights used by traders were stamped by the officers appointed by the king. For rules concerning the testing and stamping of weights and measures by the government officers, see Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*⁴ pp. 126 and 127 and *Manu viii*, 403. If the alternative reading *novātu* be adopted, the words 'which are not in circulation' may be substituted for 'which are not stamped'. This meaning is arrived at by deriving *vātu* from Skt. *vartita*. After the word *madaḍiyen* we read *noyen*, which is evidently a clerical error, the engraver, by mistake, having repeated the three syllables *ye, n, no*.

[Lines C 24-27] I am not quite confident of the translation of these lines offered above. Mr. Codrington (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 198) reads these lines slightly differently (see above p. 76 footnote 6) and suggests the following: 'Coin coming (*lit.* falling) (into the bazaar) shall not be taken reduced (from the authorized value) save on the plea of supplementing false coin.' My rendering depends on the validity of the interpretation of the following words:—*Kalamasu* admits of two renderings. It may be derived from Pāli *kāla māsa* and translated 'black beans'. Or *kala* may be taken as the p. p. p. of the root *kar* and hence may mean 'prepared' i. e. 'husked beans' or 'good beans'. An analogous word is Tamil *seydanel* or *sennel* which means good paddy i. e. paddy husked and cleaned. Cf. also the phrase *mayā katānam seta tilānam* in the *Jātaka* ii. 279, where the word *kata* (Sin. *kala*) has the same significance.

Sī miyā vātena 'which has overflowed and fallen on the ground'. *Sī* is the

¹ *Manu*, viii, 400.

² *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 87. Mr. Wickremasinghe translates *paṭavay* by 'expunged', but it would suit the context much better if this phrase be translated 'Having stamped with the sign (manual) those to which the signature (*san*, cf. *atsan*) ought to be affixed.

³ For fuller information about *madaṭi* see Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 3.

⁴ Dr. Shamasastri's translation, 2nd edition.

past participle of a verb which occurs in modern colloquial forms such as *hī renāvā*. Its aorist is *hunu* and it may perhaps be connected with the Pāli verb *sīdati*. *Miyā* is the locative singular of the word *mī* (Skt. *māhī*), 'ground'.

In measuring paddy and other grains, that which falls on the ground in the process of measuring had to be given to the receiver. South Indian inscriptions lay special stress on this point; and in the measuring, a certain portion is allowed to compensate for this wastage. For instance, an inscription from Tirukkarai in Travancore¹ says that one *nālī* is to be given extra for 600 *nālīs* to cover up the wastage thus caused.

[Lines C 27-32] Special sheds were sometimes constructed within the temple premises for selling betel nuts, the chewing of which formed one of the chief luxuries of the people. A tax was imposed on sellers and its proceeds went to the temple. The *Mahāvamsa* informs us that Mahinda IV 'built a betel hall (*tāmbūla maṇḍapa*) and spent the revenue thereof for the medicine and diet of the brethren that belonged to the school of the elders²'. A tax on betel sellers is very often mentioned in Tamil inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, and it seems to have been a regular item of the revenue of the village assembly³.

[Line C 32] *Demulā*. Compare *Abayagiri nakāhi demulīn sāhanuvaṭ vāḍi saṅgun* in the Mihintale tables already mentioned⁴ *Mula* means an 'assembly' or 'a congregation'; and the two congregations of the monks refer, most probably, to the *ubhayavāsa* i. e. the monks who dwelt in the forest (*vanavāsika*) and those in the monasteries close to the villages and towns (*gāmānta senāsana vāsika*).

[Line C 33] In *valvalā*, I have taken *valā* as the locative plural suffix. The use of this suffix, though common in the classical period of Sinhalese literature, is hardly ever met with in the inscriptions of the tenth century. If *valā* here represents the plural suffix, the occurrence of the dental *la* goes against the theory that it represents Tamil *kaḷ* (கல்).

[Lines C 36-37] *Megamhi atadenā* 'the Eight of the village'. This refers, most probably, to a Committee of eight appointed to look after the affairs of the village. Compare the phrase *de asanin at denaku piriven illā*⁵ occurring in the slab-inscription of Kassapa V already referred to. From the Uttaramallūr

¹ *Travancore Archaeological Series* iii, p. 176.

² *Mv.* liv. v. 47.

³ See inscription No. 23 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1893*, see also Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 166.

⁴ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 92.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

inscriptions¹, we know that in the Tamil Country, several committees were elected annually for the different departments of the village administration. The most important of these was the Committee in charge of the Annual Village Work (*sanivatsara grāma kāryam*) of which the number, however, was fixed at twelve. The other committees such as 'Garden Committee', &c., consisted of six members each. Further down in our inscription, there is the mention of '*adaviya atadenā*' which may be translated as '(the Committee) of Eight in Charge of the Forests'. In the Māḍirigiriya pillar-inscription², there is reference to a committee of five entrusted with the management of work appertaining to the fields (*velā yut pasdenā*).

[Lines C 37-38] *Navatān*, Skt. *nivāsa-sthāna*, 'lodgings'. Modern Sinhalese *navātān*.

[Lines C. 39 ff.] It appears that on the occasion of a visit of the king, princes or other officers of state, it was customary on the part of the villagers collectively to give presents, the value of which was fixed by established custom.

[Lines D 10-13] For rules concerning the methods of dealing with cases of murder, by local bodies, see the Vēvālkāṭiya record (Vol. I, p. 24 ff).

[Lines D 14-16] The translation offered here of these lines is only tentative. But it is not improbable that such an injunction, directed against the Tamils, should have been issued by a king who had just experienced a defeat at the hands of their South Indian countrymen³.

[Lines D 16-19] Though most of the letters in these lines are tolerably clear, I have not been successful in making out a text that will admit of a translation that would be of any use.

[Line D 22] The expression *samdaruvan läbi* is peculiar. It means literally, 'having received the officers' and might signify, 'having got the officers to inquire into the matter'.

[Line D 26] *Hoḷ daḍu*. *Hoḷ* means pain. See the Puliyaṅkuḷam inscription of Udā Mahayā (Vol I, p. 186) and also *Sidat Saṅgarāva* (Dhammārāma's edition p. 114⁴). This word appears to me to have been derived from Pāli *hettha*. *Daḍu* (Skt. *daṇḍa*) means 'punishment' and *hoḷdaḍu* may mean 'torture'.

[Lines D 26-32] Though this part of the text is fragmentary, the general trend of it is clear. It lays down the rule that any person flying from justice

¹ *Annual of the D. G. of A. in India*, 1904-5, p. 131 ff.

² *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 30.

³ See above p. 84.

⁴ *Tunu hoḷa vaṭa haḷa*.

should be treated as an outcast and his entry to the village not permitted on any account.

[Line D 36] *Pirivahannā* (Skt. *parivahana*, see 'Jetavanārāma' Sanskrit inscription) or *pirivahanuvā* occurs in the Mihintale tablets, and combined with *kābili* in the Mihintale record of Sena II (*A. I. C.* No 114). It has been translated as 'warden'. The exact duties of this functionary cannot be determined with the materials available.

[Line D 54] *Araksamaṇa*, occurring in some records in the form of *Raksamaṇa*¹, was an official title which is found, in these documents, to have been applicable to the Chief Secretary (*mahalē*). In a pillar inscription from Sīgiriya², we come across the variant form *Araksāmiyā* which shows us that the second member of this compound is formed of *sami* (Skt. *svāmin*) with the addition of the honorific suffix *aṇa* and means 'master'. *Arak* represents Skt. *āraṅśaka* 'a guard' or 'protector' and therefore the word *Araksamaṇa* means the 'Chief Guardian'. If the suggestion made in the sequel that the *Mahalē* was in charge of the treasury of the king be found tenable, this title might have been applied to him in that capacity. In this connexion, the phrase *bhaṇḍāra-rakṣāvehi sīṭi yamma kenekun* occurring in an unpublished epigraph of Niśśanka Malla may be compared with advantage. Mr. Codrington suggests that there might have been some connexion between this title and the office of *Arakmēnā* given to the chief who guarded the Boḍhi tree.

[Line D 55] *Kuḍasālā* occurs as a title of some of the officials who appear in the capacity of *dūtakas* or messengers in the pillar edicts of the ninth and tenth centuries. In an unpublished record from Dorabāvila, *Kuḍasālā* appears as the name of a class of officers who, among others, were forbidden entry into the land to which immunities were granted by the edict. It is worthy of note that the officers who are distinguished by this title are, very often, represented as coming under the authority of the Chief Secretary.

Mr. Wickremasinghe at first took this word to be a place name, but later on he says it was an office³; but what the nature of this office was, he does not attempt to explain. There is hardly any doubt that this word is identical with Kuḍasāla, which, according to late Kandyan usage, was a pleasure-house of

¹ See the Buddhane-hāla Pillar quoted above. Mr. Wickremasinghe derives this from P. *Rakkhasamaṇa*.

² *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911-12*, p. 108.

³ *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 210.

the king. But in the seventeenth century, as Dr. Pieris informs us¹, Kuṇḍasāla was the name of the building in which the king's treasures were reported to have been kept. If it be assumed that this word originally meant the treasury, and the meaning of 'pleasure-house' was a secondary one, we may, with some justification, interpret the word *Kuṇḍasālā* occurring in the names of the *dūtakas* in the medieval inscriptions, as 'treasury officer'. The fact that their chief was very often the *mahatē* might give some support to this theory, as in later times the officer in charge of the treasury was called a *Lēkam mahatmayā*².

[Lines D 46-58] In the proclamation of this edict, two officers who were members of the Council of State, two military officers who, by the analogy of other records, represented the *senāpati*, and one representing the Chief Secretary have taken part. Of these, Maṇitilā Kili is obviously a different person from his namesake figuring in the Kirigallāva inscription attributed to Udaya I. None of the remaining officers is known from other sources.

No 5. MANNAR KACCERI PILLAR INSCRIPTION³ (A. S. C. No. 355).

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

THIS inscribed pillar stands at present in the Mannar Kacceri, where it is said to have been brought from Māntai or Tirukkētīśvaram, the site of the ancient seaport Mahātittha. It measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 8 inches by 5 feet










¹ *Portuguese Era*, vol. i, p. 320.










² *Maha aramudatē lēkam mahatmayā*, See Davy, p. 139.

³ *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1907*, p. 27, contains the following account of this pillar by Mr. John Still. 'May 2.—Copied the pillar inscription in the Kacceri. Mr. Browning the Assistant Government Agent is on circuit; but I was informed that the pillar was found at Māntai. It is unfortunately fixed in the cement floor in the corner of a room so close to the wall that it is very difficult to copy the last side. Without any exception, this is by far the best pillar inscription I have ever seen. It ought to be placed in the Colombo Museum.' But on inquiry made at the Kacceri Mr. C. E. Jones, the Assistant Government Agent at Mannar, has favoured me with the following note:—'The only information I can find regarding this pillar is a note by the Kacceri Mudaliyar in 1913, that, "this pillar was found in the bund of Giant's Tank where an old sluice was." I am given to understand it was removed here in the time of Mr. E. B. Denham, Assistant Government Agent, but although search has been made no further information regarding this pillar is forthcoming.'

6 inches in height, and is surmounted by the usual vase-shaped capital. All the four of its sides are inscribed; A-C each containing 27 lines of writing and D 5 lines and the figure of a monk's fan (*vatahapata*). The record is in a perfect state of preservation.

The **letters** are boldly engraved and vary in size from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches. They belong to the **script** of the last quarter of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth; but, however, show a mixture of forms earlier as well as later. Some examples of variant forms occurring side by side are given below to illustrate this statement.

<i>ga</i>	l. A 12 	l. A 21 	l. C 27 
<i>da</i>	l. A 5 	l. C 15 	
<i>la</i>	l. C 4 	l. A 18 	
<i>ya</i>	l. A 14 	l. B 10 	

It will be noticed that the forms of *ga*, *da*, and *la* occurring in lines C 27, C 15 and A 18 respectively approximate to the contemporary Grantha types, and it is possible, that the scribe was familiar with that South Indian script and was unconsciously influenced by it. The common form of *ya* occurring here  is also found in the Abhayagiri Pillar Inscription ascribed to Sena II by Mr H. C. P. Bell.¹ The short horizontal bar at the top of *na*  in line C 19 is noteworthy as it is reminiscent of the writing of the early Christian Centuries when almost every letter had this appendage which in course of time transformed itself into a hook in the ninth century. The letter *va*  of our inscription supplies the intermediate form between  of the second century and the usual symbol for that letter in the tenth century . Two methods of attaching the medial vowel sign *u* may be noticed in the letters *ru* and *ku*. Compare  in line A 14 with  in line C 10 and  in line A 3 with  in line B 23.

The engraver has blundered in the spelling of certain words; for instance, in line A 1, there is *svati* for *svasti*; in l A 2, *sari* for *siri*; in l C 3 *bila* for *bili* and in l C 8 *novand ca* for *novandnā ca*. To this list, perhaps, is also to be added *Mayidand* in ll B 4 and 5, which is evidently intended for *Mayind*. In line A 12 *la* has been corrected from *li*. The word *kabhāli* in line C 17 occurs in other records as *kābāli*.

The **language** shows an archaic trait in the use of the conjunction *ca* instead of its later representative *isā* which occurs so frequently in the ninth and tenth century records. As early as the fourth century, this word had transformed

¹ *Cey. Ant.* vol. iv, p. 102 ff.

itself, on the one hand into *ica*¹, the precursor of *isā* (modern Sinhalese *hā*) and on the other to *ja*², the prototype of *j* and *d* of the medieval Sinhalese speech and the modern *da*. Another partly effaced pillar inscription from the same place (No. 351 of the A. S. Register) which, from the archaic nature of the script, may well be ascribed to a period anterior to the time of Sena II, has the same peculiarity. Yet another record from the north, which comes from a place named Kōvil Puliyaṅkuḷama³ in the Mannar district, affords us a further example of this archaic feature. Without examining more records from this part of the country, it would be premature, perhaps, to pronounce this as a peculiar feature of the Northern dialect of the Sinhalese language.

In this connexion, it is interesting to observe that, in the Aṃbagamuva rock inscription of Vijayabāhu I⁴, this same dialectal peculiarity has persisted down to much later times, and in a district far removed from the locality of the present record. What has been taken as a punctuation mark in this inscription by its learned editor is, in fact, nothing but a *ca* written with a certain degree of flourish⁵. From these facts it seems clear that the development of the Sinhalese language was not uniform in all parts of the island. While younger forms were adopted in the language spoken in and around the capital, older forms persisted in the outlying districts of the north, and in the secluded hills of the Malaya country where the inhabitants were naturally more conservative.

This inscription is **dated** on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māḍindina (March–April) in the twelfth year of King **Siri Saṅbo** who, by the form of the script employed, may be identified either with **Sena II** (*circa* 844–879 A. D.), or his brother **Kassapa IV** (*circa* 890–007 A. D.)⁶. Mr. H. C. P. Bell identified him with the former⁷, and the archaic nature of the script, as well as of the language, seems to favour this view. But, the executor of this grant,

¹ As in an inscription from Tōnigala in the Kuñcuṭṭu Korale, North Central Province, belonging to the reign of Śrī Megha Varṇṇa (352–379 A. D.) No. 34 of 1892.

² In an inscription from Kayikāvala in the Pahalavisidekē Korale in the North Western Province (No. 82 of 1911–12).

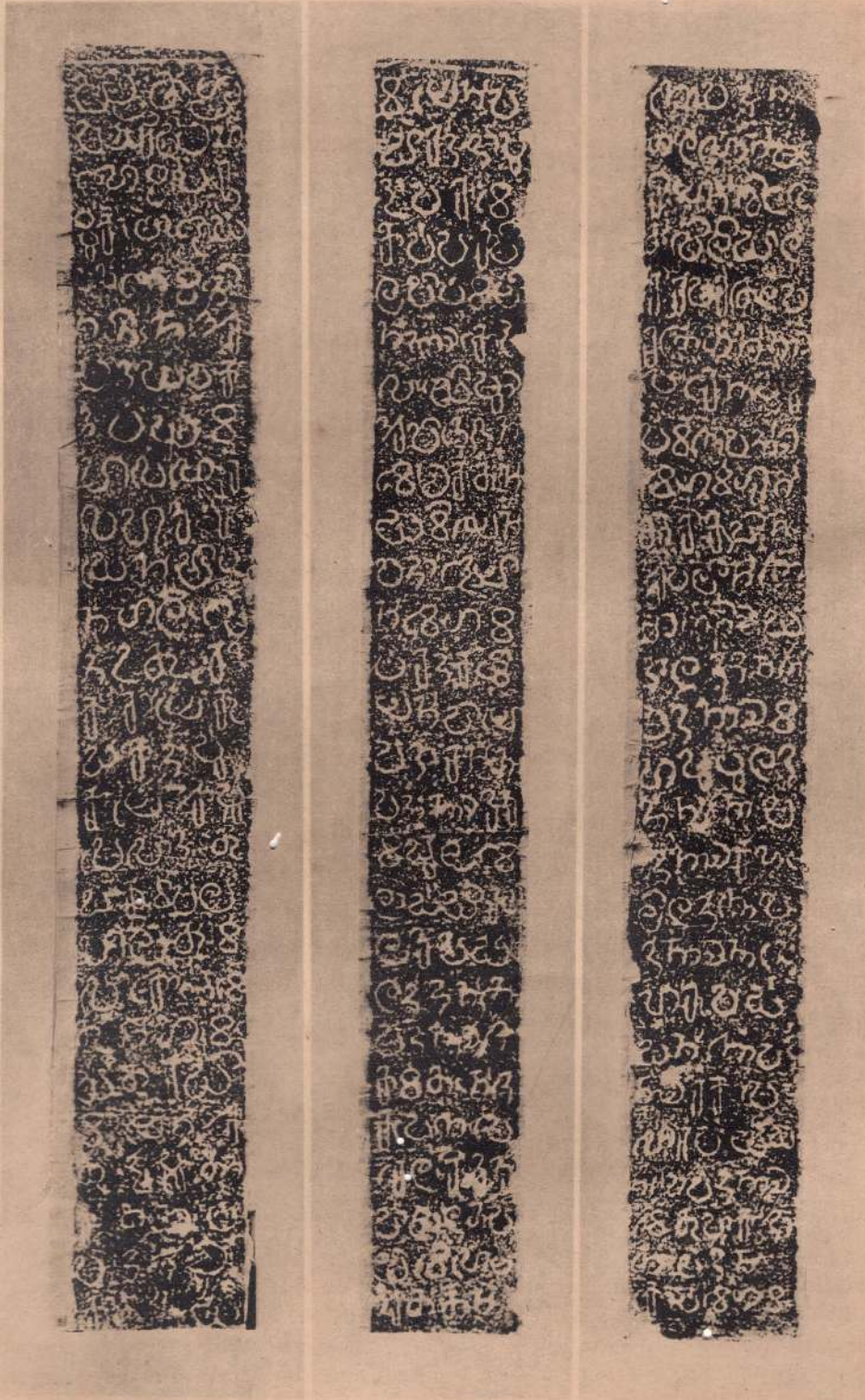
³ *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911–12*. Appendix F, No. 66.

⁴ *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 212 ff.

⁵ An inscription of Queen Kalyāṇavatī, from Teliyāva in the Kalāgam Korale of the North Central Province, has this conjunction in the form of *eca*. See *Cey. Ant.* vol. iv, p. 27.

⁶ The dates given here are calculated by deducting from those given by Wijesinha the difference of twenty-two years which Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out in his article on Sinhalese Chronology, *J. R. A. S.* for 1913, p. 939 ff.

⁷ *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911–12* p. 118.



Mannar Kacceri Pillar Inscription

Paṇḍirad Dāpuḷu, figures, in the same capacity, in records of the third year of Kassapa V¹. And as it is very unlikely that the same minister held office from the twelfth year of Sena II to the third year of Kassapa V—a period of fifty-four years—I am inclined to ascribe this pillar to Kassapa IV.

The **contents**, as usual, are immunities granted to three villages on the northern coast, belonging to the house of meditation (*piyangala*) named **Bahadurusen** (Bhadra-sena) in the **Mahā Vihāra**. Among the taxes remitted and the officials whose entry into the specified limits was forbidden, we have the usual obscure technical names occurring in similar records of the period. In addition, the following terms are noticed here for the first time:—*paḍimeheya*, *kiravar*, *telvar*, *tārikudi*, *avalin*, *sadā laddan* and *Mahaputu laddan*.

TEXT.

Side A².

1	Sva[s*]ti śrī[ḷ*]	15	-ḍa kadavu-
2	Sari ³ Saṅg-	16	-kāye avu
3	bo Mapuru-	17	Pepodatu-
4	-mukā doḷos-	18	-ḍa Kumbal-
5	vanne Mādi-	19	hala Tum-
6	-ndinā a-	20	pokoṇ me
7	-va dasavak	21	tun-gāmā
8	davas Ma-	22	satara sī-
9	-ha veherā	23	-māyen ā-
10	Bahadura-	24	-tuḷ vu tā-
11	sen piya-	25	-k tānaṭ
12	-ngalā ba-	26	vadāḷa e-
13	-da uturu-	27	-k tān sa-
14	karāye Ku-		

¹ See the Māḍirigiriya pillar inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 25 ff.

² In the accompanying facsimile plate, side D of the inscription is not shown, as it is impossible to prepare an estampage of this side, the pillar being fixed in the cement floor, too close to the wall.

³ Read *Siri*.

Side B.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|----|-----------------|
| 1 | -miyen Pa- | 15 | vadāran no- |
| 2 | -ṇḍirad Dāpu- | 16 | vadanā ca dunu- |
| 3 | -lā varā Me- | 17 | maṇḍula me- |
| 4 | -kāppar Pi- | 18 | -lāssi raṭ- |
| 5 | -laviṭ Mayi- | 19 | ladu pas- |
| 6 | -dand ¹ ca Koḷa- | 20 | laddan no- |
| 7 | -bā Sivu ca | 21 | vadanā ca de- |
| 8 | api dedena- | 22 | kam-tān de- |
| 9 | -mo ektān- | 23 | ruvane pe- |
| 10 | samiyen | 24 | -relāki dunu- |
| 11 | vadāleyi- | 25 | pā-balat pa- |
| 12 | -n megama- | 26 | -ḍi-meheyā |
| 13 | -ṭ rad-kāmi- | 27 | āttan |
| 14 | -yan piyo- | | |

Side C.

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| 1 | no vadnā ca | 15 | -hapuṭu ⁴ lad |
| 2 | gāl gon vā- | 16 | -dan no va- |
| 3 | -riyan bila ² ba- | 17 | vdnā ca kabhāli |
| 4 | -t bili sāl | 18 | lad no va- |
| 5 | kiravar ³ tel va- | 19 | -dana ca Nā-ve- |
| 6 | -r nogannā ca | 20 | -herā vās- |
| 7 | perenāṭṭu- | 21 | -san no vad- |
| 8 | -vam no vandnā ca | 22 | -nā ca Raka- |
| 9 | megam hun | 23 | vehera-vāssa- |
| 10 | tāri kuḍin | 24 | -n novadnā ca |
| 11 | avalin no- | 25 | me tuvāk dena |
| 12 | gannā ca sa- | 26 | no vadnā |
| 13 | -dā laddan no | 27 | koṭ megama- |
| 14 | vadnā ca Ma- | | |

¹ This is most probably intended for Mayind (Pāli Mahinda).

² Read *bili-bat*.

⁴ Could be read as *Mahavuṭu* also.

³ Read *kirivar*.

Side D

1 -ṭ api dede-
2 -namo at-
3 -tāṇi pe

4 rāhārā dun-
5 -mahayi [u*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! On the tenth day of the waning moon of the month of Mādindina (February–March) in the twelfth year of His Majesty **Siri-Saṅgbo**.

Whereas it was ordered [as follows] by a [decree] of unanimous assent, in connexion with the lands included within the four boundaries of the three villages named **Pepodatuda**, **Kumbalhala** and **Tumpokoṇ**, situated in the **Kuḍakadavukā** [division] of the Northern Coast, belonging to the meditation hall (*piyangala*) named **Bahadurāsen** (Skt. *Bhadrasena*) of the **Great Monastery**, we, two of us, [namely] **Pilaviṭ Mayind** and **Koḷabā Sivu**¹, commissioned by **Paṇḍirad Dāpuḷa**², [enact thus] in pursuance of the said decree [passed] with the unanimous assent [of the Council].

To these villages, royal officers and *piyovadāran* shall not enter. Those of the archery department, the *melāssi*, headmen in charge of districts and of provinces shall not enter. The employees at the two offices, *deruvanā*, *perelāki*, archers, guards, and those of the paid services shall not enter. Carts, oxen, labourers, imposts of cooked and raw rice, and periodical gifts of milk and oil should not be taken. The *perenāttuvam* shall not enter. The ferrymen residing in these villages should not take *avalin* (oars?) of (or from) the tenants. *Sadāladdan* shall not enter. Officers in charge of *kabhāli* shall not enter. Officers in charge of Mahapuṭu (i. e. Mahātittha) shall not enter. Those who reside at the Nāvehera shall not enter. Those who reside at the Rakavehera shall not enter. Having forbidden the entry of the aforesaid persons, we, two of us, have given to these villages the immunities [sanctioned by] the Council.

REMARKS.

[Lines A 10–12] *Bahaduru-sen piyangala*. *Bahadurusen* is equivalent to Skt. *Bhadrasena*. The word *piyangala* occurs, among the published records, in the Mihintale Tablets ascribed to Mahinda IV³, in the 'Jetavanārāma' slab inscription

¹ In these and other names of the officials occurring in inscriptions of this period, a village name is prefixed to the personal name. Pilaviṭ Mayind means Mayind of Pilaviṭ and Koḷabā Sivu, Sivu of Koḷabā.

² The epithet Paṇḍirad appears to be a *viruda*.

³ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 95.

of Kassapa V¹ and the Mādiligiriya pillar inscriptions of the same king². Parker, in his *Ancient Ceylon*, (p. 425) gives a short record from Kurundankuḷam in the Mullaittivu district in which also this word is met with. The variant form *piyanhala* occurs in a mutilated record from a place named Saṅgili Kanadarāva³. Dr. E. Müller and Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara both take this word to mean a 'stone ceiling'⁴. Mr. Wickremasinghe, at first took it to be the proper name of a monastery⁵, but later changed his view, and surmises that it is 'applied to certain important buildings of a monastery set apart for a special purpose'⁶. Mr. Bell, too, is of opinion that it is a proper name and that the *piyangala* at *Mādiligiriya* was named after a monastery of a similar name at Mihintalē⁷. Mr. Wickremasinghe has already pointed out the etymological connexion between this word and *patana-gala* in the Perumaiyāṅkuḷam rock inscription of Vasabha⁸; but this latter word he leaves untranslated though he equates it with a Sanskrit form *prārthanāsīlā*. In the Tissamahārāma slab inscription, now in the Colombo Museum, (*A. I. C.* No. 67), we have a variant form of this word as *padana-gala* which enables us to connect it with the Pāli *padhānasālā*. The word *patan bhūmi* in the *Saddharmaratnākara*⁹, representing the Pāli *padhāna bhūmi*, is further evidence for this equation. The change of *dha* to *ta* and its subsequent corruption to *ya* are in accord with the rules of Sinhalese phonetics¹⁰, and do not require any comments, but the transformation of *sa* to *ga* requires some explanation. The alternative form *piyan-hala* shows that the *sa* had first been changed to *ha* which ultimately assumed the form of *ga*. As examples of the change of *ha* to *ga* may be given *magila* for *mahilā*¹¹ and *siṅgu* for *siha*.¹² Sin. *gāḷ* derived from Skt. *sakaṭa* and *gal*¹³ for Skt. *śaila* (*sala* < *hala* < *gala*) are other examples of this phonetic change. The words *padhāna-sālā* and *padhāna ghara* occur more than once in the *Mahāvamsa*¹⁴ and an inscription at Amarāvātī mentions a *padhāna maḍavo*, which word, however, has been translated as

¹ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

² No. 81 of 1898-1900.

³ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 53, n. 1.

⁴ *Cey. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 83.

⁵ Colombo, 1923, p. 313.

⁶ In an unpublished cave inscription from a place named Baṅbarahela.

⁷ In the Galpota Inscription of Niśsaṅka Malla, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 112.

⁸ It may be mentioned that *gal* could also be derived from T. *kal*. But there is the possibility that the Tamil word itself is of Skt. origin.

⁹ See, for example, *Mv.* ch. 37, v. 182, ch. 42, v. 46, and ch. 46, v. 11.

² Vol. II, p. 25 ff., and *Cey. Ant.*, vol x, p. 78 f.

⁴ *A. I. C.* p. 118 and *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 108, n. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 27, n. 2.

⁸ *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 28, n. 8.

¹⁰ See Geiger, *L. S. S.*, p. 44.

'a chief (?) pavilion' ¹. The Sinhalese glossary to the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* explains the Pāli *Andhavana* by *Añḍa-vana piyangal*. As the legends represent Andhavana as a place frequented by the disciples of Buddha for purposes of religious meditation ² (*padhāna*), this would be in accord with the above interpretation of *piyangal*.

A meditation hall named *Bhadrasena* is not known from the chronicles, but if a conjecture is permissible, it may be suggested that it was a religious establishment founded by the General Bhadra, who lived in the reign of Sena I ³, and named after himself and his master.

[Line 14] *Karāye*. Locative singular of *karā* from Tamil *karai* (coast). Compare *Nikāya Saṅgraha* (Wickremasinghe's edition, page 19) *karaya vaṭa rākaval lavā* 'having placed guards round the coast'. This word, in its present context, throws light on the proper interpretation of the phrase *satara karāve mārū*, &c. occurring at the end of the Kitsirimevan Kālaṇiya slab inscription ⁴. *Satara karā* means 'the four coasts', i. e. of the four oceans. Similarly *sat karāve* in the Waharakgoḍa Copper plate grant of Parākramabāhu ⁵ means, 'of the seven coasts', i. e. of the seven oceans.

[Lines A 14-20] The place-names occurring in these lines do not admit of being identified.

[Lines A 26-28] *Ek tān samiyen*. This word occurs, in various forms, in most of the pillar inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries, and has been interpreted as meaning 'Supreme Assembly' ⁶; but its exact significance still remains obscure. The occurrence of the word *sabhāyen*, itself meaning assembly, immediately following *ektān samiyen*, in the Ayitigevāva pillar ⁷, militates against this interpretation. The last member of the compound occurs in the form of *samuyen* in the Aṃbagamuva rock inscription, and also in an unpublished epigraph from Dorabāvila in the Kurunāgala District. *Samuyen* and *samiyen* ⁸ are both the instrumental singular of *samu*, equivalent to Pāli *sammuti* or Sanskrit *sammati* and means assent or 'approval'. *Ek-tān* is taken by Mr. Wickremasinghe as a derivative of *eka-āsthāna* 'the one (or supreme) assembly' ⁹, and if we adopt

¹ Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 105.

² See *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol. iii, p. 146.

³ See *Mv.* I, v. 82.

⁴ *Cey. Ant.*, vol. ii, p. 190.

⁵ Bell, *Report on the Kegalle District*, p. 83.

⁶ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 206, note 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 34.

⁸ The form *samiyen* is due to the final vowel *u* of the stem being changed to *i* when followed by a suffix of which the initial letter is *ya*, cf. *hāmbiyehi* from *hāmbu* (*Sikhavalaṇḍa vinisa*, p. 55) and *baḍiyehi* in the Badulla Pillar inscription. See above p. 76.

⁹ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p., 206.

this interpretation the whole compound may mean 'by the assent of the assembly'. *Ek-tān* may also represent Sanskrit *eka-sthāna*, and as one of the meanings attached to the word *sthāna* is 'state' or 'condition' (see Macdonell's Sanskrit Dictionary, *s. v.*) *ektān* might signify 'being of one disposition' i. e. 'unanimous'. Hence *ektān samiyen* may be interpreted 'with the unanimous assent'. This interpretation is supported by the occurrence of similar phraseology in the Tamil inscriptions of South India. An inscription from Karuvūr, dated in the third year of the Chola king Rājendradeva, tells us that a decree of the king was 'unanimously approved of' by the chief secretary and three citizens who are named in the document¹.

In phrases like *paṇḍirad hīnduvannaṭ vadāla ektān samiyen*², this word occurs in the form of a noun, and in other places such as *ektān samiyen vāṇḍā vadāleyin avut*³ it is used in the capacity of an adverbial phrase. The present record affords examples of both modes of using the word. In the first instance, it probably has the secondary meaning of 'a decree passed with the unanimous assent of the Council'.

[Lines B 1-3] Paṇḍirad Dāpulu figures in many other records of the period. See the Kiribat Vehera pillar inscription, (*E. Z.*, Vol. I. p. 153 f.) Mādirigiriya pillar quoted above, and the Mahakālāttāva pillar inscription (*A. I. C.* No. 110).

[Line B 3] *Varā* occurs also in other records as *varā van* or *varin ā*. Messrs. Bell and Wickremasinghe take this to mean 'of the family of' or 'descended from the lineage of' and the proper name which precedes this word as a patronymic of the *dūtaka* (messenger) whose name follows it⁴. But a consideration of the following facts leads one to doubt this interpretation.

(a) In the Īripinninyāva pillar inscription of Udaya I⁵, mention is made of a general named Kuṭṭhā who has been identified—I think with good reason—with Kuṭṭhaka who figures in the reign of Sena II, the immediate predecessor of Udaya, and who could have still been alive in the reign of the latter monarch. According to the above interpretation of *varā van*, one of the signatories to this grant, Guligamu Araḷe is said to bear the name and official title of this general as his patronymic. This Guligamu Araḷe could not have been further removed from the general than the third generation, and the natural mode of referring to

¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii, p. 38.

² Vessagiri Slab of Mahinda IV, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 34.

³ Bilibāva pillar inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 39.

⁴ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 194 and *Cey. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 79.

⁵ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 163 ff.



him would be to state that he was either a son or grandson of the general, as the case may be. But to say that he was a descendant is against the ordinary usage.

(b) The 'founders of families' of those officials who were members of the body-guard (*mēkāppar*) are very often mentioned as being commanders of the body-guard (*mēkāppar-vādūrum*) or some other military commander, while those who held the office of *kudāsalā* had invariably, as their 'ancestors' a chief secretary (*mahalā*) or the *kudāsalānāvan*¹.

This uniformity throws some doubt on the accepted interpretation.

(c) Officers, when they are said to belong to the Council of state (*sabhā*), are invariably referred to without the so-called family name².

(d) The 'descendants' of one 'head of a family' figure during a certain period, not exceeding one generation and then leave the field.

In some records, the place of *varā* or *varin ā* is taken by *davasā* which means 'in the time of' or 'in the day of'³ and this helps us to connect *vara* with Sanskrit *vāra* 'one's turn' or 'day'. And a comparison of the methods that were in vogue in later times as regards the services of the royal messengers helps us to interpret the meaning of this word with tolerable certainty. The messengers at the Kandyan court who were known as Kaṭupulles⁴ were divided into two sections each under the superintendence of one of the two Adigārs⁵, and had to take their turn of service by rotation. Each officer's period of duty would be called his *mura* 'or turn' which in course of time would easily assume the secondary sense of 'turn of one's duty' or 'service'. The word *mura* and *vāra* are precisely of the same meaning, and assuming that the same conditions prevailed in the tenth century as during the Kandyan period⁶—which is quite probable as the name for a royal messenger in the Kandyan times is also met with in an inscription of this period—we may interpret *varā* by 'in the service of'. In

¹ For the interpretation of this word, see the article on the Badulla pillar inscription, above, p. 99.

² See the Vēvālkāṭiya, Kukurumahandamana and Ayitigēvāva inscriptions.

³ As in the Bilibāva pillar inscription, where, however, Mr. Wickremasinghe reads it as *dā vasā* and translates 'of the family of'. That the stroke which has been taken as the medial vowel sign for *ā* is only a crack in the stone will be apparent on a comparison of that letter with *dā* appearing in line 12 of the same side of the pillar. The word *davasā* in a similar context occurs also in an unpublished record from Daṁbavalagama.

⁴ This very word occurs as the name of a messenger in the Kiribat Vehera pillar inscription. It has, however, been read as Roṭupulle, (see above Vol. I, p. 160).

⁵ D'Oyly, *Constitution of the Kandyan kingdom*.

⁶ For other parallels to Kandyan institutions in the tenth century, see the Badulla pillar inscription, above, p. 91.

the same way *varā vana* may be translated 'who is in the service of' and *varin ā* as 'come during the period of service'. Thus the phrase *Pandirad Dāpuḷā varā Mekāppar Pilaviṭ Mayind* of our inscription would mean 'Pilaviṭi Mayind (belonging to) Paṇḍirad Dāpuḷa's turn of service'.

This would show that P. Mayind was under the orders of P. Dāpuḷu and thus the latter would occupy the place of the officer known in Indian grants as *ājñapti*. In Indian documents, the *ājñapti* is very often the commander of the military forces (*senādhipati*¹ or *balādhikṛta*²) and sometimes the king's private secretary (*rahasika*³). In Ceylon grants, the so-called ancestors of the *dūtakas* are, very often, either military officers (*mekāppar vādārum*⁴, *Senevirad*⁵, *Baṃba Senevi*⁶ &c.) or the Chief Secretary (*mahalē*). Occasionally, the royal treasurer (*Kuḍasalanāvan*)⁷ takes the place of the latter official. Is it not reasonable, with the Indian parallel to guide us, to take these as the *ājñapti*?

[Lines B 14-15] *piyo-vadāran*. Evidently the same as *piyo vadārannan* in other records. For Mr. Wickremasinghe's tentative rendering of the word, see Vol. I, p. 207, n. 1. Mr. Codrington suggests that this word is probably a compound formed of *piyo* (Skt. *payas*, 'water'. Cf. Sin. *piyo-vuru* for Skt. *payodhara*) and *vadārannā* 'inspector' or 'supervisor' (Skt. *vicāraṇa*). According to this interpretation, which seems to suit the context more than that of Mr. Wickremasinghe, the term would signify a class of irrigation officers.

[Lines B 16-17] *Dunumaṇḍula*. This word also occurs in the Kirigallāva and Māḍiligiriya inscriptions. Verse 18 of chapter lxx of the *Mahāvamsa* mentions Dhanumaṇḍala-nātha (Sin. *dunumaṇḍala nā*) as the name of one of Parākramabāhu I's generals who, very often, are referred to by their official titles.

[Lines B 17-18] *Melāssi*. The most frequent form of this word is *melātsi*; other variants are *melāṭṭi*, *melātti*, *melāṭsi* and *melakṣi*⁸. Mudaliyar B. Gunasekera equates it with the Sanskrit *mleccha*⁹ and translates it by 'barbarians', and Mr. Bell, too, favours this interpretation¹⁰. Mr. Wickremasinghe at first adopted the same view, but elsewhere leaves the word untranslated. In

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 295.

² See Bühler's *Palaeographie*, p. 95.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 21.

⁴ As in the Buddhannehāla pillar inscription.

⁵ As in the Īripinniyāva and the Rambāva pillar inscriptions.

⁶ See the Vessagiriya slab inscription, above Vol. I, p. 34.

⁷ As in the Poḷonnaruva Raja-māligāva pillar inscription.

⁸ See the Index to *E. Z.*, Vol. I, where references will be found to each of these forms.

⁹ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 53, n. 10.

¹⁰ *Cey. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 84.

a pillar inscription found near Mihintale (*A. I. C.* No. 115), following the mention of *melāsi* along with some other names which are equally obscure, we have the phrase *sesu rad-kol-kāmiyan novadnā isā* ('and not to be entered in by other royal officers') which would lead us to the inference that the *melāsi* were a class of royal officers. The variant forms that this word assumes seems to favour the view that it is of Tamil origin. Among the names of taxes occurring in South Indian inscriptions, there are some which end in the word *āṭsi*, e. g. *mīyāṭsi*, *nāḍāṭsi* and *ūrāṭsi*¹. *Āṭsi* is a verbal noun from the root *āl* and means 'proprietorship' or 'overlordship'². *Mēl-vāram* is the name by which the state share of the produce of the land is designated in South India. In this word *vāram* stands for share, and *mēl* which ordinarily means 'above' is apparently used as an honorific way of referring to the king. I think *mel* in *melāṭsi*, too, has the same meaning and thus this word might signify certain dues paid to the king or some other feudal lord in recognition of his proprietorship over the land. In some records *melāṭsi* is followed by the verb *nogannā* and in others by *novadnā*; in the first instance it means 'the *melāṭsi* should not be levied', and in the second 'the *melāṭsi* should not enter'. Hence, it is clear that this word was applied both to a tax and to the officers connected with the collection of this tax. This method of forming derivatives of nouns without any internal change in the word is a feature common enough in Sinhalese. For example, *nuvara* may mean either a city (*nagara*) or a citizen (*nāgarika*). It is only in the declension of the word that the difference becomes marked.

[Lines B 19-20] *Pastladdan*. According to Mr. Wickremasinghe, 'keepers of district records'³. From its being always found together with *raṭladu*, 'chiefs of districts', one would prefer to take *pas* as derived from Pāli *passa*, 'a province', as in *dakkhiṇa-passa*. We know that there were in the Rajaraṭa four such divisions⁴ which were subdivided into *raṭas*. The Sinhalese *pas* and *raṭa* correspond to the *maṇḍalam* and *nāḍu* of the Tamil kingdoms of South India.

[Lines B 21-22] *Dekam-tān* often occurs, as it does in the present record, in association with *deruvanā*. In the inscriptions of this period, the word *kamtān* (Skt. *karmasthāna*) is used in the sense of 'an office' or 'a place where business is transacted'. Compare *kamtān ledaruvak* in the Mihintale tablets⁵. Hence *de kamtān* means the two offices or two places of business. What these two

¹ See *S. I. I.*, vol. iii, p. 226 and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 308.

² See *Tamil Lexicon s.v.*

³ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 170, n. 9.

⁴ See *C. J. Sc.*, Section G, vol. i, p. 108. For this suggestion I am indebted to Mr. Codrington.

⁵ *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 111, note 9.

were, we cannot say with certainty. In the inscription No. 115 of *A. I. C.*, already mentioned, the word *ākamtān* is used to denote an officer whose duty, it appears, was the supervision of the royal revenue. With this to guide us, could the other office be taken as that which related to the public expenditure? Kauṭilya, in discussing the duties of the Collector-General¹, (*samāharttā*) mentions revenue (*āyaśarīra*) and expenditure (*vyaya-śarīra*) as two of the principal heads into which the administration was classified.

[Lines B 22-24] *Deruwane, perelāki*. The functions performed by these two classes of officials are not known. If the second member of the compound *perelāki* be taken as derived from *lekhaka*, this word may signify a class of scribes.

[Lines B 25-26] *Paḍi-meheyā*. This term has not been met with elsewhere. *Paḍi*, which is of Tamil origin, means 'pay' and *meheya* 'service'. Hence it means 'the paid services'. Perhaps the mercenary soldiers maintained by the king are intended in contradistinction to the national militia who did not receive regular pay; but were recompensed by grants of land.

[Lines C 5-6] *Kiri vara, tel vara* 'meaning respectively milk and oil supplied by turns' were the technical names, it appears, by which the obligation of the villagers to supply their overlords with these commodities at stated intervals was known.

[Line C 10] *Tāri-kudī*. The interpretation of this word, which is not met with elsewhere, as 'ferry-men' is purely conjectural. In doing so, I have taken the first member of the compound to be connected with Sanskrit *tāraka*. Compare also the word *tārika* occurring in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Pāla kings of Bengal².

[Line C 11] *Avalin*. This word occurs here for the first time and is unintelligible to me. Perhaps it may be connected with the modern colloquial word *avala* which means an 'oar'.

[Lines C 12-13] *Sadā laddan*. This, too, is quite new to me and its meaning obscure. The second member of the compound *laddan* means 'recipient' and is technically applied to those who have received, or been appointed to, an office. Hence this word means a government official. As regards *sadā*, I can only conjecture that it might be the same as the Sanskrit *sādhyapāla*³, the

¹ Dr. Shamasastri's translation, p. 64.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 325.

³ See Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, pp. 133 and 139, for the duties of this official.

name of an officer the functions of whom were to be in charge of the witnesses in the ancient law courts ¹.

[Lines C 14-15] *Mahapuṭu laddan*, officers of Mahapuṭu, or Mahavuṭu was another name for Mahātīttha ². It appears that there was a special officer in charge of this important seaport.

[Lines C 17-18] *Kabhāli lad*. The 'recipients' or the officers in charge of the *kabhāli*, a variant form of *kābāli* occurring in other records. The word *kābāli* is of frequent occurrence in the ninth- and tenth-century records ³ and has been translated as 'allotments', but its exact significance is not quite clear.

[Lines C 19-20] *Nā veherā vāssan*. The word *vāssan* occurring in this phrase, as well as in line 23, means literally 'dwellers' but has here the secondary sense of 'servants' or 'employees'. Compare the words *velvāssan*, *veda halvāssan* and *pahavāsi* occurring in the inscriptions of the same period. An analogous word is the Malayālam *ambalavāsin*, the name given to people who perform services in the temples in the west coast of South India. As the employees of the Nāgavihāra are prohibited from entering the lands benefited by this grant, this monastery must have been in the vicinity of the site of this pillar, namely Mahātīttha. It was probably the Nāgavihāra mentioned in chapter xiv, v. 58 of the *Mahāvamsa*. In the *Rasvāhinī*, we have a reference to a *Nāgavihāra* in North Ceylon ⁴.

[Line C 22] *Raka-vehera* may be the same as the Rakkha Vihāra built by Daḷḷa Moggallāna in the seventh century ⁵.

[Lines D 3-4] *Perāhārā* = Skt. *parihāra*. Kauṭilya defines this term as follows:

Jater viśeṣeṣu pureṣu caiva
grāmeṣu deśeṣu ca teṣu teṣu
anugraho yo nṛpater nideśāt
tājñāḥ pariḥāra itī vyavasyet || i. 10.

'Whatever favour (*anugraha*) to special castes, cities, villages, or countries of various description is announced in obedience to the king's order, it is called writ of remission (*parihāralekha*) by those who know it. (Dr. Shamasastri's translation p. 81.)

¹ It is possible that *sadā* had some connexion with the Pāli *sattha*, Skt. *sārtha*, through an intermediate Tamil form. If so, the officers called *sadā-laddan* may have been appointed to look after the affairs connected with foreign merchants.

² For the identification of Mahavuṭu see *Cey. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 94.

³ See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 53, 94, 118, 160, 197 and Vol. II, p. 68.

⁴ *Rasavāhinī*, Colombo 1911, p. 167. *Sīhala dīpamhī uttara passe Nāga-vihāro nāma ekam vihāram ahoṣi*.

⁵ *Mv.* xlv, v. 51.

